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Kalasha texts – With introductory grammar

Jan Heegård Petersen

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Kalasha texts – With introductory grammar

Jan Heegård Petersen*

Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics, University of Copenhagen

Foreword

This text collection could not have come about without the collaboration of the storytellers. I thank *Rabijan* (Guru, Biriu; Text 1), *Erfan* (Guru, Biriu; Text 2), *Ghulam Sikander Khan* (Thessaloniki, Greece, and Kraka, Mumoret; Text 3), *Kalamder Khan* (Kraka, Mumoret; Text 4), *Sayed Khan* (Kraka, Mumoret; Text 5), *Sher John* (Kraka, Mumoret; Text 6) and *Babi* (Kraka/Anish, Mumoret; Text 7) for their willingness to letting their narratives be analysed by a linguist.

Other native speakers who have also let their narratives be recorded and transcribed, but who for reasons of limitation cannot be represented in this publication, are Nabaig (Kraka, Mumoret), Sonjak (Kraka, Mumoret), Zar Mas Gul (Batthet, Rukmu), Walmoc Khan (Bio, Biriu), Durdana (Kraka, Mumoret), Mirzamas (Kraka, Mumoret), Lazim Khan (Kraka, Mumoret), and Abdul Alim (Guru, Biriu). I hope to be able to publish their narratives in the nearest future.

The contribution from my three co-workers Nabaig, Ghulam Sikander Khan and Taj Khan is invaluable. Without their efforts and knowledge of the culture, religion, history and language of the Kalasha, the transcription and translation processes would have been much slower, and the quality of the text analysis would have been significantly poorer. Nabaig has also contributed with collection of Texts 9.4 and 9.5, as well as other texts that for space reasons could not be included in this publication.

The fieldwork in 1995–1997 and 2004–2006 where many of the texts were recorded and transcribed would not have come about without the financial support from His Royal Highness Crownprince Frederiks' Fundation, Per Slomann's Scholarship, The Faculty of Humanities (University of Copenhagen), The Danish Research Council for the Humanities (Now Research Council for Culture and Communication). The fieldwork, which was conducted with my wife Ida E. Mørch in 1995–1997, could not have been succesful without the support and hospitality of the many Kalasha we interacted with. Our special thanks go to Ingineer Khan, Zar Mas Gul, Rabijan, Erfan, Abdul

*Email: janhp@hum.ku.dk

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Khaleq, Anees Umar, Sonjak, Qazi Ustur, and Mirzamas, but *bo shukriya sawin hatya*.

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My thanks also go to the late Danish linguist Jørgen Rischel (1938–2005) for his inspiring teaching, his introduction to practical fieldwork in Chitral in the summer of 1995, and his scientific approach to empirical linguistic data and for teaching us always to be humble towards the linguistic knowledge of native speakers.

I am grateful to Ditte Boeg Thomsen, Marc Volhart and editor Eva Skafte Jensen for comments and constructive criticism of earlier versions of this publication and to René Malchow for help with illustrations. Of course, I alone take full responsibility for errors and shortcomings.

I am also grateful to my wife Ida E. Mørch for her inspiring feedback and for her patience with my mental and physical absence in the final, hectic period before deadline, and to my children, Karen Bibi and Halfdan for their patience with an at times absent-minded father. A special thanks to Karen for her assistance in the editorial proces.

Finally, I would like to thank the Viggo Brøndal and Wife's Foundation and the Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics, University of Copenhagen, for the generous economical support for this publication.

Jan Heegård Petersen
Copenhagen, June 2015

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Abbreviations

Grammatical abbreviations

1	First person	IPV	Imperative
2	Second person	KINSFX	Kinship suffix
3	Third person	LOC1	Locative affix *-a*
A	Actual (past)	LOC2	Locative affix *-una*
ABL1	Ablative affix *-ei*	LOC3	Locative affix *-ai*
ABL2	Ablative affix *-ani*	NE	Near (adverbs and pronouns)
ABL3	Ablative affix *-aw*	NEC	Necessitative
ACC	Accusative	NOMI	Nominaliser
ACR	Across-edge (adverbs)	NONSPC	Non-specific (adverbs)
ADJ	Adjectiviser	NS	Non-specific (verbs)
AG	Agent	OBJ	Object
AU	Augment (past tense)	OBL	Oblique case
AUX	Auxiliary	OPT	Optative
CNTR	Contrastive	P	Plural (verbs)
COLL	Collectiviser	P/F	Present-future
COND	Conditional	PASS	Passive
CONJ	Conjunction	PF	Perfective
CP	Conjunctive participle	PL	Plural (nouns)
CS1	First order causative	PROH	Prohibitive
CS2	Second order causative	PSD	Possessed (kinship term)
CTRF	Contrafactual	PSR	Possessor (kinship term)
DI	Distant (adverbs and pronouns)	PST	Past
DIM	Diminutive	PTC	Participle
DIR	Direct case	PURP	Purpose
EMPH	Emphasiser	QUOT	Quotative
ENDEAR	Endearment	RDPL	Reduplication
EXCL	Exclamation	REM	Remote
EXP	Experiencer	REP	Repetition
I	Inferential (past)	S	Singular (verbs)
IMPF	Imperfective	SBJ	Subject
INDIR	Indirect object	SBJV	Subjunctive
INFTV	Infinitive	SG	Singular (nouns)
INSTR	Instrumental case	SPC	Specific (verbs and adverbs)
INTERJ	Interjection	TEMP	Temporal case suffix
INTERR	Interrogative	TOP	Topicaliser

Abbreviations for data sources

The following abbreviations are used for the sources of the examples provided in the Grammar: B88 = Bashir (1988a), M73 = Morgenstierne (1973b), PP = Parkes (1983), TC99 = Trail and Cooper (1999). Abbreviations for informants are: Ba = Babi (Kraka, Mumoret), Fi = Filim (Kraka, Mumoret), GSK = Ghulam Sikander Khan (Kraka, Mumoret, and Thessaloniki, Greece), KK = Kalamder Khan (Brun, Mumoret), Na = Nabaig (Kraka, Mumoret), Sayed (Kraka, Mumoret), Ta = Taj Khan (Kraka, Mumoret, and Thessaloniki, Greece), Ti = Tika Khan (Kraka, Mumoret). The abbreviations for the different types of

data are: e = elicitation from wordlist, es = elicitation by use of experimental picture or video stimuli, Fn = author's fieldnotes (usually from spontaneous conversation), na = narrative, te = text, Tm = text message or Facebook chat.

1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose of the publication

The main purpose of this publication is to document examples of oral literature in Kalasha, a threatened Indo-Aryan language with no history of literacy, spoken in the Hindu Kush Mountains of Pakistan. Other purposes are to provide grammatical analyses of Kalasha with fuller textual foundations and to contribute to our knowledge of the linguistic strategies used in different oral genres.

With just 3,000–5,000 speakers, Kalasha, or Kalashamon ('Kalasha language'), is among the world's many threatened languages. Until 2000, when a writing system for Kalasha was introduced into the speech community, Kalasha had been an exclusively oral language since early history. A number of speech genres have developed in the multi-faceted and culturally rich Kalasha society, including traditional genres such as poetry, songs, fables, and mythological stories. From a broader perspective on genres, these also include personal or conversational narratives in the Labovian sense (Labov and Waletzky 1967), reports and accounts, gossip, instructions, spontaneous conversation, etc. Because we, as linguists, are interested in how the grammar of a language is constructed, we should also be concerned with the context and discourse in which language is used. For this, a text corpus is necessary.

Research concerning the Kalasha language has been characterised by a strong tradition of using texts as the basis for linguistic analyses. Unfortunately, many of the texts that have been documented and transcribed are neither published nor easily accessible. Table 1 presents an overview of these and of other text resources in Kalasha.

The seven translated and grammatically annotated texts in this publication represent an increase in the number of publicly accessible texts in Kalasha. As is clear from Column 2, however, there is much greater potential for establishing a significant and accessible Kalasha corpus. It should be noted that such a corpus is not only an invaluable resource for linguists but that anthropologists and ethnographers can likewise use these texts for analyses of historical legends, creation myths, narrative themes, etc.

Many descriptions of the languages of the Hindu Kush region include elements of contact linguistics and areal affinities (see the survey in Section 3.2). This publication also makes extensive reference to grammatical phenomena and narrative structure in other languages in the Hindu Kush. Scholars of Hindu Kush languages have previously and in recent years published larger and smaller text samples, for example for the languages of Wakhi (Lorimer 1958), Pashai (Morgenstierne 1973a), Gilgiti Shina (Radloff and Shakil 1998), Kalam Kohistani (Baart and Sagar 2004), Shina of Indus Kohistan (Schmidt 2006; Schmidt and Kohistani 2008), Dameli (Perder 2013, 209–216) and

Table 1. Text resources in Kalasha.

	Text type	Publication
George Grierson	1 biblical text and 1 fable	Grierson (1919)
Georg Morgenstierne	25 prayers and fables	Morgenstierne (1973b)[a]
Halfdan Siiger	Numerous prayers and legends	Morgenstierne (1973b)[b]
Peter Parkes	Numerous hero legends and fables	No publication[c]
Ron Trail and Greg Cooper	1 traditional narrative	Trail and Hale (1995)
Elena Bashir	25 texts	No publication
Saifullah Jan	Academic paper	Jan (1996)
Jan Heegård Petersen	Traditional fable	Heegård Petersen (1996)[d]
Pierpaolo di Carlo	34 praise songs and traditional songs	No publication[e]
Augusto Cacopardo	Two hero legends	Cacopardo (2008)
Yazir Bazik	Academic paper	Bazik (2011)

[a]The texts were collected in the 1920s.
[b]The texts were collected in 1949. Some of them are published in Morgenstierne (1973b), others are not published but accessible in archives at Aarhus University, Denmark.
[c]Some of the texts are included in Parkes (1983).
[d]The analyses in Heegård Petersen's PhD thesis (2006a, 2006b) are based on numerous text samples of various kinds, totalling 95,219 words. The texts in this publication are an extract of these. (The author occurs in the literature under different names and spelling: 'Jan Heegård', 'Jan Heegård Petersen', and 'Jan Heegård Petersen'. Only the naming and spelling are different; the author is one and the same person.)
[e]The songs are accessible in Di Carlo (2009).

Palula (Liljegren and Haider 2015).[1] It is my hope that the present publication will contribute to our knowledge of the text linguistic strategies in the Hindu Kush languages.

1.2. Structure of the book

The book begins in Chapter 2 with a presentation of the Kalasha people, their traditional way of life and religion, their history, and some general remarks on the speech community. Chapter 3 describes the genetic and areal linguistic setting. Chapter 4 resumes previous research on the Kalasha language. Chapter 5 contains a guide to the transcription praxis and a transcription key. Chapter 6 is an introductory grammar of Kalasha. Chapter 7 describes some of the characteristic linguistic features of the texts. The texts themselves are presented in Chapter 8. Each text is introduced with a remark on its themes and style, followed by a plain Kalasha version, a free English translation, and a grammatically glossed

[1]See also text specimens in the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1903–1927) and text examples in Georg Morgenstierne's pioneering descriptions of Dardic, Iranian, and Nuristani languages (Morgenstierne 1926, 1932, 1938, 1940, 1941, 1945, 1950).

and annotated version. The texts have been slightly revised in the transcription and following editing. For example, false starts, interruptions, and utterances of hesitation are elided, and obvious grammatical mistakes have been altered.

2. The Kalasha people and the Kalasha language

2.1. The general setting

The Kalasha people live in three west-east running valleys of the larger Chitral valley in Northwest Pakistan: Rukmu, Mumoret, and Biriu (see Map 1 and 2).[2]

The Kalasha speech community is divided into a population that adheres to an old, pre-Islamic religion and a population that has converted to Islam. In Rukmu, the northernmost of the valleys, a majority of the population is traditional Kalasha. In Mumoret, the largest of the valleys, the traditional Kalasha population remains in the majority, but there are also a large number of Muslims, either converted Kalasha (termed *šek*[3] in Kalasha), Muslim newcomers of the Kho tribe, members of the longstanding Muslim community in the village Kanderisar, or members of the Nuristani population from the village of Brumutul in neighbouring Nuristan in Afghanistan. In Biriu, the population is now composed of half traditional Kalasha and half converts. In the Jinjiret and Urtsun valleys, the population traditionally adhered to the Kalasha religion and way of life but converted to Islam three to four generations ago. There is an ongoing language shift to Khowar, the lingua franca of the region. However, Kalasha is still known and to some extent also spoken or understood by the adult population in these valleys (Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1991; Mørch and Heegaard 1997, 10–13). (In this book, the phrase 'the Kalasha people' refers to the Kalasha who have not converted to Islam.)

The precise number of Kalasha speakers is unknown. A demographic survey carried out in 2008 (Khan and Mela Athanasopoulou 2011) estimates 3,198 Kalasha in the Rukmu, Mumoret, and Biriu valleys.[4] This is somewhat less than the 5,000 estimated by Bashir (2011) and Heegård Petersen (2006a) and includes neither Kalasha-speaking converts in these valleys nor the number of people who speak – or may still speak – Kalasha in Jinjiret and in Utsund. The numbers of these possible Kalasha speakers remain unknown.

Bilingualism and multilingualism are dominant among the Kalasha. Most adults also understand and speak Khowar, although their proficiency in the language varies. People who work outside of the Kalasha valleys also often know some Pashto or Punjabi. Urdu and English are taught in schools and spoken by those who have received an education. Despite this significant exposure and the

[2]Chitral District is part of the Hindu Kush massif that stretches from western Tibet, across Northern India and Pakistan, and into Northeastern Afghanistan. The Hindu Kush borders the Pamir massif to the north, with the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent to the south. Chitral District covers the area around the Chitral river and its two northern tributaries as well as a number of eastern and western tributaries. About 400,000 people live in Chitral District. The largest town and administrative centre is Chitral town.

[3]See Section 5, Table 2, for the principles of representing the Kalasha language in writing.

[4]According to ethnologue.org, Kalasha has 3,200 speakers in the Northern area. No number is given for the Southern area.

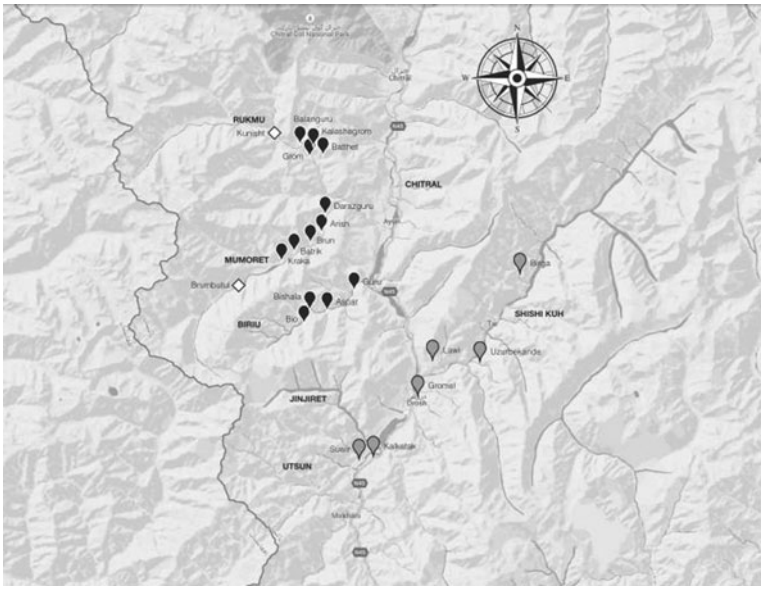
Map 1. Pakistan with surrounding countries and Chitral District framed. Scale: 1:133,333,333. Source: maps.google.com

proficiency of other, 'economically dominant' languages, the Kalasha uphold a "functional transparency" (Bashir 2011, 26, following Pandharipande 2002). Kalasha "is used in all functions within the Kalasha-speaking community" (Bashir 2011, 26) while Khowar is used in interaction with Chitral-speaking and with Khowar-speaking neighbours in the valleys, Urdu is used in interactions with other Pakistanis, and English is used in interactions with other foreigners. In addition, people from the village of Kraka in Mumoret are reported to speak Kati in interaction with Kati people from the neighbouring village upstream.

