

Appendix I – TEXTS

Here I provide with the following four texts, which I recorded on fieldwork, for the appendix to my dissertation: *čhúmoe minás* ('Fish tale') from Ganish in Hunza, *The Story of Hopar* from Hopar in Nager, and *šon gukúr* and *kulió laskír* from Haiderabad in Hunza.

I give these texts with morphological analyses, the gloss, and free translations for future reference.

I. ČHÚMOE MINÁS (FISH TALE)

Narrator: Muhammad Ali
Date: 20th Oct, 2008
Time length: 39' 3"
Location: Toursit Cottage in Karimabad
Dialect: Hunza (Ganish)
Genre: Fairy tale
Remarks: Transcribed with a help of Musa Baig.

Synopsis:

One day, a servant of the Royal Household found a gold fish in a river. He brought it to his king and queen. The fish then grinned at the queen, she felt revolting for it and got ill. The king ordered the servant to seek a solution. The servant came out from the palace and went round. He met with a man and they arrived the man's house. There was a daughter of the man. The servant brought her to the queen, and then she told some stories to the queen. The stories of retribution convinced the queen. The daughter and the servant got adopted into the Royal Family and inherited the property of the Household. Then the servant avenged many murdered servants on the queen (and king?).

čhúmoe minás - 1

hin baadšáan bam.
 hín baadšáa-an-Ø bá-i-m
 one:H king-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

There was a king.

čhúmoe minás - 2

iné baadšáa čhúmoe čhápaṭe naašitáa
 iné baadšáa-e čhúmo-e čhap'at-e naašitáa-Ø
 that:H king-ERG fish-GEN flesh-INS-ESS breakfast-ABS
éčóm.
 i-t'č+bá-i-m
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

The king was taking his breakfast on fish.

čhúmoe minás - 3

iné baadšáa hin jamaaát bom.
 iné baadšáa-e hín jamaaát-Ø bá-o-m
 that:H king-GEN one:H spouse-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

The king had a wife.

čhúmoe minás - 4

iné [ué] óltike subá hamiišá subá čhúmoe
 iné [ué] u:ltik-e subá hamiišá subá čhúmo-e
 that:H [those:H] 3PL.H:II-both-ERG morning always morning fish-GEN
čhápaṭe naašitáa éčóm.
 čhap'at-e naašitáa-Ø i-t'č+bá-an-m
 flesh-INS-ESS breakfast-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

Both of them were taking breakfast on fish every morning.

čhúmoē minás - 5

úe hin nookáran bam.
 ú-e hín nookár-an-∅ bá-i-m
 they:DIST-GEN one:H servant-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

They had a servant.

čhúmoē minás - 6

iné nookáre [nookár] síndaṭar níin, íne
 iné nookár-e [nookár-∅] sínda-aṭ-ar n-i''n ín-e
 that:H servant-ERG [servant-ABS] river-INS-DAT go:CP-3SG.HM-CP s/he:DIST-ERG

baadšáa atíaş qháa súba súba síndaṭar
 baadšáa-∅ a-d-e'ş qháaş súba súba sínda-aṭ-ar
 king-ABS NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT until morning morning river-INS-DAT

níin.
 n-i''n
 go:CP-3SG.HM-CP

The servant went to the riverside every morning before his king woke up.

čhúmoē minás - 7

síndaṭum čhúmo dúsase iné nookáre diptí
 sínda-aṭ-um čhúmo-∅ d-i-gús-as-e iné nookár-e diptí-∅
 river-INS-ABL fish-ABS TEL-3SG.X:I-go.out-INF-GEN that:H servant-GEN duty-ABS

bilúm.
 b'il'm
 COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

The duty of the servant is catching fish from the river.

čhúmoe minás - 8

dipťí bilúm.
 dipťí-Ø b'il'm
 duty-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

It is [his] duty.

čhúmoe minás - 9

<i>híkulto</i>	<i>ními</i>	<i>ními</i>	<i>gunc</i>	<i>níčóm</i>
hík-ul-to	ní-m-i	ní-m-i	gunc	ní-č+bá-i-m
one-day-just	go-NPRS-3SG.HM	go-NPRS-3SG.HM	day	go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>dúšóm</i>	<i>níčóm</i>	<i>etee</i>
čhúmo-Ø	d-u-sú-č+bá-i-m	ní-č+bá-i-m	etee
fish-ABS	TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	FIL(?)

<i>baadšáar</i>	<i>éer</i>	<i>čhúmoe</i>	<i>naašitáa</i>
baadšáa-ar	i-ar	čhúmo-e	naašitáa-Ø
king-DAT	3SG.HM:II-DAT	fish-GEN	breakfast-ABS

<i>éčóm,</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>gunc</i>	<i>nínin</i>
i-t'-č+bá-i-m	teíl	n-i-t	gunc	n-i''n-n
3SG.Y:III-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	such	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	day	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>atíaş</i>	<i>qháa</i>	<i>súba</i>	<i>chor</i>	<i>níninin</i>
baadšáa-e	a-d-e-ş	qháaş	súba	chór	n-i''n-n-n
king-GEN	NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT	until	morning	early	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP

<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>dúcun</i>	<i>éer</i>	<i>tayáar</i>
čhúmo-Ø	d-u-sú-n	i-ar	tayáar
fish-ABS	TEL-3PL.X-bring-CP	3SG.HM:II-DAT	ready

óčóm.
 u-t'-č+bá-i-m
 3PL.X:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

One day, he went to catch fish to make the king have breakfast with fish; in this way, everyday he goes to bring out fish at early morning before the king woke up and prepares his breakfast with them.

čhúmoe minás - 10

tayáar étase káa híkulto níninin
 tayáar i-t'-as-e káaṭ hík-ul-to n-i''-n-n-n
 ready 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN together one-day-just go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP

barénasar síndaulo jaalí nipiša barénasar han yániše
 barén-as-ar sínda-ul-e jaalí-Ø n-biśá barén-as-ar hán yéniṣ-e
 look-INF-DAT river-LOC-ESS net-ABS CP-throw look-INF-DAT one:X gold-GEN

čhúmoan duúsimi.
 čhúmo-an-Ø d-gús-m-i
 fish-INDEF.SG-ABS TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

For preparing it, one day, he went and threw a net into the river, and watched that a golden fish had been caught out.

čhúmoe minás - 11

isé han yániše čhúmoan duúsas ke isé yániše
 isé hán yéniṣ-e čhúmo-an-Ø d-gús-as-Ø ké isé yéniṣ-e
 that:X one:X gold-GEN fish-INDEF.SG-ABS TEL-go.out-INF-ABS LINK that:X gold-GEN

čhúmo nícininin íne baadśáa nookár buṭ heiráan
 čhúmo-Ø n-i-ic'-n-n-n iné baadśáa-e nookár-Ø búṭ heiráan
 fish-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-see-CP-CP-CP that:H king-GEN servant-ABS much amazed

imánimi.
 i-man'-m-i
 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

There came out that golden fish, and the king's servant saw the golden fish and was really amazed.

čhúmoe minás - 12

íne nookár heiráan níman, sénimi ke "óohoo!
 iné nookár-Ø heiráan n-i-man sén-m-i ké óohoo
 that:H servant-ABS amazed CP-3SG.HM:I-become say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK INTERJ

gúncace khoc čúmo dušabáyam,
 gunc'c-e khóc čúmo-Ø d-u-gús-č-a+bá-a-a-m
 day-ADE-ESS these.ones:X fish-ABS TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

khot khúulto be daltás moojizáan maními ke
 khót khúulto bé daltás moojizáa-an-Ø man'm-i ké
 this:Y today what beautiful miracle-INDEF.SG-ABS become-NPRS-3SG.Y LINK

buṭ daltás čúmoan áar duúsimi" nusén,
 búṭ daltás čúmo-an-Ø a'ar d-gús-m-i n-sén
 much beautiful fish-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG.II-DAT TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X CP-say

baadšáa nookár buṭ qhoš imánimi.
 baadšáa-e nookár-Ø búṭ qhóš i-man'm-i
 king-GEN servant-ABS much happy 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

The servant was amazed and said that “Wow! I was taking such fish everyday, but how great miracle the one of today is. A very beautiful fish has come to me.” The king’s servant became so happy.

čúmoe minás - 13

qhoš nímaninin ke, ye isé han čúmo
 qhóš n-i-man'n-n ké yé isé hán čúmo-Ø
 happy CP-3SG.HM:I-become-CP-CP LINK look:INTERJ that:X one:X fish-ABS

níyan dími.
 n-i-gán d-i'm-i
 CP-3SG.X:I-take come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

Becoming happy, he took the fish and came.

čúmoe minás - 14

síndacum isé han čúmo níya dáa dubaaráa
 sínda-c-um isé hán čúmo-Ø n-i-gán dáa dubaaráa
 river-ADE-ABL that:X one:X fish-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-take again twice

apáranum, dáa dubaaráa koošiš étum ye isé
 a-barén-um dáa dubaaráa koošiš-Ø i-t'-um yé isé
 NEG-look-ADJVLZ again twice effort-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-ADJVLZ look:INTERJ that:X

han daltás čúmoan éer duúšas ke isé
 hán daltás čúmo-an-Ø i-ar d-gús-as ké isé-Ø
 one:X beautiful fish-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HM:II-DAT TEL-go.out-INF LINK that:X-ABS

níya dími.
 n-i-gán d-i"-m-i
 CP-3SG.X:I-take come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

In the river there was no such fish being taken out again, and he made effort once again to find any enough beautiful fish and took it out and came.

čhúmo minás - 15

díininin ke isé čúmo níya
 d-i"-n-n-n-n ké isé čúmo-Ø n-i-gán
 come:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP-CP LINK that:X fish-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-take

níininin baadšáa yáare épatulo
 n-i"-n-n-n baadšáa-e i-yáar-e i-pat-ul-e
 go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-downwards-ESS 3SG.HM:II-side-LOC-ESS

phat étimi.
 phát i-t'-m-i
 quitting 3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having come, he brought the fish to the king and handed him it.

čhúmo minás - 16

“yáa baadšáa salaamát, jáa gúncmo gunc góor čúmo
 yá baadšáa salaamát jé-e gunc'-mu-um gunc gu-ar čúmo-Ø
 INTERJ king tranquillity I-ERG day-OBL-ABL day 2SG:II-DAT fish-ABS

dúušabáyam, akhíle čízán
 d-u-gús-č-a+bá-a-a-m akhíl-e číz-an-Ø
 TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS in.this.way-ESS thing-INDEF.SG-ABS

atáayurkabáyam.

a-d-a-yurk-a+bá-a-a-m

NEG-TEL-1SG:III-attain-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

“Oh, greetings my king, I was taking fish for you everyday, but I haven’t acquired such a thing.

čhúmoe minás - 17

khúulto akhí daltás yéniše čhúmoan
 khúulto akhíl daltás yéniš-e čhúmo-an-Ø
 today in.this.way beautiful gold-GEN fish-INDEF.SG-ABS

dáayurkabáa. ye ga.” nusén “barén”
 d-a-yurk-a+bá-a-Ø yé gán-i n-sén barén-i
 TEL-1SG:III-attain-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS look:INTERJ take-IMP.SG CP-say look-IMP.SG

nusén baadšáar yuíyas ke baadšáa yáre
 n-sén baadšáa-ar i-u’-as ké baadšáa-e i-yár-e
 CP-say king-DAT 3SG.HM:I-give:HX.OBJ-INF LINK king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-before-ESS

phat teebálate phat étase káa baadšáa nupáran.
 phát teebál-aṭ-e phát i-t’-as-e káaṭ baadšáa-e n-barén
 quitting table-INS-ESS quitting 3SG.X:II-do-INF-GEN together king-ERG CP-look

heiráan imánimi.

heiráan i-man’-m-i

surprised 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

I have acquired such a beautiful golden fish today. Now, please take it. Here.” he said and gave it to the king, and then the king let him put it on the table in front of himself and looked at it. He was amazed.

čhúmoe minás - 18

heiráan nímanin sénimi ke “ye gusé
 heiráan n-i-man’-n sén-m-i ké yé gusé
 surprised CP-3SG.HM:I-become-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK look:INTERJ this:X

čhúmo nucún úlo yanış mópačiar
 čhúmo-∅ n-čhú-n úl-e yenış mu-pá-či-ar
 fish-ABS CP-bring.away-CP inside-ESS queen 3SG.HF:II-site-INF-DAT

chu ke yánişe ináaman
 chú-i ké yéniş-e ináam-an-∅
 bring.away-IMP.SG LINK queen-ERG award-INDEF.SG-ABS

gučhíčoo.”

gu-čhi-č-m-o

2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HF

He was surprised and said “Now, take this fish and go inside to the queen, and she will praise you.”

čhúmoe minás - 19

yánişe ináaman gučhíčoo sénase
 yéniş-e ináam-an-∅ gu-čhi-č-m-o sén-as-e
 queen-ERG award-INDEF.SG-ABS 2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HF say-INF-GEN

káa, “šuá” nusén in baadšáa nookáre isé čhúmo dáal
 káaṭ šuá n-sén ín baadšáa-e nookár-e isé čhúmo-∅ dáal
 together good CP-say s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ERG that:X fish-ABS over

ne núco úlo yanış mópačiar
 n-i-t n-i-čhú úl-e yenış mu-pá-či-ar
 CP-3SG.X:II-do CP-3SG.X:I-bring.away inside-ESS queen 3SG.HF:II-site-INE-DAT

cúmi.

chú-m-i

bring.away-NPRS-3SG.HM

When the king said “she will praise you”, the servant said “good”, took up the fish, and brought it inside to the queen.

čhúmoe minás - 20

yániṣ mopačiar *cúyasar* *in* *yániṣe* *béetumo*
 yéniṣ mu-pá-či-ar chú-as-ar ín yéniṣ-e béet-mu-um
 queen 3SG.HF:II-site-INE-DAT bring.away-INF-DAT s/he:DIST queen-ERG bed-OBL-ABL

muyármō *phat* *ṭeebálate* *phat* *nétan,*
 mu-yár-mu-um phát ṭeebál-aṭ-e phát n-i-t'-n
 3SG.HF:I-before-OBL-ABL quitting table-INS-ESS quitting CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP

phayúan *muríiṅ* *yánumo.*
 phayú-an-∅ mu-riiṅ i-gán-m-o
 small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HF:I-hand 3SG.X:I-take-NPRS-3SG.HF

When he brought it to the queen, she reached a wood peg on a table from her bed and took it in her hand.

čhúmoe minás - 21

phayúan *muríiṅ* *níya* *isé* *čhúmo* *íti*
 phayú-an-∅ mu-riiṅ n-i-gán isé čhúmo-∅ íti
 small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HF:I-hand CP-3SG.X:I-take that:X fish-ABS thither

pháar *khíti* *pháar* *íti* *pháar* *khíti* *pháar*
 phár-<:> khíti phár-<:> íti phár-<:> khíti phár-<:>
 turning-EMPH hither turning-EMPH thither turning-EMPH hither turning-EMPH

étumo.
 i-t'-m-o
 3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having taken a peg in her hand, she turned the fish in every direction.

čhúmoe minás - 22

híran *bía* *gúsan* *bía* *itée*
 hir'-an-∅ b'-i-∅=a gus'-an-∅ b'-i-∅=a ité-∅
 man-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q woman-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q that:Y-ABS

čhúmoe minás - 25

khot [khos] *jáace* *ací* *yasími* *bes*
khót-∅ [khós-∅] jé-e-c-e a-ci yas'-m-i bés
this.one:Y-ABS [this.one:X-ABS] I-OBL-ADE-ESS 1SG:I-against laugh-NPRS-3SG.X why

ací *yasíbí* *ke* *jáar* *maaní* *óotin*
a-ci yas+b'-i-∅ ké jé-ar maaní-∅ u'-t'-in
1SG:I-against laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK I-DAT meaning-ABS 3PL.X:III-do-IMP.PL

nusé, “*déeyasume*” *maaní* *óotin* *nusénin*,
n-sén d-ĩ-yas'-um-e maaní-∅ u'-t'-in n-sén-n
CP-say TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ-GEN meaning-ABS 3PL.X:III-do-IMP.PL CP-say-CP

baadšáa *jamaaáte* *mukhár* *beemáar* *étumo*.
baadšáa-e jamaaát-e mu-khar'-∅ beemáar i'-t'-m-o
king-GEN spouse-ERG 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS sick 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

This laughed at me. Tell me why was this laughing at me”, she said. Saying “Tell me the meaning of its laughter”, the king’s queen got sick.

čhúmoe minás - 26

buṭ *mukhár* *tan* *ne* *mukhár*
bút mu-khar'-∅ tán-∅ n-i-t mu-khar'-∅
much 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS slap.sound-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS

beemáar *étumo* “*khusé* *bes* *ací* *yasími*
beemáar i'-t'-m-o khusé-∅ bés a-ci yas'-m-i
sick 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF this:X-ABS why 1SG:I-against laugh-NPRS-3SG.X

ke” *nusén* *mukhár* *tan* *nétan* *sénumo*
ké n-sén mu-khar'-∅ tán-∅ n-i'-t'-n sén-m-o
LINK CP-say 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS slap.sound-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HF

ke, “*ye*” *muú* *gusé* *ayákal* *moóq* *numán*
ké yé muú gusé-∅ a-yákal moóq n-man
LINK look:INTERJ now this:X-ABS 1SG:I-direction grinning CP-become

déeyasum *itée* *áar* *maaní* *étin*”,
 d-ĩ-γas'-um ité-e a'-ar maaní-∅ i-t'-in,
 TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ that:Y-GEN 1SG:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.X:II-do-IMP.PL

sénase *káa,* *dáa* *muú* *khóle* *méne* *maaní*
 sén-as-e káat dáa muú khól-e mén-e maaní-∅
 say-INF-GEN together again now here-ESS who-ERG meaning-ABS

éčuman.

i-t'-č-m-an
 3SG.X:II-do-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H

She slapped herself and got sick, and then said “why does this laugh at me?”, having slapped herself she said “now, tell me the meaning of that it had grinned at me!”, but now who will interpret the meaning here?

čhúmoe minás - 27

nusén *heiráan* *níman* *parišáan* *nímanin,* *baadšáa*
 n-sén heiráan n-i-man parišáan n-i-man'-n baadšáa-e
 CP-say surprised CP-3SG.HM:I-become anxious CP-3SG.HM:I-become-CP king-GEN

ee *nookár* *baadšáa* *épačiar* *ními.* “*yáa* *baadšáa*
 ee nookár-∅ baadšáa i-pá-či-ar ní-m-i yá baadšáa
 FIL servant-ABS king 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-DAT go-NPRS-3SG.HM INTERJ king

salaamát, *úne* *akhílaṭe* *yániṣ* *mópačiar*
 salaamát ún-e akhíl-aṭ-e yéniṣ mu-pá-či-ar
 tranquillity thou-ERG in.this.way-INS-ESS queen 3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT

cu *ke,* *ináaman* *gučhíčoo*
 chú-i ké ináam-an-∅ gu-čhí-č+bá-a-∅
 bring.away-IMP.SG LINK award-INDEF.SG-ABS 2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

senóm. *khíne* *dóon* *mukhár* *biáe*
 sén+bá-a-m khín-e dóon mu-khar'-∅ bíái
 say+COP-2SG-NPRS s/he:PROX-ERG nevertheless 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS disease

wášimo.

i-biśá-m-o

3SG.Y:I-throw-NPRS-3SG.HF

After she said, the king's servant got surprised and uneasy, he then went to the king and said "Oh, greetings my king, you said I should bring the fish to your queen and she would praise me. But she got sick.

čhúmo e minás - 28

<i>isé</i>	<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>íti</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>khíti</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>ne</i>
isé	čhúmo-Ø	íti	phár-<:>	khíti	phár-<:>	n-i-t
that:X	fish-ABS	thither	turning-EMPH	hither	turning-EMPH	CP-3SG.X:II-do

<i>muyárum</i>	<i>phat</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>íti</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>khíti</i>	<i>pháar</i>
mu-yár-um	phát	n-ü-t	íti	phár-<:>	khíti	phár-<:>
3SG.HF:I-before-ABL	quitting	CP-3PL.H:III-do	thither	turning-EMPH	hither	turning-EMPH

<i>net</i>	<i>ṭeṣṭ</i>	<i>nétanin,</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>muyákal</i>
n-i-t	ṭeṣṭ	n-i-t'-n-n	isé	čhúmo-Ø	mu-yákal
CP-3SG.X:II-do	test	CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP-CP	that:X	fish-ABS	3SG.HF:I-direction

<i>ne</i>	<i>moóq</i>	<i>numán</i>	<i>déeyasimi</i>	<i>aqhéer,</i>
n-i-t	moóq	n-man	d-ĩ-yas'-m-i	aaqhér
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	grinning	CP-become	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-NPRS-3SG.X	end

<i>déeyasas</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>yániṣe</i>	<i>zizíe</i>	<i>mukhár</i>
d-ĩ-yas'-as	ké	iné	yéniṣ-e	zizí-e	mu-khar'-Ø
TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-INF	LINK	that:H	queen-ERG	mother-ERG	3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS

<i>biimáar</i>	<i>étubó.</i>	<i>khóse</i>	<i>bes</i>	<i>ací</i>
biimáar	i-t+bá-o-Ø	khós-e	bés	a-ci
disease	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HF-PRS	this.one:X-ERG	why	1SG:I-against

<i>yasími</i>	<i>nusén</i>	<i>mukhár</i>	<i>biimáar</i>	<i>étubó.</i>
yas'-m-i	n-sén	mu-khar'-Ø	biimáar	i-t+bá-o-Ø
laugh-NPRS-3SG.X	CP-say	3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS	disease	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

She turned the fish in all directions, made us to give it her and she turned it for checking, and then the fish grinned at her finally, so she felt sick.

čhúmoe minás - 29

‘muú čhúmoe déeyasum itée maaní
 muú čhúmo-e d-i-‘yas-um ité-e maaní-Ø
 now fish-GEN TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ that:Y-GEN meaning-ABS

óotase gáne ménan áar
 ú-t-‘as-e gan-‘e mén-an-Ø a-‘ar
 3PL.X:III-do-INF-GEN way-ESS who-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:II-DAT

dícu’ séibó. muú be
 d-i-sú-i sén-č+bá-o-Ø muú bé
 TEL-3SG.HM:I-bring-IMP.SG say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HF-PRS now what

éčam” nusé baadšáar rapóoṭ étimi.
 i-t-č-a-m n-sén baadšáa-ar rapóoṭ-Ø i-t-m-i
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS CP-say king-DAT report-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

She was saying ‘bring anybody who can explain the meanings of the laughter by the fish for me’. What will I do?’ saying so he reported to the king.

čhúmoe minás - 30

baadšáar rapóoṭ étas ke, baadšáa sénimi ke
 baadšáa-ar rapóoṭ-Ø i-t-‘as ké baadšáa-e sén-m-i ké
 king-DAT report-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF LINK king-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK

“dáa khot méne éčuman.
 dáa khót-Ø mén-e i-t-č-m-an
 again this.one:Y-ABS who-ERG 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H

He reported to the king, and the king said “and then, who will do it.

čhúmoe minás - 31

čhúmo díčoó úne awá awá ye muú
 čhúmo-Ø d-i-sú+bá-a-Ø ún-e awá awá yé muú
 fish-ABS TEL-3SG.X:I-bring+COP-2SG-PRS thou-ERG yes yes look:INTERJ now

un zimadáar baa bélaṭe maaní óoçar
 ún-∅ zimadáar bá-a-∅ bél-aṭ-e maaní-∅ uṭ-t-č-ar
 thou-ABS responsible COP-2SG-PRS how-INS-ESS meaning-ABS 3PL.X:III-do-IPFV-DAT

men dúšó ke hir diš
 mén-∅ d-u-sú-č+bá-a-∅ ké hir'-∅ d-i-sú-č
 who-ABS TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS LINK man-ABS TEL-3SG.HM:I-bring-IPFV

híran díšó gúsan
 hir'-an-∅ d-i-sú-č+bá-a-∅ gus'-an-∅
 man-INDEF.SG-ABS TEL-3SG.HM:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS woman-INDEF.SG-ABS

dumúšó úne rái.
 d-mu-sú-č+bá-a-∅ ún-e rái
 TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS thou-GEN desire

You got the fish, so that's okay, now, you are responsible for looking for somebody who make the meanings, so that you can freely choose whether man or woman for the task.

čhúmoe minás - 32

ámulum men dúšó ke ye
 ámul-um mén-∅ d-u-sú-č+bá-a-∅ ké yé
 where-ABL who-ABS TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS LINK look:INTERJ

gúimo rái móor maaní óoti" sénase
 gu-í-mu-e rái mu'-ar maaní-∅ uṭ-t-i sén-as-e
 2SG:I-self-OBL-GEN desire 3SG.HF:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3PL.X:III-do-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN

káa, in baadšáa nookáre, "ye šuá" nusén ité
 káaṭ ín baadšáa-e nookár-e yé šuá n-sén ité
 together s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ERG look:INTERJ good CP-say that:Y

baadšáa mahálcum duúsimi.
 baadšáa-e mahál-c-um d-gús-m-i
 king-GEN court-ADE-ABL TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

From wherever, whoever you bring is by your free hand, you have to make the meanings for her" said the king, and then the king's servant said "okay" and went out from the king's court.

čhúmoe minás - 33

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>mahálcum</i>	<i>duúsin</i>	<i>guchárimi</i>	<i>guchárimi</i>
baadšáa-e	mahál-c-um	d-gús-n	guchár-m-i	guchár-m-i
king-GEN	court-ADE-ABL	TEL:CP-go.out-CP	move-NPRS-3SG.HM	move-NPRS-3SG.HM
<i>guchárimi</i>	<i>guchárimi</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>épači</i>
guchár-m-i	guchár-m-i	isé	hán	i-pá-či-e
move-NPRS-3SG.HM	move-NPRS-3SG.HM	that:X	one:X	3SG.HM:II-side-INE-ESS
<i>phítian</i>	<i>níya</i>	<i>guchárimi.</i>		
phíti-an-Ø	n-i-gán	guchár-m-i		
thick.pancake-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-3SG.X:I-take	move-NPRS-3SG.HM		

Having gone out from the court, he walked long as taking only a phiti.

čhúmoe minás - 34

<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>nukúcarin</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>yuúči</i>	<i>qhoş</i>
n-guchár	n-guchár	n-guchár-n	ké	i-uř-či-e	qhóş-Ø
CP-move	CP-move	CP-move-CP	LINK	3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ESS	itch-ABS

bim.

b'-i-m

COP-3SG.X-NPRS

By the long walking, he got dull pain on his foot.

čhúmoe minás - 35

<i>ye</i>	<i>guchárasar</i>	<i>matháan</i>	<i>díšanar</i>	<i>níasar</i>	<i>hin</i>
yé	guchár-as-ar	mathán-<?>	diš'-an-ar	ní-as-ar	hín
look:INTERJ	move-INF-DAT	far-EMPH	place-INDEF.SG-DAT	go-INF-DAT	one:H

<i>ée</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>rafiqan</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>imánimi.</i>
i-e	káař	rafiq-an-Ø	káař	i-man'-m-i
3SG.HM:II-GEN	together	companion-INDEF.SG-ABS	together	3SG.Y:I-become-NPRS-3SG.Y

Thus, when he arrived at a far place then there came a man and became his companion.

čhúmoe minás - 36

iné raffiq káa níma, iné [ué] óltike
 iné raffiq-e káaṭ ní-m-an iné [ué] u-ltik-e
 that:H companion-GEN together go-NPRS-3PL.H that:H [those:H] 3PL.H:II-both-ERG

gantálí čayabár éčume, “bes
 gan-tali čayabár-Ø i-t-č-um-e bés
 way-via conversation-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS why

dukóowáa bes atúkowáa be
 d-gu-+bá-a-Ø bés a-d-gu-+bá-a-Ø bé
 come:PFV-2SG+COP-2SG-PRS why NEG-come:PFV-2SG+COP-2SG-PRS what

manílá be oómanílá úne bésan
 man+b-il-Ø bé aú-man+b-il-Ø ún-e bés-an
 become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS what NEG-become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS thou-ERG what-INDEF.SG

duró éčóm bésan
 duró-Ø i-t-č+bá-a-m bés-an-Ø
 work-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS what-INDEF.SG-ABS

ayéčom” sénase káa óltikane
 a-i-t-č+bá-a-m sén-as-e káaṭ u-ltik-an-e
 NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS say-INF-GEN together 3PL.H:II-both-INDEF.SG-ERG

mulaaqáat ne gánulo gapšáp éčume
 mulaaqáat-Ø n-i-t gan-ul-e gapšáp-Ø i-t-č-um-e
 encounter-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do way-LOC-ESS chat-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS

guchárasar bas akhí akhí nétanininin.
 guchár-as-ar bás akhíl akhíl n-i-t-n-n-n-n
 move-INF-DAT enough in.this.way in.this.way CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP

[He and] the companion went together as having a conversation each other on the way, that is, why you have come or not, how is it or not, what were you doing or not, with saying in such a way they introduced themselves and knew each other enough on the way.

čhúmoe minás - 37

“baadšáa bam, iné baadšáale nookár báyam,
 baadšáa-Ø bá-i-m iné baadšáa-al-e nookár-Ø bá-a-a-m
 king-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS that:H king-LOC-ESS servant-ABS COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

baadšáa háale nookár báyam, inéer subáa
 baadšáa-e ha'-al-e nookár-Ø bá-a-a-m iné-ar subáa
 king-GEN house-LOC-ESS servant-ABS COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS that:H-DAT morning

subáa čhúmoe čhápaṭe naašitáa éetas jáa
 subáa čhúmo-e čhap'-aṭ-e naašitáa-Ø i'-t'-as-Ø jáe-e
 morning fish-GEN flesh-INS-ESS breakfast-ABS 3SG.HM:III-do-INF-ABS I-GEN

dipṭí bilúm.
 dipṭí-Ø b'-il'-m
 duty-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

“There was a king and I was a servant of the king, I was a servant in his house; Making his breakfast with fish every morning was my duty.

čhúmoe minás - 38

baadšáa ke zizí yániṣ atlaṣ qháa síndacar
 baadšáa ké zizí yéniṣ-Ø a-d-e-ṣ qháaṣ sínda-c-ar
 king LINK mother queen-ABS NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT until river-ADE-DAT

náan čhúmo dúcuninin óor naašitáa tayáar
 n-a'-n čhúmo-Ø d-u-sú-n-n-n óor naašitáa-Ø tayáar
 go:CP-1SG-CP fish-ABS TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-CP-CP-CP and breakfast-ABS ready

éčabáyam.
 i'-t'-č-a+bá-a-a-m
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

Before the king and his queen woke up, I used to go to a river to catch fish and prepare breakfast.

čhúmoe minás - 39

<i>ité</i>	<i>híkulto</i>	<i>barénasar,</i>	<i>síndacar</i>	<i>náanininin</i>	<i>jaalí</i>
ité-Ø	hík-ul-to	barén-as-ar	sínda-c-ar	n-aːn-n-n-n	jaalí-Ø
that:Y-ABS	one-day-just	look-INF-DAT	river-ADE-DAT	go:CP-1SG-CP-CP-CP-CP	net-ABS
<i>bišáyamar</i>	<i>barénamar</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>ýániṣe</i>	<i>čhúmoan</i>	
bišá-a-um-ar	barén-a-um-ar	hár	ýeniṣ-e	čhúmo-an-Ø	
throw-1SG-ADJVLZ-DAT	look-1SG-ADJVLZ-DAT	every	gold-GEN	fish-INDEF.SG-ABS	

duúsimi.

d-gús-m-i

TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X

One day I saw it; having gone to the river, I threw a net and then saw that there came a fish which is covered with gold everywhere.

čhúmoe minás - 40

<i>isé</i>	<i>duúsase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>qhoš</i>	<i>namánin,</i>	<i>ye</i>
isé-Ø	d-gús-as-e	káaṭ	búṭ	qhóš	n-a-manˈn	yé
that:X-ABS	TEL-go.out-INF-GEN	together	much	happy	CP-1SG:I-become-CP	look:INTERJ

<i>isé</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>níya</i>	<i>dáanin</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>
isé	hán-Ø	n-i-gán	d-aːn-n	baadšáa-Ø
that:X	one:X-ABS	CP-3SG.X:I-take	come:CP-1SG-CP-CP	king-ABS

<i>éetiram,</i>	<i>‘akhí</i>	<i>čhúmoan</i>	<i>duúsimi</i>	<i>ke</i>
ĩˈltir-a-m	akhíl	čhúmo-an-Ø	d-gús-m-i	ké
3SG.HM:III-show-1SG-NPRS	in.this.way	fish-INDEF.SG-ABS	TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X	LINK

<i>khúulto,</i>	<i>yáa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>salaamát’</i>	<i>nusé</i>	<i>éeltiramar</i>
khúulto	yá	baadšáa	salaamát	n-sén	ĩˈltir-a-um-ar
today	INTERJ	king	tranquillity	CP-say	3SG.HM:III-show-1SG-ADJVLZ-DAT

<i>íne</i>	<i>‘ýániṣ</i>	<i>mópačiar</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ýániṣe</i>
ín-e	ýeniṣ	muˈpá-či-ar	chú-i	ké	ýeniṣ-e
s/he:DIST-GEN	queen	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	bring.away-IMP.SG	LINK	queen-ERG

ináaman *gučhíčoo'* *sénas* *ke* *dáa* 'šúa'
 ináam-an-∅ gu-čhi'-č-m-o sén-as ké dáa šúa
 award-INDEF.SG-ABS 2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HF say-INF LINK again good

nusé *dáa* *baadšáa* *yáarum* *dáal* *ne*
 n-sén dáa baadšáa-e i-yáar-um dáal n-i-t
 CP-say again king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-downwards-ABL over CP-3SG.X:II-do

dumúco *yániš* *mópačiar* *chúyamar*
 d-mu-sú-a-∅ yéniš mu-pá-či-ar chú-a-um-ar
 TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-1SG-PRS queen 3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT bring.away-1SG-ADJVLZ-DAT

in *yániše* *phayúan* *muríj* *níya*
 ín yéniš-e phayú-an-∅ mu-riiŋ n-i-gán
 s/he:DIST queen-ERG small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HF:I-hand CP-3SG.X:I-take

híran *bía* *gúsan* *bía* *teṣṭ*
 hir'-an-∅ b'-i-∅=a gus'-an-∅ b'-i-∅=a teṣṭ
 man-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q woman-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q test

étase *gáne* *íti* *pháar* *khíti* *pháar*
 i-t'-as-e gan'e íti phár-<ɣ> khíti phár-<ɣ>
 3SG.X:II-do-INF-GEN way-ESS thither turning-EMPH hither turning-EMPH

étumo.

i-t'-m-o

3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

'I was overjoyed to catch it up, so I brought it up to the king to show; 'I got such a fish today! Oh, greetings my king!' as saying so I showed it to the king, and then the king said 'bring it to the queen and you'll be praised by her', I replied 'okay', picked it up from the king, and brought it to the queen; so the queen took a small peg and began to check the fish for whether it was male or female as turning up and down.

čhúmoe minás - 41

étase *káa* *isé* *čhúmo* *muyákal*
 i-t'-as-e kaaṭ isé čhúmo-∅ mu-yákal
 3SG.X:II-do-INF-GEN together that:X fish-ABS 3SG.HF:I-direction

déeyayasimi.

d-ī-γas'-m-i

TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-NPRS-3SG.X

Doing that, then the fish laughed at her.

