

- and=hold.PST.3DU.M in.3SG.M man.DU in_order_that
 NEG=cut.JUS.3SG.M self.3SG.M throat.SG
 15 lə ʔad bæ=ʔidi wa=ʔad dəkémə-š di=ʔárəb ʔaf néfok
 məy mən qar
 hold.PST.3SG.M one.M in=hand.DU and=one.M
 beat.PST.3SG.M-OBJ.3SG.M towards=lower_neck.SG
 until jump.NPST.3SG.F from.3SG.M from throat.SG

One held his hands while the other hit him on the back of his neck so that the lime shot out of his throat.

Text 19. *kaḳáyhi di=ʔeziyót-ši ʔáze*
 brother.DU REL=separate.PST.3SG.F-OBJ.3DU woman.SG

A Woman Separates Two Brothers

- 1 érəm fíne bæ=zəmán trə kaḳáyhi yaʔazáno mən
 ʔahədádši béne béne
 happen.PST.3SG.M formerly in=time.SG two.M
 brother.DU love.NPST.3DU.M from RECP.DU very very
 2 šəm mən énhor di=ʔállə ríʔiʃ ʔag dí=ʔyhe káka də
 káyhen ʔómor həy ʔyyək ləréʔiʃ-k iném dəš bíl'e
 di=ʔeziʔən-ki
 day.SG from day.PL POSS=God ask.PST.3SG.M
 man.SG POSS=3SG.M brother.SG this.SG.M
 small.SG.M say.PST.3SG.M to.3SG.M want.PST.1SG
 ask.JUS.1SG-OBJ.2SG.M what this.SG.F thing.SG
 REL=separate.NPST.3SG.F-OBJ.1DU
 3 ʔómor áʔha-yš ʔáze eziʔən-ki
 say.PST.3SG.M brother.SG-POSS.3SG.M woman.SG
 separate.NPST.3SG.F-OBJ.1DU
 4 wa=déro ʔággi wa=ʔal=ʔédo bəlégo ʔaf yəbóʔol ʔag
 də šibəb wa=der dí=ʔyhe kə=ʔáze wa=dí=ʔyhe
 kə=káka
 and=stay.PST.3DU.M man.DU
 and=NEG=continue.PST.3DU.M send.PST.3DU.M until
 marry.NPST.3SG.M man.SG this.SG.M old.SG.M
 and=stay.PST.3SG.M POSS=3SG.M with=woman.SG
 and=POSS=3SG.M with=brother.SG
 5 wa=mən=báʔad ha sfor ʔag də di=báʔal ʔáze wa=kíʔi
 ʔag də ʔal kə=ḥámit-š yənefóʔo dí=ʔyhi məlʔ

In times of old, there were two brothers who loved each other very much.

On one of the days of God, the elder brother asked the younger one. He said: "I would like to ask you: will anything ever separate us?"

He said: "A woman will separate us."

The two brothers stayed together and after a while the elder brother got married and lived together with his wife and his brother.

Some time later, the one who got married went on a trip, and the younger brother remained with his sister-in-law. They tended to their livestock together.