2.2. Kalasha mode of life and religion

The Kalasha live in densely built-up villages.[5] Houses are typically built on top of each other up along the slope in order to preserve valuable ground for agriculture. In former times, this architecture may also have had a defensive purpose.

[5]I choose to use the Kalasha names for the valleys, otherwise known by their Khowar nomenclature 'Bumburet', 'Rumbur', and 'Birir'.



Map 2. Southern Chitral Valley and Kalasha valleys and villages. Black pins indicate Kalasha-speaking villages, grey pins former Kalasha-speaking villages. Rhombuses indicate Kati-speaking villages. Scale: 1:120,000. Source: maps. google.com

The Kalasha are traditionally pastoralists, especially of goats, and agriculturalists. Within the last 30 years, since the construction of dirt tracks into the valleys, a cash economy has arisen, which encompasses trade, tourism,[6] and management of enterprises as contractors for NGO projects. Traditional work is strictly divided between the sexes. Men take care of goats, produce cheese, construct irrigation channels, and plough and harvest the fields. Women are in charge of all types of housework and of the weeding and watering of fields.

This strict division of labour reflects important aspects of the religion: the division of the world into 'pure' (*ónǰeṣṭa*) and 'impure' (*prágaṭa*) spheres. According to traditional belief, if these two spheres are mixed, if the spheres

[6]The Kalasha people are in fact a major tourist attraction, often promoted in Pakistan as an unspoiled and innoncent paradise (Alaudin 1992). Western-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have also found their way to the (traditional) Kalasha valley and have provided financial support for the construction of bridges, irrigation channels, village temples, school buildings, etc. This enterprise has led to changes in the traditional economy and in the traditional way of deciding on finance and community problems and tasks. See Mørch and Heegaard (1997, 26–31), Maggi (2001, 18–30), Parkes (2001), Bashir (2011), and Heegård and Khan (forthcoming) for examples of consequences of this attention from foreigners.

are not properly respected, 'pollution' will occur, causing illness and bad times.[7] The *ónǰeṣṭa* sphere includes the gods, the high mountains, and their associated areas – wildlife, hunting, and pastoral life; altars and holy places; many of the high-elevation irrigation channels; and the goat stables and roofs of some of the highest situated houses in the villages. To the *prágaṭa* sphere belongs much of what is connected with or located in the lower portions of the valleys: the graveyards, the *bašáli*'s (buildings for menstruating and women in childbirth), and the Muslim world in general.

Kalasha religious belief is polytheistic and animistic. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the Kalasha shared this religion or a variety hereof with neighbouring peoples in North-East Afghanistan, and the whole non-Muslim area was known as Kafiristan, Land of Non-Believers (Biddulph 1880; Robertson 1896; Schomberg 1938). To this day, Muslims still refer to the Kalasha by the strongly derogatory term 'Kafirs'. The religion is practised in daily life and during festivals such as the spring festival *Žóši*, the harvest festival *Učháo*, the wine festival *Pṹ* (only in Biriu), and the important winter solstice festival *Čaumós*. During these and on other occasions during the year, sacrifices and other religious rituals are made on mountainside altars, in village temples, or in the houses. Sacrifices may include walnuts, cheese, wine, goats, or cows. Other religious rituals may include dancing and singing or purification rituals.

2.3. The history of the Kalasha people

According to Kalasha oral tradition, Kalasha kings ruled over the whole of southern Chitral up to Reshun, 30 km north of Chitral town, as well as over parts of what is now eastern Nuristan. This kingdom came to an end when the Kho tribe invaded from the north, defeated the Kalasha rulers, and won supremacy over southern Chitral.

Since these past events and up until 1969, when the autonoumous principality of Chitral was obliged to relinquish power to the state of Pakistan, the non-Muslim Kalasha have been subordinate to and serfs of the ruling princes, the *méhtar*s, in Chitral. As serfs of the ruling *méhtar*s, the Kalasha have been 'protected' against Muslim missionary and (forced) conversion as well as attacks from other non-Muslim tribes in today's Nuristan. On the one hand, the Kalasha people have retained their religion and cultural characteristics. On the other hand, they have as serfs been forced to deliver grain, flour, fruit, and livestock to the princes in Chitral as well as to serve the princes, for instance in the princes' army (see Parkes 1983, 17; Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1991,

[7]For detailed descriptions of the Kalasha mode of life and religion, see Siiger (1956, 1963, 1967), Parkes (1983, 1987), Loude and Lièvre (1987), Cacopardo (2006, 2008), Cacopardo and Cacopardo (1989, 1991, 2001), Liévre and Loude (1990), Maggi (2001), and Fentz (1996, 2010). For an illustration of the importance of the 'holy' nature of the *ónǰeṣṭa* concept, see Text 9.5.

367, citing Ghufram 1962). The many years of serfdom and the surrounding Muslim population's disparagement of the non-Islamic Kalasha faith have led to a generally degrading attitude towards the Kalasha. This remains evident even today, when the Kalasha are harassed by Muslim neighbours, shopkeepers in the bazaars, Pakistani authorities, and even former Kalasha who have converted.

Whereas anthropologists and ethnographers agree on the history of the Kalasha from the great period of 400–500 years ago, there is some disagreement as to the history of the Kalasha prior to that time. Parkes (1983) as well as Cacopardo and Cadopardo (1991) follow Morgenstierne's assumption that Khowar and Kalasha "belong to the first wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants from the south" (Morgenstierne 1932, 51).[8] Another view, based on myths and legends of the Kalasha, is put forward by Siiger (1956, 32–35) and Loude and Lièvre (1987, 21–22, 189–191). According to these myths and legends, a legendary king, *Shalak Shak*, a general of Alexander the Great, is rewarded by his commander for his military effort and given the right to conquer Chitral valley. Shalak Shak does this, starting his conquest in the *Tsiam* homeland, and it is in Chitral that he and his four sons establish the first Kalasha settlements (Loude and Lièvre 1987, 21, 189–191).

This mythical connection to Alexander the Great and his (alleged) Greek army has given rise to a belief among some Kalasha themselves (Bazik 2011), neighbouring people, academic scholars (see Mela-Athanopoulous 2011), and in public debate in Greece that the Kalasha are descendants of Greek soldiers and thus 'Greek' in some sense. This belief is thoroughly refuted by Cacopardo (2011), who documents that the beliefs concerning Greek descent are not present in the traditional myths and legends of the Kalasha and that the Kalasha were historically "an integral part of the pre-Islamic fabric of the Hindu Kush, and cannot be seen as intruders in the area" (Cacopardo 2011, 47).[9]

2.4. Conversion and language death

Since Gurdon (1904), it has been known to the academic world that there were Kalasha-speaking settlements along the Chitral River in the villages of Suwir, Kalkatak, and Lawi. In spite of this observation, these former Kalasha-speaking parts of Chitral attracted little attention from linguists and anthropologists until the anthropologists Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo's fieldwork in the Jinjiret,

[8]This implies that the Kho people must have left or been driven out from the southern part of Chitral in order to invade the Kalasha kingdom from the north after the common intrusion into Chitral from the south. This aspect of the history of Chitral is not, to my knowledge, discussed in the literature on the history of the region.

[9]See also Parkes (1983, 12), who points out that references to Alexander the Great can be found in legends from many tribes in the Hindu Kush and that this may be due to the influence of Medieval historians.

Urtsun, and Shishi Kuh valleys and in the villages Lawi, Kalkatak, Suwir, Broz, Naghar, and Gromel (see Map 2). The ethnographic characteristics and the recollected history of the people in this area is documented in Cacopardo and Cacopardo (1991). Cacopardo and Cacopardo assume that a large wave of conversion took place in the Shishi Kuh valley and the southern part of Chitral valley around the years of Pakistan's independence in 1947. Another wave of conversion took place in Utsund and Jinjiret around 1970 (Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1991). These waves of conversion had drastic linguistic consequences as the converts adopted Khowar, the lingua franca of Chitral, as their first language and transmitted it as a mother tongue to their children. The village Kalkatak was an exception in this respect since its population shifted to Palula, another Indo-Aryan language.[10]

Mørch (2000a) has pointed out that the process of language shift from Kalasha to Khowar has been gradual and slower in some places than elsewhere but that it is steady and ongoing. In Utsund and Jinjiret, children are no longer learning Kalasha. The same is true in Biriu: Although a significant portion of the village's population adheres to the traditional Kalasha lifestyle, the converts have begun using Khowar.

2.5. Present dialects

The former larger Kalasha-speaking area in Southern Chitral was probably linguistically heterogeneous. Based on linguistic observations by Morgenstierne (1973b), anthropological research by Cacopardo and Cacopardo (1991), and on fieldwork carried out by the present author alongside Ida E. Mørch and the late Danish linguist Jørgen Rischel, Mørch and Heegård Petersen (1997, 62–65) propose a division of Kalasha into three major dialect areas. The five valleys of Rukmu, Mumoret, Biriu, Jinjiret, and Utsund constitute two main dialect areas. Southern Kalasha is spoken in Utsund, and Northern Kalasha is spoken in the four other valleys. There are two varieties of Northern Kalasha. One is constituted by Jinjiret and Biriu and the other by Rukmu and Mumuret. The two varieties are mutually intelligible, differing only by a few phonemic features and lexical diversities. Northern and Southern Kalasha are not mutually intelligible.[11] It is the variety spoken in Rukmu and Mumoret that has been the subject of this study. The third and heterogenous dialect area encompasses the former Kalasha-speaking settlements in the main Chitral valley, Lawi, Suwir, Kalkatak, and Gromel as well as the villages of Uzurbekande and Birga in the Shishi Kuh valley. According to the data presented by Mørch and Heegård Petersen, this dialect has cross-sectioning isoglosses, dividing each locality into

[10]According to Liljegren (2008, 23), usage of Palula in Kalkatak is decreasing dramatically in the younger generation, which prefers to speak Khowar or Pashto.

[11]See Decker (1992) for a lexical similarity comparison, which distinguishes the Utsund dialect from the varieties spoken in Biriu and Mumoret.

a distinct 'sub-dialect'. Taken as a whole, however, the Eastern dialect differs systematically from Northern and Southern Kalasha, for example, in its lack of retroflex vowels (see Grammar, Section 6.2).[12]

2.6. The future of Kalasha

With just 3,000–5,000 speakers (see Section 2.1), the Kalasha language seems vulnerable. Individual conversions to Islam are frequent among the present Kalasha community, and re-conversion back to the Kalasha religion is punished by death by the Muslim community. If the process of conversion to Islam were to increase, as occurred in the conversion waves of the recent past, this would probably result in rapid language death, assuming that language shift continues to go hand in hand with religion shift. The threat from Islam is, however, not the only a threat to the Kalasha speech community. As Bashir (2011, 26–28) points out, ecological factors such deforestation of the mountain slopes and use of fields for houses and hotels to accommodate an increasing (Muslim) population and tourism may have a negative linguistic effect. Many central cultural and religious concepts are linked to the nature surrounding the Kalasha speech community, and if these are destroyed or no longer accessible, the uniqueness of being Kalasha may dissolve, and the motivation for upholding the specific religion and traditional way of living may decrease.

That being said, the current threat to the Kalasha way of life has led to increased awareness among the Kalasha of their unique culture and religion and of the need to preserve them (Bashir 2011, 27). This is particularly the case among the growing number of educated and enterprising young Kalasha, many of whom receive employment in the increasing number of Kalasha primary schools. Some Kalasha individuals are involved in various projects aimed at preserving the unique Kalasha way of life. Such projects are sometimes supported by the Pakistani government or by NGOs from outside Pakistan (for an overview, see Heegård and Khan, forthcoming). One important initiative was begun in the 1990s, with the introduction of a Kalasha primary school from first to fourth grade. This focus on Kalasha-based basic education has met with some success. Today, there are nine schools in the three Kalasha valleys, and a large number of young Kalasha have been educated as teachers (Heegård and Khan, forthcoming). Another project involves the development of a Latin-based alphabet for the Kalasha language (Cooper 2005). The alphabet is meant to be the mode for archiving traditional legends, narratives, and religious myths. It is a widespread belief among the Kalasha that teaching children and others how to

[12]See Mørch and Heegård (1997, 62–65, 164–168) for a detailed phonetic dialect study of Kalasha, to this author's knowledge the only one existing. Mørch and Heegaard (1997, 10–16) and Mørch (2000b) further present sociolinguistic data on language vitality as well as age, gender, and approximate number of speakers of these moribund varieties of Kalasha.

write the language will help preserve it and strengthen ethnic self-awareness. There is also a tendency among the young, educated Kalasha to use the Kalasha language in electronic communication, for instance in chat rooms, on Facebook, and in e-mails (Heegård and Khan, forthcoming). With this support and motivation, the development of a written norm for the Kalasha language has the potential to become a success (see also Bashir 2011, 33–34), though as also pointed out by Heegård and Khan (forthcoming), it is essential that the Kalasha themselves use the writing and thereby establish a literacy culture.

3. The linguistic setting

3.1. Genetic affiliation and the 'Dardic' question

Kalasha is an Indo-European language in the Indo-Aryan subfamily and as such belongs to the group of New Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991, 2–23). Kalasha is among those Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the Hindu Kush that are often referred to as 'Dardic'. The terms 'Dard', 'Dardic', and 'Dardistan' have been used with a number of different denotations by a number scholars. Going back to Leitner's (1880, 1893) use of 'Dardistan' and 'Dardic', it has long been and remains disputed whether and to what extent 'Dardic' has classificatorial validity.[13] The influential presentation by Grierson (1919) considered Dardic to a genetic sub-group, also including the languages that today are known as the 'Nuristani' languages[14] and that had a distinct genetic position from Indo-Aryan on the one hand and Iranian on the other (Grierson 1919, 1–8).

Following Georg Morgenstierne's pioneering work in the Hindu Kush language area, Grierson's hitherto-accepted genetic classification was rejected. Morgenstierne sees Kalasha as "a purely Indian language" (Morgenstierne 1932, 51), and he points to a number of phonological, grammatical, and lexical features that indicate a close historical relationship to neighbouring Indo-Aryan Khowar. He also notes a number of phonemic and lexical similarities to Nuristani Kati, which "are quite natural, considering the long period of close contact between the two tribes [Kalasha and Kati, JH]" (Morgenstierne 1932, 52). Morgenstierne classifies the Nuristani languages as an Indo-European sub-group of its own, side by side with the Iranian and Indo-Aryan sub-groups (Morgenstierne 1961, 139; see also Morgenstierne 1974). He further questions whether Dardic can be called a genetic sub-group:

> There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages … Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill languages, which in their relative isolation … have been in a varying degree sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (Madhyadesa) innovations, being left free to develop on their own. (Morgenstierne 1961, 139)

Morgenstierne's position is endorsed by Fussman (1972) and Strand (1973, 2001). Strand (2001) further refines the internal genetic grouping of Dardic languages, and in agreement with Morgenstierne (1973b), he places Khowar and Kalasha together in a sub-group.[15]

[13]See Mock (forthcoming) for a detailed survey of use of the terms 'Dard', 'Dardistan', and 'Dardic'. For an annotated bibliography on the Dardic languages, see Schmidt and Koul (1983).

[14]The major Nuristani languages are Kamkata-viri (including Kati), Vasi-Vari, Ashkunu, and Kalasha-ala/Waigali (Strand 2001). See also Nelson (1986) and Degener (2002) for summaries of and views on classification of the Nuristani languages.

[15]See Strand (2001, 258) and http://users.sedona.net/~strand/index.html for this grouping of the Dardic languages.

Morgenstierne's definition of 'Dardic' as an umbrella term for isolated Indo-Aryan languages situated in the Hindu Kush range is also that used by Bashir (2003), who calls attention to the fact that Dardic languages have influenced one another by mutual contact throughout their history:

> The designation 'Dardic' implies neither ethnic unity among the speakers of these languages nor that they can all be traced to a single stammbaum-model node … The similarities of the Dardic languages today are due to differentially shared retentions, innovations affecting various subsets of these languages, and contact (areal) developments. (Bashir 2003, 822)

Bashir points out that the Dardic languages as a whole underwent fewer major Middle Indo-Aryan phonological and morphological developments than the Indo-Aryan languages in the plain sub-continent of India and Pakistan. For example, most of the Dardic languages have retained the Old Indo-Aryan three-sibilant system, *s*, *ṣ*, *ś*, which is reduced to one- or two-sibilant systems in other Indo-Aryan languages (Bashir 2003, 822). Bashir's grouping of the Northwest Indo-Aryan languages is replicated in Figure 1.