čhúmoe minás - 42

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>γániṣ</i>	<i>muyákal</i>	<i>déeyayase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>muú</i>
baadšáa-e	γéniṣ	mu-yákal	d-ī-γas'-as-e	káaṭ	muú
king-GEN	queen	3SG.HF:I-direction	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-INF-GEN	together	now

<i>mokhár</i>	<i>biimáar</i>	<i>étubó.</i>
mu-khar'-∅	biimáar	ī-t+bá-o-∅
3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS	disease	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

The fish's laughing at her caused her to get sick at the time.

čhúmoe minás - 43

<i>ǰáace</i>	<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>ací</i>	<i>γásibí,</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>ací</i>
ǰé-e-c-e	čhúmo-∅	a-ci	γas+b'-i-∅	aa	a-ci
I-OBL-ADE-ESS	fish-ABS	1SG:I-against	laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS	FIL	1SG:I-against

<i>nuqásin</i>	<i>moóq</i>	<i>maníbí.</i>	<i>itée</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>maaní</i>
n-γas'-n	moóq	man+b'-i-∅	ité-e	a'-ar	maaní-∅
CP-laugh-CP	grinning	become+COP-3SG.X-PRS	that:Y-GEN	1SG:II-DAT	meaning-ABS

éti.

ī-t'-i

3SG.X:II-do-IMP.SG

‘The fish has laughed at me, it grinned at me. Tell me the meaning of that.

čhúmoe minás - 44

<i>men</i>	<i>dúšóo</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ni'</i>	<i>nusén</i>
mén-∅	d-u-sú-č+bá-a-∅	ké	ní-i	n-sén
who-ABS	TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	LINK	go-IMP.SG	CP-say

máyo *náa* *dáusubó.*
 máyo-Ø n-aːt d-a-gús+bá-o-Ø
 compensation-ABS CP-1SG:III-do TEL-1SG:I-go.out+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

Bring me somebody, go!’ said the queen, and she imposed the compensation and sent me out.

čhúmoe minás - 45

nuséninin, *han* *phítian* *čapatian* *áa* *káa*
 n-sén-n-n hán phíti-an čapatí-an-Ø aːe káaɬ
 CP-say-CP-CP one:X thick.pancake-INDEF.SG chapatti-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:II-GEN together

níyaninin. *aa* *níyanin.*
 n-i-gán-n-n aa n-i-gán-n
 CP-3SG.X:I-take-CP-CP FIL CP-3SG.X:I-take-CP

Having said, I took a phiti.

čhúmoe minás - 46

dáayabáa *gusé* *čapatí* *áa* *káa*
 d-aːa+bá-a-Ø gusé čapatí-Ø aːe káaɬ
 come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS this:X chapatti-ABS 1SG:II-GEN together

níyan *dáayabáa* *‘móo* *men*
 n-i-gán d-aːa+bá-a-Ø muːar mén-Ø
 CP-3SG.X:I-take come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS 3SG.HF:II-DAT who-ABS

dúšam *méne* *atúšam’*
 d-u-sú-č-a-m mén-Ø a-d-u-sú-č-a-m
 TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV-1SG-NPRS who-ABS NEG-TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

séime *duúsabáa,”* *nuséninin.*
 sén-č-um-e d-gús-a+bá-a-Ø n-sén-n-n
 say-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS TEL-go.out-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS CP-say-CP-CP

I have come as taking the phiti with me, while saying ‘whom will I bring to her and whom will not I bring to her’ I have come” [the servant] said.

čhúmoe minás - 47

ye teí nusén. raffiq óltike čáyamiŋ
yé teíl n-sén raffiq u-ltik-e čáya-miŋ-∅
 look:INTERJ in.that.way CP-say companion 3PL.H:II-both-ERG story-PL-ABS

éčume guchárčume piadál gánane
ĩ-t'-č-um-e guchár-č-um-e piaadál gan'-an-e
 3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS on.foot way-INDEF.SG-GEN

hóle guchárasaŋe, hitháanar níasar çhámine
hól-e guchár-as-aŋ-e hík-tháan-ar ní-as-ar çhámine
 outside-ESS move-INF-INS-ESS one-place-DAT go-INF-DAT hungry

umánuman óltik çhámine númanininin,
u-man'-m-an u-ltik-∅ çhámine n-u-man'-n-n-n
 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H 3PL.H:II-both-ABS hungry CP-3PL.H:I-become-CP-CP-CP

baadšáa nookáre sénimi ke, "jáale
baadšáa-e nookár-e sén-m-i ké jé-al-e
 king-GEN servant-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK I-LOC-ESS

phíŋian bi.
phíŋi-an-∅ b'-i-∅
 thick.pancake-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS

He said so. The companions both were going along talking and when they reached a place out of a pedestrian way then they felt hungry; And the king's servant said "I have a phiti.

čhúmoe minás - 48

isé šíčan ye qha hurú" nusé
isé-∅ ší-č-an-m yé qhát hurúŋ-i n-sén
 that:X-ABS eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-NPRS look:INTERJ down sit-IMP.SG CP-say

hitháne yálanulo ámulo qha nuúruŋininin.
hík-tháan-e i-yal'-an-ul-e ámul-e qhát n-hurúŋ-n-n-n-n
 one-place-ESS 3SG.Y:I-shadow-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS where-ESS down CP-sit-CP-CP-CP-CP

Let's eat it, sit down" said [the servant] and they sat down there in the shade.

čhúmoe minás - 49

<i>isé</i>	<i>phíti</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>traj</i>	<i>nétaninin,</i>	<i>iné</i>
isé	phíti-∅	lap	tráj	n-i-t'-n-n-n	iné
that:X	thick.pancake-ABS	half.part	half	CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP-CP-CP	that:H
<i>rafiqar</i>	<i>yuúmi,</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>phíti</i>	
rafiq-ar	i-u'-m-i	isé	lap	phíti-∅	
companion-DAT	3SG.HM:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	that:X	half.part	thick.pancake-ABS	
<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>nookáre</i>	<i>şımi.</i>			
baadšáa-e	nookár-e	şı-m-i			
king-GEN	servant-ERG	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM			

The king's servant tore the phiti in half and gave it to the companion, and ate the [rest] half phiti.

čhúmoe minás - 50

<i>nısinin</i>	<i>múſaſe</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>nookáre</i>	<i>sénimi</i>
n-i-şı-n-n	muſ'aſ-e	baadšáa-e	nookár-e	sén-m-i
CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ-CP-CP	edge-INS-ESS	king-GEN	servant-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HM
<i>ke,</i>	<i>“şúkuro alhámdu+lilláa,</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>jéi</i>	<i>şıam,</i>
ké	şúkuro+alhámdu+lilláa	lap-∅	je-í	şı-a-m
LINK	thanksgiving+praise+to.the.God	half.part-ABS	1SG:I-self	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS
<i>lap</i>	<i>chıláſe</i>	<i>étam”,</i>	<i>sénimi.</i>	
lap-∅	chıl'aſe	i-t'-a-m	sén-m-i	
half.part-ABS	water-INSTRUCTIVE	3SG.X:II-do-1SG-NPRS	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	

Having eaten it the king's servant said “Thank God, I ate the half part by myself, and waisted the [rest] part”.

čhúmoe minás - 51

<i>“lap</i>	<i>jéi</i>	<i>şıam,</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>chıláſe</i>
lap-∅	je-í	şı-a-m	lap-∅	chıl'aſe
half.part-ABS	1SG:I-self	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS	half.part-ABS	water-INSTRUCTIVE

étam”, nuséninin. sénase káa in baadšáa
 i-t'-a-m n-sén-n-n sén-as-e káať ín baadšáa-e
 3SG.X:II-do-1SG-NPRS CP-say-CP-CP say-INS-GEN together s/he:DIST king-GEN

nookáre káaťum iné rafíq heiráan
 nookár-e káať-um iné rafíq-Ø heiráan
 servant-GEN together-ADJVLZ that:H companion-ABS surprised

imánimi.
 i-man'-m-i
 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

For his saying, the companion accompanying the king's servant was surprised.

čhúmoe minás - 52

heiráan níma sénimi ke “khos
 heiráan n-i-man sén-m-i ké khós-Ø
 surprised CP-3SG.HM:I-become say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK this.one:X-ABS

chílaye éčóm ke jáar bes
 chil'-aye i-t'-č+bá-a-m ké jé-ar bés
 water-INSTRUCTIVE 3SG.X:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS LINK I-DAT why

joómi jáa bes šlam ní”. khíne
 ja-u'-m-a jé-e bés ší-a-m ní khín-e
 1SG:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-2SG I-ERG why eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS TEG.Q s/he:PROX-GEN

chílaye imánas bim ke khíne
 chil'-aye i-man'-as b'-i-m ké khín-e
 water-INSTRUCTIVE 3SG.X:I-become-INF COP-3SG.X-NPRS LINK s/he:PROX-ERG

gúse nusé in sóočar wálimi.
 gúse-Ø n-sén ín-Ø sóoč-ar i-bal'-m-i
 this:X-ABS CP-say s/he:DIST-ABS thought-DAT 3SG.HM:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.HM

ée káaṭum raffiq.
 i-e káaṭ-um raffiq-Ø
 3SG.HM:II-GEN together-ADJVLZ companion-ABS

Having been surprised he said “why did you give me it as feeling that to be a waste, [if you did not give me] why did I eat it, or not?”. His part became a waste, the companion accompanying the servant said so and went into consideration.

čhúmoē minás - 53

dáa teí numá núun núun núun
 dáa teíl n-man n-u''n n-u''n n-u''n
 again in.that.way CP-become go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP

núun guchárčuman, núun núuninin
 n-u''n guchár-č-m-an n-u''n n-u''n-n-n
 go:CP-3PL.H-CP move-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP-CP-CP

barénasar hitháane bar chílan dími.
 barén-as-ar hík-tháan-e bar chíl'an-Ø d-i''m-i
 look-INF-DAT one-place-ESS gulley water-INDEF.SG-ABS come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

They went long in that way, and found gulley water coming out at a place.

čhúmoē minás - 54

toq chílan bilúm bar chílan.
 toq chíl'an-Ø b'il'm bar chíl'an-Ø
 mud water-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS gulley water-INDEF.SG-ABS

It was a muddy gulley water.

čhúmoē minás - 55

ité toq chílulo, in baadšáa nookáre yuúčim
 ité toq chíl'ul-e ín baadšáa-e nookár-e i-uṭ'či-um
 that:Y mud water-LOC-ESS s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-GEN 3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ABL

čhúmoe minás - 57

<i>yáare</i>	<i>hirúmišo</i>	<i>dayó</i>	<i>bíma?</i>	
i-yáar-e	hir'-um-išo	dan'-čo-∅	b'-ién-m=a	
3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	sharp-ADJVLZ-PL	stone-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q	
<i>ek</i>	<i>bootále</i>	<i>čurúkičij</i>	<i>bicúma?</i>	<i>simánc</i>
ék-∅	bootál-e	čurúk-ičij-∅	b'-ic-m=a	sim'-anc-∅
those.ones:Y-ABS	bottle-GEN	fragment-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.Y-NPRS=Q	wire-PL-ABS
<i>bíma?</i>				
b'-ién-m=a				
COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q				

Were there sharp stones at our feet? Were those the fragments of bottle(s)? Or wires?

čhúmoe minás - 58

<i>yuúťijce</i>	<i>qar</i>	<i>néetan</i>	<i>multáij</i>
i-uť-ij-c-e	qár-∅	n-i't'-n	multán-ij-∅
3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-ADE-ESS	scratching-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	blood-PL-ABS
<i>déegusimi.</i>			
d-i'gús-m-i			
TEL-3PL.Y:III-go.out-NPRS-3PL.Y			

Having scratched on his legs, much blood trickled down.

čhúmoe minás - 59

<i>iláaj</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>barcíncum</i>	<i>galáas</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>íti</i>
iláaj-∅	n-i't	bacín-c-um	galáas-∅	n-i-gán	íti
remedy-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	thigh-ADE-ABL	glass-ABS	CP-3PL.Y:I-take	thither
<i>duwášanin</i>	<i>táučij</i>	<i>húčo</i>	<i>nóotan</i>		
d-gús-an-n	táuč-čij	húčo-∅	n-u't'-n		
TEL:CP-go.out-PL-CP	leather.puttee-PL	leather.high.boot-ABS	CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP		
<i>iláaj</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>yuúťijcum</i>	<i>multán</i>	<i>yašáp</i>	
iláaj-∅	n-i't	i-uť-ij-c-um	multán-∅	yašáp	
remedy-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-ADE-ABL	blood-ABS	whisk	

<i>ne</i>	<i>néspininin,</i>	<i>húčo</i>	<i>nóotan</i>
n-i-t	n-i-s-búy-n-n-n	húčo-Ø	n-u-t'-n
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	CP-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-dry.up-CP-CP-CP	leather.high.boot-ABS	CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP

gucháruman.

guchár-m-an

move-NPRS-3PL.H

They treated it, picked up glasses from his thigh, threw them away, put the leather puttees and boots, wiped away the blood on his legs, dried [the injury/blood], and went.

čhúmoe minás - 60

<i>dáa</i>	<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>kaaffi</i>	<i>díšan</i>
dáa	n-guchár	n-guchár	n-guchár	kaaphí	diš'-an-Ø
again	CP-move	CP-move	CP-move	sufficient	ground-INDEF.SG-ABS

bilúm.

b-il'-m

COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

Having proceeded more, there were great extent of fields.

čhúmoe minás - 61

<i>éle</i>	<i>barénasar,</i>	<i>saḍákane</i>	<i>yáare</i>
él-e	barén-as-ar	saḍák-an-e	i-yáar-e
there-ESS	look-INF-DAT	street-INDEF.SG-GEN	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS

<i>épatulo,</i>	<i>málanulo</i>	<i>gúur</i>	<i>baríčóm.</i>
i-pat-ul-e	mal'-an-ul-e	gur'-Ø	bar'-č+bá-an-m
3SG.Y.II-site-LOC-ESS	field-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	wheat-ABS	thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

<i>dárcan</i>	<i>baríčóm.</i>
darc'-an-Ø	bar'-č+bá-an-m
threshing.circle-INDEF.SG-ABS	thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

Watching there, at a place under a street, they were threshing wheat in a field, [strictly speaking,] in a threshing circle.

čhúmoe minás - 62

<i>darc</i>	<i>baráasaṭe,</i>	<i>úar</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>
darc-∅	bar'-as-aṭ-e	ú-ar	sén-m-i	ké
threshing.circle-ABS	thresh-INF-INS-ESS	they:DIST-DAT	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK
<i>“šéčer</i>	<i>baričóona</i>	<i>léi</i>	<i>ačukóon,</i>	
šé-č-ar	bar'-č+bá-an-∅=a	léi	a'-čo-kóon	
eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT	thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS=Q	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-PL	

<i>darc,</i>	<i>bée ya</i>	<i>nušén</i>	<i>baričóon”,</i>	<i>sénase</i>
darc	bée yá	n-šé-n	bar'-č+bá-an-∅	sén-as-e
threshing.circle	no	INTERJ	CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP	thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-NPRS
				say-INF-GEN

káa.

káaṭ

together

For the threshing he said to them “are you threshing for eating, my brother? Or, are you threshing after eating?”.

čhúmoe minás - 63

<i>u</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>heiráan</i>	<i>umánuman</i>	<i>heiráan</i>	<i>núman</i>
ú-∅	dáa	heiráan	u-man'-m-an	heiráan	n-u-man
they:DIST-ABS	again	surprised	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H	surprised	CP-3PL.H:I-become

<i>sénuman</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>sambá</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sénuman</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“bée</i>
sén-m-an	guté	sambá-∅	n-i't	sén-m-an	ké	bée
say-NPRS-3PL.H	this:Y	thought-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	say-NPRS-3PL.H	LINK	no

<i>ya,</i>	<i>nušén</i>	<i>baričabáan”</i>	<i>sénuman.</i>
yá	n-šé-n	bar'-č-an+bá-an-∅	sén-m-an
INTERJ	CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP	thresh-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-NPRS	say-NPRS-3PL.H

They were surprised and as thinking said “no, we are threshing after eating”.

čhúmoē minás - 64

“nušén baričabáan” sénase káa, uyáṭis
 n-šé-n bar’č-an+bá-an-Ø sén-as-e káat u-yaṭis-Ø
 CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP thresh-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS say-INF-GEN together 3PL.H:I-head-ABS

laṅ laṅ ne “šúa” nusén dáa gucháruman.
 láṅ láṅ n-i’t šúa n-sén dáa guchár-m-an
 moving moving CP-3SG.X:II-do good CP-say again move-NPRS-3PL.H

“We are threshing after eating” said [the threshers] so, [the servant and the companion] swayed their heads and said “well” and went more.

čhúmoē minás - 65

nukúcar núun núun núun núun
 n-guchár n-u”n n-u”n n-u”n n-u”n
 CP-move go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP

núun núun, mathán dīšanar níasar dáa
 n-u”n n-u”n mathán diš’an-ar ní-as-ar dáa
 go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP far ground-INDEF.SG-DAT go-INF-DAT again

hitháane saḍákum yáare épat íne
 hík-tháan-e saḍák-c-um i-yáar-e i-pat ín-e
 one-place-ESS street-ADE-ABL 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS 3SG.Y:II-side s/he:DIST-GEN

rafiqē háa ámulo bilúm ke ité ha
 rafíq-e há’Ø ámul-e b’il-m ké ité há’[ar]
 companion-GEN house-ABS where-ESS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS LINK that:Y house-DAT

díimi.

d-i”m-i

come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

They went farther and arrived a far place where there was the companion’s house by the street, and he [the servant] come to the house [(?) following to the companion].

čhúmoe minás - 66

<i>rafiqe</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>díinin</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>rafiqe</i>
rafiq-e	ha-[ar]	d-i'n-n	ké	ité	rafiq-e
companion-GEN	house-DAT	come:PFV-3SG.HM-CP-CP	LINK	that:Y	companion-GEN
<i>háaṭe,</i>	<i>caṭ</i>	<i>manúman</i>	<i>óltik.</i>		
ha-aṭ-e	caṭ	man'm-an	u'ltik-Ø		
house-INS-ESS	still	become-NPRS-3PL.H	3PL.H:II-both-ABS		

Having gone to the companion's house, they both stopped by the house.

čhúmoe minás - 67

<i>iné</i>	<i>rafiqe</i>	<i>ine</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>nookárar</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>	
iné	rafiq-e	iné	baadšáa-e	nookár-ar	sén-m-i	ké	
that:H	companion-ERG	that:H	king-GEN	servant-DAT	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	
<i>“ye</i>	<i>ju,</i>	<i>áço</i>	<i>léi,</i>	<i>yáar</i>			
yé	jú-i	a-ço	léi	i-yáar			
look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	1SG:II-same.sex.sibling	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	3SG.Y:I-downwards			
<i>guté</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>yaríib</i>	<i>qhaaná</i>	<i>bilá.</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>bilá.</i>
guté	jé-e	yaríib	qhaaná-Ø	b'il'-Ø	jé-e	ha-Ø	b'il'-Ø
this:Y	I-GEN	poor	hut-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	I-GEN	house-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

The companion said to the king's servant “Come on my brother, this is my poor house. It's my house.

čhúmoe minás - 68

<i>háalar</i>	<i>dukóoninin</i>	<i>čáayan</i>	<i>numíni</i>	<i>şapíkan</i>
ha'al-ar	d-gu'n-n-n	čáai-an-Ø	n-min'n	şapík-an-Ø
house-LOC-DAT	come:CP-2SG-CP-CP-CP	tea-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-drink-CP	food-INDEF.SG-ABS
<i>níşinin</i>	<i>ámular</i>	<i>níčóo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>čáai</i>
n-i-şí-n-n	ámul-ar	ní-č+bá-a-Ø	ké	čáai-Ø
CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ-CP-CP	where-DAT	go-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	LINK	tea-ABS

imánimi.

i-man'-m-i

3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

Saying “Are there drums and timpani in your house?”, he [the companion] thought just a moment. And he was surprised.

čhúmoe minás - 71

<i>“léi</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>léi</i>	<i>béske</i>
léi	yá	yé	jú-i	léi	bés+ké
INTERJ:HM.OBJ	INTERJ	look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	what+LINK

<i>akhár</i>	<i>nuqátanin</i>	<i>nuyárenin</i>	<i>besk</i>	<i>akhár,</i>
a-khar'-∅	n-yatán-n	n-u'-yar'-n-n	bés+ké	a-khar'-∅
1SG:I-REFL.PRN-ABS	CP-learn-CP	CP-3PL.X:II-sound-CP-CP	what+LINK	1SG:I-REFL.PRN-ABS

<i>jáa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>	<i>ḍaámalik</i>	<i>apíe.</i>	<i>je</i>
jé-e	ha'-al-e	ḍaḍán	ḍaámal-ik-∅	a-b'-ién-∅	jé-∅
I-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS	NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS	I-ABS

<i>bésan</i>	<i>bérican</i>	<i>apáa.”</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
bés-an	béric-an-∅	a-bá-a-∅	sén-as-e	káaṭ
what-INDEF.SG	Dom.person-INDEF.SG-ABS	NEG-COP-1SG-PRS	say-INF-GEN	together

[He was surprised] saying “hey you, (?) did I learn and play anything you say? There are no drums and timpani in my house, I’m not a Dom.”

čhúmoe minás - 72

<i>“bée</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>áso</i>	<i>náa.</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>
bée	yá	a'-s'-i	náa	ún-e	ha'-al-e	ḍaḍán
no	INTERJ	1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG	TAG.Q	thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums

<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>bié</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>áso”</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
ḍaámal-∅	b'-ién-∅	ké	a'-s'-i	sén-as-e	káaṭ
timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS	LINK	1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG	say-INF-GEN	together

[The servant] said “No, tell me the truth. Tell me that there are drums and timpani in your house”.

čhúmoe minás - 73

“bée yái ju jáa háale ɖaɖán ɖaámalik
bée yá jú-i jé-e ha'al-e ɖaɖán ɖaámal-ik-∅
 no INTERJ come-IMP.SG I-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS

apíe. je bérican apáa” nusé
a-b'ién-∅ jé-∅ béric-an-∅ a-bá-a-∅ n-sén
 NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS I-ABS Dom.person-INDEF.SG-ABS NEG-COP-1SG-PRS CP-say

heiráan imánimi.
heiráan i-man'm-i
 surprised 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

“No, you, there’re no drums and timpani in my house. I’m not a Dom” [the companion] said and was surprised.

čhúmoe minás - 74

dáa ɖuúɲanar “ju bée níčabáan
dáa ɖuúɲ-an-ar jú-i bée ní-č-a+bá-an-∅
 again moment-INDEF.SG-DAT come-IMP.SG no go-IMPF-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS

léi ye háalar čáai góomiyabáa
léi yé ha'al-ar čáai-∅ gu'min'a+bá-a-∅
 INTERJ:HM.OBJ look:INTERJ house-LOC-DAT tea-ABS 2SG:III-drink-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

ju.” sénase káa.
jú-i sén-as-e káaɖ
 come-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

And soon [the companion] said “Come on, shall we go now, I make tea for you in my house, come on”.

čhúmoe minás - 75

“úne háa šinç phuqtá bíá”
ún-e ha'e šinç'∅ phuqtá b'i-∅=a
 thou-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

ésimi. baadšáa nookáre íne rafiiqar.
 i-s'-m-i baadšáa-e nookár-e iné rafiiq-ar
 3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM king-GEN servant-ERG that:H companion-DAT

The king's servant asked the companion "Is the ridge of your house strong?"

čhúmoe minás - 76

"úne háa šinçh phuqtá bía" sénase káa.
 ún-e há'e šinç'-Ø phuqtá b'-i-Ø=a sén-as-e káaṭ
 thou-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q say-INF-GEN together

When [he] said "Is the ridge of your house strong?"

čhúmoe minás - 77

íne sénimi ke, iné rafiiq sóočar
 ín-e sén-m-i ké iné rafiiq-Ø sóoč-ar
 s/he:DIST-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK that:H companion-ABS thought-DAT

wálimi.

i-bal'-m-i
 3SG.HM:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.HM

After he [the servant] said so, the companion went into thinking.

čhúmoe minás - 78

buṭ yuṭúm sóočanar níwalin sénimi ke,
 búṭ yuṭ-um sóoč-an-ar n-i-bal'n sén-m-i ké
 much deep-ADJVLZ thought-INDEF.SG-DAT CP-3SG.HM:I-fall-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK

"áyalulo, ye hóle mazuurúlo, hóle
 áyalulo yé hól-e mazuurí-ul-e hól-e
 my.dear look:INTERJ outside-ESS wage.earning-LOC-ESS outside-ESS

pardéesonamulo hóle báyaṁaṭe ámulo
 pardées-an+ámul-e hól-e bá-a-a-um-aṭ-e ámul-e
 alien.country-INDEF.SG+where-ESS outside-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS where-ESS

<i>harálte</i>	<i>háae</i>	<i>šinçh</i>	<i>čhóko</i>	<i>étibía,</i>	<i>be</i>
harált-e	há'e	šinç'-Ø	čhóko	i-t+b'i-Ø=a	bé
rain-GEN	house-GEN	beam-ABS	breaking.off	3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q	what
<i>étibí,</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>ámulo</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>étasan</i>
i-t+b'i-Ø		ké	ámul-e	leél	i-t'as-an-Ø
3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS	LINK	where-ESS	knowing	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS	
<i>báya</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bái</i>	<i>ke"</i>	<i>nusén.</i>	
bá-i-Ø=a	bé	bá-i-Ø	ké	n-sén	
COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q	what	COP-3SG.HM-PRS	LINK	CP-say	

He was in very deep consideration and said “My dear, you know, while I was out [of this house] to earn wages in foreign places any rain broke off the ridge of the house or did like that, so I have to inquire somebody who informs me (of that).”

čhúmoe minás - 79

<i>dáa</i>	<i>heiráan</i>	<i>imánimi.</i>
dáa	heiráan	i-man'm-i
again	surprised	3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

And he was surprised.

čhúmoe minás - 80

<i>heiráan</i>	<i>níma</i>		<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“ya</i>	<i>ye</i>		
heiráan	n-i-man		sén-m-i	ké	yá	yé		
surprised	CP-3SG.HM:I-become		say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	INTERJ	look:INTERJ		
<i>ju"</i>	<i>sénas</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“bée</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>háa</i>	<i>šinçh</i>	<i>phuqtá</i>
jú-i	sén-as	ké	bée	yá	ún-e	há'e	šinç'-Ø	phuqtá
come-IMP.SG	say-INF	LINK	no	INTERJ	thou-GEN	house-GEN	beam-ABS	strong
<i>bi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>juáb</i>	<i>ačhíi</i>		<i>ke</i>			
b'i-Ø	ké	juáb-Ø	a-čhí-i		ké			
COP-3SG.X-PRS	LINK	answer-ABS	1SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IMP.SG	LINK				

júcabáa”, *sénase* *káa*.
 jú-č-a+bá-a-Ø sén-as-e káaṭ
 come-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS say-INF-GEN together

[The companion] was surprised and said “okay, come on”, but for that [the servant] said “No. Answer me whether the ridge of your house is strong or not, and after that I am coming with you”.

čhúmoē minás - 81

“yáa *ačhó* *náa* *yáke* *un* *khóle* *caṭ* *miṭlulo*
 yá ačhó náa yáke ún-Ø khól-e cáṭ mi-ul’-ul-e
 INTERJ wait:INTERJ TAG.Q or.else thou-ABS here-ESS still 1PL:I-belly-LOC-ESS

mésulo *apálašo* *iké* *yáričoó*”,
 mi-s’-ul-e a-bal’-as-čo iké-Ø yar’-č+bá-a-Ø
 1PL:II-heart-LOC-ESS NEG-fall-INF-PL those:Y-ABS sound-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

yáare *háalar* *náa* *nín* *“háale*
 i-yáar-e ha’-al-ar náa n-i”n ha’-al-e
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS house-LOC-DAT TAG.Q go:CP-3SG.HM-CP house-LOC-ESS

jamaát *men* *báan* *ke,* *uéer* *nósunini*
 jamaaát-Ø mén-Ø bá-an-Ø ké ué-ar n-u’s’-n-n-n
 spouse-ABS who-ABS COP-3PL.H-PRS LINK those:H-DAT CP-3PL.H:II-tell-CP-CP-CP

háar *nupáran* *júcam*”, *nuséninin*.
 ha’-ar n-barén jú-č-a-m n-sén-n-n
 house-DAT CP-look come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS CP-say-CP-CP

Saying “So, wait a moment or speak about what we could not understand standing here”, [the companion] went to his house and said “I will tell the members who are in home it, see inside the house, and come back”.

čhúmoē minás - 82

in *rafiiq* *yáare* *háalar* *ními*
 ín rafiiq-Ø i-yáar-e ha’-al-ar ní-m-i
 s/he:DIST companion-ABS 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS house-LOC-DAT go-NPRS-3SG.HM

in baadšáa nookár sađákulo caṭ maními.
 ín baadšáa-e nookár-Ø sađák-ul-e cáṭ man' m-i
 s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ABS street-LOC-ESS still become-NPRS-3SG.HM

The companion went down to the house, and the king's servant waited on the road.

čhúmoē minás - 83

caṭ manáase káa, in rafiiq nínin
 cáṭ man'as-e káaṭ ín rafiiq-Ø n-i' n-n
 still become-INF-GEN together s/he:DIST companion-ABS go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP

yáare háale éi bom, iné
 i-yáar-e ha'al-e i-i-Ø bá-o-m iné
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS house-LOC-ESS 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS that:H

híne éi bom, iné éi
 hín-e i-i-Ø bá-o-m iné i-i-Ø
 one:H-GEN 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS that:H 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS

háale bom, iné baadšáa nookár sađákulo caṭ
 ha'al-e bá-o-m iné baadšáa-e nookár-Ø sađák-ul-e cáṭ
 house-LOC-ESS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS that:H king-GEN servant-ABS street-LOC-ESS still

manúám.

man+bá-i-m

become+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

When the servant was waiting, the companion went down to the house and there was his daughter; his only daughter was in the house; the king's servant was standing still on the road.

čhúmoē minás - 84

in rafiiqe yáare níin háa
 ín rafiiq-e i-yáar-e n-i' n há'e
 s/he:DIST companion-ERG 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS go:CP-3SG.HM-CP house-GEN

şınçhar barénimi.
 şınç'ar barén-m-i
 beam-DAT look-NPRS-3SG.HM

The companion went down and looked at the ridge of his house.

čhúmoē minás - 85

háa şınçhar nupáraninin éimur sénimi
 ha'e şınç'ar n-barén-n-n i-i-mu-ar sén-m-i
 house-GEN beam-DAT CP-look-CP-CP 3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-DAT say-NPRS-3SG.HM

ke, "áimo qháir" sénase káa "be
 ké a-i-mu-e qháir sén-as-e káaṭ bé
 LINK 1SG:II-daughter-OBL-GEN luck say-INF-GEN together what

manlá baábo" sénumo "bésanar
 man+b'il-∅ baábo sén-m-o bés-an-ar
 become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS father say-NPRS-3SG.HF what-INDEF.SG-DAT

baréibáa" sénas ke.
 barén-č+bá-a-∅ sén-as ké
 look-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS say-INF LINK

Having looked at the ridge of the house, he said to his daughter "Okay, my daughter", and then she said "What's happened, father? What are you looking at?"

čhúmoē minás - 86

"akhí akhí sísan áa káa
 akhíl akhíl sís-an-∅ a'e káaṭ
 in.this.way in.this.way people-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:II-GEN together

imánóm. phalaaná ité díšcum
 i-man+bá-i-m phalaaná-∅ ité díš-c-um
 3SG.HM:I-become+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS so.and.so-ABS that:Y ground-ADE-ABL

báači íne phalaaná 'baadšáa nookáran
 báad-či-e ín-e phalaaná baadšáa-e nookár-an-∅
 following.time-INE-ESS s/he:DIST-ERG so.and.so king-GEN servant-INDEF.SG-ABS

báa' **séibái.**
 bá-a-∅ sén-č+bá-i-∅
 COP-1SG-PRS say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

“Such a person has become a companion for me. That so-and-so came with me from a certain place and he said ‘I’m a king’s servant’.

čhúmoe minás - 87

óor akhí akhí nétaninin, **yáte**
 óor akhíl akhíl n-i-t'-n-n-n-n i-yát-e
 and in.this.way in.this.way CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP 3SG.HM:I-upwards-ESS

máyuan **díininin** **'itée** **gáne**
 máyo-an-∅ d-i"-n-n-n ité-e gan'e
 compensation-INDEF.SG-ABS come:CP-3SG.Y-CP-CP-CP that:Y-GEN way-ESS

ménan **maaníe** **gáne** **díušan'**
 mén-an-∅ maaní-e gan'e d-i-gús-č-an-m
 who-INDEF.SG-ABS meaning-GEN way-ESS TEL-3SG.HM:I-go.out-IPFV-1PL-NPRS

nuséninin.
 n-sén-n-n
 CP-say-CP-CP

Having done in this way, he got compensation saying that we have to look for somebody for the explanation [of the fish’s laughter].

čhúmoe minás - 88

ee, díibái.
 ee d-i"+bá-i-∅
 FIL come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

And he has come.

čhúmoe minás - 89

<i>inéer</i>	<i>‘čáayanar</i>	<i>yaṭéle</i>	<i>ju’</i>		
iné-ar	čáai-an-ar	i-yáṭ+él-e	jú-i		
that:H-DAT	tea-INDEF.SG-DAT	3SG.Y:I-upwards+there-ESS	come-IMP.SG		
<i>ésabáṭe,</i>		<i>‘úne</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>	<i>ḍaámal</i>
i-s’a+bá-aṭ-e		ún-e	ha’al-e	ḍaḍán	ḍaámal-Ø
3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS		thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-ABS
<i>biéna’</i>	<i>ásimi.</i>				
b’ién-Ø=a	a-s’-m-i				
COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q	1SG:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM				

At that time I told him ‘Come on for a cup of tea’, he asked me ‘Are there drums in your house?’.

čhúmoe minás - 90

<i>teílaṭe</i>	<i>heiráan</i>	<i>amánam</i>	<i>léi</i>	<i>ya</i>		
teíl-aṭ-e	heiráan	a-man’a-m	léi	yá		
in.that.way-INS-ESS	surprised	1SG:I-become-1SG-NPRS	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	INTERJ		
<i>ye</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>čuk</i>	<i>ne’</i>	<i>sename</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>‘bée</i>
yé	jú-i	čúk	n-i-t	sén-a-um-e	káaṭ	bée
look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	silent	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	say-1SG-ADJVLZ-GEN	together	no
<i>ya</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>	<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>bié</i>	<i>ke</i>
yá	ún-e	ha’al-e	ḍaḍán	ḍaámal-Ø	b’ién-Ø	ké
INTERJ	thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS	LINK
<i>áso’</i>	<i>sénimi.</i>					
a-s’-i	sén-m-i					
1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG	say-NPRS-3SG.HM					

By such I was surprised and said ‘Hey you, shut up and come on’, but he said ‘No, there must be drums in your house, tell me the truth’.

čhúmoe minás - 91

‘bée ya ye ju, bes ke ɖaɖán ɖaámalik
bée yá yé jú-i bés ké ɖaɖán ɖaámali-ik-∅
 no INTERJ look:INTERJ come-IMP.SG why LINK large.drums timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS

apíe, je béric apáa’ ésame
a-b’i-én-∅ jé-∅ béric-∅ a-bá-a-∅ i-s’a-um-e
 NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS I-ABS Doma-ABS NEG-COP-1SG-PRS 3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG-ADJV LZ-GEN

káa, ee dáa ‘bée ya úne háa şinçh phuqtá
káaɖ ee dáa bée yá ún-e ha’e şinç’∅ phuqtá
 together FIL again no INTERJ thou-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS strong

bi ke áso’ sénimi.
b’i-∅ ké a-s’i sén-m-i
 COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG say-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘No, you come on because there are no drums, I’m not a Dom man.’ I told him, but now he said again ‘No, your house has a strong ridge. Tell me truly.’