- and=from=after here travel.PST.3SG.M man.SG
 this.SG.M REL=marry.PST.3SG.M woman.SG
 and=remain.PST.3SG.M man.SG this.SG.M young.SG.M
 with=sister_in_law.SG-POSS.3SG.M work.NPST.3DU.M
 POSS=3DU livestock.SG
- 6 ʕəméro ʕáze e=sáhara-s təšóʔof še ʕómor aɫ=ʔəšóʔof
 say.PST.3SG.F woman.SG
 to=brother_in_law.SG-POSS.3SG.F
 lie_down.NPST.2SG.M with.1SG say.PST.3SG.M
 NEG=lie_down.NPST.1SG
- 7 ɬtéro ʕáze tóʔo aɫ=yəšóʔof səs wa=tóʔo gédaɬ dí=ʔse
 ʕag béšə wa=bəžáro dí=ʔse fiɬha wa=təbéro dí=ʔse
 ékdəhor
 be_angry.PST.3SG.F woman.SG when
 NEG=lie_down.NPST.3SG.M with.3SG.F and=when
 come.PST.3SG.M POSS=3SG.F man.SG weep.PST.3SG.F
 and=cut.PST.3SG.F POSS=3SG.F cloth.SG
 and=break.PST.3SG.F POSS=3SG.F pot.PL
- 8 wa=rɪʔiʃ ʕag dí=ʔyhe ʕáze ʕómor həs hay iném
 di=kɔn šəš
 and=ask.PST.3SG.M man.SG POSS=3SG.M
 woman.SG say.PST.3SG.M to.3SG.F VOC.SG.F what
 REL=be.PST.3SG.M with.2SG.F
- 9 ʕəméro ken əžálaʕ hək ʕómor iném
 say.PST.3SG.F indeed tell.NPST.1SG to.2SG.M
 say.PST.3SG.M what
- 10 ʕəméro dí=ʔe káka aɫ=ʔəbhəd ʕánhi bóžar hə
 dí=ʔyho fiɬha wa=ʔáraʕ tho kor yíʕaɫ fe
 say.PST.3SG.F POSS=2SG.M brother.SG
 NEG=give_up.PST.3SG.M from.1SG cut.PST.3SG.M on.1SG
 POSS=1SG cloth.SG and=attack.PST.3SG.M OBJ.1SG
 in_order_that do.NPST.3SG.M in.1SG
- 11 ʕómor iném ʕəyyəš læšgé bəy
 say.PST.3SG.M what want.PST.2SG.F do.JUS.1SG in.3SG.M
- 12 ʕəméro ɭaɭ yəhóɭəb dí=ʔyhe eʔɬitən təkášaf məy
 haym
 say.PST.3SG.F when milk.NPST.3SG.M POSS=3SG.M
 cow.PL cut.NPST.2SG.M from.3SG.M pudenda.SG
- 13 ʕómor aɫ=di=ʕəʃ ʕaf tərži
- Once the woman said to her
 brother-in-law: "Sleep with me!"
 He said: "I will not do that."
- The woman became angry with
 him because he did not agree to
 sleep with her and, when her
 husband came back, she started
 to weep. And she tore apart her
 clothing and broke her utensils.
- The man asked his wife about
 all this. He said: "What's
 happened with you?"
- She said: "Oh, I will tell you!" He
 said: "Alright, what was it?"
- She said: "Your brother would
 not leave me alone. He tore my
 clothes and attacked me to rape
 me."
- He said: "What do you want me
 do to him?"
- She said: "When he is milking
 his cows, cut off his penis."
- He said: "Don't worry, you will
 be pleased."

- say.PST.3SG.M NEG=REL=on.2SG.F until
be_glad.JUS.2SG.F
- 14 wa=tó'o h́elob ʿag dí=?yhe eʿlhítan fatétaʿ
wa=kóšaf m̥əy h̥əym
and=when milk.PST.3SG.M man.SG POSS=3SG.M
cow.PL be_naked.PST.3SG.M and=cut.PST.3SG.M
from.3SG.M pudenda.SG
- 15 wa=yhálah ʿag wa=ʿómor e-e bək ʿámok hək bər
ʿáze dí=?eziʿən-ki
and=jump.PST.3SG.M man.SG and=say.PST.3SG.M
e-e be_already.PST.1SG say.PST.1SG to.2SG.M that
woman.SG REL=separate.NPST.3SG.F-OBJ.1DU
- 16 wa=táher ʿag dí=?yhe mən h̥alf dí=h̥alf diyáhšə-y
yəšérən wa=ʿatáf térof
and=go.PST.3SG.M man.SG POSS=3SG.M from
place.SG towards=place.SG another-SG.M
suffer_from_pain.NPST.3SG.M and=until
recover.PST.3SG.M
- 17 šom mən énhor dí=?állə ʿímer etíhi dí=káʿar
dí=sáṭahan éʿefo fáhre bə=h̥alf də dí=gédaḥ idáy
ʿag
day.SG from day.PL POSS=God do.PST.PASS.3SG.M
meeting.SG towards=house.SG POSS=sultan.SG people
all in=place.SG this.SG.M REL=come.PST.3SG.M
towards.3SG.M man.SG
- 18 ʿómor sáṭahan dí=?yho fārhim təbóʿol wa=náʿa se
tənoqílín dí=?əgébo h̥əy məkən wa=náʿa tótər
id=bo wa=dí=?yho fārhim təkálaʿ ṭad məkən
wa=dí=?ətóʿot-š óʿobən məkən šəlʿé marrát
yəbóʿol-s
say.PST.3SG.M sultan.SG POSS=1SG girl.SG
marry.NPST.3SG.F and=now 3SG.F choose.NPST.3SG.F
REL=want.PST.3SG.F to.3SG.M from.2PL and=now
approach.NPST.2PL.M towards=here and=POSS=1SG
girl.SG throw.NPST.3SG.F one.M from.2PL
and=REL=pass_by.PST.3SG.F-OBJ.3SG.M stone.SG
from.2PL three time.PL marry.NPST.3SG.M-OBJ.3SG.F
- 19 wa=ʿómor sáṭahan e=dí=?yhe fārhim təkóliʿ mən
máyhən dí=?óyyəš h̥əy