I Pashai
Eastern dialects
- *Northeastern Group* (2 dialects)
- *Southeastern Group* (5 or more dialects)

Western dialects
- *Southwestern Group* (5 dialects)
- *Northwestern Group* (17 dialects)

II Kunar Group
Gawarbati type
- *Gawarbati*
- *Shumashti*
- *Grangali*

Dameli

III Chitral Group
Khowar
Kalasha
- *Northern* (2 varieties)
- *Southern* (Utsund)
- *Eastern* (at least 4 varieties)

IV Kohistan Group
Tirahi
Dir-Swat
- *Dir Kohistani* (2 dialects)
- *Kalam Kohistani*
- *Torwali*
- *Wotapuri-Katarqalai*

Indus Kohistan
- *Indus Kohistani* ("Maiyā~")
- Inner varieties (4 varieties)
- Outer varieties (5 varieties)

V Shina
Kohistan Group (4 dialects)
Astor Group (4 dialects)
Gilgit Group (4 dialects)
Palula (2 varieties)
Sawi

VI Kashmiri
Kashmiri

Figure 1. The Dardic, or 'Northwest Indo-Aryan', languages, following Bashir (2003, 824–825).

With Zoller (2005), the question of whether Dardic constitutes a genetic sub-group of Indo-Aryan is once again opened. According to Zoller, the Dardic languages are modern successors of Middle Indo-Aryan Gāndhārī. He admits, however, that a classical stammbaum classification alone cannot explain the internal relationships between the Dardic languages. Zoller suggests that the history of the Dardic languages is to be understood using Dixon's punctuated equilibrium model (Dixon 1997, 67ff), according to which an "initial punctuation" that created the Proto-Dardic languages was followed "by long equilibrium periods," which "were ... punctuated time and again, leading, for instance, to the different Kohistani languages," and "resulted in a continuous diffusion of linguistic features" (Zoller 2005, 12). This again has resulted in (a) "frequently not identical" language boundaries and (b) the distinction between "a central (or progressive) from a peripheral (or conservative) area" (ibid.).

Since this may evoke doubt as to what is meant by 'Dardic languages', I shall follow Liljegren (2008, 31) and refer to these languages as 'Hindu Kush Indo-Aryan' (HKIA) languages, recognising that these languages share a number of historical developments but leaving it open to question whether they are a distinct genetic sub-branch of Indo-Aryan.

3.2. The Hindu Kush language area

The Hindu Kush region is inhabited by many peoples, each with their own linguistic and cultural characteristics. In Morgenstierne's words, the region is "one of the most polyglot in Asia" (Morgenstierne 1961). Apart from the Nuristani and HKIA languages, one must include as areal neighbours to Kalasha the isolate Burushaski in the northeast of the region, Iranian languages such as Pashto and Farsi to the west and the south, Tibeto-Burman Balti in the eastern part of the Hindu Kush, the Iranian Pamir languages and Iranian Yidgha and Munji to the north, and the Turkic languages of Kyrgyzstan. Besides these languages, Urdu (IA) is also spoken in the area as the language of administration and is taught in schools. English is also taught in schools and is used by people who interact with foreigners. Through studies of the Koran, many people furthermore learn to read Classic Arabic. None of the lesser-known languages mentioned here have an established written culture.

Throughout history, there has been mutual cultural and religious contact between the peoples of the Hindu Kush area in general, despite the narrow, difficult-to-access valleys, which have formed natural barriers for the specific language communities. It is to be expected that the historical contacts have also effected the linguistic structure of the languages in the Hindu Kush in general.

The long period of contact between Kalasha and Khowar (Sections 2.3–2.4) has led to convergence or shared innovations in the grammars of these two languages (Bashir 1988a, 31, 1988b, 2011, 14–21). Many changes in Kalasha's lexicon, phrasal structures, and syntactic patterns can be attributed to influence from Khowar (Bashir 1988a, 2011, 24–25). The long period of contact with

Nuristani languages to the west has also left traces in Kalasha, both in terms of loan words and shared structural development (see, for example, Heegård and Mørch (2004) for a discussion of the development of retroflex vowels in Kalasha and Di Carlo (2011) for comments on that discussion and a discussion of the development of the kinship suffix paradigm in Kalash (Grammar, Section 6.3.7)). Other changes in Kalasha have Persian or English roots and are transmitted either through contact with the Persian-influenced Nuristani languages or through Urdu.

Kalasha and Khowar also share linguistic features and convergence phenomena that are common in the larger Hindu Kush area and that have attracted the attention of scholars of South Asian languages. For example, Tikkanen (1999) discuss the spread of retroflexion, and Baart (2003, 132–144) discusses the development of tonal systems in Hindu Kush languages. Bashir (1988a, 400–421, 2003, 823) has pointed out that many languages in the wider Hindu Kush region, including the Turkic and Iranian languages on the northern and western fringes of the Hindu Kush, share, for example, grammaticalisation of evidentiality; left-branching structures; complementisers developed from the verb 'say'; agglutinative morphology; causative-involuntative semantics; replacement of a gender system with an animate-inanimate distinction; infinitives in *-k*; prenominal relative clauses that employ no relative or indefinite pronominal element; development of tonal or accentual systems; and contrast between dental, palatal, and retroflex affricates and sibilants (Bashir 2003, 823). Bashir (2010) also discusses the coding of mirativity as a possible areal trait. Recognition of these shared grammatical features has given rise to discussions of substratal influence, possibly related to the now genetically isolate Burushaski, see discussions by Tikkanen (1988), Bashir (1988a, 408, 420–421), and Heegård (2012).

4. Previous lingustic research on the Kalasha language

The first report on the Kalasha language is Leitner (1880), which contains a vocabulary and a brief grammatical sketch. Leitner's work is summarised by Grierson (1919) in *Linguistic Survey of India* (henceforth LSI). Grierson's description of Kalasha includes overviews of verbal, nominal, and pronominal paradigms, of numerals, postpositions, and two glossed text specimens. One text specimen is a translation of the biblical 'Parable of the Prodigal Son', and the other a traditional narrative.

Morgenstierne's fieldwork on Kalasha is presented in the extremely valuable and pioneering work *The Kalasha Language* (Morgenstierne 1973b). This publication contains a sketch of the grammar and sound system, with a wealth of historical observations. The section labelled 'Vocabulary' is a rich resource with regards to etymologies of indigenous words, loanwords, and possible cognates in other languages. The section labelled 'Texts' offers specimens of a number of prayers and a few mythical stories and fables.

After Morgenstierne's fieldwork in the 1920s, nearly 60 years would pass before linguists again turned their interest towards Kalasha.[16] A small group of linguists affiliated with SIL International (formerly Summer Institute of Linguistics) provide an analysis of a narrative (Trail and Hale 1995), a brief sketch of case-marking (Trail 1996), and the *Kalasha Dictionary – with English and Urdu* (Trail and Cooper 1999). Greg Cooper is also the leading linguist behind the Kalasha orthography, described in detail in Cooper (2005, 2011.

The American linguist Elena Bashir's work on Kalasha has resulted in an unpublished PhD thesis, *Topics in Kalasha Syntax: An Areal and Typological Perspective* (Bashir 1988a)[17] and a number of 'spin-off' articles from the thesis: Bashir (1988b, 1990, 1993, 1996). Bashir (2003) presents a sketch of Kalasha grammar, summarising what had been written concerning Kalasha up until that point.

Ida E. Mørch's and the present author's work on Kalasha has resulted in a detailed description of the sound system (Mørch and Heegaard 1997), including a historical approach to the retroflex vowels (see Grammar, Section 6.2.2) and a dialectal sketch. Mørch (1995) presents an acoustic study of plain,

[16]The linguistic interest in the Kalasha (and in the Hindu Kush languages) is superceeded by an enormous anthropological and ethnographical research in the area. For an overview see the lists of literature in Klimburg (1999), Cacopardo and Cacopardo (1991, 2001), Maggi (2008) and Fentz (2010).

[17]Bashir's analyses are solidly based on a huge number of glossed and translated examples from her own fieldwork and previous work on Kalasha, and also on texts collected by the British anthropologist Peter Parkes. Her thesis contains detailed descriptions of the verbal system, relative clauses, compound verb constructions, causative constructions, conjunction strategies, as well as a discussion of how Kalasha relates genetically and typologically to Khowar and to the Indian language area. It is the main source for the sections on verbal morphology and syntax in the Grammar in this publication.

nasalised, and retroflex vowels. Heegaard (1998) examines intriguing vowel length patterns. Heegaard (1996) and Heegård (2000) evaluate the linguistic and language-political aspects of an alphabet project launched by a local Kalasha school teacher. Mørch (2000a) provides a report on language vitality in those parts of Southern Chitral where Kalasha was believed by the outside world to have been long forgotten but where it is still known – 'remembered' – by a small number of speakers, especially women. Mørch (2000b) sketches the use of some of the 'absolute adverbs' ('upstream', 'downhill', etc., see Grammar, Section 6.7.1.2) in ordinary orientation among the Kalasha. Heegård and Mørch (2004) summarise some of the complex aspects of the sound system. Heegård (2005, 2014) and Heegård Petersen 2006a, 2006b) makes a detailed examination of the case system as established by case endings and postpositions (see Grammar, Sections 6.3.5, 6.7.2 and 6.8). Heegård (2012) analyses the genitive-oblique endings from a historical perspective. Heegård and Nabaig (forthcoming) offer an example of an analysis of a Kalasha narrative, along the lines of those presented in the present publication.

With Pierpaolo Di Carlo's dissertation *I Kalasha del Hindu-Kush. Riserche linguistiche e antropologiche* (Di Carlo 2009), we have the only linguistic description of the Biriu variety of Northern Kalasha. In contrast, all of the aforementioned works focus on the Rukmu-Mumoret variety of Northern Kalasha. Di Carlo's dissertation contains an introduction to the grammar of the language, a description of the *Pṹ* the wine festival, and a number of glossed texts, mainly songs and poetic praise speeches from the *Pṹ* festival. These also comprise the data for Di Carlo's analysis of the discourse markers *-o* and *ta* (Di Carlo 2010).

The many anthropologists who have conducted research on the Kalasha have likewise brought lingustic data to light. Topper (1977), Loude and Lièvre (1987), Maggi (2001), and Fentz (2010) offer valuable and informative glossaries, primarily with words for cultural and religious concepts. Parkes (1983, 1990) also presents a rich trove of lexical items, but unfortunately the large collection of traditional stories referred to and collected by Parkes is inaccessible to other researchers. Cacopardo (2010) undertakes a religious analysis of two mythical texts.

5. Transcription guide

The Kalasha texts are rendered in the Kalasha orthography (in bold type face), a phonemic transcription (normal type face), an English morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (normal type face), and a source-near English translation (in italics). In order to make the English translation more transparent and grammatical, words in parentheses are added even though their lexemic equivalents are not expressed in Kalasha. Short explanatory and disambiguating comments are written with '*(:)*'. The English versions of the texts that are given before the grammatically annotated versions are more freely translated and lack parentheses, but they in most places retain elements of the information structure and Kalasha syntax. For example, afterthought constructions (see Chapter 7.6) are indicated by commas before the 'afterthought element'.

The transcription system for Kalasha in the Grammar as well as the introduction chapters 2–4 largely corresponds with what Masica calls 'Standard Orientalist' (1991, xv), with which most South Asianists will be familiar. The one exception is that nasal vowels are consistently written with a superscript tilde and the lamino-velar lateral /ɫ̪/ as *ł*. Stress is marked by an acute accent on the stressed syllable. See Table 2 below for a guide to the different mode of representing Kalasha.

The Kalasha writing system was developed by Australian linguist Greg Cooper. The writing system, which is based on Roman script, was chosen as

Table 2. The Kalasha alphabet (in plain type), with corresponding phonemes and 'Standard Orientalist' representation (in italics).

a	/a/	*a*	h	/h/	*q*	r	/r/	*r*
ã	/ã/	*ã*	i	/i/	*i*	r'	/ɽ/	*ṛ*
a'	/a˗/	*ạ*	ĩ	/ĩ/	*ĩ*	s	/s/	*s*
ã'	/ã˗/	*ạ̃*	i'	/i˗/	*ị*	sh	/ɕ/	*š*
b	/b/	*b*	j	/ʤ/	*ǰ*	s'	/ʂ/	*ṣ*
bh	/bh/	*bh*	jh	/ʤh/	*ǰh*	t	/t/	*t*
c	/ʧ/	*č*	j'	/ɖʑ/	*ǰ*	th	/th/	*th*
ch	/ʧh/	*č*	l	/lj/	*l*	t'	/ʈ/	*ṭ*
c'	/ʧh/	*č*	l'	/ɫ̪/	*ł*	t'h	/ʈh/	*ṭ*
c'h	/ʈʂh/	*ṭṣh*	m	/m/	*m*	ts	/ts/	*ts*
d	/d/	*d*	n	/n/	*m*	tsh	/tsh/	*tsh*
dh	/dh/	*dh*	ny	/ɲ/	*ñ*	u	/u/	*u*
d'	/ɖ/	*ḍ*	n'	/ɳ/	*ṇ*	ũ	/ũ/	*ũ*
d'h	/ɖh/	*ḍh*	ng	/ŋ/	*ng*	u'	/u˗/	*ụ*
dz	/dz/	*dz*	o	/o/	*o*	ũ'	/ũ˗/	*ụ̃*
e	/e/	*e*	õ	/õ/	*õ*	w	/w/	*w*
ẽ	/ẽ/	*ẽ*	õ	/õ/	*õ*	y	/j/	*y*
e'	/e˗/	*ẹ*	o'	/o˗/	*ọ*	z	/z/	*z*
ẽ'	/ẽ˗/	*ẹ̃*	õ'	/õ˗/	*ọ̃*	z'	/ʐ/	*ẓ*
g	/g/	*g*	p	/p/	*p*	zh	/ʑ/	*ž*
gh	/gh/	*gh*	ph	/ph/	*ph*			

the means of representing the Kalasha language in writing by an assembly of village elders, school teachers, and college students in Islamabad 2000, with Greg Cooper as a linguistic consultant (Cooper 2005, 117–121). Among the aspects discussed at that meeting were socio-political factors such as script familiarity and learning curves, script as an art form, associations with other languages, pedagogical factors, and the writing system's suitability to the Kalasha sound inventory (Cooper 2005, 121–124). The alphabet is strictly phonemical, following an analysis of vowels + nasal consonants before stops and affricates as an underlying nasal vowel. The phonemic principle provides a very large inventory of vowels and consonants, with diacritics being used with letters representing retroflex and nasalised sounds. Aspirated consonants are written as digraphs. The letters 'y' /j/ and 'j' /ʤ/ as well as the letter combination 'sh' /ʃ/ may be regarded as influences from English. Stress is not marked in the Kalasha orthography. In the phonemic transcription, stress is marked with ' ' '.

The alphabet is taught in the Kalasha primary schools and often used in e-mail correspondence and elsewhere in computer-mediated communication.[18] There is some variation in actual use concerning writing case endings as separate words or attached to their stems,[19] for example *moc as* or *mocas* 'man-OBL.SG', perhaps reflecting an Urdu praxis in which the genitive morpheme *ki* is an independent word. In addition, there is variation in writing the /u/ and /i/ phonemes after a vowel with a vowel letter, *u* and *i*, or with a consonant letter, *w* and *y*, probably because these phonemes may be pronounced as a vowel, [u] and [i] respectively, or as a glide, [w] and [j] respectively. In the present publication's Kalasha orthography, all suffixes are written together with their stems, following normal linguistics practice. This differs from how the Kalasha write their language in computer-mediated communication, where there seems to be a tendency to write /u/ and /i/ as *w* and *y* after /a/ but as *u* and *i* after the other vowels. This tendency has been systematised in this publication, with the

[18]While the creation of and decision on an alphabet for the Kalasha language has been settled and agreed upon, it seems more difficult to develop a tradition of literacy and, more importantly, to produce school books in the Kalasha language. There are, however, opportunities for developing teaching materials through collaboration with other anthropologists and linguists, who for decades have gathered texts and photographic materials of different kinds, for example the text samples in Parkes (1983, 1990), Heegård Petersen (2006b), Di Carlo (2009), Cacopardo (2010), and the present publication. If further integration of anthropological and linguistic work with the Kalasha education is to be successful, closer collaboration is needed between Kalasha teachers and researchers. One example of a successful collaboration is the photo book *Daily Life among the Kalasha: A Photo Book by Mytte Fentz and Torben Stroyer, with Help from Engineer Khan* (Fentz and Stroyer 1995), which was donated to the Kalasha school teachers in 1995. The book consists of 140 thematically arranged photographs that depict situations from the daily life of the Kalasha. It is produced with the aim of motivating discussions and reflections among students about what it means to be a Kalasha.