čhúmoe minás - 92

‘háa şinçh phuqtá bi ke áso’ sénase
ha’e şinç’∅ phuqtá b’i-∅ ké a-s’i sén-as-e
 house-GEN beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN

káa, ‘ámulo je hóle báyamate,
káaɖ ámul-e jé-∅ hól-e bá-a-a-um-aɖ-e
 together where-ESS I-ABS outside-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJV LZ-INS-ESS

pardéesulo maziuriulo báyamate ámulo
pardées-ul-e mazuurí-ul-e bá-a-a-um-aɖ-e ámul-e
 alien.country-LOC-ESS wage.earning-LOC-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJV LZ-INS-ESS where-ESS

háa haráltaje čhóko étibía.
ha’e harált-aɖe čhóko i-t+b’i-∅=a
 house-GEN rain-INSTRUCTIVE breaking.off 3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

‘The ridge of the house is strong, tell me’ saying so, ‘In the alien country where I was working for wage, has [the ridge] of a house been broken by rain there?’

čhúmoe minás - 93

<i>et</i>	<i>bésane</i>	<i>zilziláaje</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>čhóko</i>
ét-∅	bés-an-e	zilzilá-aje	bés-an	čhóko
that.one:Y-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-GEN	earthquake-INSTRUCTIVE	what-INDEF.SG	breaking.off

étibía.

i-t+b'-i-∅=a

3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

‘Has an earthquake or anything been broken it off?’

čhúmoe minás - 94

<i>khin</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>étasan</i>
khín-∅	bés-an-∅	leél	i-t'-as-an-∅
s/he:PROX-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	knowing	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS

<i>báya</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bái</i>	<i>ke'</i>	<i>nusén,</i>	<i>'chóor</i>	<i>jéimo</i>
bá-i-∅=a	bée	bá-i-∅	ké	n-sén	chór	je-í-mu-e
COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q	no	COP-3SG.HM-PRS	LINK	CP-say	early	1SG:I-self-OBL-GEN

<i>háar</i>	<i>baréyam</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>guchúčam</i>
ha'-ar	barén-č-a-m	ké	hó	gu-chu-č-a-m
house-DAT	look-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	LINK	then	2SG:I-bring.away-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

<i>ju'</i>	<i>nusén,</i>	<i>'barén,</i>	<i>nupára</i>	<i>guchúčam'</i>	<i>nusén.</i>
jú-i	n-sén	barén-i	n-barén	gu-chu-č-a-m	n-sén
come-IMP.SG	CP-say	look-IMP.SG	CP-look	2SG:I-bring.away-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	CP-say

‘Is there someone who tells me the state of affairs? I shall watch my house in a glance and then bring you, come on. Watch it, and then I’ll bring you.’

čhúmoe minás - 95

<i>dáayabáa</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>yaťéle</i>	<i>cať</i>
d-á-a+bá-a-∅	ín-∅	i-yát+él-e	cať
come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS	s/he:DIST-ABS	3SG.Y:I-upwards+there-ESS	still

čhúmoe minás - 98

un bélaṭe leél akúmanuma”, sénase káa.
 ún-∅ bél-aṭ-e leél a-gu-man’-m-a sén-as-e káaṭ
 thou-ABS how-INS-ESS knowing NEG-2SG:I-become-NPRS-2SG say-INF-GEN together

How could you avoid knowing [of him]?” she said.

čhúmoe minás - 99

“bas, jáa ásulo apálimi. akhéṣcuko akhéṣcuko
 bás jé-e a’s’-ul-e a-bal’-m-i akhéṣ-čuko akhéṣ-čuko
 enough I-GEN 1SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS NEG-fall-NPRS-3SG.Y strange-PL strange-PL

čáyamiṅ étimi gántali, oólulo
 čáya-miṅ-∅ i-t’-m-i gan’tali a-ul’-ul-e
 story-PL-ABS 3PL.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM way-via 1SG:I-belly-LOC-ESS

ásulo apálimi”, sénase káa.
 a’s’-ul-e a-bal’-m-i sén-as-e káaṭ
 1SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS NEG-fall-NPRS-3SG.Y say-INF-GEN together

“Well, I don’t see. He was telling me very strange stories on our way, and I couldn’t understand it” he said.

čhúmoe minás - 100

iné éie sénumo ke “wáa baábo, ye
 iné i-i-e sén-m-o ké wáa baábo yé
 that:H 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK INTERJ father look:INTERJ

míi háale ḍaḍán ḍaámal ke apíe míi
 mí-e ha’-al-e ḍaḍán ḍaámal-∅ ké a-b’-i-én-∅ mí-e
 we-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums timpani-ABS LINK NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS we-GEN

háa ṣinḥ ke phuqtá bi.
 ha’-e ṣinḥ-∅ ké phuqtá b’-i-∅
 house-GEN beam-ABS LINK strong COP-3SG.X-PRS

His daughter said “Oh, my father, see that there are no drums in our house and the ridge of our house is strong.

čhúmoe minás - 101

ju *áso*". *sénase* *káa*.
jú-i *a:s-i* *sén-as-e* *káaṭ*
 come-IMP.SG 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

Come on, tell me" she said.

čhúmoe minás - 102

“šúa ái” *nuséninin* *ho* *iné* *rafiq* *saḏákar*
šúa *a:i* *n-sén-n-n* *hó* *iné* *rafiq-∅* *saḏák-ar*
 good 1SG:II-daughter CP-say-CP-CP then that:H companion-ABS street-DAT

duúsin.
d-gús-n
 TEL:CP-go.out-CP

Having said “Okay my daughter”, the companion then went out to the street.

čhúmoe minás - 103

“ju *léi* *áço* *léei,* *bée ya*
jú-i *léi* *a:ço-∅* *léi* *bée yá*
 come-IMP.SG INTERJ:HM.OBJ 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-ABS INTERJ:HM.OBJ no INTERJ

qhudáae *mehrbaaní* *míi* *háa* *şinçh* *ke* *phuqtá*
qhudáa-e *mehrbaaní* *mí-e* *ha'-e* *şinç'-∅* *ké* *phuqtá*
 god-GEN thanksgiving we-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS LINK strong

bi *háale* *ḏaḏáj* *ḏaámal* *apíe”*
b'-i-∅ *ha'al-e* *ḏaḏáj* *ḏaámal-∅* *a-b'-ién-∅*
 COP-3SG.X-PRS house-LOC-ESS large.drums timpani-ABS NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS

nuséninin.
n-sén-n-n
 CP-say-CP-CP

“Hey my brother, no, I swear by the God that the ridge of my house is strong and there are not drums in my house” said he.

čhúmoe minás - 104

ho ée káa icúmi háalar.
 hó i'e káaṭ i-chu'm-i ha'al-ar
 then 3SG.HM:II-GEN together 3SG.HM:I-bring.away-NPRS-3SG.HM house-LOC-DAT

Then he bring him into his house.

čhúmoe minás - 105

háalar nícunininin, háale in
 ha'al-ar n-i-chu'n-n-n-n-n ha'al-e ín
 house-LOC-DAT CP-3SG.HM:I-bring.away-CP-CP-CP-CP-CP house-LOC-ESS s/he:DIST

mehmáan alág kamaráulo qha éuruṭimi.
 mehmáan-∅ alág kamará-ul-e qhát i-huruṭ-m-i
 guest-ABS separate room-LOC-ESS down 3SG.HM:II-sit-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having brought him into the house, he made him to sit in a separate room.

čhúmoe minás - 106

qha néuro múšaṭe éi mópačiar
 qhát n-i-huruṭ muš'at-e i-i mu-pá-či-ar
 down CP-3SG.HM:II-sit edge-INS-ESS 3SG.HM:II-daughter 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-DAT

ními.
 ní-m-i
 go-NPRS-3SG.HM

As soon as he made him sit, he went to his daughter.

čhúmoe minás - 107

“éer čáayan ṣapíkane bandibást
 i-ar čái-an ṣapík-an-e bandibást-∅
 3SG.HM:II-DAT tea-INDEF.SG food-INDEF.SG-GEN preparation-ABS

<i>éčam”</i>	<i>nusé, éi</i>	<i>mópačiar</i>	<i>úlo</i>
i-t’č-a-m	n-sén i-i	mu-pá-či-ar	úl-e
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	CP-say 3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	inside-ESS

<i>háalar</i>	<i>níninin.</i>
ha-al-ar	n-i”n-n-n
house-LOC-DAT	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP

Saying “Prepare tea and food for him”, he went to his daughter in the hearth room.

čhúmoe minás - 108

<i>éi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>óltike</i>	<i>šapíkane</i>	<i>čáayane</i>
i-i	ké	u-ltik-e	šapík-an-e	čáai-an-e
3SG.HM:II-daughter	LINK	3PL.H:II-both-ERG	food-INDEF.SG-GEN	tea-INDEF.SG-GEN

<i>bandibást</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>čhápan</i>	<i>décirase</i>
bandibást-Ø	n-i-t	čhap-an-Ø	d-i-s-ri-as-e
preparation-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	flesh-INDEF.SG-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-ripen-INF-GEN

<i>bandibást</i>	<i>étuman.</i>
bandibást-Ø	i-t’-m-an
preparation-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

After his daughter and [he] both prepared food and tea, they also got ready for cooking with meat.

čhúmoe minás - 109

<i>bandibást</i>	<i>ne,</i>	<i>éie</i>	<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“awá</i>
bandibást-Ø	n-i-t	i-i-e	sén-m-o	ké	awá
preparation-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	yes

<i>baábo, bésan</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>gapšáp</i>	<i>étuman</i>	<i>mehmáan</i>
baábo bés-an	bés-an	gapšáp-Ø	i-t’-m-an	mehmáan
father what-INDEF.SG	what-INDEF.SG	chat-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2PL	guest

maltíke gántali bésan yarúman”, sénase káa.
 ma²-ltik-e gan²-tali bés-an-Ø yar²-m-an sén-as-e káaṭ
 2PL:II-both-ERG way-via what-INDEF.SG-ABS sound-NPRS-2PL say-INF-GEN together

Having got ready, his daughter said “Yes my father, what did both [you and] the guest speak about on your way?”

čhúmoe minás - 110

ee, “mehmáan maltíke bésan yarúman” sénas ke.
 ee mehmáan ma²-ltik-e bés-an-Ø yar²-m-an sén-as ké
 FIL guest 2PL:II-both-ERG what-INDEF.SG-ABS sound-NPRS-2PL say-INF LINK

“What did both [you and] the guest speak about?” said she.

čhúmoe minás - 111

“ye akhí akhí ne oólulo
 yé akhíl akhíl n-i²-t a-ul²-ul-e
 look:INTERJ in.this.way in.this.way CP-3SG.Y:II-do 1SG:I-belly-LOC-ESS

ásulo apálašo iké yarími.
 a²-s²-ul-e a-bal²-as-čo iké-Ø yar²-m-i
 1SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS NEG-fall-INF-PL those:Y-ABS sound-NPRS-3SG.HM

“Now, he spoke such and such stories, which I couldn’t understand a bit.

čhúmoe minás - 112

ée káa han čapatian bim.
 i²-e káaṭ hán čapatí-an-Ø b²-i-m
 3SG.HM:II-GEN together one:X chapatti-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-NPRS

He had a chapatti.

čhúmoe minás - 113

isé gánulo ‘miwárase káa gáṭi
 isé gan²-ul-e mi-bar²-as-e káaṭ gáṭi
 that:X way-LOC-ESS 1PL:I-get.tired-INF-GEN together gathering

čhúmoe minás - 116

ee, ye *guté* *čáya* *étimi.*
 ee yé guté čáya-Ø i-t'-m-i
 FIL look:INTERJ this:Y story-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

Er, he gave such a word.

čhúmoe minás - 117

isé *phíti* *níši* *múšate"* *sénase* *káa,*
 isé phíti-Ø n-i-ší muš'-aṭ-e sén-as-e káaṭ
 that:X thick.pancake-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ edge-INS-ESS say-INF-GEN together
 “*ácha* *baábo, dáa* *be* *maními"* *sénase* *káa.*
 ačcháa baábo dáa bé man'-m-i sén-as-e káaṭ
 good father again what become-NPRS-3SG.Y say-INF-GEN together

He ate the chapatti and” he said, and then [his daughter] said “okay dad, and what’s happened?”

čhúmoe minás - 118

“*dáa* *guchárčume* *isé* *phíti* *šímcum*
 dáa guchár-č-um-e isé phíti-Ø ší-um-c-um
 again move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS that:X thick.pancake-ABS eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ-ADE-ABL
báadulo *dáa* *guchárčume* *diméen*
 báad-ul-e dáa guchár-č-um-e d-mĩ-n
 following.time-LOC-ESS again move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS come:CP-1PL-CP
diméeninín *bar* *chílan* *díimi.*
 d-mĩ-n-n-n bar chil'-an-Ø d-i'-m-i
 come:CP-1PL-CP-CP-CP gulley water-INDEF.SG-ABS come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

“And we were going forwards after eating of the chapatti, and then we came up to where a gulley water coming.

čhúmoe minás - 119

<i>bar</i>	<i>chílan</i>	<i>júase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>toq</i>
bar	chil'an-∅	jú-as-e	káaʔ	ité-∅	toq
gully	water-INDEF.SG-ABS	come-INF-GEN	together	that:Y-ABS	mad

<i>chílan</i>	<i>bilím.</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>tóqulo</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>
chil'an-∅	b'il'm	ité	toq'ul-e	iné	baadšáa-e
water-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	that:Y	mad-LOC-ESS	that:H	king-GEN

<i>nookáre</i>	<i>yuúčim</i>	<i>icé</i>	<i>atúisum</i>
nookár-e	i-uʔ'či-um	icé-∅	a-d-u-gús-um
servant-ERG	3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ABL	those:X-ABS	NEG-TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-ADJVLZ

<i>hučúe</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>duúsimi.</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>oóčim</i>
húčo-e	káaʔ	d-gús-m-i	jé-e	a-uʔ'či-um
leather.high.boot-GEN	together	TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM	I-ERG	1SG:I-foot-INE-ABL

<i>dúisabáyam.</i>	<i>oótiŋce</i>	<i>multán</i>
d-u-gús-a+bá-a-a-m	a-uʔ'iŋ-c-e	multán-∅
TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS	1SG:I-foot-PL-ADE-ESS	blood-ABS

dáagusimi.
d-a'gús-m-i
TEL-1SG:III-go.out-NPRS-3SG.Y

There came a gully water but it was maddy. The king's servant put off them [his puttees] from his legs and went into the mad water with leather boots. I put off [boots] from my legs. And then my legs bled out.

čhúmoe minás - 120

<i>hirúmišo</i>	<i>dayó</i>	<i>bíma.</i>	<i>ec</i>
hir'um-išo	dan'čo-∅	b'ién-m=a	éc-∅
sharp-ADJVLZ-PL	stone-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q	those.ones:X-ABS

<i>yáare</i>	<i>simánc</i>	<i>bíma.</i>	<i>bootále</i>	<i>čurúkičij</i>
i-yáar-e	sim'anc-∅	b'ién-m=a	bootál-e	čurúk-ičij-∅
3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	wire-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q	bottle-GEN	fragment-PL-ABS

bicúm ke, leél ayámanam.
 b'íc'-m ké leél a-a-man'-a-m
 COP-3PL.Y-NPRS LINK knowing NEG-1SG:I-become-1SG-NPRS

I didn't understand whether there were sharp stones, wires, or the fragments of a bottle under the water.

čhúmoe minás - 121

yáare multáij duwášami.
 i-yáar-e multán-iŋ-Ø d-gús-ya-m-i
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS blood-PL-ABS TEL-go.out-PL-NPRS-3PL.Y

My blood flowed down.

čhúmoe minás - 122

óor iláaj piláaj nétan dáa húču
 óor iláaj+ECHO-Ø n-i-t'-n dáa húčo-Ø
 and remedy:MASS-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP again leather.high.boot-ABS

nóotanininin dáa diméeman.
 n-ú-t'-n-n-n-n dáa d-mī-m-an
 CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP-CP-CP-CP again come:PFV-1PL-NPRS-1PL

And I had some treatment and put on the boots again, and then we restarted to come.

čhúmoe minás - 123

diméen diméen diméen barénasar, dáa hitháane
 d-mī-n d-mī-n d-mī-n barén-as-ar dáa hík-tháan-e
 come:CP-1PL-CP come:CP-1PL-CP come:CP-1PL-CP look-INF-DAT again one-place-ESS

híkume barénasar, dárcan baríčóm
 hík-kum-e barén-as-ar darc'-an-Ø bar'-č+bá-an-m
 one-group-ESS look-INF-DAT threshing.circle-INDEF.SG-ABS thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

yáar pa, sađákcum yáar pa
 i-yáar pá sađák-c-um i-yáar pá
 3SG.Y:I-downwards side street-ADE-ABL 3SG.Y:I-downwards side

<i>zamindáarike</i>	<i>dárcan</i>	<i>baríčóm.</i>
zamindáar-ik-e	darc'an-Ø	bar'č+bá-an-m
landowner-INDEF.PL-ERG	threshing.circle-INDEF.SG-ABS	thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS
<i>úar</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étimi.</i>
ú-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t'm-i
they:DIST-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

We came and looked at a place that landowners are threshing in circles below, and then he called them.

čhúmoē minás - 124

<i>'yáa</i>	<i>áčukóon,</i>	<i>šěčar</i>	<i>baríčóona</i>		
yá	a'čo-kóon	šé-č-ar	bar'č+bá-an-Ø=a		
INTERJ	1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-PL	eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT	thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS=Q		
<i>nušén</i>	<i>baríčóon',</i>	<i>nusén</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
n-šé-n	bar'č+bá-an-Ø	n-sén	qáo-Ø	i-t'as-e	káaʔ
CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP	thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS	CP-say	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN	together

He called as saying 'Hey my brothers, are you threshing for eating? Or are you threshing after eating?'

čhúmoē minás - 125

<i>úe</i>	<i>'bée</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>méčo,</i>	
ú-e	bée	yá	léi	mí'čo	
they:DIST-ERG	no	INTERJ	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	1PL:II-same.sex.sibling	
<i>yárum</i>	<i>iké</i>	<i>šébáan.</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>muú</i>	<i>iké</i>
i-yár-um	iké-Ø	šé+bá-an-Ø	dáa	muú	iké-Ø
3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ	those:Y-ABS	eat:Y.OBJ+COP-2PL-PRS	again	now	those:Y-ABS
<i>mikháre</i>	<i>óosase</i>	<i>gáne,</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>baríčabáan',</i>	
mi-khar'e	óos-as-e	gan'e	dáa	bar'č-a+bá-an-Ø	
1PL:I-REFL.PRN-ESS	put-INF-GEN	way-ESS	again	thresh-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS	

sénuman.

sén-m-an

say-NPRS-3PL.H

They said ‘No brother, you’d eat them before. And we thresh them for our stocking now’.

čhúmoe minás - 126

<i>‘teí</i>	<i>ya’</i>	<i>nusén,</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>toórum</i>	<i>guchárčume</i>
teíl	yá	n-sén	dáa	toór-um	guchár-č-um-e
in.that.way	INTERJ	CP-say	again	such-ADJVLZ	move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS

<i>guchárčume</i>	<i>diméenin,</i>	<i>aaqhiríar</i>	<i>khóle</i>	<i>háaṭar</i>
guchár-č-um-e	d-mĩ:n-n-n	aaqhirí-ar	khól-e	há-aṭ-ar
move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	come:CP-1PL-CP-CP-CP	end-DAT	here-ESS	house-INS-DAT

diméen.

d-mĩ:n

come:CP-1PL-CP

We said ‘Do so’, then walked in such way and we came around this house here finally.

čhúmoe minás - 127

<i>háaṭar</i>	<i>júasar,</i>	<i>‘čáayanar</i>	<i>ju’</i>	<i>ésam</i>
há-aṭ-ar	jú-as-ar	čáai-an-ar	jú-i	i-s’a-m
house-INS-DAT	come-INF-DAT	tea-INDEF.SG-DAT	come-IMP.SG	3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG-NPRS

<i>‘jáa</i>	<i>háa</i>	<i>variibqhaaná</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>bilá.</i>
jé-e	há-e	variib+qhaaná-Ø	guté-Ø	b-il’-Ø
I-GEN	house-GEN	poor+hut-ABS	this:Y-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

Having come around the house I told him ‘Come on to drink tea, this is my poor house.

čhúmoe minás - 128

<i>yáara</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>jamaát</i>	<i>bóa.</i>
i-yáar-e	há-al-e	jamaát-Ø	bá-o-Ø=a
3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	house-LOC-ESS	spouse-ABS	COP-3SG.HF-PRS=Q

ái *bóa.* *baréyam.'*
 a'i-∅ bá-o-∅=a barén-č-a-m
 1SG:II-daughter-ABS COP-3SG.HF-PRS=Q look-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

Down there, is my wife and daughter in the house? I'll look it'.

čhúmoe minás - 129

ee, nusén, sóoč *gíyibilúm.*
 ee n-sén sóoč-∅ gíy+b'il-m
 FIL CP-say thought-ABS enter+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

Saying so, [my] thoughts went deeper.

čhúmoe minás - 130

'čáayanar *ju'* *ésabáte,* *'bée ya* *úne*
 čáai-an-ar jú-i i-s'a+bá-aṭ-e bée yá ún-e
 tea-INDEF.SG-DAT come-IMP.SG 3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS no INTERJ thou-GEN

háale *ḍaḍáj* *ḍaámal* *biéna'* *ásimi.*
 ha'al-e ḍaḍáj ḍaámal-∅ b'ién-∅=a a's-m-i
 house-LOC-ESS large.drums timpani-ABS COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q 1SG:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

When I said him 'Come on, have a tea', then he told me 'No, there may be drums in your house'.

čhúmoe minás - 131

'be ya, *ye* *ju,* *béske akhár* *je* *be*
 bée yá yé jú-i bés+ké a-khar jé-∅ bé
 no INTERJ look:INTERJ come-IMP.SG because 1SG:I-REFL.PRN I-ABS what

béric *báa.'* *ésabáte* *'bée ya* *un*
 béric-∅ bá-a-∅ i-s'a+bá-aṭ-e bée yá ún-∅
 Doma-ABS COP-1SG-PRS 3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS no INTERJ thou-ABS

áso *ke* *júçabáa'* *sénase* *káa.*
 a-s'-i ké jú-č-a+bá-a-Ø sén-as-e káat̚
 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG LINK come-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS say-INF-GEN together

I said 'No, come on, or what Doma am I?' and he replied 'No, tell me the truth then I'll come'.

čhúmoe minás - 132

'bée ya, ye *ju,* *míi* *háale* *ḍaḍán*
 bée yá yé jú-i mí-e ha'al-e ḍaḍán
 no INTERJ look:INTERJ come-IMP.SG we-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums

ḍaámal *apíe,'* *sénase* *káa.*
 ḍaámal-Ø a-b'ién-Ø sén-as-e káat̚
 timpani-ABS NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS say-INF-GEN together

I answered 'No, come on, there are no drums in my house'.

čhúmoe minás - 133

'bée ya, dáa úne *yáke* *úne* *háa* *şinçh*
 bée yá dáa ún-e yak'e ún-e ha'e şinç'-Ø
 no INTERJ again thou-GEN residence-GEN thou-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS

phuqtá *bía'* *sénimi.*
 phuqtá b'i-Ø=a sén-m-i
 strong COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q say-NPRS-3SG.HM

He said 'No, and your house's ridge is strong, isn't it?'

čhúmoe minás - 134

'háa *şinçh* *phuqtá* *bía'* *sénase* *káa,* *'dáa* *jáa*
 ha'e şinç'-Ø phuqtá b'i-Ø=a sén-as-e káat̚ dáa jé-e
 house-GEN beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q say-INF-GEN together again I-GEN

háa be manílá'.
 ha'-∅ bé man+b'il'-∅
 house-ABS what become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

When he said 'the ridge of the house is strong, isn't it?', [then I said] 'So what is my house, you mean?'

čhúmoē minás - 135

ámulo hóle báyamaṭe, ámulo cháne ke
 ámul-e hól-e bá-a-a-um-aṭ-e ámul-e chán-e ké
 where-ESS outside-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS where-ESS straight-ESS LINK

cháne, haráltaje čhóko étibía.
 chán-e harált-aṅe čhóko i-t+b'i-∅=a
 straight-ESS rain-INSTRUCTIVE breaking.off 3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

zilziláaje ámulo bésan qeréq
 zilzilá-aṅe ámul-e bés-an qeréq-∅
 earthquake-INSTRUCTIVE where-ESS what-INDEF.SG crack-ABS

étibía.
 i-t+b'i-∅=a
 3SG.X:III-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

While I was out [of this house], has any rain or earthquake actually broken [the ridge]?

čhúmoē minás - 136

ee, sóoč sambáar awášimi.
 ee sóoč sambá-ar a-biśá-m-i
 FIL thought thought-DAT 1SG:I-throw-NPRS-3SG.Y

I was thrown into deep consideration.

čhúmoē minás - 137

sóoč sambáar awášinin, ásulo oólulo
 sóoč sambá-ar n-a-biśá-n-n a-s'-ul-e a-ul'-ul-e
 thought thought-DAT CP-1SG:I-throw-CP-CP 1SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS 1SG:I-belly-LOC-ESS

apálašu iké yaráase káa yáar ne
 a-bal'-as-čo iké-∅ yar'-as-e káaṭ i-yáar n-i-t
 NEG-fall-INF-PL those:Y-ABS sound-INF-GEN together 3SG.Y:I-downwards CP-3SG.Y:II-do

háar nupára, 'ho guchúčam áčo'
 ha'-ar n-barén hó gu-chú-č-a-m a-čo
 house-DAT CP-look then 2SG:I-bring.away-IPFV-1SG-NPRS 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling

nusé dáayabáa", sénase káa.
 n-sén d-á'a+bá-a-∅ sén-as-e káaṭ
 CP-say come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS say-INF-GEN together

Having thrown into consideration, with such unconvincing conversation I looked at the house and told him 'Now, I'll bring you soon', and then I have come" he spoke.

čhúmoe minás - 138

ye iké uyóon éimo mósulo
 yé iké-∅ u'yoon i-i-mu-e mu'-s'-ul-e
 look:INTERJ those:Y-ABS all 3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-GEN 3SG.HF:II-heart-LOC-ESS

giyámi.
 giy'-ya-m-i
 enter-PL-NPRS-3PL.Y

And so his daughter understood all the stories.

čhúmoe minás - 139

éimo mósulo nuktya sénimi
 i-i-mu-e mu'-s'-ul-e n-giy'-ya sén-m-i
 3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-GEN 3SG.HF:II-heart-LOC-ESS CP-enter-PL say-NPRS-3SG.HM

ke, háale čhap šapíke éer tayáar étuman.
 ké ha'-al-e čhap šapík-e i-ar tayáar i-t'-m-an
 LINK house-LOC-ESS flesh food-GEN 3SG.HM:II-DAT ready 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

čhap táaq nétan déciruman.
 čhap'-∅ táq n-i-t'-n d-i-s-ri'-m-an
 flesh-ABS chop CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-ripen-NPRS-3PL.H

<i>gánulo</i>	<i>şim</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>phíti</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>jáa</i>
gan-ul-e	şı-um	isé	phíti-Ø	lap	jé-e
way-LOC-ESS	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ	that:X	thick.pancake-ABS	half.part	I-ERG
<i>şlam,</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>chılaje</i>	<i>étam,</i>		
şı-a-m	lap-Ø	chıl-aŋe	i-t'a-m		
eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS	half.part-ABS	water-INSTRUCTIVE	3SG.X:II-do-1SG-NPRS		
<i>alhámdu lilláa".</i>	<i>sénase,</i>	<i>"ité</i>	<i>maaní</i>	<i>bésan</i>	
alhámdu+lilláa	sén-as-e	ité	maaní-Ø	bés-an-Ø	
praise+to.god	say-INF-GEN	that:Y	meaning-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	
<i>maními,</i>	<i>gusé</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>jéi</i>	<i>şlam</i>	<i>gusé</i>
man'-m-i	gusé	lap-Ø	je-í	şı-a-m	gusé-Ø
become-NPRS-3SG.Y	this:X	half.part-ABS	1SG:I-self	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS	this:X-ABS
<i>thi</i>	<i>ními,</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>moomín</i>	<i>musalmáan</i>	<i>uŋgóoye</i>
thí	ní-m-i	iné	moomín	musalmáan-Ø	uŋgóoy-e
empty	go-NPRS-3SG.X	that:H	pious	muslim-ABS	just.you-ABS
<i>guqhátar</i>	<i>ními</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>sawáapar</i>	<i>ními",</i>
gu-qhat'-ar	ní-m-i	isé-Ø	jé-e	sawáap-ar	ní-m-i
2SG:I-mouth-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.X	that:X-ABS	I-GEN	rectitude-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.X
<i>nusé</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>sénimi.</i>			
n-sén	teíl	sén-m-i			
CP-say	in.that.way	say-NPRS-3SG.HM			

He has said such and such, "On the bread eaten in that way, the half part I ate, and the rest part I wasted, by the grace of the God. What I mean is that the half part which I ate by myself became wasted, and the half part which just you, who are a devout muslim, ate became virtue for me".

čhúmoé minás - 142

<i>"jéimo</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>jukáŋar</i>	<i>wálimi,</i>	<i>jéi</i>
je-í-mu-e	és-Ø	jukáŋ-ar	i-bal'-m-i	je-í
1SG:I-self-OBL-GEN	that.one:X-ABS	cesspit-DAT	3SG.X:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.X	1SG:I-self

şíam *isé.*
 şí-a-um isé-Ø
 eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-ADJVLZ that:X-ABS

“My part, which I ate, fell into a cesspit.

čhúmoe minás - 143

iné *moomín* *musalmáane* *qhátar* *éeram*
 iné moomín musalmáan-e i-qhat'ar i'r'a-um
 that:H pious muslim-GEN 3SG.HM:I-mouth-DAT 3SG.X:III-send-1SG-ADJVLZ

isé *úne* *şim* *isé* *áar* *sawáapar*
 isé-Ø ún-e şí-um isé-Ø a'-ar sawáap-ar
 that:X-ABS thou-ERG eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ that:X-ABS 1SG:II-DAT rectitude-DAT

ními”, *nusé* *ité* *čáya* *étimi.*
 ní-m-i n-sén ité čáya-Ø i-t'm-i
 go-NPRS-3SG.X CP-say that:Y story-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

The part which I sent to the mouth of a devout muslim and which you ate became my virtue” saying so, he told the story.

čhúmoe minás - 144

“étcum, *dáa* *damáan* *damáanininin* *ámit* *bar*
 ét-c-um dáa d-ma'n d-ma'n-n-n-n ámit bar
 that.one:Y-ADE-ABL again come:CP-2PL-CP come:CP-2PL-CP-CP-CP which gully

chílan *bilím* *ke,* *éle* *íne* *áqhal*
 chil'an-Ø b'il-m ké él-e ín-e áqhal-Ø
 water-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS LINK there-ESS s/he:DIST-ERG intelligence-ABS

nétaninin *yuútiŋe* *hifaazáte* *húčue*
 n-i-t'n-n-n i-uť-iŋ-e hifaazát-e húčo-e
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP 3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-GEN preservation-GEN leather.high.boot-GEN

káa *duúsimi,* *úne* *guúčim*
 kaať d-gús-m-i ún-e gu-uť-či-um
 together TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM thou-ERG 2SG:I-foot-INE-ABL

duúsuma *guútiŋulo* *multán* *duúsimi.*
 d-u-gús-m-a gu-uṭ'ij-ul-e multán-∅ d-gús-m-i
 TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-NPRS-2SG 2SG:I-foot-PL-LOC-ESS blood-ABS TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.Y

úne *sóoč* *sambá* *ayétuma.*
 ún-e sóoč sambá-∅ a-i-t'm-a
 thou-ERG thought thought-ABS NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2SG

[She said,] “And then you walked again and there appeared muddy water, so he was astute enough to thrust his legs still putting his leather boots, but you put them off from your legs and (got injured to) bleed. It was imprudent of you.

čhúmoe minás - 145

yáare *hirúmišo* *dayó* *bíma.*
 i-yaar'e hir'um-išo dan'čo-∅ b'ién-m=a
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS sharp-ADJVLZ-PL stone-PL-ABS COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q

čháay *bicúma.* *yáa* *simánc* *bíma.*
 čháṣ-ay-∅ b'ic'm=a yáa sim'anc-∅ b'ién-m=a
 sea.buckthorn-PL-ABS COP-3PL.Y-NPRS=Q or wire-PL-ABS COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q

bésik *bim* *ke,* *'ačhó* *náa* *oótiŋ* *laáš*
 bés-ik-∅ b'ién-m ké ačhó náa a-uṭ'ij laáš
 what-INDEF.PL-ABS COP-3PL.X-NPRS LINK wait:INTERJ TAG.Q 1SG:I-foot-PL spread

maími' *nusé* *sóoč* *sambá* *ne* *bes*
 man'č-m-i n-sén sóoč sambá-∅ n-i-t bés
 become-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.Y CP-say thought thought-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do why

atíusuma.
 a-d-gús-m-a
 NEG-TEL-go.out-NPRS-2SG

Were there sharp stones, spikes, or iron wires under the water? Whatever there were, you said ‘Wait! My feet were smeared’ but why you didn’t think and come out?

čhúmoe minás - 146

úne áqhale duró ayétume čhu
 ún-e áqhal-e duró-Ø a-i-t'-um-e čhu'-Ø
 thou-ERG intelligence-GEN work-ABS NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-ADJVLZ-ESS blade-ABS

duúsase wájaṭe multán díusuma
 d-gús-as-e wája-aṭ-e multán-Ø d-i-gús-m-a
 TEL-go.out-INF-GEN reason-INS-ESS blood-ABS TEL-3SG.Y:I-go.out-NPRS-2SG

guúṭiṅcum, íne yuúṭiṅe hifaazát
 gu-uṭ'-iṅ-c-um ín-e i-uṭ'-iṅ-e hifaazát-Ø
 2SG:I-foot-PL-ADE-ABL s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-GEN preservation-ABS

ne húčoce atéeyanum
 n-i-t húčo-c-e a-d-i'-yan'-um
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do leather.high.boot-ADE-ESS NEG-TEL-3SG.Y:III-be.finished-ADJVLZ

húčue káa galáas étimi.
 húčo-e káaṭ galáas-Ø i-t'-Ø-m-i
 leather.high.boot-GEN together glass-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

You didn't use your head and picked out the stuck thing to bleed out at your feet. He didn't grudge his boots and protected his legs, so the glass stuck on the boots.