So once when the younger brother was milking his cows, he uncovered himself, and the elder brother cut off his penis.

The man jumped up in pain and said: "Ah! Did not I tell you that a woman would separate us?"

Then the younger brother left his home and went to another country. He endured pain, but finally recovered.

On one of the days of God there was a general assembly in the house of the sultan—all the people from the country the man had come to were there.

The sultan said: "My daughter is about to get married. Now she will choose from among you one whom she likes. Come closer to us, and my daughter will throw pebbles at one of you. Whomever the pebbles hit thrice shall marry her."

The sultan said to his daughter: "Throw the pebbles at the one you like."

- and=say.PST.3SG.M sultan.SG to=POSS=3SG.M girl.SG
throw.NPST.2SG.F who from.3PL.M REL=want.PST.2SG.F
to.3SG.M
- 20 wa=kəʔóʔo fərhim ətʔo ʔʔobən ʔouyéghen də
di=kɪʃaf məy ɣəyən šəl'é marrát
and=throw.PST.3SG.F girl.SG pass_by.PST.3SG.F
stone.SG boy.SG this.SG.M REL=cut.PST.PASS.3SG.M
from.3SG.M pudenda.SG three.F time.PL
- 21 wa=baʔáʔo fərhim di=sátahan ʔouyéghen
and=marry.PST.3SG.F girl.SG POSS=sultan.SG boy.SG
- 22 wa=fóne mən di=báʔaʔ fərhim di=sátahan wa=šéʔəf
səs l'ázəm yəkéʔe ʔəʔóši dor bə=ʔádaʔ di=fəráš
and=formerly from REL=marry.PST.3SG.M girl.SG
POSS=sultan.SG and=lie_down.PST.3SG.M with.3SG.F
necessary remain.NPST.3SG.M at_dawn blood.SG
in=above POSS=bed.SG
- 23 wa=šéʔəf ʔouyéghen di=ʔyhe kə=ʔáze wa=ʔómor
həs ʔóʔo kálaʔš tho wa=ho bíši fe ɣəyən
and=lie_down.PST.3SG.M boy.SG POSS=3SG.M
with=woman.SG and=say.PST.3SG.M to.3SG.F why
throw.PST.2SG.F OBJ.1SG and=1SG there_is_not in.1SG
pudenda.SG
- 24 wa=ʔəméro kófik ho ʔank dénʔa fáhre
and=say.PST.3SG.F be_enough.PST.1SG 1SG from.2SG.M
that.SG.M all
- 25 wa=šəʔáro di=ʔse ərbébo bə=məkína kor yəšrákah
məs dor di=ʔádaʔ di=fəráš
and=cut.PST.3SG.F POSS=3SG.F thigh.SG in=razor.SG
in_order_that go_out.NPST.3SG.M from.3SG.F blood.SG
towards=above POSS=bed.SG
- 26 wa=ʔəʔóši ʔítet fəráš kəsówə bəy dor
and=at_dawn look.PST.PASS.3SG.M bed.SG
find.PST.PASS.3SG.M in.3SG.M blood.SG
- 27 wa=ʔat ézʔəm ʔag émed di=dəʔak di=ʔyhe kə=ʔáze
and=then sit.PST.3SG.M man.SG time.SG
REL=be_much.PST.3SG.M POSS=3SG.M
with=woman.SG
- 28 šəm mən énhor di=ʔállə šəm ʔag wa=ʔəkdam ʔəy
hádəm di=sátahan bíši bəy ɣəyən

And the girl threw them, and
the pebbles hit the boy whose
penis had been cut off, thrice.

So the sultan's daughter married
the boy.

Now formerly, when someone
married a sultan's daughter and
slept with her, the next morning
some blood had to be left on the
sheet.

The youth lay down with his
wife and said to her: "Why did
you throw pebbles at me—I
have no penis."