[19]See, for example, Sharakat and Bumburdari (2011).

consequence that /u/, when representing the 3rd singular present/future tense, is written *w* in *maaw* 'say-P/F.3S' but *u* in *čitiu* 'think-P/F.3S'.

The sources for the examples given throughout the publication are abbreviated as follows: "PP" = Peter Parkes (1983), "B88" = Elena Bashir (1988a), "M" = Morgenstierne (1973b), "Fn" = this author's fieldnotes, "te" = example from a text, "e" = example elicited from wordlist or questionnaire, "s" = example from spontaneous speech, "es" = example elicited by use of experimental stimuli (drawings, video clips, ..) and "tm" = example from text message or Facebook. The abbreviations "GSK", "Na", "Ta", "Ti" and "Fi" refer to language consultants.

6. Grammar

6.1. Introduction to a sketch grammar of Kalasha

This sketch grammar of Kalasha serves two purposes: (1) It gives the reader an idea of the basic grammatical mechanisms in Kalasha, and (2) it supports and provides the analytical background for the grammatical annotation and comments to the texts.

The grammar incorporates the presentation by Bashir (2003, 850–857) of Kalasha in her chapter on the Dardic languages in Cardona and Jain (2003). Bashir's dissertation and other work on the verbal morphology and syntax in Kalasha (Bashir 1988a, 1988b, 1990, 1996) have served as the primary sources for those chapters that deal with these aspects. Heegård Petersen's work on the nominal morphology and adpositions (Heegård Petersen 2006a, 2006b, Heegård 2014) provides the primary contribution to those chapters that cover these areas of the grammar, and Mørch and Heegaard Petersen's (1997) and Heegård and Mørch's (2004) phonetic and phonological analyses provide the main input to the presentation of the phonology. For all analyses that include lexical semantics, Ron Trail and Greg Cooper's dictionary of Kalasha (Trail and Cooper 1999) has served as a useful reference work and source of inspiration. Pierpaolo Di Carlo's grammatical sketch of the Biriu variety of Kalasha (Di Carlo 2009, 60–190) has also served as an inspiration. The sketch grammar also draws on a number of observations by Georg Morgenstierne (Morgenstierne 1973b, 183–238).

Since the main purpose of the grammar is to introduce the basic grammatical structures of Kalasha, the various and sometimes conflicting analyses in the works mentioned above have been ignored. These different perspectives and analyses deserve more attention, discussion, studies, and data, but limitations of space and scope preclude such discussions from being included in this presentation.

The areal-linguistic perspective has also been ignored for the same reasons. The areal-linguistic perspective on the so-called Dardic languages (see Section 3.1) and other languages of the Hindu Kush or the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent has attracted attention from many researchers for a number of decades.[20]

In its structure, the grammatical sketch owes much to the presentations of northwestern Indo-Aryan languages in Liljegren's grammar of Palula (Liljegren 2008) and Perder's grammar of Dameli (Perder 2013). The present grammatical introduction has a separate chapter for phonology, each word class (understood in the traditional sense), and syntax. A traditionally marginal word class (or part of speech), discourse particles, is treated under Syntax, as is the use of (the few)

[20]See for example presentations and discussions by Turner [1927] (1973), Morgenstierne (1947, 1974), Strand (1973), Tikkanen (1988), Bashir (1988a, 1988b, 1996, 2001, 2003, 818–894, 2006a, 2006b, 2010), Baart (1999), Zoller (2005, 1–20), Liljegren (2008), and Perder (2013).

conjunctions in Kalasha. Derivational, word class-forming processes are not covered in this grammar but are occasionally commented upon in the texts when relevant.

The transcription of Kalasha words in the grammar differs slightly from the transcription in the texts. Word citation in running text is given in italics, with a transcription standard reflecting the traditional means of rendering sounds in Indo-Aryan linguistics. Stress is marked with ′. For the rendering of phonemic structures and pronunciation, IPA symbols are used. See the transcription guide (Section 5) for letter-sound correspondences.

6.2. Phonology

6.2.1. Consonants

Kalasha consonants contrast along 6 places of articulation and 6 manners of articulation. The phonemes are shown in Table 3.

Most phonemes have phonetic manifestations as expected from the place and manner of articulation in Table 3. Specific articulation features concern the following alone: Retroflex stops are rather post-alveolar and apical than sub-laminal. /ɫ/ is realised as a dental-laminal lateral with varying degrees of velarisation and should more correctly be rendered /ɫ̪/. /lʲ/ is realised as an alveolar-apical lateral with varying degrees of palatalisation (in the texts, this phoneme is transcribed as ‘l‘). /j/ is of a very labile nature and may be absent in some pronunciations. The phonemes /ɳ ɲ ŋ/ occur only in word final position and may be analysed as context-defined realisations of an underlying nasal segment |~| (see Section 6.2.4, Table 7). /ɽ/ only occurs in the Biriu-Jinjiret variety of Northern Kalasha and then only in intervocalic position and before an /i/ in words which, in the Rukmu-Mumoret dialect, have a preceding retroflex vowel: *cṷ́i – cúɽi* ‘plait’.

The manifestation of /h/ is of a very labile nature, except in combinations with unvoiced consonants. Table 4 shows examples of combinations with /h/ and its varied manifestations.

Table 3. Kalasha consonant inventory.

	Labial	Dental	Postalveolar/ Retroflex	Alveolar/ Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t	ʈ		k	
	b	d	ɖ		g	
Affricates		ts	ʈʂ	tɕ		
		dz	ɖʐ	dʑ		
Fricatives		s	ʂ	ɕ		h
		z	ʐ	ʑ		
Nasals	m	n	(ɳ)	(ɲ)	(ŋ)	
Liquids		ɫ	(ɽ)	r, lʲ		
Glides	w			j		

Table 4. Manifestations of /h/.

Phonemic structure		Pronunciation
/ˈhupała/	'scorpion'	[ˈhupała, ˈɦupała, ˈupała]
/ˈmhasta/	'brain'	[ˈmɦasta, ˈmasta, ˈmasta]
/nho/	'9'	[nɦo, no̤, noɦ]
/ˈthara/	'above'	[ˈthara]

In loan words in particular, the phoneme combination /p+h/ has the allophones [pʰ] and [f], and the combination /k+h/ has the allophones [kʰ] and [x], which speaks in favour of a monosegmental interpretation.

(1a) /phiˈlim/ 'film' [pʰiˈlim], [fiˈlim]
(1b) /khan/ 'Khan (male name)' [kʰan], [xan]

A small number of words exhibit variation between [b], [m], [w], and [β], otherwise expected realisations of /b/, /m/ and /w/, respectively:

(2a) /waˈdok/ 'axe' [baˈdok], [waˈdok]
(2b) /kaˑbaˑˈhujak/ 'doll ritual' [kaˑbaˑˈhujak], [kaβaˑˈhujak], [kaˑmaˑˈhujak]

In a few words, the phoneme /ʣ/ has overlapping manifestation with the typical realisations of /ʑ/ and /j/, for example:

(3) /ˈʣoɕi/ 'spring festival' [ˈʣoɕi], [ˈʑoɕi], [ˈjoɕi]

In word-final position, the voice and aspiration distinctions for the stop consonants, affricates, and sibilants are neutralised. These only occur unvoiced and unaspirated in this position.

6.2.2. Vowels

Kalasha has a five-vowel system, with two unrounded front vowels, two rounded back vowels, and one low, unrounded mid vowel. Each of these vowels may be modified by retroflexion; in a surface-near interpretation, also by nasalisation; and (except for /i/) by a combination of retroflexion and nasalisation. This gives a total of 19 vowel phonemes (Table 5).

Following morphophonemically conditioned manifestation rules for nasality, nasal vowels can be analysed as combinations of a plain oral vowel + an underlying nasal segment, |~| (see Section 6.2.4).

Table 5. Kalasha vowel phonemes.

i ĩ iˑ		u ũ uˑ ũˑ
e ẽ eˑ ẽˑ		o õ oˑ õˑ
	a ã aˑ ãˑ	

For reasons of simplicity, retroflex vowels can be analysed as underlying combinations of a plain vowel or a nasal vowel and an abstract, underlying retroflex segment, |ř|, thereby reducing the vowel inventory by nine vowels. If this analysis is preferred, manifestation rules need to be set up to account for, for example, |ˈtɕuři| 'braid' -> [ˈtɕu˗i] in the Rukmu-Mumoret variety, |ˈtɕuři| 'braid' -> [ˈtɕuɽi] in the Biriu variety, and |ˈhiřa| > [ˈhi˗a] in both varieties. However, historical evidence does not always support an underlying r-like (retroflex) phoneme (Mørch and Heegaard Petersen 1997, 77–94; Heegård and Mørch 2004; Di Carlo 2009, 67–71), and the analysis with an underlying |ř| needs more consideration in future studies.

6.2.3. Stress

Kalasha has free word stress, and the possibility of a structural contrast is exploited in a few word pairs, for example:

(4a)	/ˈaja/ 'mother'	vs.	/aˈja/ 'here (SPC)'
(4b)	/ˈpaɬ̪aw/ 'fall (3S.P/S.NS)'	vs.	/paˈɬ̪aw/ 'apple'

Words with stem final /u/ and /i/ can have variable stress:

(5a)	'bread; food'	/aˈhu/	[ˈafiu, aˈfiu]
(5b)	'maize'	/ʥuwaˈri/	[ʥuˈwari, ʥuwaˈri]

In specific word structures, the stress may shift by suffixation, either because the suffix is stressed (6a)–(6c) or as a result of word-internal stress placement rules (6d)–(6e):

(6a)	/ˈsuda/	'child'	>	[suˈd-on]	'children-GEN.OBL.PL'
(6b)	/ɬ̪aˈwak/	'fox'	>	[ɬ̪awaˈk-ok]	'small fox'
(6c)	/kra˗ˈka˗/	'Kraka'	>	[kra˗ka˗-ˈho˗i]	'inhabitant of Kraka'
(6d)	/ˈɖuḍik/	'sleep-INFTV'	>	[ɖuˈɖ-ik-a]	'sleep-INFTV-PURP'
(6e)	/ˈsuda/	'kid'	>	[suˈda-as]	'kid-GEN.OBL.SG'

Some words can be pronounced with a long, stressed vowel. Mørch and Heegaard Petersen (1997) provide evidence for a contrast between /a/ and /a:/, but the issue of phonemic vowel length calls for further studies.

In contrast to other Indo-Aryan languages in the Hindu Kush such as Palula, Indus Kohistani, and Kalam Kohistani, Kalasha does not feature phonemic tonal contrast.

6.2.4. Morphophonology

Suffixation may prompt an underlying voiced or aspirated consonant, which would otherwise be de-voiced or de-aspirated in word-final position. This variation pattern calls for a hierarchical phonemic structure with a surface structure and an underlying morphophonemic structure, as shown in Table 6.

A similar morphophonologically conditioned variation occurs with consonant clusters, word-final /w/, and the nasal consonants [ɳ ɲ ŋ]. Disallowed final consonant clusters may appear by suffixation, and a word-final [w] may appear as an underlying |ɬ|, as shown in Table 7.

The nasals [ɳ ɲ ŋ] appear in actual pronunciation before stop consonants and affricates with identical places of articulation and in word-final position. However, as Table 8 shows, in the position before a homorganic consonant, the manifestation varies between a nasal consonant and a nasal vowel. This pattern of variation suggests that the nasal element should be regarded as a sort of underlying 'floating' element, |~|. Realised as a nasal consonant before a homorganic stop

Table 6. Morphonological patterns of voicing and aspiration in word-final segments.

	Unsuffixed pronunciation	Phonemic surface structure	Pronunciation with suffix	Morphophonemic structure
'tongue'	[ˈdʑip]	/ˈdʑip/	[ˈdʑibuna]	|ˈdʑib|
'stone'	[ˈbat]	/ˈbat/	[ˈbaduna]	|ˈbad|
'heap'	[ˈɖʰuk]	/ˈɖhuk/	[ˈɖʰuguna]	|ˈɖhug|
'thought'	[ˈsotɕ]	/ˈsotɕ/	[ˈsodʑuna]	|ˈsodʑ|
'Anish'	[aˈniɕ]	/aˈniɕ/	[aˈniːʑuna]	|aˈniʑ|
'day'	[ˈbas]	/ˈbas/	[ˈbaːzuna]	|ˈbaz|
'wool'	[ˈpaʂ]	/ˈpaʂ/	[ˈpaːʐas]	|ˈpaʐ|
'tree'	[ˈmuʈ]	/ˈmuʈ/	[ˈmuʈʰuna]	|ˈmuʈh|

Table 7. Consonant clustering and consonant alternation in word-final segments.

	Unsuffixed pronunciation	Phonemic surface structure	Pronunciation with suffix	Morphophonemic structure
'son'	[ˈput]	/ˈput/	[ˈputr-as]	|ˈputr|
'eight'	[ˈaʂ]	/ˈaʂ/	[ˈaʂʈ-as]	|ˈaʂʈ|
'plough'	[ˈhaw]	/ˈhaw/	[ˈhaɬ̪-as]	|ˈhaɬ̪|

Table 8. Morphophonologically conditioned realisation of final nasal consonants.

	Unsuffixed pronunciation	Phonemic surface structure	Pronunciation with suffix	Morphophonemic structure
'word'	[ˈmon]	/ˈmon/	[ˈmondras, ˈmõdras]	|ˈmõdr|
'holly oak'	[ˈboɲ]	/ˈboɲ/	[ˈboɲdʑas, ˈbõdʑas]	|ˈbõdʑ|
'stick'	[ˈgoɳ]	/ˈgoɳ/	[ˈgoɳɖas, ˈgõɖas]	|ˈgõɖ|
'hashish'	[ˈbʰoŋ]	/ˈbhoŋ/	[ˈbʰoŋgas, ˈbʰõgas]	|ˈbhõg|

consonant or affricate, this nasal consonant becomes word final due to restrictions regarding word-final consonant clusters, with the result that a phonemically surface-near opposition between final /ɳ/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/ (and final /n/) arises. This process and the varied manifestations are illustrated in Table 8. (The data contains no occurrences of the underlying structure |~b| + suffix realised as word-final /m/.)

The Kalasha orthography (see Chapters 2 and 5) is not stable with reference to this morphophonemic variation. Words are mostly written according to their surface-near phonemic structure, for example without consonant clusters and with unvoiced and unaspirated final consonants, but a nasal vowel letter may occur before a palatal or velar stop consonant or affricate since there are no letters for palatal and velar nasal consonants. The phonemic transcription of the narratives, in contrast, consistently reflects the surface-near word structure.

6.3. Nouns

Common nouns can occur in the following cases: the direct, the genitive-oblique, the instrumental, and the vocative case with a set of local, locative, and ablative suffixes as well as with temporal suffixes. The semantic parameter 'animacy' may be distinguished in the direct and the genitive-oblique cases, while the semantic parameter 'number' is distinguished in the direct only for a subset of animate nouns and in the genitive-oblique case for all nouns (Table 9).

Proper nouns, for animates (persons and animals) as well as inanimates (places) differ from the inflection of common nouns only in the genitive-oblique (Table 10).

Table 9. Case marking and local suffixes, common nouns.

	Animate		Inanimate	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	-Ø	-Ø, *-an*, *-án*	-Ø	-Ø
Genitive-oblique	*-as*	*-an*, *-ón*	*-as*	*-an*
Instrumental	–	–	*-an*	
Vocative	*-ow*, -Ø	–	–	
Locative	–	–	*-a*, *-una*, *-ai*, -Ø	
Ablative	–	–	*-ani*, *-aw*	

Table 10. Case marking and local suffixes, proper nouns.