čhúmoe minás - 147

étcum báadulo, dárcecum uéer
 ét-c-um báad-ul-e darc'-e-c-um ué-ar
 that.one:Y-ADE-ABL following.time-LOC-ESS threshing.circle-OBL-ADE-ABL those:H-DAT

qáo étas ité maaní, 'šéčer
 qáo-Ø i-t'-as ité maaní-Ø šé-č-ar
 cry-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF that:Y meaning-ABS eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT

baričóona nušen baričóon' sénase
 bar'-č+bá-an-Ø=a n-šé-n bar'-č+bá-an-Ø sén-as-e
 thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS=Q CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS say-INF-GEN

<i>maními.</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>aaqhiríulo</i>	<i>ité,</i>	<i>'máa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>
man'-m-i	dáa	aaqhirí-ul-e	ité	má-e	há'al-e	ḍaḍán
become-NPRS-3PL.Y	again	end-LOC-ESS	that:Y	you-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums
<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>biéna'</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>maqsád.</i>		
ḍaámal-Ø	b'ién-Ø=a	sén-as-e	ité	maqsád-Ø		
timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q	say-INF-GEN	that:Y	purpose-ABS		

These [solutions] became three. And finally 'Are there drums in your house' you said on purpose.

čhúmoē minás - 150

<i>'máa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>	<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>biéna'</i>	<i>sénase</i>
má-e	há'al-e	ḍaḍán	ḍaámal-Ø	b'ién-Ø=a	sén-as-e
you-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drum	timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q	say-INF-GEN
<i>maqsád</i>	<i>joṭpát</i>	<i>báana</i>	<i>šóor-o-šár</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>čáya</i>
maqsád-Ø	joṭpát-Ø	bá-an-Ø=a	šóor+o+šár-Ø	n-i-t	čáya-Ø
purpose-ABS	children-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q	uproar-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	story-ABS
<i>míltumalar</i>	<i>amébišačar.</i>				
mi-ltumál-ar	a-mi-biśá-č-ar				
1PL:I-ear-DAT	NEG-1PL:III-throw-IPFV-DAT				

The purpose of saying 'Are there drums in your house?' should be that there may be children in this house so that they would make sound and we would not be able to hear each other.

čhúmoē minás - 151

<i>'máa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>joṭpát</i>	<i>báana</i>	<i>šóor-o-šár</i>	<i>ne</i>
má-e	há'al-e	joṭpát-Ø	bá-an-Ø=a	šóor+o+šár-Ø	n-i-t
you-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	children-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q	uproar-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do
<i>ité</i>	<i>čáya</i>	<i>atímeyalas</i>	<i>métase</i>	<i>gáne'</i>	<i>sénase</i>
ité	čáya-Ø	a-d-mi-yal-as-Ø	mi-t'-as-e	gan'e	sén-as-e
that:Y	story-ABS	NEG-TEL-1PL:II-hear-INF-ABS	1PL:II-do-INF-GEN	way-ESS	say-INF-GEN

káa. et ne sóočar wálimi.
káaṭ ét-∅ n-i-t sóoč-ar i-bal'-m-i
 together that.one:Y-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do thought-DAT 3SG.HM:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.HM

With saying ‘Are there children in your house being noisy to make us unable to talk?’, he set himself thinking.

čhúmoe minás - 152

itée gáne téi gósói 'máa háale
ité-e gan'-e teíl gu'-s+bá-i-∅ má-e ha'-al-e
 that:Y-GEN way-ESS in.that.way 2SG:II-tell+COP-3SG.HM-PRS you-GEN house-LOC-ESS

joṭpát báana, čáya diméyalas
joṭpát-∅ bá-an-∅=a čáya-∅ d-mi'-yal-as
 children-ABS COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q story-ABS TEL-1PL:II-hear-INF

atímeyalas métase gáne joṭpát báana'
a-d-mi'-yal-as-∅ mi'-t'-as-e gan'-e joṭpát-∅ bá-an-∅=a
 NEG-TEL-1PL.II-hear-INF-ABS 1PL:II-do-INF-GEN way-ESS children-ABS COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q

sénase káa.
sén-as-e káaṭ
 say-INF-GEN together

For the purpose he has asked you ‘Are there children in your house? Are there children to make us not to hear?’

čhúmoe minás - 153

ité gósóm etéulo gósulo
ité-∅ gu'-s+bá-i-m ité-ul-e gu'-s'-ul-e
 that:Y-ABS 2SG:II-tell+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS that:Y-LOC-ESS 2SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS

apálimi.
a-bal'-m-i
 NEG-fall-NPRS-3SG.Y

He had told you that [but] you didn't understand that.

čhúmoe minás - 154

ee, dáa 'ámitan řinçh phuqtá bíá' sénase
 ee dáa ámit-an řinç'-∅ phuqtá b'-i-∅=a sén-as-e
 FIL again which-INDEF.SG beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q say-INF-GEN

maaní, jáa káa čayabárar daltás akaabíran
 maaní-∅ jé-e káač čayabár-ar daltás akaabír-an-∅
 meaning-ABS I-GEN together conversation-DAT beautiful high.up-INDEF.SG-ABS

báia háale'.
 bá-i-∅=a ha'al-e
 COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q house-LOC-ESS

And his aim of saying 'Any ridge [of your house] is strong, isn't it' is as follows: 'Is there any noble fellow to talk with me in this house?'

čhúmoe minás - 155

'čayabáre yaáli bilúm sísan
 čayabár-e i-yaáli-∅ b'il-um sís-an-∅
 conversation-GEN 3SG.HM:I-technique-ABS COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ people-INDEF.SG-ABS

báia jáa káa' nuséninin, ité čáya
 bá-i-∅=a jé-e káač n-sén-n-n ité čáya-∅
 COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q I-GEN together CP-say-CP-CP that:Y story-ABS

étimi."
 i-t'-m-i
 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

'Is there any fellow to talk with me who has the art of conversation?' he said."

čhúmoe minás - 156

nuséninin guké čáyamiñ nétin éie
 n-sén-n-n guké čáya-miñ-∅ n-i-t'-n i-i-e
 CP-say-CP-CP these:Y story-PL-ABS CP-3PL.Y:II-do-CP 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG

čhúmoe minás - 159

<i>tháajanulo</i>	<i>qhamáličij</i>	<i>altó</i>	<i>éer</i>		
tháaŋ-an-ul-e	qhamáli-čij-Ø	altó	i-ar		
palace-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	thin.pancake-PL-ABS	two:Y	3SG.HM:II-DAT		
<i>óocumo,</i>	<i>háath páathulo</i>	<i>šapík</i>	<i>qham</i>	<i>éer</i>	
u̇-chu'-m-o	háath+ECHO-ul-e	šapík	qham'-Ø	i-ar	
3PL.H:III-bring.away-NPRS-3SG.HF	hand+MASS-LOC-ESS	food	curry-ABS	3SG.HM:II-DAT	
<i>óocumo,</i>	<i>qham</i>	<i>nóocunin</i>		<i>tayáar</i>	
u̇-chu'-m-o	qham'-Ø	n-u̇-chu'-n-n		tayáar	
3PL.H:III-bring.away-NPRS-3SG.HF	curry-ABS	CP-3PL.H:III-bring.away-CP-CP		ready	
<i>ne</i>	<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“mehmáanar</i>	<i>teí</i>	
n-i-t	sén-m-o	ké	mehmáan-ar	teíl	
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	guest-DAT	in.that.way	
<i>éso</i>	<i>baábo”</i>	<i>sénumo,</i>	<i>“awá”</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
i-s-i	baábo	sén-m-o	awá	sén-as-e	káaṭ
3SG.HM:II-tell-IMP.SG	father	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	yes	say-INF-GEN	together

In the kitchen she handed her father the two pancakes in him [the servant], prepared curry and said “tell the guest in that way, father”. [And he said] “okay”.

čhúmoe minás - 160

<i>“halánc</i>	<i>altó</i>	<i>taaríq</i>	<i>bilá”</i>	<i>éso,</i>	<i>“muú</i>	<i>leél</i>
halánc-e	altó	taaríq-Ø	b-il'-Ø	i-s-i	muú	leél
moon-GEN	two:Y	date-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	3SG.HM:II-tell-IMP.SG	now	knowing
<i>ayéetuma</i>	<i>baré,</i>	<i>muú</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>ayéetum</i>		
a-i-t'-m-a	barén-i	muú	leél	a-i-t'-um		
NEG-3SG.HM:III-do-NPRS-2SG	look-IMP.SG	now	knowing	NEG-3SG.HM:III-do-ADJVLZ		
<i>ágar</i>	<i>gánulo</i>	<i>gusé</i>	<i>šapík</i>	<i>yaíki</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>káman</i>
ágar	gan'-ul-e	gusé	šapík-Ø	yaíki	n-i-t	kám-an
if	way-LOC-ESS	this:X	food-ABS	theft	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	little-INDEF.SG

čhúmoe minás - 163

óor “káman asiímuc ke ziaadá bié” sen.
 óor kám-an asií-muc-Ø ké ziaadá b’ién-Ø sén-i
 and little-INDEF.SG star-PL-ABS LINK much COP-3PL.X-PRS say-IMP.SG

And say “There are a lot of stars also”.

čhúmoe minás - 164

“káman asiímuc ke bié” sen”, sénase káa,
 kám-an asií-muc-Ø ké b’ién-Ø sén-i sén-as-e káat
 little-INDEF.SG star-PL-ABS LINK COP-3PL.X-PRS say-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

“šúa áí” nusén.
 šúa a-i n-sén
 good 1SG:II-daughter CP-say

“Say ‘There are a lot of stars also’ ” said she, and [he] replied “Okay, my daughter”.

čhúmoe minás - 165

íne mehmáanar šapík níya nínininin,
 ín-e mehmáan-ar šapík-Ø n-i-gán n-i’-n-n-n-n
 s/he:DIST-ERG guest-DAT food-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-take go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP-CP

gánulo han qhamálian šémi yaíki
 gan’ul-e hán qhamáli-an-Ø šé-m-i yaíki
 way-LOC-ESS one:Y thin.pancake-INDEF.SG-ABS eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM theft

ne, úlum čhápe phalóno altó uskó
 n-i-t úl-um čhap’e phal’ono-Ø altó uskó
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do inside-ABL flesh-GEN grain-PL-ABS two:Y three:Y

šémi.

šé-m-i

eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having taken the meal, he brought it for the guset as stealing and eating a pancake and a few pieces of meat from inside the meal.

čhúmoe minás - 166

<i>nušéninin</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>núco</i>	<i>mehmáane</i>	<i>yáar</i>
n-šé-n-n-n	ké	n-u-chú	mehmáan-e	i-yáar
CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP-CP-CP	LINK	CP-3PL.X:I-bring.away	guest-GEN	3SG.HM:I-downwards

óosimí.
 óos-m-i
 put-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having eaten [them], he brought and put it before the guest.

čhúmoe minás - 167

<i>nóosininin,</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>mehmáane</i>	<i>yuúm</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>šapík</i>
n-óos-n-n-n	ín	mehmáan-e	i-u'um	isé	šapík-Ø
CP-put-CP-CP-CP	s/he:DIST	guest-ERG	3SG.HM:I-give:X.OBJ-ADJVLZ	that:X	food-ABS

<i>niší</i>	<i>numín</i>	<i>múšate</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“uné</i>
n-ší	n-min	muš'aṭ-e	sén-m-i	ké	ún-e
CP-eat:HM.SG.OBJ	CP-drink	edge-INS-ESS	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	thou-GEN

<i>góimur</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>móso”.</i>
gu'i-mu-ar	teíl	mu:s'i
2SG:II-daughter-OBL-DAT	in.that.way	3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG

Having put it there, the guest ate the meal which the father brought and drank and soon said “Tell your daughter in this way”.

čhúmoe minás - 168

<i>“uné</i>	<i>góimur</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>móso</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>‘un</i>
ún-e	gu'i-mu-ar	teíl	mu:s'i	ké	ún-Ø
thou-GEN	2SG:II-daughter-OBL-DAT	in.that.way	3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG	LINK	thou-ABS

<i>be</i>	<i>guúmuskišan</i>	<i>báa'</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>‘guúmušo</i>
bé	gu-umús-kiš-an	bá-a-Ø	ké	gu-umús-čö-Ø
what	2SG:I-tongue-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	COP-2SG-PRS	LINK	2SG:I-tongue-PL-ABS

yaráasan *báa’.*
 yar’-as-an-∅ bá-a-∅
 sound-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-2SG-PRS

“Tell your daughter ‘What a liar you are! You big liar!’.

čhúmoē minás - 169

nusé teí móso, *‘mehmáane teí*
 n-sén teíl mu’-s’-i mehmáan-e teíl
 CP-say in.that.way 3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG guest-ERG in.that.way

gósói’ *sen.* *be manílá’* *sénase*
 gu’-s+bá-i-∅ sén-i bé man+b’-il’-∅ sén-as-e
 2SG.II-tell+COP-3SG.HM-PRS say-IMP.SG what become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS say-INF-GEN

káa.
káaṭ
 together

Tell her so and ‘the guest is telling you so’. Is it okay?” he said.

čhúmoē minás - 170

“*halánce hik bilúm’* *sen.* *‘tiṣ harált káman*
 halánc-e hík b’-il’-m sén-i tiṣ harált-∅ kám-an
 moon-GEN one:Z COP-3SG.Y-NPRS say-IMP.SG wind rain-ABS little-INDEF.SG

bilúm’ *sen.* *‘asíimuc ke buṭ káman bim’*
 b’-il’-m sén-i asíi-muc-∅ ké búṭ kám-an b’-ien-m
 COP-3SG.Y-NPRS say-IMP.SG star-PL-ABS LINK much little-INDEF.SG COP-3PL.X-NPRS

sen.” *nusé “teí* *gósubóm”* *sénase* *káa.*
 sén-i n-sén teíl gu’-s+bá-i-m sén-as-e káaṭ
 say-IMP.SG CP-say in.that.way 2SG.II-tell+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS say-INF-GEN together

The guest said “He said to tell you ‘It was the first day of the moon. Neither wind nor rain but there were several stars’ ”.

čhúmoe minás - 171

“šúa”, nusén, “šúa léi	áço	lée”		
šúa n-sén šúa léi	a'ço	léi		
good CP-say good INTERJ:HM.OBJ	1SG:II-same.sex.sibling	INTERJ:HM.OBJ		
nuséninin, dáa et	čáya nukán saamáan	šapík saamáan		
n-sén-n-n dáa ét	čáya-Ø n-gán saamáan	šapík saamáan-Ø		
CP-say-CP-CP again that.one:Y	story-ABS CP-take baggage	food baggage-ABS		
sambáar nétanininin.				
sambá-ar n-i-t'-n-n-n				
thought-DAT CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP				

The father said “Okay, my brother”, cut off the talk, and thought about baggage (? took up baggage).

čhúmoe minás - 172

íti éi	mópačiar	ními.
íti i-i	mu-pá-či-ar	ní-m-i
thither 3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.HM

He went to his daughter.

čhúmoe minás - 173

iné múuy	éi	mópačiar	nín
iné mu-uy'Ø	i-i	mu-pá-či-ar	n-i'n
that:H 3SG.HF:I-father-ABS	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP
saamáan phat	nétaninin,	“mehmáane be	sénia
saamáan-Ø phat	n-i-t'-n-n-n	mehmáan-e bé	sén-Ø-i=a
baggage-ABS quitting	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP	guest-ERG what	say-PRS-3SG.HM=Q
baábo” sénase	káa.		
baábo sén-as-e	káaṭ		
dad say-INF-GEN	together		

The father went to his daughter and tossed the baggage while she was saying “What was he going to say, father?”

čhúmoe minás - 174

“*halánc* *hík* *bilúm’* *sénimi.* *óor* *’tiş* *harált* *kam*
 halánc-e hík b’íl’-m sén-m-i óor tiş harált-Ø kám
 moon-GEN one:Z COP-3SG.Y-NPRS say-NPRS-3SG.HM and wind rain-ABS little

bilúm’ *sénimi.* *’asímuc* *ke* *kam* *bim’*
 b’íl’-m sén-m-i así-muc-Ø ké kám b’ién-m
 COP-3SG.Y-NPRS say-NPRS-3SG.HM star-PL-ABS LINK little COP-3PL.X-NPRS

sénimi.”

sén-m-i

say-NPRS-3SG.HM

[The father answered] “He said ‘It was the first day of a moon, there were few rainstorm and stars’.”

čhúmoe minás - 175

sénase *káa* *éi* *icí* *gápali*
 sén-as-e káaṭ i-i-Ø i-ci gápali
 say-INF-GEN together 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS 3SG.HM:I-against jumbled

manúmo.

man’-m-o

become-NPRS-3SG.HF

As he said so, his daughter got jumbled against him.

čhúmoe minás - 176

“*léi* *áya* *úne* *gúlčumuc* *şúum* *úne*
 léi áya ún-e gu-lčín’-muc-Ø şú-um ún-e
 INTERJ:HM.OBJ father thou-GEN 2SG:I-eye-PL-ABS eat:HX.PL.OBJ-ADJVLZ thou-GEN

gukhár

gu-khar’-Ø

2SG:I-REFL.PRN-ABS

şím.

şí-um

eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ

“My father, your eyes and yourself have been eaten!

čhúmoe minás - 177

<i>mehmáan</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>biizát</i>	<i>éčóo</i>
mehmáan-Ø	teíl	n-i-t	biizát	i-t'-č+bá-a-Ø
guest-ABS	in.that.way	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	disgraced	3SG.HM:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

na.

náa

TAG.Q

You acted disrespectively to the guest such and such.

čhúmoe minás - 178

<i>iné</i>	<i>yáarum</i>	<i>díwasum</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>inéé</i>
iné	i-yáar-um	d-i-bás-um	isé-Ø	iné-e
that:H	3SG.HM:I-downwards-ABL	TEL-3SG.X:I-be.left-ADJVLZ	that:X-ABS	that:H-ERG

<i>níšin,</i>	<i>díwasum</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>un</i>
n-i-ší-n	d-i-bás-um	isé-Ø	ún-Ø
CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ-CP	TEL-3SG.X:I-be.left-ADJVLZ	that:X-ABS	thou-ABS

<i>śías</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>
śí-as-Ø	b-il'-m
eat:HX.SG.OBJ-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

He ate that put before him which you had eaten and left behind.

čhúmoe minás - 179

<i>khot</i>	<i>bes</i>	<i>dakhí</i>	<i>biizatí</i>	<i>étuma,</i>	<i>háa</i>
khót-Ø	bés	dakhíl	biizatí	i-t'-m-a	há-Ø
this.one:Y-ABS	why	in.this.way	disgrace	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2SG	house-ABS

<i>gúimo</i>	<i>háa</i>	<i>biizatí</i>	<i>étuma,</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>biizatí</i>
gu-í-mu-e	há-Ø	biizatí	i-t'-m-a	jé-Ø	biizatí
2SG:I-self-OBL-GEN	house-ABS	disgrace	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2SG	I-ABS	disgrace

áatuma,” *nusén.*
 á-t’-m-a n-sén
 1SG:III-do-NPRS-2SG CP-say

Why did you belittle this, run down my house, and disparage me” she said.

čhúmoe minás - 180

óor múuye káa čal ne nuqárininin,
 óor mu-uy’-e káaṭ čal’-Ø n-i’t n-yar’-n-n-n
 and 3SG.HF:I-father-GEN together quarrel-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do CP-sound-CP-CP-CP

toórum mehmáanar ijaazát étuman.
 toór-um mehmáan-ar ijaazát-Ø i-t’-m-an
 that.much-ADJVLZ guest-DAT permission-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

And then [she] and her father talked with a quarrel and gave a permission for the guest to do so.

čhúmoe minás - 181

ijaazát ne, éie chor sénumo ke.
 ijaazát-Ø n-i’t i-i-e chór sén-m-o ké
 permission-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG early say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK

As soon as giving a permission, the daughter said.

čhúmoe minás - 182

“bée ya, áya, khiné buṭ áqalkiṣan báí.
 bée yá áya khiné-Ø búṭ áqal-kiṣ-an bá-i-Ø
 no INTERJ father this:H-ABS much intelligence-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG COP-3SG.HM-PRS

buṭ waazíire uían báí. buṭ qhaandaaní
 búṭ wazíir-e u-i’an-Ø bá-i-Ø búṭ qhaandaan-í
 much minister-GEN 3PL.H:I-son-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-PRS much family-ADJVLZ

šúa sísan báí. adáp izáte sísan
 šúa sísan-Ø bá-i-Ø adáp izát-e sísan-Ø
 good people-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-PRS politeness grace-GEN people-INDEF.SG-ABS

bái.

bá-i-∅

COP-3SG.HM-PRS

“No, father. He is so intelligent. He is just like a son of ministers, he is quite homey good person. Just a splendid man he is.

čhúmoe minás - 183

<i>ee, ye</i>	<i>yuúčóo</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>khinéer</i>	<i>íi</i>
ee yé	i-u'č+bá-a-∅	ké	khiné-ar	íi
FIL look:INTERJ	3SG.HM:I-give:X.OBJ-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	LINK	this:H-DAT	just

<i>yáar</i>	<i>nikáane</i>	<i>yuú,</i>	<i>khiné</i>	<i>ámitan</i>
i-yáar	nikáane	i-u'i	khiné-∅	ámit-an
3SG.HM:I-downwards	???	3SG.HM:I-give:X.OBJ-IMP.SG	this:H-ABS	which:Y-INDEF.SG

<i>díšancum</i>	<i>dífbái</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ámin</i>
diš'an-c-um	d-i''+bá-i-∅	ké	ámin
ground-INDEF.SG-ADE-ABL	come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-PRS	LINK	which:H

<i>baadšáane</i>	<i>déerói</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>inéer</i>	<i>čhúmoe</i>
baadšáa-an-e	d-ĩ-r+bá-i-∅	ké	iné-ar	čhúmo-e
king-INDEF.SG-ERG	TEL-3SG.HM:III-send+COP-3SG.HM-PRS	LINK	that:H-DAT	fish-GEN

<i>maaní</i>	<i>étas</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>éer</i>
maaní-∅	ĩ-t'-as	ité-∅	jé-∅	ĩ-ar
meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF	that-ABS	I-ABS	3SG.HM:II-DAT

éčam.

ĩ-t'č-a-m

3SG.HM:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

Give *** just for him. He have come here from where the king is who sent him out; I will let him know what the fish wanted to mean.

čhúmoe minás - 184

<i>iné</i>	<i>yanísmur</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaní,</i>	
iné	yéniṣ-mu-ar	baadšáa-e	i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-Ø	
that:H	queen-OBL-DAT	king-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-ABS	
<i>mucí</i>	<i>nuqás</i>	<i>ámis</i>	<i>čhúmoan</i>	<i>mucí</i>	<i>nuqás</i>
mu-ci	n-γas	ámis	čhúmo-an-Ø	mu-ci	n-γas
3SG.HF:I-against	CP-laugh	which:X	fish-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.HF:I-against	CP-laugh
<i>déeyasibím</i>		<i>ke.</i>			
d-i'-γas+b'-i-m		ké			
TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-NPRS		LINK			

The meaning of that the fish laughed at the king's queen.

čhúmoe minás - 185

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yániṣ</i>	<i>muyákal</i>	<i>ne.</i>
baadšáa-e	yéniṣ	mu-yákal	n-i't
king-GEN	queen	3SG.HF:I-direction	CP-3SG.Y:II-do

As facing to the king's queen.

čhúmoe minás - 186

<i>itée</i>	<i>maaní</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>éer</i>	<i>éčam.</i>
ité-e	maaní-Ø	jé-Ø	i-ar	i-t'-č-a-m
that:Y-GEN	meaning-ABS	I-ABS	3SG.HM:II-DAT	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

I'll tell him its meaning.

čhúmoe minás - 187

<i>ye</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>níčam,</i>	<i>áya.</i>	<i>awál</i>	<i>qhudáace</i>	<i>hawáala</i>
yé	jé-Ø	ní-č-a-m	áya	awál	qhudáa-c-e	hawáala-Ø
look:INTERJ	I-ABS	go-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	father	first	god-ADE-ESS	commitment-ABS
<i>yáte</i>	<i>únce</i>	<i>hawaalá</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ye</i>	
i-yáṭ-e	ún-c-e	hawaalá-Ø	guté	ha	yé	
3SG.Y:I-upwards-ESS	thou-ADE-ESS	commitment-ABS	this:Y	house	look:INTERJ	

khóle hurí.

khól-e hurúṭ-i

here-ESS sit-IMP.SG

Then, I will go, father. I swear by the God that [I'll be back] so you stay here [as waiting for me].

čhúmoe minás - 188

<i>je</i>	<i>náaninin</i>	<i>baadšáar,</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaní</i>
jé-Ø	n-ạ-n-n-n	baadšáa-ar	i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-Ø
I-ABS	go:CP-1SG-CP-CP-CP	king-DAT	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-ABS

<i>nétan</i>	<i>mósulo</i>	<i>numóobiša</i>	<i>júcam.</i>
n-i-t'-n	mu-s'-ul-e	n-mu'-bišá	jú-č-a-m
CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	3SG.HF:II-heart-LOC-ESS	CP-3SG.HF:III-throw	come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

I'll go to the king and inform the meaning to his wife to well understand and come back.

čhúmoe minás - 189

<i>ínmu</i>	<i>tamán</i>	<i>náa</i>	<i>purá</i>	<i>móočam"</i>	<i>nusénininin,</i>
ín-mu-ar	tamáam	náa (?)	purá	mu-t'-č-a-m	n-sén-n-n-n
that:H-OBL-DAT	entire	TAG.Q	whole	3SG.HF:III-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	CP-say-CP-CP-CP

ho gucháruman.

hó guchár-m-an

then move-NPRS-3PL.H

I'll make her to comprehend everything" saying so, they went out.

čhúmoe minás - 190

<i>ité</i>	<i>háacum</i>	<i>múuyar</i>	<i>qhudáa haafíz</i>	<i>ne</i>
ité	ha'-e-c-um	mu-uy'-ar	qhudáa+haaphíz-Ø	n-i-t
that:Y	house-OBL-ADE-ABL	3SG.HF:I-father-DAT	goodbye-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do

<i>duwášaman</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>nookár</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>iné</i>
d-gús-ya-m-an	ín	baadšáa-e	nookár-Ø	ké	iné
TEL-go.out-PL-NPRS-3PL.H	s/he:DIST	king-GEN	servant-ABS	LINK	that:H
<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaní</i>	<i>étase</i>	<i>gáne</i>	<i>iné</i>
baadšáa-e	i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-Ø	i'-t'-as-e	gan'-e	iné
king-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN	way-ESS	that:H
<i>silajín</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>gáti</i>	<i>duwášaman.</i>		
silajín-Ø	ké	gáti	d-gús-ya-m-an		
female.relative-ABS	LINK	gathering	TEL-go.out-PL-NPRS-3PL.H		

She said goodbye to her father and the king's servant and the woman for informing of the meaning to the king's wife went out from the house together.

čhúmoe minás - 191

<i>duwášan</i>	<i>núun</i>	<i>núun</i>	<i>núun</i>			
d-gús-ya-n	n-u''n	n-u''n	n-u''n			
TEL:CP-go.out-PL-CP	go:CP-3PL.H-CP	go:CP-3PL.H-CP	go:CP-3PL.H-CP			
<i>núunúnúnúnún,</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>asiír</i>	<i>manáasar,</i>	<i>asiír</i>
n-u''n-n-n-n-n	iné	baadšáa-e	ha'-Ø	asiír	man'-as-ar	asiír
go:CP-3PL.H-CP-CP-CP-CP	that:H	king-GEN	house-ABS	near	become-INF-DAT	far
<i>manáasar,</i>	<i>núicinininin</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>umánuman</i>	<i>ke,</i>		
man'-as-ar	n-u-ic'-n-n-n-n	leél	u-man'-m-an	ké		
become-INF-DAT	CP-3PL.H:I-see-CP-CP-CP-CP	knowing	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H	LINK		
<i>bée ya,</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>yánişmur</i>	<i>maaníe</i>	<i>gáne,</i>	<i>iné</i>
bée yá	baadšáa-e	iné	yéniş-mu-ar	maaní-e	gan'-e	iné
no INTERJ	king-GEN	that:H	queen-OBL-DAT	meaning-GEN	way-ESS	that:H
<i>nookár,</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>šuá</i>	<i>áqale</i>	<i>silajínan</i>	<i>numúya</i>	
nookár-Ø	búṭ	šuá	áqal-e	silajín-an-Ø	n-mu-gán	
servant-ABS	much	good	intelligence-GEN	female.relative-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-3SG.HF:I-take	

díibái.

d-i''+bá-i-Ø

come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

They went out and moved and moved to the point is close to the king's house. Now, the servant took a quite intelligent woman and have been coming to instruct the king's queen in the meaning.

čhúmoē minás - 192

<i>nusé,</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>númanininin</i>	<i>béričo</i>
n-sén	leél	n-u-man'-n-n-n-n	béric-čo-Ø
CP-say	knowing	CP-3PL.H:I-become-CP-CP-CP-CP	Doma-PL-ABS

dúcuman.

d-u-sú-m-an

TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

They gave notice in advance and brought Doma people together.

čhúmoē minás - 193

<i>tamašáar</i>	<i>béričo</i>	<i>dúcuman.</i>	<i>kuyoóč</i>	<i>gáři</i>
tamaašá-ar	béric-čo-Ø	d-u-sú-m-an	kuyoóč-Ø	gáři
fest-DAT	Doma-PL-ABS	TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H	subject.people-ABS	gathering

ótuman.

u-t'-m-an

3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

They brought Doma for a festival. They gathered obedient ones.

čhúmoē minás - 194

<i>kuyoóč</i>	<i>gáři</i>	<i>nótanininin,</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>áminan</i>
kuyoóč-Ø	gáři	n-u-t'-n-n-n-n	iné-Ø	ámin-an
subject.people-ABS	gathering	CP-3PL.H:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP	that:H-ABS	which:H-INDEF.SG

<i>silajínan</i> silajín-an-Ø female.relative-INDEF.SG-ABS	<i>dumóobóm</i> d-mu̇+bȧ-o-m come:PFV-3SG.HF+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS	<i>ke</i> ké LINK	<i>baadšáa</i> baadšáa-e king-GEN		
<i>yuúsmur</i> i-us'-mu-ar 3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	<i>maaní</i> maaní-Ø meaning-ABS	<i>étase</i> i-t'-as-e 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN	<i>gáne, iné</i> gan'-e iné-Ø way-ESS that:H-ABS		
<i>muyánčiar</i> mu-gan+či-ar 3SG.HF:I-welcome-DAT	<i>numóonin</i> n-mu̇-n-n go:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP	<i>muúto</i> muú-to now-just	<i>muríŋ</i> mu-riiŋ'-Ø 3SG.HF:I-hand-ABS		
<i>dúmarinin,</i> d-u-mar'-n-n TEL:CP-3PL.X:I-take.up-CP-CP	<i>toórum</i> toór-um that.much-ADJV LZ	<i>tamaašá</i> tamaašá-Ø fest-ABS	<i>éčume</i> i-t'-č-um-e 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJV LZ-ESS		
<i>buṭ</i> búṭ much	<i>bandibáste</i> bandibást-e preparation-GEN	<i>káa</i> káaṭ together	<i>tháman</i> thám-an-Ø king-INDEF.SG-ABS	<i>díusum</i> d-i-gús-um TEL-3SG.HM:I-go.out-ADJV LZ	<i>juán</i> juán like
<i>ne,</i> n-i-t CP-3SG.Y:II-do	<i>buṭ</i> búṭ much	<i>róop dáape</i> róop+ECHO-e fear+MASS-GEN	<i>káa</i> káaṭ together	<i>dumóomo.</i> d-mu̇-m-o come:PFV-3SG.HF-NPRS-3SG.HF	

Having gathered the obedient Doma people, the woman, who came there to teach the meaning for the king's queen, had an audience with her, and now is ready to take up her question. It is at the time when even the king went out being busy on preparation of a festival, so the woman felt a severe terror by coming.

čhúmoe minás - 195

<i>dumóoninininin,</i> d-mu̇-n-n-n-n-n come:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP-CP-CP-CP	<i>dumóon</i> d-mu̇-n come:CP-3SG.HF-CP	<i>dumóon</i> d-mu̇-n come:CP-3SG.HF-CP		
<i>dumóon</i> d-mu̇-n come:CP-3SG.HF-CP	<i>baadšáa</i> baadšáa-e king-GEN	<i>yuús</i> i-us 3SG.HM:I-wife	<i>mópači</i> mu-pá-či-e 3SG.HF:II-side-INE-ESS	<i>qha</i> qhát down

hurúṭumo kursíate.
 hurúṭ-m-o kursí-aṭ-e
 sit-NPRS-3SG.HF chair-INS-ESS

She came and sit down on a chair by the king's queen.

čhúmoe minás - 196

filháal qha nuúruṭinin sénumo ke, qha hurúṭase
 filháal qhát n-hurúṭ-n-n sén-m-o ké qhát hurúṭ-as-e
 at.the.present.time down CP-sit-CP-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK down sit-INF-GEN

káa, baadšáa yuús gáaršume
 káaṭ baadšáa-e i-us'Ø gáarc-č-um-e
 together king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-wife-ABS run-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS

dumóomo.
 d-mu'm-o
 come:PFV-3SG.HF-NPRS-3SG.HF

Now she sat down there, and the king's queen approached her running.

čhúmoe minás - 197

muyáṭe barkát apíman bom
 mu-yát-e barkát-Ø a-b'i-um-an bá-o-m
 3SG.HF:I-upwards-ESS blessing-ABS NEG-COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

aqhéer. choór dumóon sénumo ke, "ye baré
 aqhéer chór d-mu'n sén-m-o ké yé barén-i
 final early come:CP-3SG.HF-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK look:INTERJ look-IMP.SG

bée dukóobáa ke jáar čhúmo déeyasum
 bée d-gu'+bá-a-Ø ké jé-ar čhúmo-Ø d-ĩ-γas'-um
 no come:PFV-2SG+COP-2SG-PRS LINK I-DAT fish-ABS TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ

ité atíyasum ité maaní éti"
 ité a-d-ĩ-γas'-um ité maaní-Ø i-t'i
 that:Y NEG-TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ that:Y meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

sénumo.

sén-m-o

say-NPRS-3SG.HF

At last no blessing has come onto her yet. She came rapidly and said “Now welcome to you, and tell me the meaning that the fish did and did not laugh at me”.

čhúmoe minás - 198

“áar	maaní	éti”	sénase	káa,	ee
a-ar	maaní-Ø	i-t'i	sén-as-e	káaṭ	ee
1SG:II-DAT	meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	say-INF-GEN	together	FIL

étumo.

i-t'm-o

3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

“Teach me the meaning” saying, she did it.

čhúmoe minás - 199

“čhúmo	ayákal	ne	déeyasum	ité
čhúmo-Ø	a-yákal	n-i-t	d-i-yas'-um	ité
fish-ABS	1SG:I-direction	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ	that:Y

maaní	éti	sénase	káa”,	iné	dasíne
maaní-Ø	i-t'i	sén-as-e	káaṭ	iné	dasín-e
meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	say-INF-GEN	together	that:H	girl-ERG

sénumo**“sen”.**

sén-m-o

sén-i

say-NPRS-3SG.HF say-IMP.SG

“The fish watched me and laughed, teach me the meaning” the lady said, and the lady said “please continue to talk”.

čhúmoe minás - 200

sénumo *ke* “*se* *biiyariáat* *daiúus*”
 sén-m-o ké isé-∅ biiyariáat dayúus
 say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK that:X-ABS lacking.honour shameless

mósmo.

mu'-s'-m-o
 3SG.HF:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF

She [= the queen] said to her “the fish is shameless”.