She said: "I will take care of it
all."

She made a cut on her thigh
with a straight razor to spill
some blood on the bedsheet.

And in the morning the
bedsheet was inspected and
blood was found.

After that, the man remained
with his wife for a long time.

On one of the days of God, the
man went to urinate and one
of the servants of the sultan
noticed that he had no penis.

- day.SG from day.PL POSS=God urinate.PST.3SG.M
man.SG and=see.PST.3SG.M on.3SG.M servant.SG
POSS=sultan.SG there_is_not in.3SG.M pudenda.SG
- 29 wa=ṭáher ḥádəm wa=žála[°] e=sáṭahan ʿómor
óbrəhə-k bíši bəy ḥaym
and=go.PST.3SG.M servant.SG and=tell.PST.3SG.M
to=sultan.SG say.PST.3SG.M nephew.SG-POSS.2SG.M
there_is_not in.3SG.M pudenda.SG
- 30 ʿómor sáṭahan qarére təróbəḥ fáhre fəṭya[°] wa=ke
émok əláta[°] óbrəh-i wa=ke bódik əláta[°]-k ʿómor
ḥádəm súwa
say.PST.3SG.M sultan.SG tomorrow bathe.NPST.2PL.M
all naked.PL.M and=if tell_the_truth.PST.2SG.M
kill.NPST.1SG nephew.SG-POSS.1SG and=if lie.PST.2SG.M
kill.NPST.1SG-OBJ.2SG.M say.PST.3SG.M servant.SG
alright
- 31 híma[°] ʿouyéghen dén[°]a métaḷ wa=šéʔəf dí=ʔyhe
kə=ʿáze wa=žála[°] həs bə=dén[°]a fáhre wa=ʿómor ho
əṭóhor mən ḥa wa=ʔaḷ=ʿak əgodiḥin
hear.PST.3SG.M boy.SG that.SG.M speech.SG
and=lie_down.PST.3SG.M POSS=3SG.M
with=woman.SG and=tell.PST.3SG.M to.3SG.F
in=that.SG.M all and=say.PST.3SG.M 1SG go.NPST.1SG
from here and=NEG=continue.PST.1SG come.NPST.1SG
- 32 wa=ṭáher ʿag dí=ʔyhe bə=ḥte
and=go.PST.3SG.M man.SG POSS=3SG.M in=night.SG
- 33 wa=tóʔo érah faḫḫ di=ḥalf kəsə éʔefo šəybóbhon
di=yəšmémətəl ṭahədódšən
and=when reach.PST.3SG.M part.SG POSS=place.SG
find.PST.3SG.M people old.PL.M REL=talk.NPST.3PL.M
RECP.PL
- 34 wa=žála[°] həyḥən bə=di=kən šiš
and=tell.PST.3SG.M to.3PL.M in=REL=be.PST.3SG.M
with.3SG.M
- 35 wa=ʿémər həy naʿámər hək ḥaym wa=likán
bə=šarṭ
and=say.PST.3PL.M to.3SG.M do.NPST.1PL to.2SG.M
pudenda.SG and=however in=condition.SG
- 36 ʿómor iném də šarṭ
say.PST.3SG.M what this.SG.M condition.SG
- The servant went and told this to the sultan. He said: "Your son-in-law has no penis."
- The sultan said: "Tomorrow you will all bathe naked. If you are telling the truth, I will kill my son-in-law; and if you are lying, I will kill you." The servant said: "Alright."
- The boy heard these words and went to bed with his wife. He told her all this and said: "I am going away from here and will not come back anymore."
- And the man left on that very night. Midway along the road, he met a few old men who were talking amongst themselves.
- And he told them about what had happened to him.
- They said: "We will make a penis for you, but under one condition."
- He said: "What is this condition?"