	Proper nouns	
	Animate	Inanimate
Direct	-Ø	
Genitive-oblique	*-a*	
Vocative	*-ow*, -Ø	–
Locative	–	*-a*, *-una*, *-ai*, -Ø
Ablative	–	*-ani*, *-aw*

6.3.1. The direct case

The unstressed direct plural *-an* occurs only infrequently and with considerable inter- and intra-speaker variation, with a few nouns that denote humans beings. The stressed direct ending *-án* occurs only on nouns denoting a group of humans of esteem or humans of a certain status or occupation: for instance, *mișterán* 'teachers' and *dukandarán* 'shopkeepers'. The suffix is probably to be regarded as a 'collectiviser' and it is glossed 'COLL' in the texts.

The direct case is used for subjects of all verbs in all tenses and aspects and for the object of most transitive verbs.

(7) *moč* *pay* *páš-in/a-páš-in/páš-i_ái-ni* (Na.e)
man.DIR.SG/PL goat.DIR.SG/PL see-P/F.3P.NS/AU-see-PST.A.3P/
see-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
'The men see/saw/have seen the goats.'

6.3.2. The genitive-oblique case

The stressed genitive-oblique plural *-ón* occurs only on animate nouns with *a*-stems, for example *súda* 'kid' – *sudón* 'kids', with just a few exceptions, such as *púruș* – *purușón* 'man – men (GEN.OBL.PL)' (see Heegård 2012). All other nouns take *-an* in the genitive-oblique plural.

The genitive-oblique has a variety of functions, including marking possession (8a) and complementing postpositions (8b) as well as serving as an indirect object (8c), object of goal-directing or 'affective' verbs (i.e. verbs denoting an action directed toward someone or something, 8d-e), and infinitival objects (8f).

(8a)	*bačá-as nógor*	'the king's palace' (king-GEN.OBL.SG + palace)
(8b)	*páy-as hátya*	'for the goat' (goat-GEN.OBL.SG + for)
(8c)	*móč-as paysá dem*	'I give money to the man' (man-GEN.OBL.SG + money + give.1S)
(8d)	*páy-as ačúndis*	'it stung the goat' (goat-GEN.OBL.SG + stung)
(8e)	*sud-ón iphazát kári*	'take care of the children' (child-GEN.OBL.PL + care_do)
(8f)	*tása tro-ík-as kušúš árau*	'he tried to make him cry' (him + cry-INFTV-GEN.OBL + try + did)

For the sake of brevity, the genitive-oblique case is abbreviated 'OBL' in the grammatical gloss of the texts.

6.3.3. The instrumental case

The instrumental has restricted distribution. It is the preferred instrument marker where a body part is used as an instrument and for verbs of 'speaking' and 'beating' (9a)–(9c), but otherwise, semantic roles of instruments, etc. are expressed by use of postpositions.

(9a) ***nást-an*** *banǰ-él=lay* (Na.es)
nose-INSTR play-P/F.3S=SPC
'He plays (ball) **with the nose**'

(9b) *a* ***kałaṣa.móndr-an*** *ghṍ-im=day* (Na.e)
1S.DIR Kalasha.language-INSTR speak-P/F.1S=SPC
'I speak Kalasha'.

(9c) *a* *tay* ***goṇḍík-an*** *ty-em* (M73:103)
1S.DIR 2S.OBL stick-INSTR beat-P/F.1S=SPC
'I will beat you **with a stick**'.

6.3.4. The vocative case

The vocative is infrequently used and varies between zero marking and the preposed article *o*, which seems to trigger stress movement: *o Lákšan! – Lakšáno!* 'hey, Lakshan!'

6.3.5. The local suffixes

The locative and ablative suffixes in Table 9 only attach to inanimate nouns, while a third ablative suffix, *-(y)ei*, attaches only to adverbs (see Section 6.7.1.1). Semantically, these local suffixes are distributed according to topographical or referential characteristics of the location, denoted by the parameters 'support type', 'dimensionality', 'visibily/accessibility', 'dispersion', and 'specificity'. Table 11 illustrates the basic semantics of these local case suffixes (see Heegård Petersen 2006a and Heegård 2014 for lengthy discussions of the semantics of the local suffixes).

In the grammatical gloss, *-a* is referred to as LOC1, *-una* as LOC2, *-ai* as LOC3, *-ani* as ABL2, and *-aw* as ABL3 (and the ablative *-(y)ei* as ABL1).

Loc1-*a* comes close to being an 'oblique locative', denoting 'unspecific' or 'general location', for example *dúra* 'in the house; home'. However, not all nouns can take this ending: **choma* 'floor-LOC1', **bata* 'stone-LOC1', **moṭera* 'car-LOC1'. This defective distribution remains to be clarified.

Table 11. Semantic parameters and manifested meanings of the local suffixes.

	Loc-a	Loc-una Abl-ani	Loc-ai Abl-aw
Support type	Point-like	Surface	Enclosure
Dimensionality	One-dimensional	Two-dimensional	Three-dimensional
Visibility and accessibility	–	Visible, accessible	Non-visible, non-accessible
Dispersion	–	Bounded	Dispersive
Specificity	General	Specific, exactly identifiable	Specific, not exactly identifiable

The specific spatial and referential semantics associated with Loc2, Loc3, Abl2, and Abl3 are illustrated with (10a)–(10e).

(10a) *kilá* ***piléṭ-ani*** ***upr-él*** (Ta.es)
banana.DIR.SG/PL plate-ABL2 pick up-P/F.3S.NS
'(He) picks up a banana **from a plate**.'

(10b) *maḍrák* ***buṭhál-aw*** *čhał-áu* (Ta.es)
frog.DIR.SG/PL bottle-ABL3 pull out- P/F.3S.NS
'The frog comes **out of the bottle**.'

(10c) *moč* ***dúr-a*** *á-an* (GSK.e)
man.DIR.SG/PL house-LOC1 be.AN-P/F.3P.NS
'The men are (there) **home/in the houses/homes**.'

(10d) *moč* ***dúr-una*** *á-an* (GSK.e)
man.DIR.SG/PL house-LOC2 be.AN-P/F.3P.NS
'The men are (right there) **in the house**.'

(10e) *moč* ***dúr-ai*** *á-an* (GSK.e)
man.DIR.SG/PL house-LOC3 be.AN-P/F.3P.NS
i. 'The men are (somewhere) **in the house**.'
ii. 'The men are (somewhere) **in the houses**.'

(10a)–(10b) illustrates the relevance of the parameter 'support type': In (10a), Abl2-*ani* codes the source Ground as a (two-dimensional) plain surface, while in (10b) Abl3-*ani* codes the source Ground as a (three-dimensional) container. (10c)–(10d) illustrate the relevance of the parameters 'dispersion' and 'specificity': In (10c), Loc1-*a* codes the location as a general, unmarked location, while in (10d) the location is coded as a specific and exact location, and in (10e) one reading is that the location may be specific (i.e. one specific house) but that the exact location of the men *in* the house is unclear. For other instances of the semantics of these suffixes, I refer to the grammatical glosses and commentaries to the texts and to the discussion in the literature mentioned above.

Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* are often associated with singularity, while Loc3-*ai* and Abl3-*a*w are often associated with plurality (cf. Trail and Cooper 1999), but a number interpretation of the semantics of the local suffixes is context dependent. Loc2-*una* (and Abl2-*ani*) can easily denote a 'plural situation' (11), and Loc3-*ai* (and Abl3-*a*w) can denote a 'singular situation' (10e, *i.*).

(11) *muṭ* *du* *ghaṭék-**una*** *číst-in* (PP.te)
tree.DIR.SG/PL two riverbank-LOC2 stand-P/F.3P.NS
'The trees stand on the two **riverbanks**.'

6.3.6. Temporal suffixes

Kalasha has two suffixes that are exclusively used for temporal functions, and they are probably to be regarded as derivatives: *-asa* and *-ano*. These suffixes attach exclusively to inanimate nouns. *-ano* occurs only with temporal nouns, for example *miléṭ* 'minute', *bas* 'day', *hawtá* 'week', *kaw* 'year', etc., and provides the meaning of 'completion of period'. *-asa*, in contrast, can occur with non-temporal nouns and adds the meaning 'during the period of'. See (13a)–(13b), which are both possible answers to (12):

(12) *kay* *paysá* *grí-is=day* *króm-as* *báti* (Fn)
when money receive-P/F.2S=SPC work-OBL.SG for
'When do you receive money for the work?'

(13a) *mastrúk-asa* (Fn)
month-TEMP
'During/in the course of the month.'

(13b) *mastruk-ano* (Fn)
month-TEMP
'After one month.'

6.3.7. Kinship suffixes

Kalasha has a specific set of suffixes that attach to a kinship term when it occurs as possessum in possessive constructions, 'my son/sons', 'our daughter/daughters/, 'your mother/mothers', etc. The endings express the number of the possessed kin and the person of the possessor. The possessor must be in the oblique case. (Table 12)

The occurrence of the personal suffixes depends on a number of syntactic variables (Bashir 1988a, 44–45). For example, the 1.SG suffix does not appear when the possessed phrase is the subject, the predicate nominal, or the direct object, but it is obligatory when the possessed NP occurs in a non-direct context. The 3.SG ending and probably also 2.SG ending are obligatory in all syntactic contexts. The kinship suffixes take precedence over the 'regular' syntactically required case endings.

Table 12. Examples with kinship suffixes and their grammatical gloss.

*may/hóma dád-**a***	'my/our father'	1.PSR.3S.PSD
*may/hóma dád-**ai***	'my/our fathers'	1.PSR.3P.PSD
*tay/mími pútr-**au***	'your/your son'	2.PSR.3S.PSD
*tay/mími pútr-**ałi***	'your/your sons'	2.PSR.3P.PSD
*ása/ísa čhúł-**as***	'his/their daughter'	3.PSR.3S.PSD
*ása/ísa čhúł-**asi***	'his/their daughters'	3.PSR.3P.PSD

6.4. Adjectives

Adjectives in Kalasha can occur as attributives, modifying a noun phrase (14a) or in predicative position (14b). In these functions, Kalasha adjectives inflect neither for number (shown with 'Ø') nor for animacy, irrespective of the syntactic role and animacy of the modified noun, compare (15a)–(15c).

(14a) *ía* *dhríga* *istríža* (Fn)
3S.NE.DIR tall.Ø woman
'This is a tall woman.'

(14b) *émi* *istríža* *dhríga* *á-an* (Fn)
3P.NE.DIR woman tall.Ø be-P/F.3P.NS
'These women are tall.'

(15a) *dhríga* *istrižá-as* *hátya* (Fn)
tall-Ø woman-OBL.SG for
'For the tall woman.'

(15b) *dhríga* *istriž-ón* *hátya* (Fn)
tall-Ø woman-OBL.PL for
'For the tall women.'

(15c) *dhríga* *dúr-an* *hátya* (Fn)
tall-Ø house-OBL.PL for
'For the tall houses.'

For a few antonymic semantic notions, Kalasha adjectives come in pairs that distinguish between animate and inanimate (Table 13).

Table 13. Adjectives and animacy distinction.

	Animate	Inanimate
'small'	*čhútyak*	*tshátak*
'big'	*gáḍa*	*ghóna*
'young'	*čhútyak*	*tshátak*
'old'	*baṣára*	*báłuṣa*

Adjectives may occur as heads in noun phrases. In this function, they inflect as nouns, (16a)–(16b).

(16a) *kriṣná-as* *hátya* (Fn)
black-OBL.SG for
'For the black one.'

(16b) *kriṣn-ón* *hátya* (Fn)
black-OBL.PL for
'For the black ones.'

6.5. Pronouns

6.5.1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns

For first and second personal pronouns, Kalasha distinguishes between the direct and the genitive-oblique cases and between singular and plural (Table 14).

The first and second plural direct forms *ábi* have as a casual variant in the form *ái*. The direct case is used for the subject, and the genitive-oblique case is used for all other syntactic functions.

Third person pronouns are identical to the demonstrative pronouns. They distinguish semantically between 'near', 'distant', and 'absent' and between singular and plural. The category 'Near' implies visibility, 'Distal' can refer to a visible or non-visible location, and 'Remote' implies non-visibility or absence. These pronouns also have an accusative case form, which in the plural is identical with the direct case form (Table 15).

The Remote, genitive-oblique pronouns *tása* and *tási* have the casual forms *táa* and *tái* and the Near plural form *émi* (direct and accusative case), but *not* the accusative *éłi* can have the casual form *éi*. None of the other pronouns seem to have such consonant-dropping variant forms.

The direct case is used for subjects, the accusative case is used for objects for most verbs, the genitive-oblique case is used for objects of verbs that denote a direction towards a goal or that imply that the patient is affected in some way, and for indirect objects and for complements of postpositions.

An emphasizing or topic-marking prefix *š-/ša-* can be attached to the 3rd person/demonstrative pronouns but not to the 1st and 2nd person pronouns. *š-* implies that the referent is already mentioned or present in the discourse (Bashir 1988a, 43).

Table 14. First and second personal pronouns.

	First person		Second person	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	*a*	*ábi*	*tu*	*ábi*
Genitive-Oblique	*may*	*hóma*	*tay*	*mími*

Table 15. Third person and demonstrative pronouns.

	Near		Distal		Remote	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	*ía*	*émi*	*ása*	*éłi*	*se*	*te*
Accusative	*áma*	*émi*	*áła*	*éłi*	*to*	*te*
Genitive-Oblique	*ísa*	*ísi*	*ása*	*ási*	*tása*	*tási*

6.5.2. Distributive and indefinite pronouns

Some distributive and indefinite pronouns, and some quantifiers and numerals, take the case endings in the genitive-oblique case as shown in Table 16, when they occur as heads in nominal phrases.

Table 16. Case endings for quantifiers and distributive adjectives.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-Ø	-Ø
Genitive-oblique	*-is*	*-in*

Examples are:

(17a) *te* *ogoég-in* *hátya* *ašék_h-in=day* (GSK.e)
3P.REM.DIR each other-OBL.PL towards love_become-P/F.3P=SPC
'They fall in love with each other.'

(17b) *se* *sáw-in* *pi* *šišóyak* *istríža* (Fn)
3S.REM.DIR all-OBL.PL from beautiful woman.DIR.SG/PL
'She is the most beautiful woman of all.'

There appears to be defective distribution in the data. For example, only *ogoég-* 'each other' and *eg-* 'one' take the singular ending *-is*. The plural ending *-in* occurs with distributive or collective pronouns such as *ogoég-* 'each other', *awdú* 'both', *saw* 'all', and *warék* 'another one' as well as with the numerals *ek* 'one', *du* 'two', and *tre* 'three'. *Har* 'every' does not seem to admit either of the flexives.

6.6. Verbs

Verbal forms in Kalasha are formed either synthetically through the combination of verbal stems and flexives or analytically through combinations of infinite and finite verb forms, auxiliaries, and verbal particles. Semantically, the verb formation integrates tense and aspect. Kalasha verbs distinguish between present/future tense and past tense as well as between three aspectual parameters: specificity (in the present/future tense), perfect-imperfect, and actual-inferential (in the past and the perfect). Furthermore, the semantic parameter of animacy is expressed in all tense and aspect forms that require a conjugated form of the auxiliary verbs *ásik* (animate), 'be', and *šik* (inanimate). The following presentation of the verb system draws heavily upon Bashir's work on the Kalasha verb system (Bashir 1988a, 54–118).

6.6.1. Infinite verb forms

Infinite verb forms are formed by adding a suffix to the verbal root or stem. Table 17 shows the principles of formation of the infinite verb forms. The text

Table 17. Kalasha infinite verb formation.

Perfective participle (PF.PTC):	root + *-i*[a]	*žú-i* 'having eaten'
Imperfective participle (IMP.PTC):	root + *-íman*[b]	*kar-íman* 'doing'
Past participle (PST.PTC):	root + *-ta/-da*, *-(i)ła*, *-(á)ła*, *-úna*[c]	*ká-da* 'done', *nis-úna* 'sat', etc.
Passive participle (PASS.PTC):	root + *ún*	*sapra-ún* 'found'
Necessitative participle (NEC.PTC):	root + *éli*	*sapra-éli* 'must be found'
Infinitive (INFTV):	root + *-ik, -ék*	*úṣṭ-ik* 'rise up', *uṣṭ-ék* 'rise'

[a]Some of the most common verbs have suppletive perfective participles: *kái* 'having done' (from *kárik* 'do' with loss of *r*), *thi* 'having been, having become' (of *ásik* 'be (animate)', *šik* 'be (inanimate)', and *hik* 'become').
[b]Bashir (1988a, 57) analyses this ending as consisting of the stress-bearing "formant vowel" *-í* plus *-man*.
[c]The verb *hik* 'become' has a suppletive past participles *húła.*

below describes some of the functions of these verb forms (see Bashir 1988a, 56–60 for a fuller description). Other functions will emerge from the notes in the text sections.