čhúmoe minás - 201

“*un* *juánan* *apáa.* *je* *ke* *áqal* *qhudáae*
 ún-∅ juán-an a-bá-a-∅ jé-∅ ké áqal-∅ qhudáa-e
 thou-ABS like-INDEF.SG NEG-COP-2SG-PRS I-ABS LINK intelligence-ABS god-ERG

ačhíman *báa.* *šuá* *sis* *bandáa*
 a-čhí-um-an bá-a-∅ šuá sís bandáa-∅
 1SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG COP-1SG-PRS good people fellow-ABS

óyanabáa. *šuá* *akaabíre* *óyanabáa.*
 u-gán+bá-a-∅ šuá akaabír-e u-gán+bá-a-∅
 3PL.H:I-take+COP-1SG-PRS good noblesse-GEN 3PL.H:I-take+COP-1SG-PRS

“As you are not, I am endowed with intelligence by the God. I have ruled good citizens, good aristocrats.

čhúmoe minás - 202

jáar *ke* *qhudáae* *máto* *ačhíman* *báa.*
 jé-ar ké qhudáa-e máto-∅ a-čhí-um-an bá-a-∅
 I-DAT LINK god-ERG brain-ABS 1SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG COP-1SG-PRS

I am who the God gave great brains.

čhúmoe minás - 203

jáa *úne* *prátulo* *kursían* *bi.* *izáte*
 jé-e ún-e prá-t-ul-e kursí-an-∅ b'-i-∅ izát-e
 I-GEN (?) thou-GEN similarity-LOC-ESS chair-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS grace-GEN

káa. *suufáan* *bi* *úne* *ayárapat* *teebálan*
 káaṭ suufáa-an-∅ b'-i-∅ ún-e yár-pát teebál-an-∅
 together sofa-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS thou-GEN before-side table-INDEF.SG-ABS

bi. *čáai* *mináase* *gáne* *şapík* *şíasar*
 b'-i-∅ čáai-∅ min'-as-e gan'-e şapík-∅ şí-as-ar
 COP-3SG.X-PRS tea-ABS drink-INF-GEN way-ESS food-ABS eat:HX.SG.OBJ-INF-DAT

izáte *káa.*
 izát-e káaṭ
 grace-GEN together

As you have, fortunately I have a chair, a sofa, and a table in front of you to drink tea and to eat meal.

čhúmoe minás - 204

jáa *káa* *daltás* *čayabárar* *am* *báan,* *ménik."*
 jé-e káaṭ daltás čayabár-ar ám bá-an-∅ mén-ik-∅
 I-GEN together beautiful convesation-DAT where COP-3PL.H-PRS who-INDEF.PL-ABS

Where are those who tell me good stories?"

čhúmoe minás - 205

nusé *biizát* *mótumo,* *yániş.*
 n-sén biizát mu'-t'-m-o yéniş
 CP-say disgraced 3SG.HF:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF queen

Saying so the queen acted disgracefully.

čhúmoe minás - 206

beežát numó, “ye guté sóoč sambá ne
biizát n-mu't yé guté sóoč sambá-∅ n-i't
 disgraced CP-3SG.HF:II-do look:INTERJ this:Y thought thought-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do

jáar bandibást nétan qáo éti” nusén dáa
jé-ar bandibást-∅ n-i't'-n qáo-∅ i't'-i n-sén dáa
 I-DAT preparation-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP cry-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG CP-say again

nímo.

ní-m-o

go-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having acted badly, she said “Well, consider it and call me if you have been ready” and went away again.

čhúmoe minás - 207

láj numán numóon. mumóos dfinin
láj-<:> n-man n-mu'n mu-moos'∅ d-i'n-n
 swinging-EMPH CP-become go:CP-3SG.HF-CP 3SG.HF:I-anger-ABS come:CP-3SG.Y-CP-CP

hitháanar numóoninin.

hík-tháan-ar n-mu'n-n-n

one-place-DAT go:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP-CP

She moved around nervously and having got angry went to a position.

čhúmoe minás - 208

sénumo ke “phalaaná gúncar jáar guté čáaie řapíke óor
sén-m-o ké phalaaná gunc'ar jé-ar guté čái-e řapík-e óor
 say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK so.and.so day-DAT I-DAT this:Y tea-GEN food-GEN and

jáar úne káa prátulo nuúro, čayabár
jé-ar ún-e káař prát-ul-e n-hurúř čayabár-∅
 I-DAT thou-GEN together similarity-LOC-ESS CP-sit conversation-ABS

<i>étasar</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>izát</i>	<i>ne,</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>qáo</i>
i-t'as-ar	a-ar	izát-Ø	n-i-t	a-ar	qáo-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT	1SG:II-DAT	grace-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	1SG:II-DAT	cry-ABS

éti".

i-t'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

As saying "At such and such day, in deference to me, call me for tea and foods to talk with me".

čhúmoe minás - 209

<i>nusén,</i>	<i>numóonin</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>hitháane</i>	<i>alág</i>	<i>hurúṭumo.</i>
n-sén	n-mu'n-n	dáa	hík-tháan-e	alág	hurúṭ-m-o
CP-say	go:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP	again	one-place-ESS	separate	sit-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having said so, she went away to a certain position and sat down there.

čhúmoe minás - 210

<i>alág</i>	<i>nuúruṭininin,</i>	<i>muxtasáre kaláam</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>íimo</i>	<i>gunc</i>
alág	n-hurúṭ-n-n-n	muqtasár+e+kaláam	ité	i-í-mu-e	gunc'Ø
separate	CP-sit-CP-CP-CP	in.short	that:Y	3SG.Y:I-self-OBL-GEN	day-ABS

<i>díimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>gúncar,</i>	<i>dáa</i>
d-i'm-i	ké	ité	gunc'ar	dáa
come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y	LINK	that:Y	day-DAT	again

dumóomo.

d-mu'm-o

come:PFV-3SG.HF-NPRS-3SG.HF

She sat in distance. In the other time, when the designated day had come then she [= the daughter] came again.

čhúmoē minás - 211

<i>“ye</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>béesa”,</i>	<i>nusén.</i>	<i>“ye</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>béesa”</i>
yé	jú-i	béesa	n-sén	yé	jú-i	béesa
look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	nicht.wahr	CP-say	look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	nicht.wahr
<i>nusén,</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étumo.</i>		
n-sén	dáa	mu'-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t'-m-o		
CP-say	again	3SG.HF:II-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF		

“Come on now” she [= the queen] said and called her [= the daughter].

čhúmoē minás - 212

<i>móor</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étasar</i>	<i>dumóoninin,</i>					
mu'-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t'-as-ar	d-mu'-n-n-n					
3SG.HF:II-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT	come:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP-CP					
<i>múimo</i>	<i>róop dáape</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>dumóonin</i>	<i>barénasar,</i>				
mu-í-mu-e	róop+ECHO-e	káaṭ	d-mu'-n-n	barén-as-ar				
3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN	fear:MASS-GEN	together	come:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP	look-INF-DAT				
<i>ho</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>čáai,</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>kurcí,</i>	<i>suufáa,</i>	<i>ṭeebél</i>	<i>muyár</i>
hó	šúa	mu'-ar	čáai	šúa	kursí	suufáa	ṭeebál-Ø	mu-yár
then	good	3SG.HF:II-DAT	tea	good	chair	sofa	table-ABS	3SG.HF:I-before
<i>móphat</i>	<i>nídil</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>bandibást</i>	<i>nétan,</i>	<i>šúa</i>			
mu'-phat	n-i-d+i+l	mu'-ar	bandibást-Ø	n-i-t'-n	šúa			
3SG.HF:I-side	CP-3PL.Y:I-hit	3SG.HF:II-DAT	preparation-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:I-do-CP	good			
<i>tayáar</i>	<i>étubóm.</i>							
tayáar	i-t+bá-o-m							
ready	3PL.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS							

She came at the [queen's] summons; the queen looked her coming with the tremendous strain and then, [before the daughter arrives at her,] well prepared good tea, a good chair, a sofa, a table in front of her to welcome.

čhúmoe minás - 213

<i>tayáar</i>	<i>ne,</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>čáai</i>	<i>numín</i>	<i>naašítáa</i>	<i>nétanin</i>
tayáar	n-i-t	šúa	čáai-∅	n-min	naašítáa-∅	n-i-t'-n-n
ready	CP-3PL.Y:II-do	good	tea-ABS	CP-drink	breakfast-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP
<i>níši</i>		<i>numíninin</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>qisáan</i>	
n-i-ší		n-min'-n-n	hó	mu'-ar	qisá-an-∅	
CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ		CP-drink-CP-CP	then	3SG.HF:II-DAT	history-INDEF.SG-ABS	

étumo.

i-t'-m-o

3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having prepared and they had good tea and breakfast, and after that [the daughter] told a history for her.

čhúmoe minás - 214

<i>íne</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>nookáre</i>	<i>dumócum</i>	<i>inée</i>
ín-e	baadšáa-e	nookár-e	d-mu'-sú-um	inée-e
s/he:DIST-ERG	king-GEN	servant-ERG	TEL-3SG.HF:II-bring-ADJVLZ	that:H-ERG

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>qisáan</i>	<i>ne</i>
baadšáa-e	i-us'-mu-ar	qisá-an-∅	n-i-t
king-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	history-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do

<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“hin</i>	<i>baadšáane</i>	<i>éyarum</i>
sén-m-o	ké	hín	baadšáa-an-e	i-yar-um
say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	one:H	king-INDEF.SG-GEN	3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ

<i>tootáan</i>	<i>bim”,</i>	<i>sénumo.</i>
tootá-an-∅	b'-i-m	sén-m-o
parrot-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS	say-NPRS-3SG.HF

The lady whom the king's servant fetched told a history for the king's wife: “There was a parrot loved by a king”.

čhúmoe minás - 215

<i>“hin</i>	<i>baadšáane</i>	<i>bée</i>	<i>báazan</i>	<i>bim,</i>
hín	baadšáa-an-e	bée	báaz-an-∅	b’i-m
one:H	king-INDEF.SG-GEN	no	hawk-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS
<i>éyarum</i>	<i>báazan</i>	<i>bim.</i>		
i-yar-um	báaz-an-∅	b’i-m		
3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ	hawk-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS		

“No, there was a hawk loved by a king.

čhúmoe minás - 216

<i>isé</i>	<i>báaz</i>	<i>iphóijate</i>	<i>níya</i>	<i>čakárar</i>
isé	báaz-∅	i-phóij-at-e	n-i-gán	čakár-ar
that:X	hawk-ABS	3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS	CP-3SG.X:I-take	stroll-DAT
<i>níčóm.</i>				
ní-č+bá-i-m				
go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS				

He used to walk around taking the hawk on his shoulder.

čhúmoe minás - 217

<i>isé</i>	<i>báaz</i>	<i>iphóijate</i>	<i>níya</i>	<i>šikáarar</i>		
isé	báaz-∅	i-phóij-at-e	n-i-gán	šikár-ar		
that:X	hawk-ABS	3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS	CP-3SG.X:I-take	hunt-DAT		
<i>níčóm.</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>báaz</i>	<i>iphóijate</i>	<i>níya</i>		
ní-č+bá-i-m	isé	báaz-∅	i-phóij-at-e	n-i-gán		
go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	that:X	hawk-ABS	3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS	CP-3SG.X:I-take		
<i>har</i>	<i>díšar</i>	<i>ímo</i>	<i>yáar</i>	<i>dóoste</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>čakárar</i>
hár	diš’-ar	i-í-mu-e	yáar	dóost-e	káat	čakár-ar
every	ground-DAT	3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN	partner	friend-GEN	together	stroll-DAT

duúšóm.

d-gús-č+bá-i-m

TEL-go.out-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He used to go hunting taking the hawk on his shoulder. He went out everywhere always with his friend the hawk taking on his shoulder.

čhúmoē minás - 218

úmo

i-í-mu-e

3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN

mahále

mahál-e

court-GEN

čakárij

čakár-ij-Ø

stroll-PL-ABS

éčóm.

i-t'-č+bá-i-m

3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

úmo

i-í-mu-e

3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN

iđigáarimo

i-đigaarí-mu-um

3SG.HM:I-circumference-OBL-ABL

jaagíre

jaagíir-e

fief-GEN

čakárar

čakár-ar

stroll-DAT

duúšóm.

d-gús-č+bá-i-m

TEL-go.out-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He used to take a walk in his palace, neighbourhood, and each area of his fief.

čhúmoē minás - 219

aaqhirí

aaqhirí

end

barénasar,

barén-as-ar

look-INF-DAT

iné

iné

that:H

baadšáa

baadšáa-Ø

king-ABS

aaqhirí

aaqhirí

end

darúanar

darú-an-ar

hunting-INDEF.SG-DAT

ními.

ní-m-i

go-NPRS-3SG.HM

At last the king went to a hunting.

čhúmoē minás - 220

darúanar

darú-an-ar

hunting-INDEF.SG-DAT

níninininin

n-i''n-n-n-n-n

go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP-CP-CP

dásanulo

das'-an-ul-e

wasteland-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS

ye káaṭum uée káa nookáre káa
yé káaṭ-um ué-e káaṭ nookár-e káaṭ
 look:INTERJ together-ADJVLZ those:H-GEN together servant-GEN together

íimo baadigáare káa daltáško síse káa
i-í-mu-e baadigáar-e káaṭ daltás-ko sí-s-e káaṭ
 3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN bodyguard-GEN together beautiful-PL people-GEN together

darúanar níbám.
darú-an-ar ní+bá-i-m
 hunting-INDEF.SG-DAT go+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He went to a hunting to a field with his servants, bodygurads, and good fellows.

čhúmoe minás - 221

ité darú étas díšulo mathán dásanar
ité darú-∅ i-t'-as diš'-ul-e mathán das'-an-ar
 that:Y hunting-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF ground-LOC-ESS far wasteland-INDEF.SG-DAT

núin, choq ne choq ne,
n-i'n chóq-∅ n-i't chóq-∅ n-i't
 go:CP-3SG.HM-CP looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do

garúrum waqt bilúm. choq ne
garúr-um wáqt-∅ b'il'-m chóq-∅ n-i't
 hot-ADJVLZ time-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do

choq ne choq ne darú
chóq-∅ n-i't chóq-∅ n-i't darú-∅
 looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do hunting-ABS

oómanum.
aú-man'-um
 NEG-become-ADJVLZ

While he was going far away in the hunting field as looking all around, it became a so hot time that the hunting should not be continued.

čhúmoe minás - 222

baadšáa gaár dími.
 baadšáa-Ø gaár d-i'm-i
 king-ABS dizzy come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

The king felt dizzy.

čhúmoe minás - 223

gaár júase káa, 'baréin náa léi
 gaár jú-as-e káaṭ barén-in náa léi
 dizzy come-INF-GEN together look-IMP.PL TAG.Q INTERJ:HM.OBJ

áčukóon, óor, chílan áaminin, be
 a-čo-kóon óor chil'an-Ø a-min'in bé
 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-PL and water-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:III-drink-IMP.PL what

maními.
 man'-m-i
 become-NPRS-3SG.Y

Feeling dizzy he said 'Hey, my brothers, get me some water. What's up?

čhúmoe minás - 224

chíle buṭ tráa oúyam garúrum
 chil'e búṭ tráa a-búy-a-m garúr-um
 water-GEN much exceedingly 1SG:I-dry.up-1SG-NPRS hot-ADJVLZ

amánam awáram, chílan áaminin.
 a-man'a-m a-bar'a-m chil'an-Ø a-min'in
 1SG:I-become-1SG-NPRS 1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-NPRS water-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:III-drink-IMP.PL

ba'éin.' sénase káa. et dásulo chílan
 ba'en-in sén-as-e káaṭ ét das'-ul-e chil'an-Ø
 look-IMP.PL say-INF-GEN together that.one:Y wasteland-LOC-ESS water-INDEF.SG-ABS

apím.

a-b'il'm

NEG-COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

I have got so thirsty, felt hot, and been tired, so get me some water. Hurry.' But there was no water in the field.

čhúmoe minás - 225

chílan

chil'an-Ø

water-INDEF.SG-ABS

apím.

a-b'il'm

NEG-COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

'éle

él-e

there-ESS

choq

chóq-Ø

looking.around-ABS

e

i't'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

khóle

khól-e

here-ESS

choq

chóq-Ø

looking.around-ABS

e

i't'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

éle

él-e

there-ESS

choq

chóq-Ø

looking.around-ABS

e

i't'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

khóle

khól-e

here-ESS

choq

chóq-Ø

looking.around-ABS

e'

i't'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

çháa

çháa

everywhere

barénuman

barén-m-an

look-NPRS-3PL.H

ke

ké

LINK

ámulo

ámul-e

where-ESS

chílan

chil'an-Ø

water-INDEF.SG-ABS

apím.

a-b'il'm

NEG-COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

No water there was. 'Look there! Search here!' they looked for everywhere but there was no water.

čhúmoe minás - 226

ité

ité

that:Y far

mathán

mathán

dířanar

diř'an-ar

ground-INDEF.SG-DAT

núun

n-u'n

go:CP-3PL.H-CP

barénasar,

barén-as-ar

look-INF-DAT

čháránulo

čhar'an-ul-e

rocky.mountain-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS

çátane

çať'an-e

crack-INDEF.SG-GEN

hóle

hól-e

outside-ESS

káman

kám-an

little-INDEF.SG

<i>búlan,</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>
bul'-an-Ø	čuṭ	čuṭ	čuṭ	čuṭ
spring-INDEF.SG-ABS	trickling:ONO	trickling:ONO	trickling:ONO	trickling:ONO
<i>maḃilúm</i>	<i>iláaj</i>	<i>ne.</i>		
man'-č+b'il'-m	iláaj-Ø	n-i'-t		
become-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	remedy-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do		

They went to a far place and sought that there was a small spring in a crack at a rock trickling out for their help.

čhúmoe minás - 227

<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>maḃilúm</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>
čuṭ	čuṭ	man'-č+b'il'-m	ké	ité-Ø
trickling:ONO	trickling:ONO	become-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	LINK	that:Y-ABS
<i>iláaj</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>baḃalíkanulo</i>	<i>nuqárkininin,</i>	
iláaj-Ø	n-i'-t	baḃalík-an-ul-e	n-γark'-n-n-n	
remedy-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	small.metal.vessel-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	CP-capture-CP-CP-CP	
<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáar</i>	<i>táake</i>	<i>nuqárkin</i>	<i>dusúman.</i>
iné	baadšáa-ar	táake	n-γark'-n	d-sú-m-an
that:H	king-DAT	so.that	CP-capture-CP	TEL-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

They poured the helpful trickling water into a small metal water pot and brought it to the king.

čhúmoe minás - 228

<i>dusúninin</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>baadšáar</i>	<i>'miné</i>	<i>ga'</i>	<i>nusén</i>
d-sú-n-n-n	ké	ité-Ø	baadšáa-ar	min'-i	gán-i	n-sén
TEL:CP-bring-CP-CP-CP	LINK	that:Y-ABS	king-DAT	drink-IMP.SG	take-IMP.SG	CP-say
<i>ičhíasar,</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>				
i-čhí'-as-ar	ín	baadšáa-Ø				
3SG.HM:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-INF-DAT	s/he:DIST	king-ABS				

<i>iwárumkuṣe</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>imóosulo</i>	<i>bam.</i>
i-bar'-um-kuṣ-e	káaṭ	i-moos'-ul-e	bá-i-m
3SG.HM:I-get.tired-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-GEN	together	3SG.HM:I-anger-LOC-ESS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

They brought and was going to give it the king saying 'Drink it, take now!', then the king was angry by reason of his fatigue.

čhúmoe minás - 229

<i>iwárumkuṣ</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>éer</i>	<i>darú</i>	<i>oómanas</i>
i-bar'-um-kuṣ-Ø	óor	i-ar	darú-Ø	aú-man'-as
3SG.HM:I-get.tired-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-ABS	and	3SG.HM:II-DAT	hunting-ABS	NEG-become-INF

<i>et</i>	<i>imóos</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>gáṭi,</i>	<i>éte</i>	<i>baḍalíkulum</i>
ét	i-moos'-Ø	ké	gáṭi	ité	baḍalík-ul-um
that.one:Y	3SG.HM:I-anger-ABS	LINK	gathering	that:Y	small.metal.vessel-LOC-ABL

<i>chil</i>	<i>miyáar</i>	<i>duúnase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>iphóíṇaṭum</i>
chil'-Ø	min'-č-ar	d-gún-as-e	káaṭ	i-phoíṇ-aṭ-um
water-ABS	drink-IPFV-DAT	TEL-pack-INF-GEN	together	3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ABL

<i>báaze</i>	<i>galgí</i>	<i>raráp</i>	<i>étimi.</i>
báaz-e	galgí-Ø	RDP-ráp	i-t'-m-i
hawk-GEN	feather-ABS	MASS-flattering:ONO	3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

He had got angry because of both the fatigue and that now he could not do hunting, so he started to drink the water out from the small pot and made the hawk on his shoulder to flatter its wing.

čhúmoe minás - 230

<i>iphóíṇaṭum</i>	<i>báaze</i>	<i>galgí</i>	<i>raráp</i>	<i>ne</i>
i-phoíṇ-aṭ-um	báaz-e	galgí-Ø	RDP-ráp	n-i-t
3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ABL	hawk-GEN	feather-ABS	MASS-flattering:ONO	CP-3SG.X:II-do

<i>chil</i>	<i>déemimi.</i>
chil'-Ø	d-i'-mi-m-i
water-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having made the hawk on his shoulder to flatter its wing, he collected water.

čhúmoe minás - 231

<i>chil</i>	<i>déemiase</i>	<i>káa,</i>	<i>'áa</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>íi</i>
chil'-∅	d-ī-mi-as-e	káaʔ	a·e	ún-∅	íi
water-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-INF-GEN	together	1SG:II-ERG	thou-ABS	just
<i>čiráaqar</i>	<i>gušúa</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>gutée</i>	<i>gáne</i>	
čiráq-ar	gu-šú-a-∅	jé-e	guté-e	gan'e	
lamp-DAT (?)	2SG:I-eat:HX.OBJ-1SG-PRS	I-ERG	this:Y-GEN	way-ESS	

guúšayabáyama.

gu-ušá-a+bá-a-a-m=a

2SG:I-bring.up-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS=Q

As collecting water [he said] 'I eat you to the light (?), I brought you up on the purpose.

čhúmoe minás - 232

<i>aphóinjaṭe</i>	<i>daltás,</i>	<i>aphóinjaṭe</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>eíane</i>
a-phoín-aṭ-e	daltás	a-phoín-aṭ-e	jé-e	a-i'an-e
1SG:I-shoulder-INS-ESS	beautiful	1SG:I-shoulder-INS-ESS	I-GEN	1SG:I-son-INDEF.SG-GEN
<i>díšanulo,</i>	<i>auláatane</i>	<i>díšanulo</i>		
diš'an-ul-e	auláad-an-e	diš'an-ul-e		
ground-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	descendant-INDEF.SG-GEN	ground-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS		
<i>nukúyar</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>káar</i>	<i>nukóotan.</i>	
n-gu-yar	dáa	káar-∅	n-gu't-n	
CP-2SG:I-graze	again	job-ABS	CP-2SG:III-do-CP	

I had watched and gave a job for you on my shoulder where is good for my son or descendant.

čhúmoe minás - 233

<i>dáa</i>	<i>khúulto</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>neekí</i>	<i>díimia</i>
dáa	khúulto	guté	neekí-∅	d-ī'm-i=a
again	today	this:Y	luck-ABS	come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y=Q

<i>awáramate,</i>		<i>huróyo</i>	<i>dfimate,</i>	<i>guté</i>
a-bar'a-um-aṭ-e		huróyo-Ø	d-i'um-aṭ-e	guté
1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS		sweat-ABS	come:PFV-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	this:Y
<i>amóos</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>awáramate,</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>mináas</i>
a-moos'Ø	ké	a-bar'a-um-aṭ-e	chil'Ø	min'as-Ø
1SG:I-anger-ABS	LINK	1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	water-ABS	drink-INF-ABS
<i>ayátum</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>bes</i>	<i>déemima'</i>	<i>nusén.</i>
a-a't'um	ún-e	bés	d-i'mi-m-a	n-sén
NEG-1SG:II-do-ADJVLZ	thou-ERG	why	TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-NPRS-2SG	CP-say

And today this good luck seems to have come; on the occasion that I had been exhausted and in a sweat so that I could not keep even my anger, why did you collect water despite the fact that you would not let me have it?' he said.

čhúmoe minás - 234

<i>iphóinaṭum</i>	<i>báaz</i>	<i>γajám</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>dícum</i>
i-phóin-aṭ-um	báaz-Ø	γajám	n-i't	d-i-sú-um
3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ABL	hawk-ABS	snatching	CP-3SG.X:II-do	TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-ADJVLZ
<i>éşulo</i>	<i>duún</i>	<i>maráaq</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>çaṭ</i> <i>ne</i>
i-ş'ul-e	d-gún	maráaq-<:>	n-i't	çaṭ n-i't
3SG.X:II-neck-LOC-ESS	TEL:CP-pack	bending-EMPH	CP-3SG.X:II-do	crack CP-3SG.X:II-do
<i>lip</i>	<i>étimi</i>	<i>báas.</i>		
líp	i-t'm-i	báaz-Ø		
dumping	3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM	hawk-ABS		

He snatched the hawk from his shoulder, bent its neck, plucked it off, and threw it away.

čhúmoe minás - 235

<i>lip</i>	<i>éti.</i>
líp	i-t'Ø-i
dumping	3SG.X:II-do-PRS-3SG.HM

Almost threw it away.

čhúmoe minás - 236

<i>ité</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>ámitan</i>	<i>bilúm</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>
ité	chil'-∅	ámit-an	b'il'-m	ké	ité-∅	baadšáa-e
that:Y	water-ABS	which:Y-INDEF.SG	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	LINK	that:Y-ABS	king-GEN
<i>gáne</i>	<i>zéhere</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>			
gan'-e	záhar-e	chil'-∅	b'il'-m			
way-ESS	poison-GEN	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS			

The water was of poison for the king.

čhúmoe minás - 237

<i>et</i>	<i>zéhere</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>bilúm</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>
ét-∅	záhar-e	chil'-∅	b'il'-m	iné	baadšáa-∅
that.one:Y-ABS	poison-GEN	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	that:H	king-ABS
<i>ířčóm</i>		<i>agár</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>minúwám</i>	<i>ke</i>
i-ir'-č+bá-i-m		ágar	ité-∅	min+bá-i-m	ké
3SG.HM:I-die-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS		if	that:Y-ABS	drink+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	LINK
<i>čhémilije</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>			
čhémiliḡ-e	chil'-∅	b'il'-m			
poison-GEN	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS			

It was such poison water that if he drinks it then the king dies.

čhúmoe minás - 238

<i>teflaṭe</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>báase</i>	<i>wafadaarí</i>	<i>netanin</i>
teíl-aṭ-e	isé	báaz-e	waphaadáar-í-∅	n-i-t'-n-n
in.that.way-INS-ESS	that:X	hawk-ERG	faithfulness-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP
<i>galgí</i>	<i>rarám</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>déemimi.</i>	
galgí-∅	RDP-rám	n-i-t	d-ĩ-mi-m-i	
feather-ABS	MASS-flattering:ONO	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-NPRS-3SG.X	

baadšáa bačát imánimi.
 baadšáa-Ø bačát i-man'-m-i
 king-ABS residue 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

Thus, by the faithfulness, the hawk collected it as flattering its wing. And the king survived.

čhúmoe minás - 239

bačát níman, múšate sóoč sambá
 bačát n-i-man muš'-aṭ-e sóoč sambá-Ø
 residue CP-3SG.HM:I-become edge-INS-ESS thought thought-ABS

ayétum[an].

a-i-t'-m-an
 NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

He survived; At the time [everybody] did not thought that.

čhúmoe minás - 240

sóoč sambá ayétuman ke insáan daltáško
 sóoč sambá-Ø a-i-t'-m-an ké insáan-Ø daltás-ko
 thought thought-ABS NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H LINK human-ABS beautiful-PL

čízizcum chil maníbáan. íne jíí bačát
 číz-iz-c-um chil man+bá-an-Ø ín-e jíí-Ø bačát
 thing-PL-ADE-ABL water become+COP-3PL.H-PRS s/he:DIST-GEN life-ABS residue

éetase gáne ése chil
 ĩ-t'-as-e gan'-e és-e chil'-Ø
 3PL.H:III-do-INF-GEN way-ESS that.one:X-ERG water-ABS

déemibím.

d-ĩ-mi+b'-i-m
 TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

They did not believe that it [= the hawk] collected water to save his life, because man procures water from clean things.

čhúmoe minás - 241

íne *akhénúm* *sóoč* *ayétum* *'khóse*
 ín-e a-hén-um sóoč-∅ a-i'-t'-um khós-e
 s/he:DIST-ERG NEG-know-ADJVLZ thought-ABS NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-ADJVLZ this.one:X-ERG

jáa *káa* *dušmaní* *étibi'* *nusén, eš*
 jé-e káaṭ dušmaní-∅ i-t+b'-i-∅ n-sén i-š'-∅
 I-GEN together hostility-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS CP-say 3SG.X:II-neck-ABS

maráaq *ne* *çaṭ* *ne* *lip* *étimi.*
 maráq-<: > n-i-t čaṭ n-i-t líp i-t'-m-i
 bending-EMPH CP-3SG.X:II-do crack CP-3SG.X:II-do dumping 3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

He did not know it and did not think so, and then saying ‘This has turned against me!’ folded its neck, plucked and threw it.

čhúmoe minás - 242

ya *akhíljuko* *daltáško* *čízijum* *chil*
 yá akhíl-čuko daltás-ko číz-iṭ-c-um chil-∅
 INTERJ in.this.way-PL beautiful-PL thing-PL-ADE-ABL water-ABS

maíbaan. *sóoč* *ne* *sambá* *éti'*
 mań-č+bá-an-∅ sóoč-∅ n-i-t sambá-∅ i-t'-i
 become-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS thought-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do thought-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

nusén.
 n-sén
 CP-say

Now, you are procureing water from such clean things. Consider about it” she said.

čhúmoe minás - 243

dáa *nímo* *iné* *baadšáa* *ee* *yuúsmur* *maaní*
 dáa ní-m-o iné baadšáa-e ee i-us'-mu-ar maaní-∅
 again go-NPRS-3SG.HF that:H king-GEN FIL 3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT meaning-ABS

éčar *dumóom* *iné.*
 i-t'č-ar d-mu'um iné-∅
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-DAT come:PFV-3SG.HF-ADJVLZ that:H-ABS

And the woman who came to explain the meaning to the king's wife went out.

čhúmoe minás - 244

dáa *numóon* *múimo* *kamaráulo* *hurúřumo.*
 dáa n-mu'n mu-í-mu-e kamará-ul-e hurúř-m-o
 again go:PFV:3SG.HF-CP 3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN room-LOC-ESS sit-NPRS-3SG.HF

She [= the daughter] had gone and [the queen] sat down in her room.

čhúmoe minás - 245

nuúro *dáa* *wáqtan* *gúzra* *manáasar,* *dáa* *wáqtan*
 n-hurúř dáa wáqt-an-∅ gúzra man'-as-ar dáa wáqt-an-∅
 CP-sit again time-INDEF.SG-ABS passed become-INF-DAT again time-INDEF.SG-ABS

gúzra *manáasar,* *dáa* *qáo* *étumo.*
 gúzra man'-as-ar dáa qáo-∅ i-t'm-o
 passed become-INF-DAT again cry-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having sat down, she passed her time and called her again.

čhúmoe minás - 246

"bée *ya,* *ju,* *jáar* *maaní* *éti* *choór"*
 bée yá jú-i jé-ar maaní-∅ i-t'i chóř-<:>
 no INTERJ come-IMP.SG I-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG early-EMPH

sénase *káa.*
 sén-as-e káař
 say-INF-GEN together

As saying "No, come on and tell me the meaning right now".

čhúmoe minás - 247

<i>“saátimo</i>	<i>itée</i>	<i>sóoč</i>	<i>sambá</i>	<i>étóo”</i>			
saáṭi-mu-e	ité-e	sóoč	sambá-∅	i-t+bá-a-∅			
yesterday-OBL-GEN	that:Y-GEN	thought	thought-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-2SG-PRS			
<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa,</i>	<i>“bée ya,</i>	<i>daltás</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sóoč</i>	<i>sambá</i>	
sén-as-e	káaṭ	bée yá	daltás	n-i-t	sóoč	sambá-∅	
say-INF-GEN	together	no INTERJ	beautiful	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	thought	thought-ABS	
<i>éti”</i>	<i>mósumo.</i>						
i-t-i	mu-s-m-o						
3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	3SG.HF:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF						

“Have you considered about the yesterday’s story?” [the daughter] asked, and [the queen] answered to her “No, you explain with a beautiful idea”.

čhúmoe minás - 248

<i>“bée ya,</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>juú,</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>étabáa”</i>	<i>nusén,</i>	<i>dáa</i>	
bée yá	yé	juú	bás	i-t-a+bá-a-∅	n-sén	dáa	
no	INTERJ	look:INTERJ	mister	enough	3SG.Y:II-do-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS	CP-say	again
<i>wáqtan</i>	<i>níasar</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>dáa</i>	
wáqt-an-∅	ní-as-ar	dáa	mu-ar	qáo-∅	n-i-t	dáa	
time-INDEF.SG-ABS	go-INF-DAT	again	3SG.HF:II-DAT	cry-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	again	
<i>zabardastí</i>	<i>dumúcumo.</i>						
zabardastí-∅	d-mu-sú-m-o						
greatness-ABS	TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-NPRS-3SG.HF						

“No, Your Majesty, I have finished to explain” she said; After a short while she [= the queen] called her again and pestered her.

čhúmoe minás - 249

<i>dumúcunininin</i>	<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>dumúcase</i>
d-mu-sú-n-n-n-n	sén-m-o	ké	d-mu-sú-as-e
TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-CP-CP-CP-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-INF-GEN

káa *dáa* *sénumo* *ke,* “*ye* *khóle* *ésal,*
káaṭ *dáa* *sén-m-o* *ké* *yé* *khól-e* *i-sal-i*
together again say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK look:INTERJ here-ESS 3SG.Y:II-watch-IMP.SG

hin *baadšáane* *éyarum* *tootáan*
hín *baadšáa-an-e* *i-yar-um* *tootá-an-∅*
one:H king-INDEF.SG-GEN 3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ parrot-INDEF.SG-ABS

bim” *sénumo.*
b’i-m *sén-m-o*
COP-3SG.X-NPRS say-NPRS-3SG.HF

To that the queen pestered her so, she said “Er, listen, there was a parrot loved by a king”.

čhúmoe minás - 250

“*isé* *baadšáa* *éyarum* *tootáan* *bim.*
isé-∅ *baadšáa-e* *i-yar-um* *tootá-an-∅* *b’i-m*
that:X-ABS king-GEN 3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ parrot-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-NPRS

isé *iphóijaṭe* *níya,* *ee, gaár*
isé-∅ *i-phóij-aṭ-e* *n-i-gán* *ee gaár*
that-ABS 3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS CP-3SG.X:I-take FIL dizzy

maibám.
man’č+bá-i-m
become-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

“It was the king’s beloved parrot. He looked after it perching on his shoulder.

čhúmoe minás - 251

iphóijaṭe *níya* *šícóm*
i-phóij-aṭ-e *n-i-gán* *ší-č+bá-i-m*
3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS CP-3SG.X:I-take eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

miibám *naašitáa* *éčóm.* *óor*
min’č+bá-i-m *naašitáa-∅* *i-t’č+bá-i-m* *óor*
drink-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS breakfast-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS and

teebálate *épači* *néuro* *khaanáa* *káa*
 teebál-aṭ-e i-pá-či-e n-i-hurúṭ khaaná-e káaṭ
 table-INS-ESS 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-ESS CP-3SG.X:II-sit food-GEN together

éesirčóm.

i-sir-č+bá-i-m

3SG.X:III-feed-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

With it on his shoulder he used to eat and drink and have breakfast. And seated it by the table to feed.