- 37 'émər də məbrəhe di=yékən mək dəš hte di=hər
noki^ʕən-š hin di=ha tó'o líbró
say.PST.3PL.M this.SG.M child.SG REL=be.NPST.3SG.M
from.2SG.M this.SG.F night.SG POSS=today
bring.NPST.2SG.M-OBJ.3SG.M to.1PL towards=here
when give_birth.JUS.PASS.3SG.M
- 38 'ómor 'ouyéghen súwa wa='ímər həy həym
say.PST.3SG.M boy.SG alright and=do.PST.PASS.3SG.M
to.3SG.M pudenda.SG
- 39 wa=kátənah 'ouyéghen dí='yhe məy 'áže wa=šé'əf
səs
and=return.PST.3SG.M boy.SG POSS=3SG.M towards
woman.SG and=lie_down.PST.3SG.M with.3SG.F
- 40 wa=lə^ʕóšə 'eš sətəhan wa='ómor e=dí='yhe aḥdám
təróbəḥ bə=rənhəm fətya^ʕ
and=at_dawn stand_up.PST.3SG.M sultan.SG
and=say.PST.3SG.M to=POSS=3SG.M servant.PL
bathe.NPST.2PL.M in=sea.SG naked.PL.M
- 41 wa=rəbəḥ wa='ómor e='əbrəhe-yš tərábaḥ é-'ərho
and=bathe.PST.3PL.M and=say.PST.3SG.M
to=nephew.SG-POSS.3SG.M bathe.NPST.2SG.M
2SG.M-also
- 42 wa='ómor a^ʔh dédo aḥ=həb ho ərábaḥ
and=say.PST.3SG.M a^ʔh uncle.SG NEG=indeed 1SG
bathe.NPST.1SG
- 43 wa='ómor sətəhan l'ázəm 'ek tərábaḥ é-'ərho fəṭa^ʕ
and=say.PST.3SG.M sultan.SG necessary on.2SG.M
bathe.NPST.2SG.M 2SG.M-also naked.SG.M
- 44 wa=rábaḥ 'ouyéghen fəṭa^ʕ tó'o ékdəm sətəhan
lə='əbrəhe-yš ino bəy həym láta^ʕ dí='yhe hədəm də
di=žála^ʕ həy wa=səl'ém 'ouyéghen
and=bathe.PST.3SG.M boy.SG naked.SG.M when
see.PST.3SG.M sultan.SG on=nephew.SG-POSS.3SG.M
there_is in.3SG.M pudenda.SG kill.PST.3SG.M
POSS=3SG.M servant.SG this.SG.M REL=tell.PST.3SG.M
to.3SG.M and be_spared.PST.3SG.M boy.SG
- 45 wa='áže əghayləlo wa=tó'o bíro dí='se məbrəhe
zé'e 'ouyéghen dí='yhe mugsəm ʔok di'ál 'əyyúg

They said: "The child that you will conceive this very night—bring him here as soon as he is born."

The boy said: "Alright!" And they made a penis for him.

Then the boy came back to his wife and slept with her.

In the morning the sultan woke up and said to his servants: "Bathe in the sea naked!"

They went to bathe, and he said to his son-in-law: "You bathe too."

The boy said: "Oh uncle, do I have really have to bathe too?"

The sultan said: "Yes, it is necessary that you also bathe naked."

When the sultan saw that his son-in-law had a penis, he executed the servant who had spoken to him, and the boy was saved.

The woman became pregnant. When she gave birth, the boy took his child there, to those men.

and=woman.SG be_pregnant.PST.3SG.F and=when
 give_birth.PST.3SG.F POSS=3SG.F child.SG
 take.PST.3SG.M boy.SG POSS=3SG.M boy.SG there
 towards man.PL

- 46 wa=ʔédəf ʔəyyúg dí=ʔyhən ʔə=múgšəm wa=hézə-y
 wa=ʔékəʔ həy məy ənt

and=take.PST.3PL.M man.PL POSS=3PL.M
 on=boy.SG and=slaughter.PST.3PL.M-OBJ.3SG.M
 and=put.PST.3PL.M to.3SG.M from.3SG.M a_little

- 47 wa=ʔémər həy təzáʔa díʔál dí=ʔə ʔáže wa=zéʔe
 and=say.PST.3PL.M to.3SG.M take.NPST.2SG.M towards
 POSS=2SG.M woman.SG and=take.PST.3SG.M

- 48 tóʔo érah dí=ʔyhe ʔáže kálaʔ həs dí=ʔse di=háfən
 wa=katénah ʔouyéghen
 when reach.PST.3SG.M POSS=3SG.M woman.SG
 throw.3SG.M to.3SG.F POSS=3SG.F towards=lap.SG
 and=return.PST.3SG.M boy.SG

The men took the child and
 slaughtered him, but left a small
 piece for the youth.

They said to him: "Take this to
 your wife!" And he took it.

When he came to his wife, he
 threw it onto her lap, and it
 became a boy again.