The main function of the **perfective participle** is as the base in the perfect tenses (present perfect and past perfect, see 6.6.2.1), formed by a participle and a finite form of one of the auxiliaries *ásik* (animate) and *šik* (inanimate) (Table 20). The perfective participle also functions as the so-called 'conjunctive participle', well-known in South Asian linguistics as forming adverbial sentential subordination constructions (see 6.10.3.4). The main function of the **imperfective participle** is to serve as the base in the past imperfective actual and past imperfective inferential tenses (see 6.6.2.1). The **past participle** has the function of forming the past inferential together with an auxiliary verb (see 6.6.2.1), except for the third person, where the auxiliary can be omitted: *se sawzá-iła* 'he made it (without realising it)' (3S.REM.NOM + make-PST.PTC). As the sole participle form, the past participle can serve as the attributive in noun phrases: *sawzá-iła aú* 'the made food' (make-PST.PTC + food). The **passive participle** is encountered infrequently and seems to have restricted use as it only occurs with *parik* 'go' in constructions that encode negative ability: *darwazá ne umra-ún par-íu* 'the door cannot be opened' (door + NEG + open-PASS.PTC + go-P/F.3S.NS). The **necessitative participle** overlaps in function with the particle *baṣ*, expressing necessity or compulsion (see 6.10.4). The **infinitive** verb form functions as a nominal and can take case endings and function as the object for verbs and postpositions. (See notes to texts for other functions.)

6.6.2. Finite and indicative verbals

The finite present/future and past tense verb forms are formed by flexives that attach to the root and that make the verb agree with the subject in person and

Table 18. Conjugation classes and finite flexives in the present/future tense (based on Bashir 1988a, 46–47).

Class		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1	*kár-*[a] 'do'	*-im*	*-is*	*-iu/-u*[b]	*-ik*	*-a*	*-an*
2	*má-* 'say'	*-am*	*-as*	*-au*	*-ik*	*-a*	*-an*
3	*jag-* 'look'	*-ém*	*-és*	*-él/-ál*	*-ék*	*-á*	*-én/-án*
4	*par-* 'go'	*-ím*	*-ís*	*-íu/-u*	*-ík*	*-á*	*-ín*
5	*d-* 'give'	*-em*	*-es*	*-el*[c]	*-ek*	*-et*	*-en*
6	*sangá-* 'listen'	*-am*	*-as*	*-au/-u*	*-ik*	*-a*	*-in*
7	*nis-* 'sit'	*-ím*	*-ís*	*-íu/-u*	*-ík*	*-éu*	*-ín*
8	*h-* 'become'	*-ím*	*-ís*	*-íu/-u*	*-ík*	*-áli*	*-ín*

[a]*Kár-* 'do' has the root allomorph *ká-*, applied in the perfective formations, see Section 6.6.2.1.
[b]The *-u* allomorph is applied when the stems end in *i* and in *a*.
[c]Bashir (1988a, 46) has *-al* as the third person singular ending for this class.

number. According to Bashir (1988a, 46), Kalasha verbs fall into 8 conjugation classes. Table 18 shows the present/future tense conjugation, and Table 19 shows the past tense conjugation.

The verb *žuk* 'eat', with the present/future forms *žum, žus, žu, žuk, žúa, žun*, seems either to fall out of these classes or to constitue a verb class of its own, with a set of present/future endings with an u-formant and a vowelless root form, *ž-*, or with a *u*-vowel in the root and vowelless endings. The present/future forms of *ik* 'come' are identical to the endings of Class 7, for example, *im* 'I come', *ik* 'we come', and *in* 'they come'. These forms are here analysed as root *i-* plus flections of Class 7 with a proces of vowel simplification.

Verbs belonging to Class 5, for example *dek* 'give', *dyek* 'put', and *tyek* 'hit', pose an unsolved morphological problem. Their present perfective participle forms *dái*, *dyái, tyái* suggest a root form with an *a*-vowel, and their past participle forms *díta* and *tyíta* show on the one hand syncretism between *dek* and *dyek*[21] and a root form with an *i*-vowel. In addition, Bashir (1988a, 46) gives their endings as unstressed, but since the root lacks a stress-carrying vowel, the endings must be stressed. Apart from the second plural in *det, dyet*, and *tyet*, their inflection thus resembles that of Class 3.

Unstressed endings in underlying *-au* are pronounced [ow] unless preceded by a stem final *a*-vowel, in which case the vowel sequence /-a-au/ is pronounced [ɑɑw].

The past tense suffixes, Table 19, expose a greater degree of syncretism than the present/future suffixes, and according to Bashir (1988a, 46) the set of endings of Classes 1, 2, and 8 are identical. The endings of Classes 4 and 5 can be seen as identical if the past tense suppletive roots are analysed as vowelless.

[21]*Dek* 'give' and *dyek* 'put' may in some cases – and by some speakers – be used interchangeably.

Table 19. Conjugation classes and finite flexives in the past tense (based on Bashir 1988a, 46).

Class		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1	*kár-* 'do'	*-is*	*-i*	*-au*	*-imi*	*-ili*	*-an*
2	*amá-* 'say'	*-is*	*-i*	*-au*	*-imi*	*-ili*	*-an*
3	*jag-* 'look'	*-és*	*-és*	*-áu*	*-émi*	*-áli*	*-án*
4	*par-* 'go'	*-á*	*-á*	*-áu*	*-émi*	*-áli*	*-án*
5	*pr-* 'give; put'	*-a*	*-a*	*-au*	*-ómi*	*-áli*	*-ón*
6	*sangá-* 'listen'	*-es/-is*	*-i*	*-es/-is*	*-imi*	*-ili*	*-ini*
7	*nis-* 'sit'	*-á*	*-á*	*-áu*	*-ómi*	*-áli*	*-ón*
8	*háw-* 'become'	*-is*	*-i*	*-au*	*-imi*	*-ili*	*-an*

A large number of Class 1 and 2 verbs may take a prefix, the so-called 'augment' (Morgenstierne 1973b, 227; Bashir 1988a, 55) in their past tense formation, as shown by *amá-*'. The verb for 'eat' has *aš-* as a suppletive past tense root. The past tense forms of 'come' are identical to the endings of Class 7, for example, *a* 'I came', *omi* 'we came', *on* 'they came', etc.

A large number of verb forms are formed by use of the auxiliary verbs *ásik* (animate), 'be' and *shíik* (inanimate), and 'be' and *hik* 'become'. In this use, these verbs are glossed as 'AUX' (ignoring the animacy distinction). Table 20 shows the present conjugation of these auxiliary verbs (see Section 6.2.1 for the past tense conjugation).

6.6.2.1. Present, past, and perfect verb forms. In the non-present/future forms, Kalasha distinguishes between the present perfect and a number of past forms. The past forms are distinguished according to the semantic parameters perfect-imperfect and inferentiality (actual vs. inferential). For the present perfect and the past actual forms, they are also distinguished in terms of animacy. Table 21 shows the past actual and past inferential forms of the auxiliary verbs. Examples (18)–(24) illustrate the formation of the other present, past, and perfect verb forms. (See 6.6.2.2 and 6.6.2.3 for other verb formations along the parameters of specificity and inferentiality.)

Table 20. Present paradigm of the auxiliary verbs *ásik* (animate), *šik* (inanimate), and *hik*. Formal variants of *ásik* in parentheses.

		Singular	Plural
ásik	1st AN	*á-am* (*ás-am*)	*á-ik* (*ás-ik*)
	2nd AN	*á-as* (*ás-as*)	*á-a* (*ás-a*)
	3rd AN	*á-au* (*ás-au*)	*á-an* (*ás-an*)
šik	3rd INAN	*ší-u*[a]	*ší-an*
hik	1st	*h-im*	*h-ik*
	2nd	*h-is*	*h-áli*
	3rd	*h-íu*	*h-in*

[a]The third singular of *šik* has a variant form: *ší-au* ['shiow].

Table 21. Past actual and past inferential paradigms of the auxiliary verbs *ásik* 'be' (animate), *šik* 'be' (inanimate), and *hik* 'become'. Formal variants of *ásik* in parentheses.

		Past actual		Past inferential[a]	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ásik	1st AN	*áy-is* (*ás-is*)	*áy-imi* (*ás-imi*)	*asta him*	*ásta hik*
	2nd AN	*áy-i* (*ás-i*)	*áy-ili* (*ás-ili*)	*ásta his*	*ásta háli*
	3rd AN	*áy-is* (*ás-is*)	*áy-ini* (*ás-ini*)	*ásta*	*ásta*
šik	3rd INAN	*aš-ís*	*aš-íni*	*ši-áła*	*ši-áła*
hik	1st	*háw-is*	*háw-imi*	*húła him*	*húła hik*
	2nd	*háw-i*	*háw-ili*	*húła him*	*húła háli*
	3rd	*háw-is*	*háw-an*	*húła*	*húła*

[a]The past inferential is formed by the past participle plus the present/future of *hik*, see Section 6.6.3.

(18)	Present/future, non-specific (P/F.NS):	*par-ím* go-P/F.1S	'I go; I will go'
(19)	Present perfect (PRS.PRF):	*pá-i_á-am* go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S	'I have gone'
(20)	Past actual (PST.A):	*par-á* go-PST.A.2S	'I went'
(21)	Past inferential (PST.I):	*gáła_h-im* go.PST.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S	'apparently I went'
(22)	Past imperfect-actual (PST.IPF.A):	*par-íman_áy-is* go-IPF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-1S	'I was going; I had gone'
(23)	Past imperfect-inferential (PST.IMPF.I):	*par-íman_ásta_h-im* go-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S	'apparently I was going'
(24)	Past perfect-actual (PST.PF.A):	*pá-i_áy-is* *go-PF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-1S*	'I had gone'
(25)	Past perfect-inferential (PST.PF.I):	*pá-i_ásta_h-im* go-PF.PTC_AUX.PST.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S	'apparently I had gone'

The present/future (P/F) and past actual (PST.A) verb forms are formed by a verbal stem plus a flexive. The present perfect, the past actual perfect, and imperfect are formed by the perfective or imperfective participle plus an inflected form of a 'be' auxiliary. The past inferential is formed by the past perfective participle + an inflected form of the 'become' auxiliary. The past

imperfect inferential and past perfect inferential are formed by the imperfective and the present perfective participles plus *ásta*, the past participle of the auxiliary *ásik*, plus an inflected form of the 'become' auxiliary.

6.6.2.2. Inferentiality and non-past forms. Inferentiality may also be expressed in non-past clauses by the particle *húła* 'it seems', the third person singular and plural of *hik* 'become' in the past inferential, and *ghṍan* 'it is said', a frozen third plural present tense form of the verb *ghṍik* 'speak'. *Húła*, translated as 'it seems', combines with the verb in present/future tense (26), and *ghṍan*, translated as 'it is said', combines with the verb in the infinitive (27).

(26) *se* *ne* *í-u* *húła* (B88:74)
3S.REM.NOM not come-P/F.3S.NS it seems
'(It seems that) he won't come.'

(27) *se* *miṣṭer=í* *kár-ik* *ghṍan* (B88:79)
3S.REM.NOM teacher=NOMI do-INFTV it is said
'(I hear that) he is a teacher.'

6.6.2.3. Specificity. The present/future may me marked by the specific particle *day* (probably derived from the perfect participle of the verb *dek* 'give').

(28) *par-ím=day* (B88:74)
go-P/F.1S=SPC
'I will be going.'/'I am going.'

The specific particle may be used for situations of which the speaker is certain or has direct evidence. It may also be used as a sort of progressive, as shown in (28). The specific verbal forms are noted with SPC in the grammatical gloss, and the non-specific forms are noted with NS.

6.6.3. Finite, non-indicative forms

Kalasha has four non-indicative verb forms. The imperative is formed by conjugation of the verbal root (the imperative). The hortative/optative and the necessitative are formed by suffixation of a particle to the finite verb form or the verbal root. The subjunctive is formed by allowing the finite verb to be followed by third person of the past actual of *hik* 'become', *háwau*, often shortened to *haw* (Table 22).

Table 22. Non-indicative verb formation (imperative with examples in the singular, examples of the subjunctive in (30)–(32)).

Imperative (IMP):	(a) root (b) root + formant vowel (c) root + formant vowel + *-s* (d) irregular	(a) *žu* 'eat!' (b) *kár-i* 'do!' (c) *upáṭṣ-as* 'open!' (d) *ha* 'become!', *pre* 'let's go!'
Hortative/Optative (OPT):	finite verb + *-óri*	*se par-iu-óri* 'let him go, he should go'.
Necessitative (NEC):	(a) verbal root + *-éli* (b) infinitive + *baṣ*	(a) *kar-éli* 'must be done, must do' (b) *may par-ík/par-ík-as baṣ* 'I have to go, I should go'.
Subjunctive (SUBJ):	finite verb + *háwaw* (> *háw*)	

For states and situations that have not occurred, the hortative expresses the speaker's wish they should occur, (29)–(30). For states and situations that have occurred, (31), the hortative expresses the speaker's satisfaction with this change of state (Bashir 1988a, 84–87).

(29) *may* *hátya* *čir_híu=day* (B88:86)
1S.OBL for lateness_become-P/F.3S=SPC
moṭér *ẓar* *í-u=óri*
jeep soon come-P/F.3S.NS=HORT
'I am getting late, (I wish that) the jeep will come soon'.

(30) *išleg-í* *šurú-as=óri* (B88:86)
slip-CP fall-P/F.2S=HORT
'May you slip and fall!'

(31) *par-áu=óri* (B88:88)
go-PST.A.3S=HORT
'He has gone. Good, so be it!'

The necessitative participle *-éli* and the necessitative particle *baṣ* overlap in meaning. Based on her informants' reactions, Bashir hypothesises that *-éli* has a more emphatic or specific meaning than *baṣ* (Bashir 1988a, 90–99).

The subjunctive is used for states and situtations that are reported as not fully realised, conveying a sense of tentativeness, uncertainty, or puzzlement concerning an aspect of the state or situation being referred to (Bashir 1988a, 88). As such, it often occurs in questions (32) but may be used in other sentence types too (33)–(34).

(32) *may* *hátya* *kía* *mahálum* (B88:88)
1S.OBL for what knowledge
čóp=o *kúra* *i-n* ***háwaw***
tomorrow=TOP who.DIR come-P/F.3P.NS SUBJ
'How **should** I know who will come tomorrow?'

(33) *a* *ne* *ǰhón-im* (B88:86)
1S.DIR not know-P/F.1S.NS
se *kawá* *apáw_d-el=**haw***
3S.REM.DIR where.SPC dwelling_give-P/F.3S.NS=SUBJ
'I **don't know** where he lives.'

(34) *tre* *čaw* *boǰéy* *bribó* *h-in* ***háwaw*** (B88:90)
three four bag walnut become-P/F.3P.NS SUBJ
'There will **probably** be three or four bags of walnuts.'

In (29), (32), and (33), *háwaw/haw* and *-óri* can be analysed as hortative and subjunctive complementisers for subordinated clauses (see Section 6.10.3.4).

6.6.4. Transitivity-causativity and volitionality

Kalasha has a set of morpho-syntactic means of increasing valency, for example by deriving a transitive verb form from an intransitive. Included in this are the semantic parameters of causativity and volitionality. This is described in detail by Bashir (1988a, 155–218; 1990), though only a few mechanisms are illustrated in the following.

A very productive means of deriving transitives/causatives morphologically is by suffixation of *-á-* (CS1) and *-aw-* (CS2) (Table 23).

An intermediating causant is coded by the oblique case and with the causative postposition *ṣaṭawái*, historically the present perfective participle of the double causative of the verb *ṣáṭik* 'attach' (INTR) (*ṣaṭ-* 'attach' + *-aw-* 'CS2' + *-á-* 'CS1' + *-i* 'PF.PTC') or with the compound postposition *kái mãi*:

(35) *darzí-as* *ṣaṭawái* *ek* *pirán* *sawz-aw-á-am* (B88:853)
tailor-OBL.SG by way of a shirt make-CS2-CS1-P/F.1S
'I will get a shirt made by the tailor.'