čhúmoe minás - 252

ámular *daltás* *díšar* *dauráar* *níasar* *ke* *isé*
 ámul-ar daltás diš'-ar daurá-ar ní-as-ar ké isé
 where-DAT beautiful ground-DAT going.round-DAT go-INF-DAT LINK that:X

tootáa *níya* *níčóm.*

tootá-∅ n-i-gán ní-č+bá-i-m

parrot-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-take go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

When he went to somewhere to a tour then he used to brought it together.

čhúmoe minás - 253

ee, *aaqhiríar* *ke* *hik* *barénasar* *ámitan* *daltás*
 ee aaqhirí-ar ké hík barén-as-ar ámit-an daltás
 FIL end-DAT LINK one:Z look-INF-DAT which:Y-INDEF.SG beautiful

kirkían *bilúm* *baadšáa* *saámarum* *mahále*
 kirkí-an-∅ b-il'-m baadšáa-e saámarum mahál-e
 window-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS king-GEN ??? court-GEN

kirkíe *hóle* *isé* *tootáa* *éçuan*
 kirkí-e hól-e isé tootá-e i-ço-an-∅
 window-GEN outside-ESS that:X parrot-GEN 3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-INDEF.SG-ABS

dími.

d-i''m-i

come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

One day it was witnessed a parrot which is a brother of the king's beloved one coming outside the palace of the king's beautiful window.

čhúmoe minás - 254

<i>tootáa</i>	<i>éçuan</i>		<i>díin,</i>	<i>tootá</i>	<i>ke</i>
tootá-e	i-ço-an-Ø		d-i''n	tootá	ké
parrot-GEN	3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-INDEF.SG-ABS		come:CP-3SG.X-CP	parrot	LINK

<i>tootá</i>	<i>óltik</i>	<i>gáti</i>	<i>numá,</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>hólum</i>	<i>díin</i>
tootá	u:ltik-Ø	gáti	n-man	isé	hól-um	d-i''n
parrot	3PL.X:II-both-ABS	gathering	CP-become	that:X	outside-ABL	come:CP-3SG.X-CP

<i>isé</i>	<i>tootáa</i>	<i>éçue</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>'wáa</i>
isé	tootá-e	i-ço-e	sén-m-i	ké	wáa
that:X	parrot-GEN	3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN	say-NPRS-3SG.X	LINK	INTERJ

<i>daltás</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>éyarum</i>	<i>tootáa,</i>	<i>úne</i>
daltás	baadšáa-e	i-yar-um	tootá	ún-e
beautiful	king-GEN	3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ	parrot	thou-GEN

<i>góçue</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>bilá.</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>joṭ</i>
gu-ço-e	gar'-Ø	b'il'-Ø	ún-e	joṭ
2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN	marriage-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	thou-GEN	small

<i>góçue</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>bilá.</i>	<i>júçuma</i>	<i>náa'</i>
gu-ço-e	gar'-Ø	b'il'-Ø	jú-č-m-a	náa
2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN	marriage-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	come-IPFV-NPRS-2SG	TAG.Q

sénimi.

sén-m-i

say-NPRS-3SG.X

A brother of the parrot came, they two parrots gathered here, the [brother] parrot came from the outside and said to its brother 'Oh the king's beloved beautiful parrot, the wedding ceremony of your younger brother is [held]. You'd better come'.

čhúmoē minás - 255

ee baadšáa mahálar díninin mahálulo bim
 ee baadšáa-e mahál-ar d-í'n-n-n mahál-ul-e b'i-um
 FIL king-GEN court-DAT come:CP-3SG.X-CP-CP-CP court-LOC-ESS COP-3SG.X-ADJVLZ

isé tootáar dín ésimi ke 'úne
 isé tootá-ar d-í'n i-s'm-i ké ún-e
 that:X parrot-DAT come:CP-3SG.X-CP 3SG.X:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.X LINK thou-GEN

góçue gar bilá. laazmí júas
 gu'ço-e gar'∅ b'il'∅ laazmí-e jú-as
 2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS responsibility-GEN come-INF

gumáibáa.' sénase káa.
 gu-man'č+bá-a-∅ sén-as-e káaṭ
 2SG:I-become-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS say-INF-GEN together

[The brother parrot] came to the king's palace, to the parrot which lived in the palace, and told it 'There is your brother's marriage. You are responsible for coming'.

čhúmoē minás - 256

óltike čayabár ne tootámuc óltike
 u-ltik-e čayabár-∅ n-i't tootá-muc u-ltik-e
 3PL.X:II-both-ERG conversation-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do parrot-PL 3PL.X:II-both-ERG

čayabár ne, 'jée khiné baadšáacum ijaazát
 čayabár-∅ n-i't jé-e khiné baadšáa-c-um ijaazát-∅
 conversation-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do I-ERG this:H king-ADE-ABL permission-ABS

nukán júçam. khiné íane díšulo
 n-gán jú-č-a-m khiné-e i-i'an-e díš'ul-e
 CP-take come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS this:H-ERG 3SG.HM:I-son-INDEF.SG-GEN ground-LOC-ESS

éianmo díšulo oušabái.
 i-i-an-mu-e díš'ul-e a-ušá+bá-i-∅
 3SG.HM:II-daughter-INDEF.SG-OBL-GEN ground-LOC-ESS 1SG:I-bring.up+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

Those both talked [and the king's beloved parrot said] 'I'll come after taking a permission from this king. This king has brought me up as if I were his son or daughter.

čhúmoe minás - 257

<i>dáa</i>	<i>khíncum</i>	<i>atéeyuršume</i>	<i>káaṭum</i>
dáa	khín-c-um	a-d-a-yurk-č-um-e	káaṭ-um
again	s/he:PROX-ADE-ABL	NEG-TEL-1SG:III-attain-IPFV-ADJVLZ-GEN	together-ADJVLZ
<i>méne</i>	<i>júcam.</i>		
mén-e	jú-č-a-m		
who-ERG (?)	come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS		

So how will I come without taking permission from him.

čhúmoe minás - 258

<i>khiné</i>	<i>baadšáacum</i>	<i>ijaazát</i>	<i>dáayurkam</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dáa</i>
khiné	baadšaa-c-um	ijaazát-∅	d-a-yurk-a-m	ké	dáa
this:H	king-ADE-ABL	permission-ABS	TEL-1SG:III-attain-1SG-NPRS	LINK	again
<i>ya</i>	<i>gon.</i>	<i>inšallaa.'</i>	<i>nusén.</i>		
yá	gón-i	inšallaa	n-sén		
INTERJ	INTERJ-IMP.SG	if.god.wills	CP-say		

When I have taken a permission from the king, then shall we go. If the God wills' it said.

čhúmoe minás - 259

<i>hólum</i>	<i>dúm</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>tootáar</i>	<i>ijaazát</i>
hól-um	d-í-um	isé	tootá-ar	ijaazát-∅
outside-ABL	come:PFV-3SG.X-ADJVLZ	that:X	parrot-DAT	permission-ABS
<i>níchi</i>	<i>éerimi.</i>			
n-i-čhi	ĩ-r'-m-i			
CP-3SG.X:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ	3SG.X:III-send-NPRS-3SG.X			

It gave a permission for the parrot come from outside and sent away.

čhúmoe minás - 260

néerinininin, *múšaṭe* *iné* *isé* *tootáa* *baadšáa*
 n-i-r'-n-n-n-n muš'-aṭ-e iné isé tootá-e baadšáa
 CP-3SG.X:III-send-CP-CP-CP-CP edge-INS-ESS that:H that:X parrot-ERG king

épači *isée* *sóoč* *étimi* *ke*
 i-pá-či-e isé-e sóoč-∅ i-t'-m-i ké
 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-ESS that:X-ERG thought-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X LINK

'ye *muú* *baadšáacum* *muú* *duyárušam'* *nusén.*
 yé muú baadšáa-c-um muú d-γarús-č-a-m n-sén
 look:INTERJ now king-ADE-ABL now TEL-be.straight-IPFV-1SG-NPRS CP-say

baadšáacum *duyárusimi.*
 baadšáa-c-um d-γarús-m-i
 king-ADE-ABL TEL-be.straight-NPRS-3SG.X

At the time of sending it [= the brother] out, the parrot which is by the king thought 'Now I shall ask the king' and did it.

čhúmoe minás - 261

'yáa *baadšáa* *salaamát,* *akhí* *nétan* *jáa* *joṭ*
 yá baadšáa salaamát akhíl n-i-t'-n jé-e jóṭ
 INTERJ king tranquillity in.this.way CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP I-GEN small

áço *dííbám.*
 a'-ço-∅ d-i'+bá-i-m
 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-ABS come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

'Your Majesty, my king. For these reasons my younger brother had come.

čhúmoe minás - 262

jóorojót *iné* *méçue* *gar* *bilá.*
 joorojót iné mi'-ço-e gar'-∅ b'il'-∅
 youngest that:H 1PL:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS

Our youngest brother's marriage is held.

čhúmoe minás - 263

<i>“laazmí</i>	<i>júas</i>	<i>gumáima”</i>	<i>nusé</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>qáo</i>
laazmí-e	jú-as	gu-man’č-m-a	n-sén	a’ar	qáo-Ø
responsibility-GEN	come-INF	2SG:I-become-IPFV-NPRS-2SG	CP-say	1SG:II-DAT	cry-ABS
<i>ne</i>	<i>níbái.</i>				
n-i’t	ní+bá-i-Ø				
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	go+COP-3SG.HM-PRS				

He [it] invited me as saying “you are responsible for coming” and left.

čhúmoe minás - 264

<i>be</i>	<i>éčabáa</i>		<i>yáa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>salaamát’</i>	<i>nusé</i>
bé	i-t’č-a+bá-a-Ø		yá	baadšáa	salaamát	n-sén
what	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS		INTERJ	king	tranquillity	CP-say
<i>tootáa</i>	<i>baadšáacum</i>	<i>duyárusase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>		
tootá-e	baadšáa-c-um	d-yarús-as-e	káaṭ	baadšáa-e		
parrot-ERG	king-ADE-ABL	TEL-be.straight-INF-GEN	together	king-ERG		
<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>‘wáa</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>áyarum</i>	<i>tootáa,</i>	<i>úne</i>
sén-m-i	ké	wáa	jé-e	a’yar-um	tootá	ún-e
say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	INTERJ	I-GEN	1SG:II-beloved-ADJVLZ	parrot	thou-GEN
<i>káa</i>	<i>šíase</i>	<i>mináase</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mazá</i>		
káaṭ	ší-as-e	min’as-e	ké	mazá-Ø		
together	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-INF-GEN	drink-INF-GEN	LINK	taste-ABS		
<i>júčilá.</i>		<i>úne</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>čakáre</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mazá</i>
jú-č+b’il’Ø		ún-e	káaṭ	čakár-e	ké	mazá-Ø
come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS		thou-GEN	together	stroll-GEN	LINK	taste-ABS
<i>júčilá.</i>		<i>úne</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>darúar</i>	<i>níase</i>	<i>ke</i>
jú-č+b’il’Ø		ún-e	káaṭ	darú-ar	ní-as-e	ké
come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS		thou-GEN	together	hunting-DAT	go-INF-GEN	LINK

mazá júçilá.
 mazá-Ø jú-č+b'il'Ø
 taste-ABS come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

So, what do I do? My king' said the parrot to ask him, and for that the king said 'Oh, my dear parrot, it's interesting for me that eating and drinking with you, go walking and hunting with you.

čhúmoe minás - 265

dáa béšalar dáa choór júçuma' sénase káa.
 dáa béšal-ar dáa chó<:r> jú-č-m-a sén-as-e káaṭ
 again when-DAT again early-EMPH come-IPFV-NPRS-2SG say-INF-GEN together

When will you come back?' he said.

čhúmoe minás - 266

'yá baadšáa salaamát' sénimi ke 'béšal iné
 yá baadšáa salaamát sén-m-i ké béšal iné
 INTERJ king tranquillity say-NPRS-3SG.X LINK when that:H

áçue gar šuákuṣe káa basími
 a-çø-e gar'Ø šuá-kuṣ-e káaṭ bas'm-i
 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS good-NMLZ-GEN together settle-NPRS-3SG.Y

ke amaná hik dam júçam', sénase káa.
 ké amaná hík dām jú-č-a-m sén-as-e káaṭ
 LINK then one:Z breath come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS say-INF-GEN together

The parrot said 'Your Majesty, my king. When my brother's marriage finished without incident, then I will come back in the blink of an eye'.

čhúmoe minás - 267

'bésan áar toofá díšan, díšuma'
 bés-an a-ar toophá-Ø *** d-i-sú-č-m-a
 what-INDEF.SG 1SG:II-DAT gift-ABS *** TEL-3SG.Y:I-bring-IPFV-NPRS-2SG

sénase káa.
sén-as-e káaʔ
 say-INF-GEN together

The king said ‘Will you bring some present for me?’

čhúmoe minás - 268

‘góçoe gar ne bésan toofá
gu’çø-e gar’Ø n-i-t bés-an toophá-Ø
 2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do what-INDEF.SG gift-ABS

áar díšuma’ sénas ke.
a-ar d-i-sú-č-m-a sén-as ké
 1SG:II-DAT TEL-3SG.Y:I-bring-IPFV-NPRS-2SG say-INF LINK

He said ‘Will you finish your brother’s marriage and bring some present for me?’

čhúmoe minás - 269

‘bésan úne nasípulo bi ke bésan qhudáae
bés-an ún-e nasíib-ul-e b’i-Ø ké bés-an qhudáa-e
 what-INDEF.SG thou-GEN fate-LOC-ESS COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK what-INDEF.SG god-ERG

nasípulo girmínói ke isé góor
nasíib-ul-e girmín+bá-i-Ø ké isé-Ø gu-ar
 fate-LOC-ESS write+COP-3SG.HM-PRS LINK that:X-ABS 2SG:II-DAT

díšam.’ nusén. ními.
d-i-sú-č-a-m n-sén ní-m-i
 TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-IPFV-1SG-NPRS CP-say go-NPRS-3SG.X

The parrot replied ‘I’ll bring the gift which the God has written on your fate back for you’ and went.

čhúmoe minás - 270

‘ye šuá qhudáa haafiz, ni,’ nusén baadšáa ijaazát
yé šuá qhudáa+haaphíz ní-i n-sén baadšáa-e ijaazát-Ø
 look:INTERJ good goodbye go-IMP.SG CP-say king-ERG permission-ABS

ičhías *ke* *tootáa* *ními.*
 i-čhi'-as ké tootá-Ø ní-m-i
 3SG.X:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-INF LINK parrot-ABS go-NPRS-3SG.X

‘Okay, goodbye, you go’ the king said and gave it a permission, and then the parrot left.

čhúmoē minás - 271

nínininin *ke, éçue* *muqtasáre kaláam*
 n-i''n-n-n-n ké i-ço-e muqtasár+e+kaláam
 go:PFV:3SG.X-CP-CP-CP-CP LINK 3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN in.short

éçue *gar* *manáase* *sakaráat*
 i-ço-e gar'-Ø man'-as-e sakaráat-Ø
 3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS become-INF-GEN arrangement-ABS

nétaninin *íimo* *ṭéemaṭe* *gar*
 n-i-t'-n-n-n i-í-mu-e ṭéem-aṭ-e gar'-Ø
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP 3SG.X:I-self-OBL-GEN time-INS-ESS marriage-ABS

néspasinininin.
 n-i-s-bas'-n-n-n-n
 CP-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-settle-CP-CP-CP-CP

It went, arranged its brother’s marriage ceremony and then finished it in its own good time.

čhúmoē minás - 272

isé *tootáa* *ičhónjuṣ* *yáare* *uskó* *wáltoan*
 isé tootá-e i-čhónjúṣ i-yáar-e uskó wálto-an
 that:X parrot-ERG 3SG.X:I-beak 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS three:Y four:Y-INDEF.SG

gúre *phalóno* *nuká* *díimi.*
 gur'-e phal'-ono-Ø n-gán d-i''m-i
 wheat-GEN grain-PL-ABS CP-take come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

The parrot took up some wheat grains by its beak and came.

čhúmoe minás - 273

<i>uskó</i>	<i>wáltoan</i>	<i>gúre</i>	<i>phalóno</i>	<i>nuká</i>	<i>díinininin</i>
uskó	wálto-an	gur'e	phal'ono-Ø	n-gán	d-i'n-n-n-n
three:Y	four:Y-INDEF.SG	wheat-GEN	grain-PL-ABS	CP-take	come:CP-3SG.X-CP-CP-CP-CP
<i>gar</i>	<i>néspasin</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yáre</i>	<i>phat</i>
gar'Ø	n-i-s-bas'n	iné	baadšáa	i-yár-e	phát
marriage-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-settle-CP	that:H	king	3SG.HM:I-before-ESS	quitting
<i>teebálate</i>	<i>phat</i>	<i>étimi,</i>	<i>iké</i>	<i>gúre</i>	<i>phalóno.</i>
teebál-aṭ-e	phát	i-t'm-i	iké	gur'e	phal'ono-Ø
table-INS-ESS	quitting	3PL.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X	those:Y	wheat-GEN	grain-PL-ABS

Having taken some grains of the wheat, finished the marriage, it came back and put out the wheat grains on the table before the king.

čhúmoe minás - 274

<i>'bésan</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>dícóo</i>	<i>áyarum</i>				
bés-an	a-ar	d-i-sú+bá-a-Ø	a-yar-um				
what-INDEF.SG	1SG:II-DAT	TEL-3SG.Y:I-bring+COP-2SG-PRS	1SG:II-beloved-ADJVLZ				
<i>tootáa'</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa,</i>	<i>'yáa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>salaamát,</i>	<i>guké</i>	<i>gúre</i>
tootá	sén-as-e	káaṭ	yá	baadšáa	salaamát	guké	gur'e
parrot	say-INF-GEN	together	INTERJ	king	tranquillity	these:Y	wheat-GEN
<i>phalóno</i>	<i>góor</i>	<i>súyabáa'</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>			
phal'ono-Ø	gu-ar	sú-a+bá-a-Ø	sén-as-e	káaṭ			
grain-PL-ABS	2SG:II-DAT	bring-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS	say-INF-GEN	together			

The king asked 'My dear parrot, what have you brought for me?'; The parrot answered 'Your Majesty, my king, I have brought these wheat grains for you'.

čhúmoe minás - 275

<i>'khótulo</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>alaamát</i>	<i>bilá.'</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
khót-ul-e	bés-an	alaamát-Ø	b'il'Ø	sén-as-e	káaṭ
these.ones:Y-LOC-ESS	what-INDEF.SG	sign-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	say-INF-GEN	together

The king said 'What is the meaning with these?'

čhúmoē minás - 276

‘insáane gáne moojizáa bicán.
 insáan-e gan’-e moojizáa-Ø b’icán-Ø
 human-GEN way-ESS miracle-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS

‘These are miracle drugs for human beings.

čhúmoē minás - 277

heiwáane gáne zéher bicán.’ sénimi.
 heiwáan-e gan’-e záhar-Ø b’icán-Ø sén-m-i
 animal-GEN way-ESS poison-ABS COP-3PL.Y-ABS say-NPRS-3SG.HM

These are poison for animals’ he said.

čhúmoē minás - 278

‘insáane gáne moojizáa bicán. heiwáane gáne zéher
 insáan-e gan’-e moojizáa-Ø b’icán-Ø heiwáan-e gan’-e záhar-Ø
 human-GEN way-ESS miracle-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS animal-GEN way-ESS poison-ABS
bicán.’ nusén dusún. phat étasar.
 b’icán-Ø n-sén d-sú-n phát i-t’-as-ar
 COP-3PL.Y-PRS CP-say TEL:CP-bring-CP quitting 3PL.Y:II-do-INF-DAT

‘These are a miracle drug for human beings and poison for animals’ he said and ordered to take them out.

čhúmoē minás - 279

ee ‘baadšáa, guté šéčan’ nusé sakaráat
 ee baadšáa guté-Ø šé-č-an-m n-sén sakaráat-Ø
 FIL king this:Y-ABS eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-NPRS CP-say arrangement-ABS
étasar, in baadšáa nookáre sénimi ke, ‘bée,
 i-t’-as-ar ín baadšáa-e nookár-e sén-m-i ké bée
 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK no

yáa baadšáa salaamát. khos balás číz bi
yá baadšáa salaamát khós-∅ balás číz-∅ b'-i-∅
 INTERJ king tranquillity this.one:X-ABS bird thing-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS

khósale baáj maí.
khós-al-e baáj-∅ man'-č-m-i (?)
 this.one:X-LOC-ESS prayers-ABS become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘Let’s eat it, my king’ [the parrot] said and was going to prepare, at that time a servant of the king said ‘No, Your Highness, my king. This is just a bird, it may entertain a wish.

čhúmoe minás - 280

ikhár aazáad étase gáne, nukósqan
i-khar'-∅ aazáad i-t'-as-e gan'e n-gu-s-yan
 3SG.X:I-REFL.PRN-ABS free 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN way-ESS CP-2SG:II-CAUS-be.finished

ikhár aazáad étase gáne, čémilij góor
i-khar'-∅ aazáad i-t'-as-e gan'e čémilij-∅ gu-ar
 3SG.X:I-REFL.PRN-ABS free 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN way-ESS poison-ABS 2SG:II-DAT

súbía et bésan súbí ke,
sú+b'-i-∅=a ét bés-an-∅ sú+b'-i-∅ ké
 bring+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q that.one:Y what-INDEF.SG-ABS bring+COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK

be leél, čhup ne oóši.' sénase káa.
bé leél čúp-∅ n-i-t aú-šé-i sén-as-e káat
 what knowing hiding-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do NEG-eat:Y.OBJ-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

It has brought this as poison to kill you on the purpose to make itself free. I don’t know what it brought is but don’t eat it as keeping away’, he said.

čhúmoe minás - 281

šúa' nusén, 'dáa khok be éčan'
šúa n-sén dáa khók-∅ bé i-t'-č-an-m
 good CP-say again these.ones:Y-ABS what 3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS

sénimi *baadšáa* *hárki* *éčan*.
 sén-m-i baadšáa-e hárki-∅ i-t'-č-an-m
 say-NPRS-3SG.HM king-ERG cultivation-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS

The king said 'Well, then how will we do with these?', [and the servant said] 'We'll sow them'.

čhúmoe minás - 282

'hárki *éčan*' *sénase* *káa.* *'šúa'* *nusén*
 hárki-∅ i-t'-č-an-m sén-as-e káaṭ šúa n-sén
 cultivation-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS say-INF-GEN together good CP-say

hárki *étuman.*
 hárki-∅ i-t'-m-an
 cultivation-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

For the saying 'We'll sow them', [the king] said 'Okay' and they cultivated.

čhúmoe minás - 283

málanar *muqtasáre kaláam,* *hárki* *nétan*
 mal'-an-ar muqtasár+e+kaláam hárki-∅ n-i-t'-n
 field-INDEF.SG-DAT in.short cultivation-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP

duyúnasar *nupárinininin* *dusúman.*
 d-yun'-as-ar n-bar'-n-n-n-n d-sú-m-an
 TEL-be.ripen-INF-DAT CP-thresh-CP-CP-CP-CP TEL-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

After the cultivation they brought them which had been threshed to grow well to a field.

čhúmoe minás - 284

dárce *phónance* *čhoṭ* *ne* *bicúm.*
 darc'-e phon'-an-c-e čhóṭ n-i-t b'-icán-m
 threshing.circle-GEN furrow-INDEF.SG-ADE-ESS heap CP-3PL.Y:II-do COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

And those grains had been sown in a furrow of a threshing circle.

čhúmoē minás - 285

dárculo *čhoṭ ne* *nupárin* *tayáar ne*
 darc'ul-e čhót n-i-t n-bar'n tayáar n-i-t
 threshing.circle-LOC-ESS heap CP-3PL.Y:II-do CP-thresh-CP ready CP-3PL.Y:II-do

bicúm.

b'icán-m
 COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

Having sown in the circle, these had got threshed and ready.

čhúmoē minás - 286

tayáar ne *bicúma* *ke, 'ye* *dusúin* *be*
 tayáar n-i-t b'icán-m=a ké yé d-sú-n bé
 ready CP-3PL.Y:II-do COP-3PL.Y-NPRS=Q LINK look:INTERJ TEL-bring-CP what

šéčan' *sénimi* *baadšáa* *'šéčan*
 šé-č-an-m sén-m-i baadšáa-e šé-č-an-um-Ø
 eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-NPRS say-NPRS-3SG.HM king-ERG eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-ADJVLZ-ABS

chúin' *sénase* *káa.*
 chu'in sén-as-e káat
 bring.away-IMP.PL say-INF-GEN together

These had got ready and the king said 'Now, after having brought them, what will we eat? Rather, bring what we have eaten'.

čhúmoē minás - 287

'bée ya,' *khókeee,* *khóke* *sénuman* *ke,*
 bée yá khók-e khók-e sén-m-an ké
 no INTERJ these.ones:Y-GEN these.ones:Y-GEN say-NPRS-3PL.H LINK

khóke, *'un* *baadšáan* *báa,* *khok* *jóṭišo*
 khók-e ún-Ø baadšáa-an-Ø bá-a-Ø khók jót-išo-Ø
 these.ones:Y-GEN thou-ABS king-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-2SG-PRS these.ones:Y small-PL-ABS

úe ke šěčuman, úne ke šéma
 ú-e ké šé-č-m-an ún-e ké šé-m-a
 they:DIST-ERG LINK eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H thou-ERG LINK eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-2SG

káa, gučimo khuó uyójkó
 káaṭ gu-cí-mu-e khué uy'-um-ko-∅
 together 2SG:I-against-OBL-GEN these:H big-ADJVLZ-PL-ABS

umáiman. óor uyúm umánumar
 u-man'-č-m-an óor uy'-um u-man'-um-ar
 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H and big-ADJVLZ 3PL.H:I-become-ADJVLZ-DAT

úlčín atúkucum guyáči raq
 u-lčín-∅ a-d-gu-sú-um gu-yaṭís-či-e ráq-∅
 3PL.H:I-eye-ABS NEG-TEL-2SG:I-bring-ADJVLZ 2SG:I-head-INE-ESS desire-ABS

díim umáiman.
 d-i'-um u-man'-č-m-an
 come:PFV-3SG.X-ADJVLZ 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H

People (?) said ‘No. You are a king, people will eat these small ones or you will have eaten, but [if you haven’t eaten] these will be so big and they will admire you despite of that now they are not respecting you.

čhúmoe minás - 288

un baadšáa báa, khok kuyoóč jótíšo jótíšo
 ún-∅ baadšáa-∅ bá-a-∅ khók kuyoóč-∅ jót-išo jót-išo
 thou-ABS king-ABS COP-2SG-PRS these.ones:Y subject.people-ABS small-PL small-PL

báan. góor káa búuo oómaiman'
 bá-an-∅ gu-ar káaṭ búuo-∅ aú-man'-č-m-an
 COP-3PL.H-PRS 2SG:II-DAT together helper-ABS NEG-become-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H

sénase káa.
 sén-as-e káaṭ
 say-INF-GEN together

You are a king. Your subject people are now so small and will not be your help.’ they said so.

čhúmoe minás - 289

‘šua’ sénimi. *‘šua’ nusén,* *‘bée ya* *guúmušo.* *khok*
 šua sén-m-i šua n-sén bée yá gu-umús-čo khók-Ø
 good say-NPRS-3SG.HM good CP-say no INTERJ 2SG:I-tongue-PL these.ones:Y-ABS

čhémiliḡe gur *bicá’* *sénase* *káa.* *‘bée ya*
 čhémiliḡ-e gur’-Ø b’icán-Ø sén-as-e káaṭ bée yá
 poison-GEN wheat-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS say-INF-GEN together no INTERJ

uúmušo’ *nusén.* *‘khok* *heiwáane* *gáne* *čhémiliḡe*
 u-umús-čo n-sén khók-Ø heiwáan-e gan’-e čhémiliḡ-e
 3PL.H:I-tongue-PL CP-say these.ones:Y-ABS animal-GEN way-ESS poison-GEN

[gur] *bicá.* *insáanar* *moojizáa* *bicá’*
 gur’-Ø b’icán-Ø insáan-ar moojizáa-Ø b’icán-Ø
 wheat-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS human-DAT miracle-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS

sénóm.

sén+bá-an-m

say+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

As the king said ‘Okay, you are lying. These are poison wheat’, they denied ‘No, they are liars. These are poison for animals but miracle drug for man’.

čhúmoe minás - 290

sénase *káa,* *‘barénasar* *dárce* *phónance*
 sén-as-e káaṭ barén-as-ar darc’-e phon’an-c-e
 say-INF-GEN together look-INF-DAT threshing.circle-GEN furrow-INDEF.SG-ADE-ESS

bicúm. *šéčar* *ke* *atúcum.* *dárce*
 b’icán-m šé-č-ar ké a-d-sú-um darc’-e
 COP-3PL.Y-NPRS eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT LINK NEG-TEL-bring-ADJVLZ threshing.circle-GEN

phónance *bicúm’.*
 phon’an-c-e b’icán-m
 furrow-INDEF.SG-ADE-ESS COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

With saying ‘There were the grains in a furrow, not brought away even for eating’.

čhúmoe minás - 291

<i>hin</i>	<i>híran</i>	<i>mapéerene</i>	<i>iskén</i>	<i>wáltoan</i>	<i>yuúa</i>
hín	hir'-an	mapéer-an-e	iskén	wálto-an	i-i'-ua-Ø
one:H	man-INDEF.SG	aged-INDEF.SG-GEN	three:H	four:H-INDEF.SG	3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ABS
<i>bam.</i>					
bá-an-m					
COP-3PL.H-NPRS					

There were several sons of an old man.

čhúmoe minás - 292

<i>ué</i>	<i>wálto</i>	<i>yuúa</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>uú</i>	<i>nidíl</i>
ué	wálto	i-i'-ua-e	iné	u-uy'-Ø	n-i-d+i+l
those:H	four:H	3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ERG	that:H	3PL.H:I-father-ABS	CP-3SG.HM:I-hit
<i>íras</i>					
<i>éčóm.</i>					
<i>gun</i>					
i-ir'-as-Ø	i-t'-č+bá-an-m			gún-Ø	
3SG.HM:I-die-INF-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS			bow.string-ABS	
<i>déljume</i>					
<i>pran</i>					
<i>ne</i>					
<i>déljóm.</i>					
d+i+l-č-um-e	prán	n-i-t	d+i+l-č+bá-an-m		
hit-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	blam:ONO	CP-3SG.X:II-do	hit-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS		

Those four sons had killed their father by hitting, with a blam of a bow.

čhúmoe minás - 293

<i>déjlóma</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>aaqhiríar</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>mapéer</i>	
d+i+l-č+bá-an-m=a	ké	aaqhirí-ar	iné	mapéer-Ø	
hit-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS=Q	LINK	end-DAT	that:H	aged-ABS	
<i>déyalin</i>					
<i>ke</i>					
<i>ité</i>					
<i>phalaaná</i>					
<i>dárculo</i>					
<i>iné</i>					
d-i-yal-n	ké	ité	phalaaná	darc'-ul-e	iné
TEL:CP-3SG.HM:II-hear-CP	LINK	that:Y	so.and.so	threshing.circle-LOC-ESS	that:H
<i>baadšáa</i>					
<i>isé</i>					
<i>tootáa</i>					
<i>dusúm</i>					
<i>iké</i>					
<i>gur</i>					
<i>hárki</i>					
baadšáa-e	isé	tootá-e	d-sú-um	iké	gur'-Ø
king-GEN	that:X	parrot-ERG	TEL-bring-ADJVLZ	those:Y	wheat-ABS
					cultivation-ABS

ne, *désqunininin,* *tayáar ne*
 n-i-t d-i-s-yun'-n-n-n tayáar n-i-t
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do TEL-3PL.Y:II-CAUS-be.ripen-CP-CP-CP ready CP-3PL.Y:II-do

bicán.
 b'icán-Ø
 COP-3PL.Y-PRS

They hit him and the old man finally heard that 'there are the wheat which the king's parrot brought sown in such and such threshing circle as being ready to be ripen up.

čhúmoē minás - 294

čhémilije gur bicá, séibáan, insáane gáne,'
 čhémilij-e gur'-Ø b'icán-Ø sén-č+bá-an-Ø insáan-e gan'e
 poison-GEN wheat-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS human-GEN way-ESS

'náaninin šéčam.
 n-a'-n-n-n šé-č-á-m
 go:CP-1SG-CP-CP-CP eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

Those are the poison wheat, they say, for human beings.' and then he said 'I'll go and eat them.

čhúmoē minás - 295

náaninin šéčam,' sénase káa.
 n-a'-n-n-n šé-č-á-m sén-as-e káat
 go:CP-1SG-CP-CP-CP eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1SG-NPRS say-INF-GEN together

I'll go and eat them' he said.

čhúmoē minás - 296

barénasar, gáaršume n'ininin šémi.
 barén-as-ar gáarc-č-um-e n-i'-n-n-n šé-m-i
 look-INF-DAT run-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM

And then he looked, went running, and ate them.

čhúmoe minás - 297

uskó wáltoan phalóno šébám. iné mapéere,
 uskó wálto-an phal'ono-Ø šé+bá-i-m iné mapéer-e
 three:Y four:Y-INDEF.SG grain-PL-ABS eat:Y.OBJ+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS that:H aged-ERG

'khué ayúa guté mapeerúlo eéras
 khué a-í-ua-e guté mapéer-í-ul-e a-ir'-as
 these:H 1SG:I-son-PL-ERG this:Y aged-NMLZ-LOC-ESS 1SG:I-die-INF

átascum báli čhémiliŋ nušé eéras šuá
 a-t'-as-c-um báli čhémiliŋ-Ø n-šé a-ir'-as-Ø šuá
 1SG:II-do-INF-ADE-ABL rather poison-ABS CP-eat:Y.OBJ 1SG:I-die-INF-ABS good

bilá. ákhar ésqanas šuá
 b-il'-Ø a-khar'-Ø i-s-yan'-as-Ø šuá
 COP-3SG.Y-PRS 1SG:I-REFL.PRN-ABS 3SG.Y:II-CAUS-be.finished-INF-ABS good

bilá.' nusé.
 b-il'-Ø n-sén
 COP-3SG.Y-ABS CP-say

He had eaten some grains. And the old man said 'Rather than that these sons cause me die in such old age, it is better that I eat poison to suicide'.

čhúmoe minás - 298

yuúa ke níunin altó uskóan phalóno,
 i-í-ua-Ø ké n-u'n-n altó uskó-an phal'ono-Ø
 3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ABS LINK go:CP-3PL.H-CP-CP two:Y three:Y-INDEF.SG grain-PL-ABS

'míi khiné múyeye káa čal mimánascum
 mí-Ø khiné mi-uy'-e káač čal'-Ø mi-man'-as-c-um
 we-ABS this:H 1PL:I-father-GEN together quarrel-ABS 1PL:I-become-INF-ADE-ABL

mi ke mífras šuá' nusé úe ke
 mí-Ø ké mi-ir'-as-Ø šuá n-sén ú-e ké
 we-ABS LINK 1PL:I-die-INF-ABS good CP-say they:DIST-ERG LINK

šéman. *úyue* *ke* *šémi.* *šéase*
 šé-m-an u-uy'-e ké šé-m-i šé-as-e
 eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3PL.H 3PL.H:I-father-ERG LINK eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM eat:Y.OBJ-INF-GEN

káa, *úyu* *ke* *yúa* *haráŋulo* *pháraq*
 káaṭ u-uy ké i-i'-ua-e haráŋ-ul-e pháraq-Ø
 together 3PL.H:I-father LINK 3SG.HM:I-son-PL-GEN between-LOC-ESS difference-ABS

oómanimi.

aú-man'-m-i

NEG-become-NPRS-3SG.Y

The sons also went and saying 'we quarreled with our father so we also have to die' ate some grains, too. Their father also ate. By eating them, the gap between the father and the sons disappeared.

čhúmoe minás - 299

úyu *ke* *turmaaltámbi* *déne* *náu-jawáan*
 u-uy'-Ø ké turma-altámbi den'-e náu+jawáan
 3PL.H:I-father-ABS LINK ten-eight:Z year-GEN fresh.and.young

imánimi *yúa* *ke* *umánuman.*
 i-man'-m-i i-i'-ua-Ø ké u-man'-m-an
 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM 3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ABS LINK 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H

Both the father and the sons were rejuvenated to 18 years old.

čhúmoe minás - 300

umánase *káa,* *dáa* *múšaṭe* *barénasar*
 u-man'-as-e káaṭ dáa muš-aṭ-e barén-as-ar
 3PL.H:I-become-INF-GEN together again edge-INS-ESS look-INF-DAT

hukáikar *gíman.*
 huk'-ai-ik-ar gíy-m-an
 dog-PL-INDEF.PL-DAT let.down-NPRS-3PL.H

They became young and then gave [the grains] to dogs on probation.

čhúmoē minás - 304

ínee *gutée* *maaní* *nétaninin* *inée,* *ámine,*
 iné-e guté-e maaní-∅ n-i-t'-n-n-n iné-e ámin-e
 that:H-ERG this:Y-GEN meaning-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP that:H-ERG which:H-ERG

baadšáa *yuúsmur* *maaníar* *dumúcum* *ke*
 baadšáa-e i-us'-mu-ar maaní-ar d-mu-sú-um ké
 king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT meaning-DAT TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-ADJVLZ LINK

iné *silajíne* *sénumo* *ke,* *“bée* *ya,* *gucé*
 iné silajín-e sén-m-o ké bée yá gucé-∅
 that:H female.relative-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK no INTERJ these.X-ABS

[*guké*] *heiwáane* *gáne* *zéhere* *bicúm.* *insáanar*
 guké-∅ heiwáan-e gan'-e záhar-e b'-icán-m insáan-ar
 these.Y-ABS animal-GEN way-ESS poison-GEN COP-3PL.Y-NPRS human-DAT

moojizáa *bicúm.*
 moojizáa-∅ b'-icán-m
 miracle-ABS COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

To explain this meaning the woman who is to bring the king's wife to the meaning [of the fish's act] said “No, these are poison for animal but a miracle drug for human beings.

čhúmoē minás - 305

khok *daltáško* *čízijcum* *chil*
 khók daltás-ko číz-iŋ-c-um chil'-∅
 these.ones:Y beautiful-PL thing-PL-ADE-ABL water-ABS

umáibáan. *ye* *akhílaṭe* *sóoč*
 u-man'-č+bá-an-∅ yé akhíl-aṭ-e sóoč-∅
 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS look:INTERJ in.this.way-INS-ESS thought-ABS

choór áar maaní éti.
 chór-<:;> a'-ar maaní-Ø i'-t'-i
 early-EMPH 1SG:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

She went and time passed, and then she [= the daughter] taught her [= the queen] again.
 “No. Come on and teach me the meaning.

čhúmoe minás - 308

áar maaní éti ju" sénase káa.
 a'-ar maaní-Ø i'-t'-i jú-i sén-as-e káaṭ
 1SG:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG come-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

Tell me the meaning, come on!” said the queen.

čhúmoe minás - 309

“saáṭi čok gósabáa bée guké guké guké
 saáṭi čok gu'-s'-a+bá-a-Ø bée guké guké guké
 yesterday recently 2SG:II-tell-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS no these:Y these:Y these:Y

bicá. sóoč sambá éti.
 b'-icán-Ø sóoč sambá-Ø i'-t'-i
 COP-3PL.Y-PRS thought thought-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

“Just yesterday I have told you that there are these stories and you’d better think about them.

čhúmoe minás - 310

sóoč ayétuman ke daltáško číziṅcum
 sóoč-Ø a-i'-t'-m-an ké daltás-ko číiz-iṅ-c-um
 thought-ABS NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H LINK beautiful-PL thing-PL-ADE-ABL

chil umáibáan, gósabáa bée,
 chil'-Ø u-man'-č+bá-an-Ø gu'-s'-a+bá-a-Ø bée
 water-ABS 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS 2SG:II-tell-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS no

maaní sóoč étóo. bée ya.
 maaní-e sóoč-Ø i-t+bá-a-Ø bée yá
 meaning-ABS thought-GEN 3SG.Y:II-do+COP-2SG-PRS no INTERJ

They took water from beautiful things without thinking I told you, so you have considered on the meaning, or not?

čhúmoe minás - 311

dáa be maními. dáa bésanar ačhará
 dáa bé man'-m-i dáa bés-an-ar ačhará
 again what become-NPRS-3SG.Y again what-INDEF.SG-DAT confused

maíbáa," sénase káa.
 man'-č+bá-a-Ø sén-as-e káaṭ
 become-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS say-INF-GEN together

And what? What are you confusing for?" she said.

čhúmoe minás - 312

"bée ya jáar choór maaní étuma ke jáa
 bée yá jé-ar chór-<?> maaní-Ø i-t'-m-a ké jé-e
 no INTERJ I-DAT early-EMPH meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2SG LINK I-GEN

áscum dúusi."
 a-s'-c-um d-i-gús-i
 1SG:II-heart-ADE-ABL TEL-3SG.Y:I-go.out-IMP.SG

"No, Tell me the meaning right now and remove it from my heart" [the queen said].

čhúmoe minás - 313

"ye phalaaná taaríiqar góor maaní
 yé phalaaná taaríiq-ar gu-ar maaní-Ø
 look:INTERJ so.and.so date-DAT 2SG:II-DAT meaning-ABS

écam, óor tha úne guúyare nookárišo
 i-t'-č-a-m óor thá ún-e gu-uy'-ar nookár-išo-Ø
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS and hundred thou-GEN 2SG:I-father-DAT servant-PL-ABS

béeruman *báan* *ke, tha* *nookártij*
 béer-um-an bá-an-Ø ké thá nookár-tij-Ø
 how.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG COP-3PL.H-PRS LINK hundred servant-PL-ABS

báan.” *sénase* *káa.*
 bá-an-Ø sén-as-e káaṭ
 COP-3PL.H-PRS say-INF-GEN together

“Well, I will teach you the meaning at such and such day, and now, there are about hundreds of servants of your father [I think]” [the daughter said].

čhúmoe minás - 314

“tha *nookártij* *gáṭi* *óti.*
 thá nookár-tij-Ø gáṭi u-t’i
 hundred servant-PL-ABS gathering 3PL.H:II-do-IMP.SG

“Get hundred servants together.

čhúmoe minás - 315

gúimo *kuyoóč* *gáṭi* *óti.*
 gu-í-mu-e kuyoóč-Ø gáṭi u-t’i
 2SG:I-self-OBL-GEN subject.people-ABS gathering 3PL.H:II-do-IMP.SG

Get your subject people together.

čhúmoe minás - 316

óor ité *gúncar* *jáar* *qáo* *éti.”* *nusén* *dáa*
 óor ité gunc’ar jé-ar qáo-Ø i-t’i n-sén dáa
 and that:Y day-DAT I-DAT cry-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG CP-say again

nímo.
 ní-m-o
 go-NPRS-3SG.HF

And call me at the day.” said, she left.

čhúmoe minás - 317

níase káa, “šúa” nusén.
 ní-as-e káaṭ šúa n-sén
 go-INF-GEN together good CP-say

For her leaving, [the queen] said “Okay”.

čhúmoe minás - 318

barénasar, dáa ámitan ímo t́éeman
 barén-as-ar dáa ámit-an i-í-mu-e t́éem-an-Ø
 look-INF-DAT again which:Y-INDEF.SG 3SG.Y:I-self-OBL-GEN time-INDEF.SG-ABS

éeyurusum ke ité t́éemar gáṭi manúman,
 ĩ-yarús-um ké ité t́éem-ar gáṭi man'-m-an
 3SG.Y:III-be.straight-ADJVLZ LINK that:Y time-DAT gathering become-NPRS-3PL.H

kuyoóč gáṭi manúman. gáṭi numán
 kuyoóč-Ø gáṭi man'-m-an gáṭi n-man
 subject.people-ABS gathering become-NPRS-3PL.H gathering CP-become

úimo iné baadšáa tha nookártij bam.
 u-í-mu-e iné baadšáa-e thá nookár-tij-Ø bá-an-m
 3PL.H:I-self-OBL-GEN that:H king-GEN hundred servant-PL-ABS COP-3PL.H-NPRS

u ke gáṭi no dúcuman.
 ú-Ø ké gáṭi n-u't d-u-sú-m-an
 they:DIST-ABS LINK gathering CP-3PL.H:II-do TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

Now, confirm the appointed time and then they got servants, subject people, and also the king's hundred servants together to the time and made them follow.

čhúmoe minás - 319

dúcunin, sénumo ke iné baadšáa
 d-u-sú-n-n sén-m-o ké iné baadšáa-e
 TEL:CP-3PL.H:I-bring-CP-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK that:H king-GEN

<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaníar</i>	<i>dumóom</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>dáa</i>
i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-ar	d-mú'-um	iné-Ø	dáa
3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-DAT	come:PFV-3SG.HF-ADJVLZ	that:H-ABS	again

dumúcuman.

d-mu-sú-m-an

TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

Having brought them, they call in [the daughter] who come to teach the meaning for the king's wife again.

čhúmoe minás - 320

<i>dumúcunin</i>	<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“áçhaa,</i>	<i>gáti</i>
d-mu-sú-n-n	sén-m-o	ké	áçhaa	gáti
TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-CP-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	good	gathering

<i>ótóo</i>	<i>náa,</i>	<i>awá,</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>muú</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>phalaanáa</i>
u-t'-Ø+bá-a-Ø	náa	awá	yé	muú	guté	phalaaná
3PL.H:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	TAG.Q	yes	look:INTERJ	now	this:Y	so.and.so

<i>ité</i>	<i>jaagírulo</i>	<i>buşáyulo</i>	<i>uyúm</i>	<i>phárian</i>
ité	jaagír-ul-e	buşái-ul-e	uy'-um	phári-an-Ø
that:Y	fief-LOC-ESS	farmland-LOC-ESS	big-ADJVLZ	pond-INDEF.SG-ABS

<i>éti,</i>	<i>óso.</i>
i-t'-i	u-s'-i
3SG.X:II-do-IMP.SG	3PL.H:II-tell-IMP.SG

After they brought her to here, she said “Good, you have gathered them perfectly. Okay. So, give them orders to build a big pond in farmland in your domain.

čhúmoe minás - 321

<i>uyúm</i>	<i>phárian</i>	<i>étin</i>	<i>muú,</i>	<i>uyúm</i>
uy'-um	phári-an-Ø	i-t'-in	muú	uy'-um
big-ADJVLZ	pond-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.X:II-do-IMP.PL	now	big-ADJVLZ

<i>phárian</i>	<i>étin</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
phári-an-Ø	i-t'-in	sén-as-e	káaʔ
pond-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.X:II-do-IMP.PL	say-INF-GEN	together

Make a large pond now” as saying so.

čhúmoe minás - 322

<i>“kuyoóč</i>	<i>nóoduro</i>	<i>uyúm</i>	<i>phárian</i>
kuyoóč-Ø	n-u-˘duró	uy'-um	phári-an-Ø
subject.people-ABS	CP-3PL.H:III-work	big-ADJVLZ	pond-INDEF.SG-ABS

<i>étin</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
i-t'-in	sén-as-e	káaʔ
3SG.X:II-do-IMP.PL	say-INF-GEN	together

She said “Use your subject people to make for a big pond”.

čhúmoe minás - 323

<i>“šua”</i>	<i>nusén</i>	<i>kuyoóč</i>	<i>uyóon</i>	<i>gáti</i>	<i>nóo</i>	<i>bičaarámuc</i>
šua	n-sén	kuyoóč-Ø	u-yoon	gáti	n-u-˘t	bičaará-muc
good	CP-say	subject.people-ABS	3PL.H:I-all	gathering	CP-3PL.H:II-do	miserable-PL

<i>karaáto</i>	<i>nóotan</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>kandák</i>	<i>nupíša</i>	<i>uyúm</i>	<i>phári</i>
karaáto-Ø	n-u-˘t'-n	isé	kandák-Ø	n-biśá	uy'-um	phári-Ø
insect-ABS	CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP	that:X	shovel(?) -ABS	CP-throw	big-ADJVLZ	pond-ABS

étuman.

i-t'-m-an

3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

“Okay” [the queen] said, gathered the subject people, handled their shovels which was infested with wretched insects, and they made a big pond.

čhúmoe minás - 324

<i>phári</i>	<i>netanin</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“ye</i>	<i>baré</i>	<i>phári</i>
phári-Ø	n-i-t'-n-n	ké	yé	barén-i	phári-Ø
pond-ABS	CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP-CP	LINK	look:INTERJ	look-IMP.SG	pond-ABS

sénumo, *“khol[ar] dúcuin,”* *nusén.*
 sén-m-o khól-ar d-u-sú-in n-sén
 say-NPRS-3SG.HF here-DAT TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IMP.PL CP-say

At the time they filled with water, [the daughter] asked “What is the number of these servants of the king?”; [the queen] answered “One hundred”, and then [the daughter] said “Bring them here”.

čhúmoe minás - 328

ópačiar, *mópačiar* *dúcun* *“úlo*
 u-pá-či-ar mu-pá-či-ar d-u-sú-n úl-e
 3PL.H:II-side-INE-DAT 3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT TEL:CP-3PL.H:I-bring-CP inside-ESS

gúin *pháriar.*
 gúy-in phári-ar
 let.down:HX.PL.OBJ-IMP.PL pond-DAT

Having brought them to her, [the daughter said] “Let them in the pond!

čhúmoe minás - 329

pháriar *khué* *tha* *nookártij* *uyóon* *úlo*
 phári-ar khué thá nookár-tij-Ø u-yoon úl-e
 pond-DAT these:H hundred servant-PL-ABS 3PL.H:I-all inside-ESS

gúin” *sénase* *káa,* *“šúa”* *nusé,* *utótolo*
 gúy-in sén-as-e káaṭ šúa n-sén u-totó-ul-e
 let.down:HX.PL.OBJ-IMP.PL say-INF-GEN together good CP-say 3PL.H:I-paw-LOC-ESS

duún *úlne* *úlne* *gúman.*
 d-gún úl+n-i-t úl+n-i-t gúy-m-an
 TEL:CP-pack inside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do inside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do let.down:HX.PL.OBJ-NPRS-3PL.H

tha *nookártij* *uyóon.*
 thá nookár-tij-Ø u-yoon
 hundred servant-PL-ABS 3PL.H:I-all

Let all these hundred servants in the pond” she said, and [the queen] said “Okay”, caught them in their arms, and let them in. All the hundred servants.

čhúmoe minás - 330

<i>úlo</i>	<i>gúyase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>uécum,</i>	<i>pačáas</i>
úl-e	gúy-as-e	káaṭ	ué-e-c-um	pačáas
inside-ESS	let.down:HX.PL.OBJ-INF-GEN	together	those:H-OBL-ADE-ABL	fifty

<i>nookártiṅ</i>	<i>úi</i>	<i>duwášaman,</i>	<i>pačáas</i>	<i>nookártiṅ</i>
nookár-tiṅ-Ø	u-í	d-gús-ya-m-an	pačáas	nookár-tiṅ-Ø
servant-PL-ABS	3PL.H:I-self	TEL-go.out-PL-NPRS-3PL.H	fifty	servant-PL-ABS

<i>íli</i>	<i>phat</i>	<i>umánuman</i>	<i>chílulo.</i>
i-ljí-e	phát	u-man'm-an	chil'ul-e
3SG.Y:I-behind-ESS	quitting	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H	water-LOC-ESS

After letting them in, fifty of the servant came out by themselves and fifty of the servant stayed in the water.

čhúmoe minás - 331

<i>phat</i>	<i>umánase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>chílulo</i>	<i>uée</i>	<i>iláaj</i>
phát	u-man'as-e	káaṭ	chil'ul-e	ué-e	iláaj-Ø
quitting	3PL.H:I-become-INF-GEN	together	water-LOC-ESS	those:H-GEN	remedy-ABS

<i>ne,</i>	<i>úi</i>	<i>dúisuman</i>	<i>jaás</i>
n-i't	u-í	d-u-gús-m-an	jaás-<:;>
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	3PL.H:I-self	TEL-3PL.H:I-go.out-NPRS-3PL.H	forcibly.drawing-EMPH

<i>no</i>	<i>“ye</i>	<i>khué</i>	<i>mái</i>	<i>dúisin,”</i>	<i>nusén.</i>
n-u't	yé	khué-Ø	ma-í	d-u-gús-in	n-sén
CP-3PL.H:II-do	look:INTERJ	these:H-ABS	2PL:I-self	TEL-3PL.H:I-go.out-IMP.PL	CP-say

They stayed and treated them in the water, came out by themselves and as drawing them they said “Pull them up by yourselves”.

čhúmoe minás - 332

<i>óor</i>	<i>yárne</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>tézišo</i>	<i>takađámuc</i>	<i>bam</i>
óor	i-yár+n-i't	mén-Ø	tézišo	takađá-muc	bá-an-m
and	3SG.Y:I-before+CP-3SG.Y:II-do	who-ABS	sharp-PL	stout-PL	COP-3PL.H-NPRS

ke úi duwášabám chílcum.
ké u-í d-gús-ya+bá-an-m chíl'-c-um
 LINK 3PL.H:I-self TEL-go.out-PL+COP-3PL.H-NPRS water-ADE-ABL

Those who are speedy and strong earlier came out from the water by themselves.

čhúmoe minás - 333

duwášan, u pačáas ílji
d-gús-ya-n ú-Ø pačáas i-ljí-e
 TEL:CP-go.out-PL-CP they:DIST-ABS fifty 3SG.Y:I-behind-ESS

giyámišo u alág ótumo,
gíy-ya-um-išo ú-Ø alág u't'-m-o
 let.down-PL-ADJVLZ-PL they:DIST-ABS separate 3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

yárum úi duwášam u alág
i-yár-um u-í d-gús-ya-um ú-Ø alág
 3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ 3PL.H:I-self TEL-go.out-PL-ADJVLZ they:DIST-ABS separate

ótumo.
u't'-m-o
 3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

After that she separated those fifty who were let in later from those who came out by themselves earlier.

čhúmoe minás - 334

u alág no sénumo ke, “ye khóle
ú-Ø alág n-u't sén-m-o ké yé khól-e
 they:DIST-ABS separate CP-3PL.H:II-do say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK look:INTERJ here-ESS

ésal” baadšáa jamaát mósumo zizíe
i-sal-i baadšáa-e jamaát-Ø mu's'-m-o zizí-e
 3SG.Y:II-watch-IMP.SG king-GEN spouse-ABS 3SG.HF:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF mother-ERG

“yéniş, ye khóle ésal.
yéniş yé khól-e i-sal-i
 queen look:INTERJ here-ESS 3SG.Y:II-watch-IMP.SG

Having separated them and [the queen] said “Well, look here”, the mother [= the daughter] said to the king’s wife “My queen, watch this”.

čhúmoe minás - 335

gusé čhúmo teilaṭe déeyasíbí ke,
gusé čhúmo-Ø teíl-aṭ-e d-ĩ-γas+b’i-Ø ké
 this:X fish-ABS in.that.way-INS-ESS TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK

úne khué tha nookártiṭ, ee khué be báan.
ún-e khué thá nookár-tiṭ-Ø ee khué-Ø bée bá-an-Ø
 thou-GEN these:H hundred servant-PL-ABS FIL these:H-ABS no COP-3PL.H-PRS

pačáas nookártiṭ.
pačáas nookár-tiṭ-Ø
 fifty servant-PL-ABS

This fish has laughed in this way. That, your these hundred servants, and, these fifty servants are not [yours].

čhúmoe minás - 336

awá, khué úne guúsmo, guúsmur,
awá khué-Ø ún-e gu-us’-mu-e gu-us’-mu-ar
 yes these:H-ABS thou-GEN 2SG:I-wife-OBL-GEN 2SG:I-wife-OBL-DAT

dówaranašo ué báan.
d-u-wáran-as-čo ué-Ø bá-an-Ø
 TEL-3PL.H:II-desire-INF-PL those:H-ABS COP-3PL.H-PRS

Yeah, they are aroused for your wife. [Is she talking for the king?]

čhúmoe minás - 337

<i>guúsmo</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>zináa</i>	<i>étašo</i>	<i>ué,</i>
gu-us'-mu-e	káaʔ	zináa-∅	i-t'-as-čo	ué-∅
2SG:I-wife-OBL-GEN	together	fornication-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-PL	those:H-ABS
<i>guúsmo</i>	<i>dówaranašo</i>	<i>ué,</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>nookártiŋ</i>
gu-us'-mu-e	d-u'-wáran-as-čo	ué-∅	thá	nookár-tiŋ-∅
2SG:I-wife-OBL-GEN	TEL-3PL.H:II-desire-INF-PL	those:H-ABS	hundred	servant-PL-ABS
<i>yárno</i>	<i>úi</i>	<i>chílcum</i>	<i>be</i>	
i-yár+n-u't	u-í	chil'-c-um	bée	
3SG.Y:I-before+CP-3PL.H:II-do	3PL.H:I-self	water-ADE-ABL	no	
<i>duwášabáan</i>	<i>khué,</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>dušmáyo</i>	<i>báan.</i>
d-gús-ya+bá-an-m	khué-∅	ún-e	dušmán-čo-∅	bá-an-∅
TEL-go.out-PL+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	these:H-ABS	thou-GEN	enemy-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS

Those hundred servants are desiring to fornicate with your wife, and these servants who have not been out of the water are your enemy.

čhúmoe minás - 338

<i>khué</i>	<i>lji</i>	<i>chílulo</i>	<i>phat</i>	<i>mamáí</i>	<i>ba</i>
khué-∅	i-ljí-e	chil'-ul-e	phát	RDP-ma-í	bée
these:H-ABS	3SG.Y:I-behind-ESS	water-LOC-ESS	quitting	EMPH-2PL:H-self	no
<i>dúisuman.</i>					
d-u-gús-m-an					
TEL-3PL.H:I-go.out-NPRS-3PL.H					

Just you did not moved them out to remain in the water.

čhúmoe minás - 339

<i>awá.</i>	<i>khué</i>	<i>ásal</i>	<i>únar</i>	<i>xidmatgáarišo</i>	<i>únar</i>	<i>góor</i>
awá	khué-∅	ásal	ún-ar	qhidmatgáar-išo-∅	ún-ar	gu'-ar
yes	these:H-ABS	original	thou-DAT	serving.man-PL-ABS	thou-DAT	2SG:II-DAT

barénašo imaandáarišo sis khué báan.
 barén-as-čo imaandáar-išo sís-Ø khué-Ø bá-an-Ø
 look-INF-PL faithful-PL people-ABS these:H-ABS COP-3PL.H-PRS

These are truly your serving men, faithful watchmen.

čhúmoé minás - 340

ye baré,” sénase káa.
 yé barén-i sén-as-e káaṭ
 look:INTERJ look-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

But look” she said.

čhúmoé minás - 341

“bo očan” sénas ke “qátal ótin, qátal
 bé u-t’č-an-m sén-as ké qátal u-t’-in qátal
 what 3PL.H:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS say-INF LINK murder 3PL.H:II-do-IMP.PL murder

ótin,” qátal no úu pačáas úi
 u-t’-in qátal n-u-t ú-e pačáas u-í
 3PL.H:II-do-IMP.PL murder CP-3PL.H:II-do they:DIST-ERG fifty 3PL.H:I-self

duwášamišo ué baadšáa yuúsmo hirí
 d-gús-ya-um-išo ué baadšáa-e i-us’-mu-e hir’-i-Ø
 TEL-go.out-PL-ADJVLZ-PL those:H king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-GEN man-PL-ABS

qátal ótuman.
 qátal u-t’-m-an
 murder 3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

“What will we do on them?” said and they [found an answer] “Kill them”, so they killed them and those fifty servants of the king’s wife who came out by themselves.

čhúmoé minás - 342

qátaliṅ no zindáanulo gódariṅ
 qátal-iṅ n-u-t zindá-an-ul-e gódar-iṅ-Ø
 murder-PL CP-3PL.H:II-do living-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS thick.wall-PL-ABS

ótuman *uyátise.*
 u-t'-m-an u-yaťís-e
 3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H 3PL.H:I-head-GEN

They killed [the servants] and built big and thick walls with their freshly-severed heads.

čhúmoe minás - 343

uyátumuce *gódariŋ* *no,* *u* *ámin* *bičaarámuc*
 u-yaťís-muc-e gódar-iŋ-∅ n-u'-t ú ámin bičaará-muc
 3PL.H:I-head-PL-GEN thick.wall-PL-ABS CP-3PL.X:II-do they:DIST which:H miserable-PL

úi *dowášabám* *ke* *u* *waphaadárišo*
 u-í d-gús-ya+bá-an-m ké ú-∅ waphaadár-išo
 3PL.H:I-self TEL-go.out-PL+COP-3PL.H-NPRS LINK they:DIST-ABS trusty-PL

ménik *bam* *ke* *úar* *čapán* *baqḥsán*
 mén-ik-∅ bá-an-m ké ú-ar čapán-∅ baqḥsán
 who-INDEF.PL-ABS COP-3PL.H-NPRS LINK they:DIST-DAT long.dress-ABS giving

nóotan *úar* *buṭ* *óor* *izát* *nétan.*
 n-ú-t'-n ú-ar búṭ óor izát-∅ n-i-t'-n
 CP-3PL.H:III-do-CP they:DIST-DAT much and grace-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP

Having built a big wall with their heads, they [= the king and the queen] graced the miserable fellows who have come out by themselves with long robes by reason that they were trusty.

čhúmoe minás - 344

óuruťimi. *baadšáa* *u* *ósqanuman.*
 u-huruť-m-i baadšáa-e ú-∅ u'-s-yan'-m-an
 3PL.H:II-sit-NPRS-3SG.HM king-ERG they:DIST-ABS 3PL.H:II-CAUS-be.finished-NPRS-3PL.H

The king took them in and killed.

čhúmoe minás - 345

iné áminan čhúmo teilaṭe
 iné ámin-an čhúmo-∅ teíl-aṭ-e
 that:H which:H-INDEF.SG fish-ABS in.that.way-INS-ESS

déeyasibím ke, “khué tha nookártiṅ kam
 d-ĩ-yaṣ+b’-i-m ké khué thá nookár-tiṅ-∅ kám
 TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-NPRS LINK these:H hundred servant-PL-ABS little

umánumana ke dáa je ke ṭeṣṭ
 u-man’-m-an=a ké dáa jé-∅ ké ṭéṣṭ
 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H=Q LINK again I-ABS LINK test

áčóo, híran bía gúsan
 a-t’-č+bá-a-∅ hir’an-∅ b’-i-∅=a guś’an-∅
 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS man-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q woman-INDEF.SG-ABS

bía phayúanaṭe íti phaláat khíti
 b’-i-∅=a phayú-an-aṭ-e íti phalát-<:;> khíti
 COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-INS-ESS thither spinning-EMPH hither

phaláat áčóo.
 phalát-<:;> a-t’-č+bá-a-∅
 spinning-EMPH 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

The fish had laughed by reason [that] “These hundred servants decreased so that you are checking me for whether I am male or female by stroking me all over with a stick.

čhúmoe minás - 346

‘híran bía gúsan bía’ nusé
 hir’an-∅ b’-i-∅=a guś’an-∅ b’-i-∅=a n-sén
 man-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q woman-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q CP-say

ṭeṣṭ áčóo, khu pačáas nookárišo góor
 ṭéṣṭ a-t’-č+bá-a-∅ khú pačáas nookár-išo-∅ gu’-ar
 test 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS they:PROX fifty servant-PL-ABS 2SG:II-DAT

hirí kam umánumana ke dáa je ke tɛʂt
 hir'-i-∅ kám u-man'-m-an=a ké dáa jé-∅ ké tɛʂt
 man-PL-ABS little 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H=Q LINK again I-ABS LINK test

áčóo" nusé "teilaṭe guyákal
 a'-t'-č+bá-a-∅ n-sén teíl-aṭ-e gu-yákal
 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS CP-say in.that.way-INS-ESS 2SG:I-direction

déeyasibím" nusé.
 d-ĩ-γas+b'-i-m n-sén
 TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-NPRS CP-say

Saying 'Is it male or female?' you are checking me, your fifty serving men decreased and then you are checking me also". She [= the daughter] said "In that way, the fish had laughed at you".

čhúmoe minás - 347

nuséninin móor maaní étumo.
 n-sén-n-n mu'-ar maaní-∅ i'-t'-m-o
 CP-say-CP-CP 3SG.HF:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having said so, she explained the meaning to her.

čhúmoe minás - 348

móor maaní étasar ho, iné áminan
 mu'-ar maaní-∅ i'-t'-as-ar hó iné-∅ ámin-an
 3SG.HF:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT then that:H-ABS which:H-INDEF.SG

baadšáa nookáre maaníar dumúcum ke iné
 baadšáa-e nookár-e maaní-ar d-mu-sú-um ké iné-∅
 king-GEN servant-ERG meaning-DAT TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-ADJVLZ LINK that:H-ABS

uúšam éi numúya iné baadšáa
 u-ušá-um i'-i-∅ n-mu-gán iné baadšáa-e
 3PL.H:I-bring.up-ADJVLZ 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS CP-3SG.HF:I-take that:H king-GEN

<i>théerjuş</i>	<i>uyóon</i>	<i>íkate</i>		<i>néetan</i>	<i>íne</i>
théerjuş-Ø	u+yoon	i-ik'aṭ-e		n-i't-n	ín-e
palace-ABS	all	3SG.HM:I-name-INS-ESS		CP-3PL.Y:II-do-CP	s/he:DIST-GEN
<i>éimo</i>		<i>díşulo</i>	<i>íne</i>	<i>íte</i>	
i-i-mu-e		diş-ul-e	ín-e	i-i'e	
3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-GEN		ground-LOC-ESS	s/he:DIST-GEN	3SG.HM:I-son-GEN	
<i>díşulo</i>	<i>nóuro,</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>íji</i>	<i>óuruṭimi.</i>	
diş-ul-e	n-hurúṭ	ú-Ø	i-ljí-e	u-hurúṭ-m-i	
ground-LOC-ESS	CP-sit	they:DIST-ABS	3SG.Y:I-behind-ESS	3PL.H:II-sit-NPRS-3SG.HM	

After [the daughter's] teaching of the meaning for her, the king's servant who [brought the daughter and] led the queen to the meaning, adopted the servant and the daughter and inherit all the things in the king's palace. He took the king's prince and princess's place as leaving them behind.

čhúmoē minás - 349

<i>íne</i>	<i>yuús</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>qátal</i>	<i>numó</i>
ín-e	i-us-Ø	ké	qátal	n-mu't
s/he:DIST-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-ABS	LINK	murder	CP-3SG.HF:II-do

mósqanimi.

mu's-yan'm-i

3SG.HF:II-CAUS-be.finished-NPRS-3SG.HM

[The servant] killed his [= the king's] wife also.

čhúmoē minás - 350

<i>u</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>híkum</i>	<i>nookártiṭ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>pačáas</i>	<i>ke</i>
ú	ké	baadšáa-e	hík-kum	nookár-tiṭ	ú-Ø	pačáas	ké
they:DIST	LINK	king-ERG	one-group	servant-PL	they:DIST-ABS	fifty	LINK

nósqan

n-u's-yan

CP-3PL.H:II-CAUS-be.finished

zindáanulo

zindá-an-ul-e

living-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS

gódariṭ

gódar-iṭ-Ø

thick.wall-PL-ABS

ótimi.

u-t'-m-i

3PL.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

[Since] the queen and the king killed the fifty servants at once and built a big wall with them as human sacrifices.

čhúmoe minás - 351

bas náa juú, phaş.

bás náa juú pháş

enough TAG.Q mister finishing

That's all, mister. Finish.

II. THE STORY OF HOPAR

Narrator: Muhammad Abbas
 Date: 21st Aug, 2007
 Time length: 4' 8"
 Location: Hopar Inn in Hopar
 Dialect: Nager (Hopar)
 Genre: Old tale

Synopsis:

It is a history telling about Hopar and the neighbouring places. Once there was no residence in Hopar and all people was living in upper palces. But one elder suffered bad treatment from young men and then cursed all people. After that a glacier came down to their villages and covered over. And then the glacier went back to mountains and Borosh Bulsing came to Hopar and settled here. It is the beginning of Hopar village.

Hopar - 1

yáare *khutó hóparo* *ee hóparulo* *ee sis*
 i-yár-e khuté hópar-e ee hópar-ul-e ee sí-s-Ø
 3SG.Y:I-before-ESS this:Y Hopar-ESS FIL Hopar-LOC-ESS FIL people-ABS

apóm.

a-bá-an-m
 NEG-COP-3PL.H-NPRS

In the old days there was nobody resident here in Hopar.

Hopar - 2

to úloyo úlo *képal dǝŋs* *óur ee balpóo élé* *hin*
 tó *** úl-e képal+dǝŋs óor ee balpóo él-e hín
 then *** inside-ESS Kepal+king's.garden and FIL Balpo there-ESS one:H

tháman *bom,* *kholé* *képal dǝŋsulo* *hin*
 thám-an-Ø bá-i-m khól-e képal+dǝŋs-ul-e hín
 king-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS here-ESS Kepal+king's.garden-LOC-ESS one:H

tháman bom, muú ke moojúud dílá, muú
 thám-an-Ø bá-i-m muú ké moojúud d'il'-Ø muú
 king-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS now LINK present COP-3SG.Y-PRS now

ke moojúud dílá eté úe hakičar.
 ké moojúud d'il'-Ø eté ú-e ha'kičar-Ø
 LINK present COP-3SG.Y-PRS that:Y they:DIST-GEN house-PL-ABS

There was a king in the Kepal Garden, and there was a king in Balpo. There are their residences now, too.

Hopar - 3

to esé wáqtulo gamú mamúan bes ke apí,
 tó esé wáqt-ul-e gamú+ECHO-an-Ø bés ké a-b'i-Ø
 then that:X time-LOC-ESS ice:MASS-INDEF.SG-ABS what LINK NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS

bilkúl aée aabáad dilúm.
 bilkúl aée aabáad d'il'-m
 quite FIL resident COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

And at that time, there was not any kind of glacier there so that there were residents.

Hopar - 4

to eté wáqtulo ee khóle uú gáran
 tó eté wáqt-ul-e ee khól-e ú-e gar'an-Ø
 then that:Y time-LOC-ESS FIL here-ESS they:DIST-GEN marriage-INDEF.SG-ABS

tayáar maními.
 tayáar man'-m-i
 prepared become-NPRS-3SG.Y

Then, it had prepared their marriage there.

Hopar - 5

elúm balphúulum hilés bom, khólum dasín
 él-um balpoo-ul-um hilés-Ø bá-i-m khól-um dasín-Ø
 there-ABL Balpo-LOC-ABL boy-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS here-ABL girl-ABS

bom.

bá-o-m

COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

One boy from Balpo, and one girl from here [the Kepal Garden].