(36) *kas* *kái mãi* *kar-aw-á-ik* (B88:853)
who.OBL by way of do-CS2-CS1-P/F.1P.NS
'Who shall we get to do it?'

Table 23. Morphological transitive/causative formation.

Intransitive		Transitive/Causative (CS1)		Double transitive/causative (CS2)
nis-ík 'sit-INFTV'	->	*nis-á-ik* (= *nisék*) 'seat'	->	*nis-aw-á-ik* 'get someone seated'

6.6.5. Compound verbs

Compound verbs are a double-verb construction, a well-known verb modification proces in New Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991, 326–330; Bashir 1988a, 218–220).[22] In Kalasha, a compound verb consists of a main verb in the present perfective, the conjunctive participle, plus a finite verbal component, the so-called 'vector verb' (or 'light verb'), which carries the tense/aspect, person, and number marking. Kalasha employs a variety of light verbs in this verb formation: The most frequently encountered are *párik* 'go', *dyek* 'put', and *dek* 'give', though other light verbs are also encountered, for example, *thek* 'place', *nisík* 'sit down', and *ónik* 'bring'. The main semantics of a compound verb is carried by the main verb; the vector verb adds more abstract, or 'grammatical', meaning (Bashir 1988a, 218–219; Masica 1991, 141). Examples are given in (37)–(38).

(37) *babá-a* *cay* *uzuk-í* *par-áu* (B88:220)
sister-OBL.SG tea spill-PF.PTC go-PST.A.3S
'Sister's tea spilled.'

(38) *súda* *šurá-a-i* *a-thá-i* (B88:220)
child fall-CS1-PF.PTC AU-place-PST.A.2S
'You made the child fall.'

Dependent on the specific vector verb the semantics implied by compound verbs in Kalasha can be implication of finality or completeness of the action coded by the main verb, emphatic force, negative outcome, anticipation of event (Bashir 1988a, 241–249).

6.6.6. Conjunct verbs

The most productive way of forming verbs in Kalasha is through the conjunct verb construction, a well-known verb formation process in New Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991, 368–369). Conjunct verbs consist of a nominal-like element plus a verbaliser, the vector verb. Examples are *kọ̃ kárik* 'listen to', *mon dek* 'speak, say', *phan dek* 'lie', *apáw dek* 'live; stay', and *khir hik* 'deny'. The most common vector verbs are *hik*, which makes intransitive verbs, and *kárik*, which makes transitive verbs. *Dek* 'give' and *dyek* 'put' can also be used as vector verbs. The nominal element may be an independent nominal, like *kọ̃* 'ear' and *mon* 'word', or it may be a nominal-like element that does not exist as an independent word (and cannot take flexive or derivative affixes). Examples of the latter type are *phan dek* 'lie', *apaw dek* 'live, stay', and *khir hik* 'deny'. In the texts, these 'nominal elements' are translated

[22]Compound verbs in Kalasha (and Khowar) are analysed in detail by Bashir (1988a, 218–265).

into English with a derivative in '-ing' or '-ness': *apáw dek* 'live' ('living give'). Conjunct verbs inflect like ordinary verbs with the suffixal morphology outlined above.

6.7 Adverbs

Adverbs and adverbial phrases in Kalasha form a very heterogenous class. Some adverbs are monomorphematic words, others are derived by attaching prefixes and suffixes, others are originally adjectives used adverbially, others are derived by reduplication, and others are formed syntactically by combining words from other word classes with conjunctive participles or postpositions. Finally, the meaning of some adverbials is expressed by verbal predicates, conjunct verbs (Section 6.6.6).

The place adverbs are subject to a detailed analysis in Heegård Petersen (2006a, 2006b). The other adverb types have not to my knowledge been subject to detailed studies, and the presentation here merely reports the most basic observations in a tentative manner.

6.7.1. Place adverbs

Kalasha has three major groups of place adverbs: Adverbs with the deictic centre anchored in the speaker ('here', 'there', 'where'), adverbs anchored in the topography of the landscape ('upriver', 'downhill', etc.), and adverbs that may be called general place adverbs ('up', 'down', etc.). The latter group may also include relational adverbs, *nọ̃aw* 'downwards', *rúaw* 'ahead', etc. (see 6.8.1). Many adverbs in these groups may be modified by the suffixes *-(h)ák* and *-alía*, which both mean 'a little bit (in a particular direction)' but the distribution and specific semantics of which remain to be specified.

6.7.1.1. Place adverbs deictically anchored in speaker. Four overall semantic parameters define the use of the deictic adverbs: (1) 'distance', (2) 'specificity', (3) 'across-edge location', and (4) 'locative vs. ablative'. The inventory of these deictic adverbs is given in Table 24.

These adverbs are formed by four invariant word forms and of a number of bound roots, which can be suffixed with local suffixes, Loc1-*a*, Loc3-*ai*, Abl1-*(y)ei*, and Abl3-*aw* (see Section 6.3.1). Ablative forms may include the ablative-perlative postposition *day*. Suffixation with Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* seems impossible with these adverbs. The 'across-edge' forms are formed by a sort of reduplication of the 'not across-edge' forms. The Absent forms are formed by a prefixed *t-*, identical to the formation of the Remote demonstrative or third person pronouns. All forms can be prefixed with emphatic *š-* (*ša-* before consonants), for example, *š-ayá* 'right here (and nowhere else)'.

Table 24. Deictic place adverbs in Kalasha (forms marked with '?' are not attested).

			'here' Near	'there' Distal	Absent	'where'
Specific location		Locative	*ayá*	*atrá*	*tará*	*kawá*
		Ablative	*ayá day*	*atrá day*	? *tará day*	*kawá day*
Non-specific location	Not across-edge	Locative	*and-ái*	*ał-ái*	*t-ał-ái*	*kaw-ái*
		Ablative	*and-(y)éi*	*ał-(y)éi*	*t-ał-(y)éi*	*kaw-(y)éi*
	Across-edge	Locative	*an(d)-én-a*	*ał-éł-a*	*t-ał-éł-a*	*kaw-éł-a*
		Ablative	*an(d)-én-aw*	*ał-éł-aw*	*t-ał-éł-aw*	? *kaw-éł-aw*

The semantic parameter 'Distance' distinguishes between 'here' (near deictic centre), 'distant' (away from deictic centre), and 'absent' (away, remote, out of sight from deictic centre), similar to the semantic parameter distinguishing the 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns. It is, however, still unclear how and to what extent visibility and distance interact, for example whether a non-visible but relatively close location will be denoted with *atrá* or with *tará*. There is a basic division between adverbs that denote exact and inexact location (similar to the fundamental division between the local case endings). For example, *aya* means 'exactly here in this spot', and *andai* means 'around here (somewhere)'. The adverbs denoting inexact location further distinguish between 'across-edge' and 'not across-edge'. 'Across-edge' adverbs are used when there is a some sort of cross-sectioning border or barrier between the deictic centre and the location, for example a road, a bed, a table corner, etc. Locations across a cross-sectioning river may also be denoted by the topography-anchored adverb *páyran* 'across-river'. Locations that are 'across-edge' are divided along parameters resembling those that differentiate the 'specific' case endings, 'identifiability' or 'boundedness': *ayá*, etc. 'exactly identifiable'/ 'bounded' vs. *and-ái* 'not exactly identifiable'/'unbounded'.

For the sake of brevity, these adverbs are not glossed with their full semantics in the narratives, so that, for example, *ayá* is glossed as 'here.NE.SPC', *andái* is glossed as 'here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3', and *tałéi* is glossed as 'there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1'.

The adverb *ṭałái* 'there.ABS.SPC-LOC3' may also be used in a general sense, meaning 'over there', 'there, very far away'.

(39) *khẽ* *kára=day* *tał-ái* *mími* *ǰaygá-una* (Fn)
how do-P/F.2P=SPC there.ABS.SPC-LOC3 2P.OBL place-LOC2
'How are you doing (it) over there, in your country?'

6.7.1.2. Place adverbs anchored in topography. Kalasha has two sets of adverbial roots that denote direction and location uphill (*pučhúm* and *hála*) and downhill (*undruhák* and *ógała*) as well as one set of bound adverbial roots that denote direction and location upstream (*wẽ-*) and downstream (*prẽ-*). Another topography-anchored adverbial root is *páyran-* [ˈpe:ran] 'across or over a stream or chasm'.

Hála/ála 'steep uphill' and *ógała* 'steep downhill' occur only unsuffixed. *Pučhúm* 'uphill' and *úndru/óndru* 'downhill' occur as free forms and with the general local suffix *-a* and the diminutive, stressed *-(h)ák*. *Prẽ-* 'downriver', *wẽ-* 'upriver', and *payran-* 'across-river' occur with local suffixes *-a*, *-aw*, and the diminutive *-(h)ák*. Derivations with *-(h)ak* may be suffixed with *-a* or be further derived by stressed *-alía* 'in the direction of'. Table 25 shows the inventory of these place adverbs, the word formations patterns, and the associated meanings.

As emerges from the glosses in the table, there is considerable semantic overlap between these adverbs, the meanings and nuances of which are subtle. In addition, *pučhúm* 'uphill' and *undrú* 'downhill' overlap in meaning with adverbial use of the relational adverbs *thara, tháraw* 'up, upwards' and *nọ́a, nọ́aw* 'below, down, downwards'. *Pučhúm* and *úndru* also overlap in usage with general place adverbs such as *hála* 'steep up, up' and *ógała* 'steep down, down' as well as with the adverb *dihák* 'upward, skyward, upward in a perpendicular direction'.

Some of the adverbial forms may also be used with a general directional meaning not achored in the landscape's topography. Example (40), which describes a situation in focus detached from any landscape features, shows *wẽhák* 'upstream' with the meaning 'away'.

Table 25. Adverbs anchored in the landscape's topography.

	-aw	*-a*	*-(h)ák(a)*	*-(h)ak-alía*
wẽ-	*wénaw* 'upstream	*wẽa* 'exactly far upstream'	*wẽhák* 'a little upstream'	*wẽhakalía* 'in an upstream direction a little way'
prẽ-	*prénaw* 'downstream'	*prẽa* 'exactly far downstream'	*prẽhák* 'a little downstream	*prẽhakalía* 'in a downstream direction a little way'
pučhúm	–	*pučhúma* 'uphill'	*pučhumák, pučhumáka* 'uphill a short way'	*pučhumakalía* 'in direction uphill a little way'
úndru	–	*úndrua* 'downhill along a slope'	*undruhák, undruháka* 'downhill a short way'	*undruhakalía* 'in direction uphill a little way'
páyran	*payranáw* 'across-stream and ahead'	–	*páyranák* 'a little across-stream	–

(40) *muṭ* *ne* *ǰag-él=lay* *wẽhák* *ǰag-él=lay* (Ta.es)
tree not look at-3S.P/F=SPC upstream look at-3S.P/F=SPC
'He is not looking at the tree, he looks **away** (from the tree).'

Table 26. Examples of relational adverbs and their morphology.

Relational adverb	Projective meaning	Allowed local suffixes
móč-	'inside, middle, centre'	*-una, -ai, -ani, -aw*
thár-	'upperside, above'	*-a, -una, -ai, -ani, -aw*
nọ́-	'below, underside'	*-a, -una, -ai, -ani, -aw*
tád-	'next to, beside; near'	*-a, -una, -ai, -ani, -aw*
rúaw	'front, in front of'	[fossilised]
písṭaw	'back, behind'	[fossilised]

6.7.2. Relational adverbs

This presentation follows Di Carlo (2009, 112–114) by considering a group of words that denote 'projective' location in relation to ground location as 'relational adverbs'.[23] In English, this may refer to words and phrases such as 'above', 'below', 'middle of', 'beside', 'in front of', etc. Morphologically relational adverbial nouns can be free or bound roots or appear as frozen inflected forms, in which case they can be analysed as postpositions. Free roots can be suffixed by all or a subset of local suffixes. Examples of relational adverbs are given in Table 26.

Syntactically, a relational adverb occurs as the head in a noun phrase. The modifier, a noun or a pronoun denoting the deictic centre, is the obligatory modifier in the genitive-oblique case (41)–(42).

(41) *at* *méz-as* ***nọ́-una*** *ṣáṭ-i_ší-u* (Ta.es)
dough table-OBL.SG **below-LOC2** attach-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S.NS
'Dough is attached **under the table.**'

(42) *tása* *dúr-as* ***nọ́-aw*** *anguṭí* *ší-u* (Na.es)
3S.REM.OBL house-OBL.SG **below-ABL3** guesthouse be-P/F.3S.NS
'**Below** his house, there is a guesthouse.'

Relational adverbs can also occur as the second component in compounds, as in (43).

(43) *tási* *hátya* *ek* *band* *kamrá* *sawzá-au* Ba.na
3P.REM.OBL for a closed room make-PST.A.3S
phaw.nọ́-una *kái*
earth.below-LOC2 at
'For them (the sons), (the king) made a closed-off room **underground** … .'

[23]In other presentations (Heegård Petersen 2006a, 2006b; Heegård 2014), these words have been termed 'relational nouns' or 'relator nouns', following a tendency in the typological literature, see for example Starosta (1985), Svorou (1994), and Blake (2001).

6.7.3. Temporal adverbs

The temporal adverbs constitute a very heterogenous group morphologically, etymologically, and semantically. This presentation is by no means exhaustive and serves mainly to give the reader an impression of the heterogenous nature of this group.[24]

6.7.3.1. General temporal adverbs. A portion of these adverbs may be divided into a 'present' (or 'now') group, a 'future' (or 'later') group', and a 'past (or 'before') group'. Within the 'present' and 'past' groups, there seems to be a distinction between an 'indefinite' and a meaning denoting a shorter or 'definite' time-span. It is left to future studies to investigate this possible semantic distinction (Table 27).

Other general temporal adverbs include, for example, the adverbs in Table 28.

Table 27. 'Indefinite' and 'definite' general temporal adverbs (from Trail and Cooper 1999).

	Indefinite		Definite	
'present'	*ónǰa*	'now'	*thésu*	'just now, a short time ago'
('now')	*ájo*[a]	'now'	*šonǰaró*[b]	'just now'
'past'	*píṣṭaw*	'before, in the past, once'		
('before')	*kay dič*	'some time ago'	*dič*	'just before, a while ago'
	kay ẓot(r)	'before, some time ago'	*ẓot(r)*	'just, already, just before'

[a]*Ájo* is formed by *ač/aǰ* 'this', this present', and the topicaliser *-o* (see Section 6.10.4).
[b]*Shonǰaró* is formed by the emphasising prefix *š-*, *ónǰa* 'today, now' and the derivative suffix *-ro* 'a little more'.

Table 28. Examples of other general temporal adverbs (from Trail and Cooper 1999).

tóa	'then, later, afterwards'	*kay*	'when'
to	'then, later, after, since'	*káyaw*	'from when'
pháto	'then, even' (because)'	*kay ásta*	'whenever'
bázi	'sometimes'	*kay khawéw*	'sometime'
ragéṣṭi	'early'	*čir*[a]	'late'
gaṣṭ	'early, soon'	*malál*	'late'

[a]*Čir* only occurs in the conjunct verbs *čir hik* 'be late', *čir ik* 'come late', and *čir kárik* 'be late'. Its synonym *malál* can occur in a 'plain' existential construction with a 'be'-verb, such as *ása malál áau* 'he is late (he + late + is)'.

[24]Among the morphological and semantic features that should be considered in a more elaborate presentation are: the function of the derivative suffixes *-wew* 'time of, during' and *-mina* 'during'; the temporal uses of the spatial suffix *-una* and the spatial adverbs *andáy* 'until now' (originally 'here-NE.NONSPC', for example in the fixed construction *káyaw … andáy* 'from when until now') and *tałáy* 'then, at that time' (originally 'there-DI.NONSPC); and the function of the temporal suffixes *-ano* and *-asa* (Section 6.3.6). For other temporal expressions and strategies, I refer to the comments to the texts.

6.7.3.2. Calendrical adverbs. Kalasha has an elaborate semantic system for the days and years before and after the current one, with lexical and phrasal distinctions for two time units after the present and three time units before, as shown in Table 29.