Hopar - 6

<i>gar</i>	š	<i>ée</i>	<i>tayaarí</i>	<i>núman</i>	<i>ée</i>	<i>gáre</i>
gar'-Ø	***	ée	tayáar-í-Ø	n-man	ée	gar'-e
marriage-ABS	***	FIL	prepared-NMLZ-ABS	CP-become	FIL	marriage-GEN

<i>maqmasámiŋ</i>	<i>šurúu</i>	<i>maními.</i>
maqmasá-miŋ-Ø	šurúu	man'-m-i
trouble-PL-ABS	beginning	become-NPRS-3PL.Y

Having prepared, the marriage ceremony was begun.

Hopar - 7

<i>šurúu</i>	<i>numán</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>dúuman</i>	<i>goroóno,</i>
šurúu	n-man	ee	d-u''m-en	garoóno-Ø
beginning	CP-become	FIL	come:PFV-3PL.H-NPRS-3PL.H	bride.and.groom-ABS

<i>goroóno</i>	<i>dúu,</i>	<i>aččháa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>khité</i>	<i>ité</i>
garoóno-Ø	d-u''	aččháa	ha'al-e	íti	khíti	ité
bride.and.groom-ABS	come:CP-3PL.H	good	house-LOC-ESS	thither	hither	that:Y

<i>wáqtulo,</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>maphéer</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>sísan,</i>	<i>híjulo</i>
wáqt-ul-e	hín	ee	maphéer	ee	sís-an-Ø	hiŋ'-ul-e
time-LOC-ESS	one:H	FIL	aged	FIL	people-INDEF.SG-ABS	door-LOC-ESS

gučhábóm.

gučhá+bá-i-m

lie+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

Having started it, when the bride and groom came and approached a good house, an old man was lying at the door.

Hopar - 8

<i>gučhén</i>	<i>wáqtulo</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>síse</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>bemazáat</i>
gučhá-um	wáqt-ul-e	ín	sís-e	iné-∅	búṭ	bée+mazáat
lie-ADJVLZ	time-LOC-ESS	s/he:DIST	people-ERG	that:H-ABS	much	bawling.out
<i>maíme</i>		<i>maphéer</i>	<i>iné.</i>			
man'č-um-e		maphéer	iné-∅			
become-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS		aged	that:H-ABS			

The old man was lying there and the bride bawled him out.

Hopar - 9

<i>méne</i>	<i>dápišiki</i>	<i>déljume</i>		<i>hólne</i>
mén-e	dápišiki	d-i-l'č-um-e		hól+n-i't
who-ERG	kicking	TEL-3SG.HM:II-hit-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS		outside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do
<i>icúmen</i>		<i>méne</i>	<i>dápišik</i>	<i>déljume</i>
i-chu'm-en		mén-e	dápišiki	d-i-l'č-um-e
3SG.HM:I-bring.out-NPRS-3PL.H		who-ERG	kicking	TEL-3SG.HM:II-hit-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS
<i>úlne</i>		<i>dícumen.</i>		
úl+n-i't		d-i-sú-m-en		
inside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do		TEL-3SG.HM:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H		

Someone kicked him out and someone else kicked him in.

Hopar - 10

<i>ichúyas</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>taṅ</i>
i-chu'as	ké	ín-∅	búṭ	táṅ
3SG.HM:I-bring.out-INF	LINK	s/he:DIST-ABS	much	cramp
<i>dími.</i>				
d-i'm-i				
come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM				

Having been driven out, he got infuriated.

Hopar - 11

taŋ dí inée ee qhudáaye
 táŋ d-í' iné-e ee qhudáa-e
 cramp come:CP-3SG.HM that:H-ERG FIL god-GEN

déerubóm, khué sis ú čhek
 d-ĩ-r+bá-i-m khué sís-∅ ú čhék-∅
 TEL-3SG.HM:III-send+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS these:H people-ABS they:DIST check-ABS

óti nuse.
 u-t'-i n-sén
 3PL.H:II-do-IMP.SG CP-say

He got infuriated and told the God: "Judge and punish them".

Hopar - 12

to úu íne buṭ béezati etúman.
 tó ú-e ín-e búṭ bée+ezát-í-∅ i-t'-m-en
 then they:DIST-ERG s/he:DIST-GEN much no+polite-NMLZ-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

They roughed him up very much.

Hopar - 13

etás ke buṭ naaráaz imánimi, naaráaz
 i-t'-as ké búṭ naaráaz i-man'-m-i naaráaz
 3SG.Y:II-do-INF LINK much sullen 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM sullen

níman bom, hin maphéer gúsan
 n-i-man bá-i-m hín maphéer gus'-an-∅
 CP-3SG.HM:I-become COP-3SG.HM-NPRS one:H aged woman-INDEF.SG-ABS

damóomo.
 d-mu'-m-o
 come:PFV-3SG.HF-NPRS-3SG.HF

Because they behaved so, he was in a quite bad humor. And then, there came an old woman.

Hopar - 14

hin, hin maphéer gúsan dumóo íne
 hín hín maphéer gus'-an-Ø d-mu' ín-e
 one:H one:H aged woman-INDEF.SG-ABS come:CP-3SG.HF s/he:DIST-ERG

sénumo ke baaí ee um méé šuá moojíz
 sén-m-o ké baaí ee úm-Ø mí-e šuá moojíz
 say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK brother FIL thou-ABS we-GEN good miracle

sísan dáa buṭ behtarín sísan báa,
 sís-an-Ø dáa búṭ bahtarín sís-an-Ø bá-a-Ø
 people-INDEF.SG-ABS again much best people-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-2SG-PRS

itécum han páči phaár mané, óor jáare
 ité-e-c-um hán pá-či-e phár-<:> man'-i óor jé-e-are
 that:Y-OBL-ADE-ABL one:Y side-INE-ESS turning-EMPH become-IMP.SG and I-OBL-DAT

díšaare ke úlo níčán.
 diš'-are ké úl-e ní-č+bá-an-m
 ground-DAT LINK inside-ESS go-IPFV+COP-1PL-NPRS

An old woman had come to him and said: “You are a very good miraculous man for us, after this please leave here and go for inside [the valley] to our place”.

Hopar - 15

sénas qháaṣiṅ háart maními, háart
 sén-as-Ø qháaṣiṅ hárt man'-m-i hárt
 say-INF-ABS until sudden.rising become-NPRS-3SG.HM sudden.rising

numán ínmore móor diš étimi.
 n-man ín-mu-are mu'-ar diš'-Ø i'-t'-m-i
 CP-become s/he:DIST-OBL-DAT 3SG.HF:II-DAT ground-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

When she said so, he suddenly stood up and gave her a space.

Hopar - 16

<i>diš</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>khuéete</i>	<i>khuté</i>	
diš-∅	n-i-t	ké	sén-m-i	ké	khué-aṭ-e	khuté	
ground-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	LINK	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	these:H-INS-ESS	this:Y	
<i>watánulo</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>sísik</i>	<i>apáan</i>	<i>khué</i>	<i>thámo</i>		
watán-ul-o	šúa	sís-ik-∅	a-bá-an-∅	khué	thám-o-∅		
country-LOC-ESS	good	people-INDEF.PL-ABS	NEG-COP-3PL.H-PRS	these:H	king-PL-ABS		
<i>khušú</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>sísik</i>	<i>apáan,</i>	<i>khu</i>			
khú-∅+***	šúa	sís-ik-∅	a-bá-an-∅	khú-∅			
they:PROX-ABS+***	good	people-INDEF.PL-ABS	NEG-COP-3PL.H-PRS	they:PROX-ABS			
<i>ke</i>	<i>khóle</i>	<i>báan,</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>éle</i>	<i>báan,</i>	<i>leékin</i>
ké	khól-e	bá-an-∅	ú-∅	ké	él-e	bá-an-∅	leékin
LINK	here-ESS	COP-3PL.H-PRS	they:DIST-ABS	LINK	there-ESS	COP-3PL.H-PRS	but
<i>khu</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>sísik</i>	<i>apáan.</i>				
khú-∅	šúa	sís-ik-∅	a-bá-an-∅				
they:PROX-ABS	good	people-INDEF.PL-ABS	NEG-COP-3PL.H-PRS				

He gave her a space and said: “There are no good people among them in this country, and their kings are not good. Here are these ones, and there are those ones, all of them are not good ones.

Hopar - 17

<i>to</i>	<i>khúule</i>	<i>qhudáaye</i>	<i>taráfcum</i>	<i>γazáb</i>	<i>óor</i>
tó	khú-al-e	qhudáa-e	taráph-c-um	γazáb-∅	u-ar
then	they:PROX-LOC-ESS	god-GEN	direction-ADE-ABL	misfortune-ABS	3PL.H:II-DAT
<i>júas</i>	<i>dilá.</i>				
jú-as-∅	d-il-∅				
come-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS				

And so, misfortunes should be given onto them by the God.

Hopar - 18

<i>yazáb</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>júas</i>	<i>dilá,</i>	<i>etéecum</i>	<i>han</i>
yazáb-Ø	u'-ar	jú-as-Ø	d'il-Ø	eté-e-c-um	hán
misfortune-ABS	3PL.H:II-DAT	come-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	that:Y-OBL-ADE-ABL	one:Y
<i>páči</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>mané</i>	<i>ke, ée khúu</i>	<i>yamú</i>	<i>laáš</i>
pá-či-e	phár-<:>	man'-i	ké ée khú-e	yamú-Ø	laáš
side-INE-ESS	turning-EMPH	become-IMP.SG	LINK FIL they:PROX-GEN	ice-ABS	spread
<i>étas</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>yamú</i>	<i>júas</i>	<i>bi.</i>	
i-t'-as-Ø	b'-i-Ø	yamú-Ø	jú-as-Ø	b'-i-Ø	
3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	ice-ABS	come-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	

Misfortunes should come onto them. Whereas a glaciár should come and cover them over.”

Hopar - 19

<i>etéecum</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>páči</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>masée</i>	<i>qháaş</i>
eté-e-c-um	hán	pá-či-e	phár-<:>	man'-as-e	qháaş
that:Y-OBL-ADE-ABL	one:Y	side-INE-ESS	turning-EMPH	become-INF-GEN	until
<i>núim</i>	<i>chíle</i>	<i>íne</i>	<i>maphéer</i>	<i>gus</i>	<i>múimo</i>
n-i'-m	chíl-e	iné	maphéer	gus'-Ø	mu-í-mu-e
go:PFV:3SG.HM-NPRS	water-GEN	that:H	aged	woman-ABS	3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN
<i>baraqbéesen</i>	<i>bim.</i>				
baraqbées-en-Ø	b'-i-m				
large.sieve-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS				

Then they approached a place, there was a large sieve with the rough mesh of the old woman in the water [river?].

Hopar - 20

<i>múimo</i>	<i>baraqbées</i>	<i>séibáan;</i>	<i>esé</i>
mu-í-mu-e	baraqbées-Ø	sén-č+bá-an-Ø	esé-Ø
3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN	large.sieve-ABS	say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS	that:X-ABS

murtiniŋ *níya* *damóobóm;* *ése*
 mu-riiŋ'-iŋ n-i-gán d-mu'+bá-o-m esé-Ø
 3SG.HF:I-hand-PL CP-3SG.X:I-take come:PFV-3SG.HF+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS that:X-ABS

gáŋi *humáلكum* *šiškin* *séibáan;* *šiškin,* *alé*
 gáŋi humáلك-um šiškin-Ø sén-č+bá-an-Ø šiškin-Ø aléi
 gathering light-ADJV LZ Shishkin-ABS say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS Shishkin-ABS there

alé *pháar* *manúmo.*
 aléi phár-<:> man'-m-o
 there turning-EMPH become-NPRS-3SG.HF

They say it was her own “large sieve”; She caught it and came back; They call [her?] “light Shishkin” with the sieve; Shishkin turned back there.

Hopar - 21

pháar *manáasaŋe* *eté* *dooráanulo* *úu* *gáre*
 phár-<:> man'-as-aŋ-e eté dooráan-ul-e ú-e gar'-e
 turning-EMPH become-INF-INS-ESS that:Y period-LOC-ESS they:DIST-GEN marriage-GEN

eté *maqhmaysálo* *maqmasáulo* *bómaŋe* *yáŋum*
 eté *** maqmasá-ul-e bá-an-um-aŋ-e i-yáŋ-um
 that:Y *** difficulty-LOC-ESS COP-3PL.H-ADJV LZ-INS-ESS 3SG.Y:I-over-ABL

ŋamú *díimi.*
 ŋamú-Ø d-í'-m-i
 ice-ABS come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

When she turned back, then their marriage had almost finished and a glacier came down from the upper side.

Hopar - 22

júas *ke* *sis* *waawailáa* *zacháamaŋ*
 jú-as-Ø ké sí-s-Ø waawailá-Ø cacamáŋ-Ø
 come-INF-ABS LINK people-ABS lamentation-ABS rapid.transaction-ABS

étuman *qhudáa* *yákal* *buṭ* *phariáad*
 i-t'-m-en qhudáa-Ø i-yákal búṭ phariáad-Ø
 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H god-ABS 3SG.HM:I-backwards much complaint-ABS

etúman *leékin* *béske* *wajáa*
 i-t'-m-en leekín bés+ké wajáa-Ø
 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H but what+LINK reason-ABS

audími.

au-d-i''m-i

NEG-come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

A glaciär came down, people ceased from bewailing and rather complained to the God much. But any forgiveness did not come to them.

Hopar - 23

audíi *yamúu* *tamáam* *u* *ke* *laás*
 au-d-i'' yamú-e tamáam ú-Ø ké laás
 NEG-come:CP-3SG.HM ice-ERG entire they:DIST-ABS LINK spread

étimi; *u* *ke* *laás* *étimi;* *purá*
 i-t'-m-i ú-Ø ké laás i-t'-m-i purá
 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X they:DIST-ABS LINK spread 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X all

hópar *alaaqá* *uyóonare* *púre* *báaraa* *umánubáan.*
 hópar alaaqá uyóon-are purá bharáa u-man+bá-an-Ø
 Hopar region all-DAT all full 3PL.H:I-become+COP-3PL.H-PRS

Having had no mercy of the God, the glaciär wholly covered them up; Hopar valley has been completely swallowed up.

Hopar - 24

numán *púre* *uyóon* *qhátum* *étimi.*
 n-man purá u-yoon-Ø qhátum i-t'-m-i
 CP-become all 3PL.H:I-all-ABS finish 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.Y

Covered up and all things was over.

Hopar - 25

qhátum néti hóo báadulo thaláa thaláa se
 qhátum n-i-t hóo báad-ul-e thaláa thaláa esé
 finish CP-3SG.Y:II-do then following.time-LOC-ESS slow slow that:X

yamú dóočumo dóočumo
 yamú-Ø d-ụ-sú-um-e d-ụ-sú-um-e
 ice-ABS TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS

dóočumo dóočumo qhátum
 d-ụ-sú-um-e d-ụ-sú-um-e qhátum
 TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS finish

maními oo qhátum manáas ke dobaaráa sis
 man'-m-i oo qhátum man'-as ké dubaaráa sí-s-Ø
 become-NPRS-3SG.X FIL finished become-INF LINK twice people-ABS

đuó.
 d-ụ-Ø-en
 come:PFV-3PL.H-PRS-3PL.H

Once all things was over, and then the glaciár slowly went away and disappeared. When it had finished, people started to come here again.

Hopar - 26

khuté hópar aabáad étuman.
 khoté hópar-Ø aabáad i-t'-m-en
 this:Y Hopar-ABS resident 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

They settled down in this Hopar valley.

Hopar - 27

gósulo balímia.
 gu-s'-ul-e bal'-m-i=a
 2SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS fall-NPRS-3SG.Y=Q

Have you understood?

Hopar - 28

yarkamáas *díi* *aabáad* *etúm* *inée*
 yarkamáas d-í' aabáad i-t'-um iné-e
 at.the.beginning come:CP-3SG.HM resident 3SG.Y:II-do-ADJVLZ that:H-GEN

ík *boróş bul siŋ* *bom.*
 i-ik'-Ø boróş búlsiŋ-Ø bá-i-m
 3SG.HM:I-name-ABS Borosh.Bulsing-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

The name of who first came and settled down here was Borosh Bulsing.

Hopar - 29

íne *ooláatcum* *wálti* *álthar* *hakíčarŋ* *muúto* *maujúud*
 ín-e ooláat-c-um wálti álthar ha'-kičarŋ-Ø muú-to maujúud
 s/he:DIST-GEN generation-ADE-ABL four:Z twenty house-PL-ABS now-just present

bicán.
 b'icán-Ø
 COP-3PL.Y-PRS

After his age, there still remains eighty houses now.

III. ŠON GUKÚR

Narrator: Afraz ul-Lah Beg
 Date: 14th Sep, 2008
 Time length: 7' 30"
 Location: His house in Haiderabad
 Dialect: Hunza (Haiderabad)
 Genre: Old tale
 Remarks: Translated based on his translation.

Synopsis:

There were two famous shamans Shon Gukur nad Huke Mamo in Altit. One day they had a match each other in the skill of prediction about a calf whether the calf has a stain on its forehead or not. The calf was born and then there was no stain as Shon Gukur had predicted.

šon gukúr - 1

bahaarí *ṭáimulo* *šon gukúr* *ke* *húke mamó,* *áltitar*
 bahaarí-e ṭéem-ul-e šón+gukúr ké húke+mamó-Ø áltit-ar
 spring-GEN time-LOC-ESS Shon.Gukur LINK Huke.Mamo-ABS Altit-DAT

dúćám.

d-u-sú+bá-an-m

TEL-3PL.H:I-bring+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

In the springtime they had brought Shon Gukur and Huke Mamo to Altit.

šon gukúr - 2

u *óltalik* *húnzue* *mašúur* *biṭáyo* *bam.*
 ú-Ø u-ltalik húnzo-e mašúur biṭán-čo-Ø bá-an-m
 they:DIST-ABS 3PL.H:II-both Hunza-GEN famous shaman-PL-ABS COP-3PL.H-NPRS

Both were famous in Hunza as Bitans.

šon gukúr - 3

<i>óltalik</i>	<i>gáṭi</i>	<i>numánin</i>	<i>hurúṭám.</i>
u:l-talik-Ø	gáṭi	n-man'-n	hurúṭ+bá-an-m
3PL.H:II-both-ABS	gathering	CP-become-CP	sit+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

The two of them were sitting together.

šon gukúr - 4

<i>óltalik</i>	<i>nuúruṭin</i>	<i>bam,</i>	<i>óltalik,</i>	<i>karagáḍie</i>
u:l-talik-Ø	n-hurúṭ-n	bá-an-m	u:l-talik	karagáḍi-e
3PL.H:II-both-ABS	CP-sit-CP	COP-3PL.H-NPRS	3PL.H:II-both	Karagadimuts-GEN

<i>káa</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>baṭá</i>	<i>buáan</i>	<i>júṭibím.</i>
káaṭ	hán	baṭá	buá-an-Ø	jú-č+b'-i-m
together	one:X	bald	cow-INDEF.SG-ABS	come-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

The two of them were sitting when a piebald cow came down from Baltit by the Karagadimuts people.

šon gukúr - 5

<i>biṭáyue</i>	<i>yeécuman,</i>	<i>húke mamúe</i>	<i>šon gukúrar</i>
biṭán-čo-e	i-ic'-m-an	húke+mamó-e	šón+gukúr-ar
shaman-PL-ERG	3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3PL.H	Huke.Mamo-ERG	Shon.Gukur-DAT

<i>ésimi:</i>	<i>khóse</i>	<i>yuúlulo</i>	<i>isk</i>
i-s'-m-i	khós-e	i-ul'-ul-e	i-sk'-Ø
3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM	this:X-GEN	3SG.X:I-belly-LOC-ESS	3SG.X:I-young-ABS

bi.

b'-i-Ø

COP-3SG.X-PRS

The Bitans saw it and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur: ‘This cow is in calf’.

šon gukúr - 6

<i>šon gukúre</i>	<i>húke mamúar</i>	<i>ésimi,</i>		
šón+gukúr-e	húke+mamó-ar	i-s'-m-i		
Shon.Gukur-ERG	Huke.Mamo-DAT	3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM		
<i>iskan</i>	<i>bi,</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>akhóle</i>	<i>iphátiąte</i>
i-sk'-an-∅	b'-i-∅	óor	akhól-e	i-phaṭi-aṭ-e
3SG.X:I-young-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	and	here-ESS	3SG.X:I-forehead-INS-ESS
<i>burúm</i>	<i>péčan,</i>	<i>rágan</i>	<i>bilá.</i>	
bur'-um	peč'-an-∅	rag'-an-∅	b'-il'-∅	
white-ADJV LZ	patch-INDEF.SG-ABS	tint-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	

Shon Gukur said to Huke Mamo, '(This cow) is in calf, and there is a white patch on the fore head of the young one here'.

šon gukúr - 7

<i>šon gukúre</i>	<i>sénimi,</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>yalát</i>	<i>báa,</i>
šón+gukúr-e	sén-m-i	bée	yá	ún-∅	yalát	bá-a-∅
Shon.Gukur-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	no	INTERJ	thou-ABS	wrong	COP-2SG-PRS
<i>esé</i>	<i>ṭiko</i>	<i>apí.</i>	<i>burúm</i>	<i>akhóle</i>		
isé-∅	ṭiko-∅	a-b'-i-∅	bur'-um	akhól-e		
that:X-ABS	stain-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS	white-ADJV LZ	here-ESS		
<i>ḍáako</i>	<i>apí.</i>					
ḍáako-∅	a-b'-i-∅					
embroidery.pattern-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS					

'You are wrong, it is not a white patch', said Shon Gukur.

šon gukúr - 8

<i>ése</i>	<i>isúmale</i>	<i>múšaṭe</i>	<i>élar</i>	<i>akhíle</i>
és-e	i-sumál-e	muš'-aṭ-e	él-ar	akhíl-e
that.one:X-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	edge-INS-ESS	there-DAT	such-ESS

dícuman.

d-i-sú-m-an

TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

Then presently men brought the cow into Altit.

šon gukúr - 12

<i>káman</i>	<i>guncíŋcum,</i>	<i>buá</i>	<i>halkími</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>isk</i>
kám-an	gunc'íŋ-c-um	buá-Ø	halk'm-i	óor	i-sk'Ø
little-INDEF.SG	day-PL-ADE-ABL	cow-ABS	bear-NPRS-3SG.X	and	3SG.X:I-young-ABS

désmanimi.

d-i-s-man'm-i

TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3SG.X

Some days later the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it.

šon gukúr - 13

<i>isé</i>	<i>buáa</i>	<i>isúmale</i>	<i>mujóq</i>	<i>burúm</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>	<i>óor</i>
isé	buá-e	i-sumál-e	mujóq-Ø	bur'um	b'il'm	óor
that:X	cow-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	tassel-ABS	white-ADJVLZ	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	and

<i>ískilar</i>	<i>kawárd</i>	<i>dálum</i>	<i>manílum.</i>
i-skíl-ar	kawárd	dál-um	man+b'il'm
3SG.X:I-face-DAT	covered	over-ADJVLZ	become+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

The tassel of its tail was white and it was hanging down over its face.

šon gukúr - 14

<i>šon gukúr</i>	<i>biťáne</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>sénuma</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>sahíi</i>
šón+gukúr	biťán-e	bés-an-Ø	sén-um=a	ké	ité-Ø	sahíi
Shon.Gukur	shaman-ERG	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	say-ADJVLZ=Q	LINK	that:Y-ABS	correct

maními.

man'm-i

become-NPRS-3SG.Y

What Shon Gukur had said turned out to be true.

šon gukúr - 15

sis *heiráan* *umánuman.*

sís-Ø heiráan u-man'-m-an

people-ABS surprised 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H

The people were filled with amazement.

IV. KULIÓ LASKÍR

Narrator: Afraz ul-Lah Beg
 Date: 14th Sep, 2008
 Time length: 5' 52"
 Location: His house in Haiderabad
 Dialect: Hunza (Haiderabad)
 Genre: Old tale
 Remarks: Translated based on his translation.
 Synopsis:

A young man (in Haiderabad) called Kulio Laskir encountered a great witch in his field. He wrestled her to the ground and stabbed a dagger at her. Next morning villagers went to the field to make sure of his saying. And there was really his dagger sticking upright on the ground there.

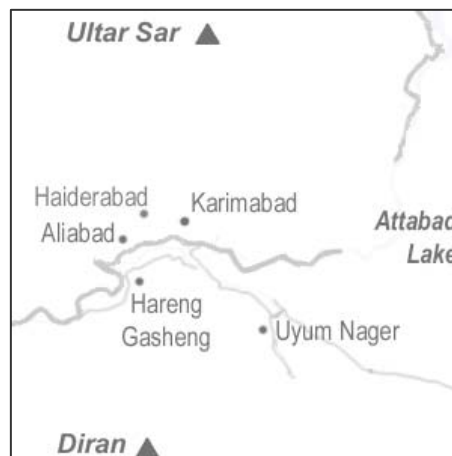


Figure 30. Hareng Gacheng and Haiderabad

kulió laskír - 1

<i>kúlio laskér</i>	<i>nuséninin</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>juáanan</i>	<i>bam</i>
kulió+laskír-Ø	n-sén-n-n	hín	juáan-an-Ø	bá-i-m
Kulio.Laskir-ABS	CP-say-CP-CP	one:H	young-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

<i>inée</i>	<i>híkulto</i>	<i>ímo</i>	<i>málar</i>	<i>chíl</i>
iné-e	hík-ul-to	i-í-mu-e	mal'-ar	chil'-Ø
that:H-ERG	one:Z-day-just	3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN	field-DAT	water-ABS

jáličám.

jáli-č+bá-i-m

scatter-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

There was a young man called Kulio Laskir, and one day he was running water onto his field.

kulió laskír - 2

ité thápe, thápan bilúm.
 ité-Ø thap'e thap'an-Ø b'il'm
 that:Y night-ESS night-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

It was night.

kulió laskír - 3

óor íne chíle gan díibilúm.
 óor ín-e chil'e gan'Ø d-i''+b'il'm
 and s/he:DIST-GEN water-GEN way-ABS come:PFV-3SG.Y+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

And the turn for the water had come to him.

kulió laskír - 4

in iđímaṭe bam, in
 ín-Ø i-đim'aṭ-e bá-i-m ín-Ø
 s/he:DIST-ABS 3SG.HM:I-body-INS-ESS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS s/he:DIST-ABS

iđímaṭe bam, dáa tuṭán thap bilúm,
 i-đim'aṭ-e bá-i-m dáa tuṭán thap'Ø b'il'm
 3SG.HM:I-body-INS-ESS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS again dark night-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

halánc apím.
 halánc-Ø a-b'i-m
 moon-ABS NEG-COP-3SG.X-NPRS

He was alone and the night was dark and moonless.

kulió laskír - 5

ité wáqtulo haréj gašéjṭe iné han garían
 ité wáqt-ul-e haréj+gašéj-aṭ-e iné hán garí-an-Ø
 that:Y time-LOC-ESS Hareng.Gasheng-INS-ESS that:H one:Y lamp-INDEF.SG-ABS

yeécimi.

i-ic'-m-i

3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3SG.HM

At this point a fire appeared on the Hareng Gasheng.

kulió laskír - 6

ité garí kúlio laskíri yákal díimi.

ité garí-Ø kulió+laskír-Ø+i-yákal d-i''m-i

that:Y light-ABS Kulio.Laskir-ABS+3SG.HM:I-direction come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

The fire came moving along in Kulio Laskir's direction.

kulió laskír - 7

kúlio laskíre épačar ité garí

kulió+laskír-e i-pá-či-ar ité garí-Ø

Kulio.Laskir-GEN 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-DAT that:Y light-ABS

déşqaltimi.

d-i-şqalt-m-i

TEL-3SG.Y:II-reach-NPRS-3SG.Y

The fire came up to Kulio Laskir.

kulió laskír - 8

íne béwaqte ite garí yákal barénimi ke

ín-e bé+wáqt+e ité garí-Ø i-yákal barén-m-i ké

s/he:DIST-ERG at.the.time that:Y light-ABS 3SG.Y:I-direction look-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK

ité úlo hin dāŋalaṭhasan bom.

ité úl-e hín dāŋalaṭhas-an-Ø bá-o-m

that:Y inside-ESS one:H danglathas-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

And when he looked he saw that there was a danglathas.

kulió laskír - 9

ḍáŋalaṭhas uyúm bilásmo séibáan.
 ḍáŋalaṭhas-Ø uy'-um bilás-mu-e sén-č+bá-an-Ø
 danglathas-ABS big-ADJVLZ witch-OBL-GEN say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS

It is said that she is a danglathas of a great witch.

kulió laskír - 10

óltalike salamáa duúnuman, óor ye íne
 u:l'talik-e salamáa-Ø d-gún-m-an óor yé ín-e
 3PL.H:II-both-ERG wrestling-ABS TEL-pack-NPRS-3PL.H and look:INTERJ s/he:DIST-ERG

yáar muwáši.
 i-yáar mu-biśá-Ø-i
 3SG.Y:I-downwards 3SG.HF:I-throw-PRS-3SG.HM

The two began to wrestle and he threw her.

kulió laskír - 11

íne ee ee épači qhanjáran bilúm.
 ín-e ee ee i-pá-či-e qhanjár-an-Ø b'il'm
 s/he:DIST-GEN FIL FIL 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-ESS dagger-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

He had a dagger.

kulió laskír - 12

béwaqte íne mowášubám ke
 bé+wáqqt+e ín-e mu-biśá+bá-i-m ké
 at.the.time s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HF:II-throw+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS LINK

munḍilulo ité qhanjáran mudéli.
 mu-ndil'-ul-e ité qhanjár-an-Ø mu-d+i+l-Ø-i
 3SG.HF:I-breast-LOC-ESS that:Y dagger-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HF:I-hit-PRS-3SG.Y

And when he had thrown her, he smote her on the breast with it.

kulió laskír - 13

ye dáa bas kóči iné bes ke ec féil
yé dáa bás kóči iné-e bés+ké éc-Ø leél (?)
 look:INTERJ again enough lack that:H-ERG what+LINK those.ones:X-ABS knowing

eemáibám.

a-i-man'č+bá-i-m

NEG-3SG.HM:I-become-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He knew nothing more.

kulió laskír - 14

ye in téelumo yáib manúmo.
yé ín-Ø téel-um yáib man'm-o
 then s/he:DIST-ABS there-ABL absent become-NPRS-3SG.HF

She vanished somewhere.

kulió laskír - 15

íne, ímo háalar waapás
ín-e i-í-mu-e há-al-ar waapás
 s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN house-LOC-DAT back

dími, ímo jamáat aa jamáat
d-i'm-i i-í-mu-e jamáat-Ø aa jamáat-Ø
 come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM 3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN spouse-ABS FIL spouse-ABS

mos purá waaqíá móor ee čáya
mu's-Ø purá waaqíá mu-ar ee čáya-Ø
 3SG.HF:II-heart-ABS full actually 3SG.HF:II-DAT FIL story-ABS

étimi.

i-t'm-i

3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

He returned to his home and told his wife about it fully.

kulió laskír - 16

ité baaráulo íne sénimi.
 ité baará-ul-e ín-e sén-m-i
 that:Y relation-LOC-ESS s/he:DIST-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM

He said to them:

kulió laskír - 17

bilás soláan bi haréj gašéj.
 bilás-Ø soláan b'i-Ø haréj+gašéj
 witch-ABS ??? COP-3SG.X-PRS Hareng.Gasheng

A bilas from the Hareng Gasheng.

kulió laskír - 18

je ke iné bilás méltalik ité málulo híne kaa
 jé ké iné bilás mi:lalik-Ø ité mal'ul-e hín-e kaaṭ
 I LINK that:H witch 1PL:II-both-ABS that:Y field-LOC-ESS one:H-GEN together

salamáa duúnam.
 salamáa-Ø d-gún-a-m
 wrestling-ABS TEL-pack-1SG-NPRS

And I had wrestling about in the “round field”.

kulió laskír - 19

jáamo numúwašin jéimo qhanjár étu
 je-í-mu-e n-mu-biśá-n je-í-mu-e qhanjár ét-Ø
 1SG:I-self-OBL-GEN CP-3SG.HF:II-throw-CP 1SG:I-self-OBL-GEN dagger that.one:Y-ABS

modélam.
 mu-d+i:l-a-m
 3SG.HF:I-hit-1SG-NPRS

I threw her and stabbed her with my dagger.

kulió laskír - 20

jáa qhanjár ité málulo phaṭ maníla.
 jé-e qhanjár-Ø ité mal'-ul-e pháṭ man+b'-il'-Ø
 I-GEN dagger-ABS that:Y field-LOC-ESS quitting become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

The dagger has remained behind in the field.

kulió laskír - 21

ma namáanen ité dusúin.
 má-Ø n-mä'n-n ité-Ø d-sú-in
 you-ABS go:CP-2PL-CP-CP that:Y-ABS TEL-bring-IMP.PL

You people go and fetch it.

kulió laskír - 22

han čížanar qhayáal óosin.
 hán číž-an-ar qhayáal-Ø óos-in
 one:Y thing-INDEF.SG-DAT idea-ABS put-IMP.PL

Take note a point that:

kulió laskír - 23

agár jáa ité qhanjár yáṭe akhílaṭe dáal
 agár jé-e ité qhanjár-Ø i-yáṭ-e akhíl-aṭ-e dáal
 if I-GEN that:Y dagger-ABS 3SG.Y:I-upwards-ESS in.this.way-INS-ESS over

diém bilá ke, jáa šat
 d-e'-um b'-il'-Ø ké jé-e šat'-Ø
 TEL-get.up-ADJVLZ COP-3SG.Y-PRS LINK I-ERG power-ABS

étabáa.

i-t'-a+bá-a-Ø

3SG.Y:II-do-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

If the dagger is sticking upright in the ground I have had the best of it.

kulió laskír - 24

<i>agár qha balíla</i>	<i>ke, ye</i>	<i>dáa íne</i>	<i>dáa</i>
agár qhát bal+b'il-∅	ké yé	dáa ín-e	dáa
if down fall+COP-3SG.Y-PRS	LINK look:INTERJ	again s/he:DIST-ERG	again
<i>šat atúmo.</i>			
šat'∅ i't-m-o			
power-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF		

If it has fallen over, then she has had the best of it.

kulió laskír - 25

<i>yáṭe</i>	<i>gúncan</i>	<i>béwaqte</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>málar</i>
i-yát-e	gunc'an	bé+wáqt+e	ú-∅	mal'ar
3SG.Y:II-upwards-ESS	day-INDEF.SG	at.the.time	they:DIST-ABS	field-DAT
<i>níman, íne</i>	<i>ité qhanjár</i>	<i>zamínulo</i>	<i>akhí</i>	
ní-m-an ín-e	ité qhanjár-∅	zamín-ul-e	akhíl	
go-NPRS-3PL.H s/he:DIST-GEN	that:Y dagger-ABS	land-LOC-ESS	in.this.way	
<i>numá bilúm.</i>				
n-man b'il'm				
CP-become	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS			

On the morrow when they went to the field the dagger was sticking in the ground.

kulió laskír - 26

<i>ye</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>málcum</i>	<i>gugo</i>	<i>waapás</i>	<i>súman.</i>
yé	dáa	ité-∅	mal'c-um	???	waapás	sú-m-an
look:INTERJ	again	that:Y-ABS	field-ADE-ABL	???	back	bring-NPRS-3PL.H

They brought it back from the field.