The inventory of words denoting periods of the day is also elaborate. The adverbial expressons are formed by suffixal modification of the noun (Table 30).

A similar strategy is used for forming adverbs that denote, for example, the notion of 'during the day/week/month/season of the year/year' (Table 31).

6.7.4. Degree adverbs

The main function of degree adverbs is to modify other adverbs or adjectives, which they quantify before the nouns.

Table 29. Words for 'before' and 'after (this) day' and 'this year' (from Trail and Cooper 1999).

'day'		'year'	
'the day after the day after tomorrow'	*toríša*	–	–
'day after tomorrow'	*waréša*	'year after next'	*gherimí káła*
'tomorrow'	*čópa*	'next year'	*ghéri káła*
'today'	*ónja*	'(this) year'	*(ač) kaw*
'yesterday'	*doṣ*	'last year'	*par*
'day before yesterday'	*atríli*	'year before last'	*tríbas*
'day before day before yesterday'	*atríli ṣumbéri ádua*	'the year before the year before last'	*tríbas ṣumbéri káła*

Table 30. Words for periods of the day (from Trail and Cooper 1999).

	Nominal	Adverbial
'day'	*bas*	*bázuna*
'daybreak'	*łuš*	*łúzhuna*
'early morning'	*łuzhátya*	*łuzhátyuna*
'mid morning'	*čeṣṭákal*	*čeṣṭakáluna*
'morning'	*witrazikwéw*	*witrazikwéwuna*
'noon'	*húłuk*	*húłukuna*
'early afternoon'	*usuagín(d)*	*usuagíṇḍa*
'late afternoon'	*čhak kõ/čhakdikwéw*[a]	*čhak kõuna/čhakdikwéwuna*
'evening'	*trómiš*	*trómizhuna*
'late evening'	*trup trómiš*	*trup trómizhuna*
'night'	*rat*	*rátuna*
'midnight'	*khóṇḍa rat/dubarabár rat*	*khóṇḍa rátuna/dubarabár rátuna*

[a]Literally, *čhak kõ* means 'shadow-ear' and *čhakdikwéw* means 'shadow-give-time of'.

Table 31. Other calendrical adverbial expressions, with the local suffix *-una*.[a]

	Nominal	Adverbial
'day'	*bas*	*básuna*
'week'	*hawtá*	*hawtáuna*
'month'	*mastrúk*	*mastrúkuna*
'spring'	*básun(d)*	*básunduna*
'summer'	*neł́á*	*neł́áuna*
'autumn'	*šáru*	*šáruna*
'winter'	*héman(d)*	*hémanduna*
'year'	*kaw*	*káł́una*

[a]Other suffixes with temporal meanings can be used, for example, *mastrúkano* 'after the month' and *hémandano* 'after the winter'.

6.7.4.1. Quantifying or restricting degree adverbs. A number of monomorphemic words function as degree adverbs:

(44) *hẽṣ* *perišán* *á-as* (TC99:122)
fairly worried be-P/F.2S.NS
'You are fairly worried.'

(45) *adhé* *kóč-iła* *ṭshak_dy-íta* (TC99:5)
a bit search-PST.PTC shadow_put-PST.PTC
'After they had searched a bit it became dark'.

(46) *a* *mič* *čakér kár-im=day* (Fi.na)
1S.DIR merely walking_do-P/F.1S=SPC
'I'm merely going for a walk'.

6.7.4.2. Intensifying degree adverbs. Adverbs – both indigenous and borrowed – from another, perhaps larger set, are used as intensifiers. Their collocational restrictions remain to be clarified, but from my own data and from the data in Trail and Cooper (1999), the list in Table 32 gives an indication of which parameters are in play.

Further research is necessary to discover the extent to which, for example, the restrictions regarding verbal collocation and the negative-positive scale cut across the other semantic domains

6.7.4.3. Reduplication. Reduplication is a productive strategy for forming degree adverbs in Kalasha (47). The source word may be a manner adverb or an adjective, and the newly formed word denotes 'increased emphasis' or 'vehemence'. The reduplicated part is the initial syllable's first consonant(s) and vowel, for example C(C)VC.CV > C(C)V-C(C)VC.CV.[25]

[25]According to phonotactical rules, a reduplicated aspirated consonant loses its aspiration in the reduplicated syllable.

(47) *čaw* *čoṭ* *dyá-i=o* *čaw* *tsa=tšhátak* *čoṭ* *dyá-i=o* (GSK.es)
four dot put-CP=TOP four REDUPL=small dot put-CP=TOP
'Having put four dots, having put four very small dots (then you …)'

Table 32. Intensifying adverbs and collocational semantic domains (from Trail and Cooper 1999).[a]

Semantic domain	Intensifying adverb	Collocation
Colour and shading	*ṭṣaw*	*ṭṣaw łaṭṣhía* 'bright red'
	bạng	*bạng phrełík* 'very bright'
	tap	*tap gir* 'pitch dark'
Temperature	*kạk*	*kạk oš* 'extremely cold'
	ẓham	*ẓham peṭṣ* 'extremely hot'
Shape of things	*khuṣ*	*khuṣ puṇḍúyrak* 'perfectly round (like a disk)'
	łam	*łam łóa* 'extremely smooth and rounded'
	ṭam	*ṭam łaṭóra* 'perfectly round (like a ball)'
Exact location	*ṭṣap*	*ṭṣap akhámpaw* 'completely pierced'
	tyap	*tyap šayá thái* 'put it right here!'
Mental or physical states or appearance	*kháča*	*kháča zahálum kakbóy* 'terribly fierce snow-leopard'
	khatarnák	*khatarnák šišóyak* 'very beautiful'
	púra	*púra gadéri* 'he went completely crazy'
Inherent feature	*čap*	*čap črúka kiłą* 'very sour cheese'
	ṭṣap	*ṭṣap máwra* 'extremely sweet'
Negative-positive scale	*bekhí*	*bekhí šum* 'very bad'
	sak/tsak	*sak khádra* 'very great danger'
Non-concrete state of affairs	*bílkul*	*bílkul sahi* 'completely correct'
	diš	*diš perúk* 'very similar'
Verbal collocation	*łap*	*łap žu* 'quickly eat'
	phaṣ	*phaṣ adúaw* 'burningly ache'

[a]Many of these adverbs have a diminutive form that is used with a diminutive form of the modified adjective, for example *ṭam* 'perfectly' ~ *ṭim łaṭóra* 'perfectly round (of a small thing)', *łam* ~ *łim lhóyak* 'extremely smooth and flat (of a small thing)', *phak* ~ *phik* 'extremely yellow (of a small thing)' (Trail and Cooper 1999, 227). It is up to future studies to explore the use of sound symbolism in this group of words, including the apparently great frequency of retroflex vowels and consonants.

Another process is reduplication of a degree adverb, for example, *ẓar* 'quickly' -> *ẓar ẓar i* 'come quickly' and *lak* 'very' -> *lak lak šúkar* 'very grateful'.

6.7.5. Manner adverbs

6.7.5.1. Non-derived manner adverbs. Kalasha has a relatively small class of monomorphemic manner adverbs, which in their syllabic structure resemble the majority of the degree adverbs (Table 33).

Table 33. Non-derived, monomorphemic manner adverbs.

be 'well'	*ẓar* 'quickly'
prusṭ 'well, good'	*ẓotr* 'easily'
bạng 'suddenly'	*laš* 'slow'
ẓham 'suddenly'	*gasṭ* 'quickly, soon'

6.7.5.2. Manner adverbials by CP *constructions.* The most productive way of forming manner adverbials is by use of the CP's *thi* 'becoming, being' and *kái* 'doing' (48)–(50), termed "intransitive" and "transitive adverbializers" by Bashir (1988a, 285). These adverbials can be formed using words from several word classes, for example an adjective (48), an adverb (49) or a numeral (50).

(48) *tu* *bo* *šišóyak* *ká-i* *kałaṣamón* *niwéš-es=day* (Tm)
2S.DIR very beautiful do-CP Kalasha write-P/F.2S=SPC
'You write Kalasha in a very beautiful way.'

(49) *laš* *thi* *ká-i* (GSK.es)
slowly be.CP do-IPV.2S
'Do it slowly.'

(50) *ek* *thi* *sawzá-i_á-an* (GSK.es)
one be.CP make-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P.NS
'They have made it together' (' … as being one')

Manner adverbials with *thi* imply that a situation has come about involuntarily, without an implied preceding agentive action. In contrast, transitive adverbials with *kái* denote manner of actions that have been brought forward volitionally.

6.8. Postpositions

Semantically, Kalasha postpositions form a highly heterogeneous group, denoting static location, direction, or other non-spatial semantics. They differ semantically from the local suffixes (Section 6.3.5) by not denoting topological or referential aspects of a location. Kalasha postpositions differ from the relational adverbs (Section 6.7.2) by being morphologically invariant and denoting 'directional' or 'dynamic' spatial relationships. Historically, Kalasha postpositions are either loanwords or developed from either case-inflected nouns and adverbs[26] or participial verbs. Syntactically, the participial postpositions may

[26]Morphologically fossilised relational adverbs such as *pístaw* and *rúaw* may be considered newly developed postpositions.

Table 34. Examples of postpositions. (Numbers in parentheses refer to entry number in Turner (1966).

Postposition	Meaning	Etymology
pi	'from'	[unknown]
hátya	'towards, for the benefit of'	< *ártha-* 'aim', + Old Indic dative *-aya* (638)
som	'with, together with'	< *samá-* 'equal, alike, level' (13173)
báti	'for, for the purpose of'	< Persian
kay	'to, onto, on'	< *kai*, a participle of *kárik* 'do, make'
baráuna	'concerning'	< unknown stem + Loc-*una*
gri	'with, using'	< *gri*, conjunctive participle of *gríik* 'take, use'

require their modifiers to be in the direct or the genitive-oblique case. All other postpositions require their modifier to be in the genitive-oblique case. Examples of postpositions are given in Table 34.

Some postpositions are required syntactically by the verbal predicate, for example *NP-as pi ghátik* 'ask someone' and *NP-as som mriš hik* 'scold someone' (for a list of such predicates, see Heegård Petersen 2006b, 105–131)

6.8.1. Distributional differences between local suffixes and relational adverbs and postpositions

Besides the semantic differences between local suffixes on the one hand and relational adverbs and postpositions on the other, a number of distributional patterns distinguish these local morphemes. First, the local suffixes never occur on personal and demonstrative pronouns. Local states of affairs with these word classes are expressed using relational adverbs and local postpositions. Second, only a subset of the local suffixes can occur with place adverbs, while all (spatial) postpositions can. Third, the local suffixes are fused with noun stems and trigger morphophonological alternations, such as alternation of the voicing of stem final elements, stress movement, and vowel lengthening (see Sections 6.2.3–6.2.4). These processes are not triggered by relational adverbs and postpositions. Fourth, local suffixes are never stressed, whereas relational adverbs and postpositions are. Fifth, in combined nominal phrases, local suffixes are obligatory on all members of the noun phrase, as is oblique case-marking. Postpositions and relational adverbs may occur only once, as heads, as shown in (51a)–(51c) (the parentheses indicate syntactic non-obligatoriness).

(51a) *čhóm-una/*Ø* *že* *méz-una* *dahú* *rit-él=day* (Na.es)
floor-LOC2 and table-LOC2 beans pour out-3S.P/F=SPC
'(He) pours out beans on the floor and on the table.'

(51b) *sudá-as/*Ø* *že* *páy-as* *ty-el* (GSK.es)
child-OBL.SG/* and goat-OBL.SG beat-3S.P/F.NS
'(He) beats the child and the goat.'

(51c) *may* *(hátya)* *že* *ása* *hátya* *sawz-él.* (GSK.es)
1S.OBL for and 3S.NE.OBL for make-P/F.3S.NS
'(He) makes it for him and (for) me.'

6.9. Numerals

The Kalasha numeral system is basically vigesimal: 20, rather than 10, functions as the base for numbers between 20 and 100, such as '60' in (52). The numbers from 11 to 19 are formed by coordination of *daš* '10' + *že* 'and' and one of the numbers between 1 and 9, (53). (The combination of *daš* '10' and *že* 'and' assimilates to *daže-*.) The numbers between the 20-base numbers are formed by the 20-base + *že* 'and' + a number between 1 and 19, (54)-(55). Numbers in the 30s, 50s, 70s, and 90s also add a suffix *-a*, (56), the function of which is merely to indicate exactly that type of numeral combination.

(52) *tré-biši*[27]
3-20
'60'

(53) *daš-že-ék*
10-and-1
'11'

(54) *tre-biši-že-dáš*
3-20-and-10
'70'

(55) *tre-biši-že-ṣó*
3-20-and-6
'66'

(56) *tre-biši-že-daš-že-ṣó-a*
3-20-and-10-and-6-*a*
'76'

Table 35 illustrates the basic numerals and the principles for forming cardinal numbers.

The numeral 100 can be expressed in accordance with the vigesimal system, *ponǰbiši*, or by the loanword *šor*. The numerals 200, 300, etc. up to 1000 are formed by the number 2–9 + *šor* '100'. For the numeral 1000, Kalasha uses the Persian loanword *hazár*, *ek hazár*, and for 100,000 the Urdu loanword *lakh*, *ek lakh* (Table 36).

Ordinal numbers are Khowar loanwords.[28]

[27]Numeral compounds forming the 20-base have the stress on the first element, as in (52). All other numeral compounds follow the general rule of having stress on the final stem component of the compound, see other examples and Table 35.

[28]I am grateful to Taj Khan and Elena Bashir for providing me with information concerning the ordinal numbers, which are scarce in my data.

Table 35. Cardinal numbers in Kalasha.

1	*ek*	16	*dažeṣó*	52	*dubišižedažeéga*
2	*du*	17	*dažesát*	60	*trébiši*
3	*tre*	18	*dažeáṣṭ*	61	*trebišižeék*
4	*čaw*	19	*daženó*	62	*trebišiždú*
5	*ponǰ*	20	*bíši*	70	*trebišiždáš*
6	*ṣo*	21	*bišižeék*	71	*trebišižedažeéga*
7	*sat*	22	*bišiždú*	72	*trebišižedažedú*
8	*aṣṭ*	30	*bišiždáš*	80	*čáwbiši*
9	*no*	31	*bišiždašéga*	81	*čawbišižeék*
10	*daš*	32	*bišiždašedúa*	82	*čawbišiždú*
11	*dažeék*	40	*dúbiši*	90	*čawbišiždáš*
12	*dažedú*	41	*dubišižeék*	91	*čawbišižedažeéga*
13	*dažetré*	42	*dubišiždú*	92	*čawbišižedažedúa*
14	*dažečáw*	50	*dubišiždáš*	100	*pónǰbiši* (or *ek šor*)
15	*dažepónǰ*	51	*dubišižedažeéga*	101	*pónǰbišižeék* (or *šoržeék*)

Table 36. Ordinal numbers in Kalasha.

1st	*awél*	6th	*ṭṣoyó*
2nd	*ǰuó*	7th	*sotó*
3rd	*troyó*	8th	*oṣṭó*
4th	*čoró*	9th	*nyohó*
5th	*ponǰó*	10th	*ǰošó*

6.10. Syntax

Word order in Kalasha is relatively free, but the canonical pattern is SOV. Adjectives and genitive attributives precede nouns, and adpositions (postpositions) follow nouns. Auxiliaries follow the main verb. Most complement structures are left-branching, i.e. sentential, infinitival, or nominalised complements precede the finite verb. Few complements structures are right-branching (Section 6.10.3).

6.10.1. Subject and object

In all tenses and aspects in plain intransitive and transitive clauses, the subject occurs in the direct case. When functioning as direct objects, nouns occur in the direct case (57). First and second person pronouns are in the oblique case (58a)–(58b), and third person pronouns are in the accusative case (59).

(57) *moč* *žay* *sawz-én=day* (GSK.e)
man irrigation channel construct-P/F.3P=SPC
'The men construct an irrigation channel.'

(58a) *a* *tay* *páš-iu=day* (GSK.e)
1S.DIR 2S.OBL see-P/F.3S.SPC
'I see you.'

(58b) *tu* *may* *páš-is=day* (GSK.e)
2S.DIR 1S.OBL see-P/F.2.SPC
'You see me.'

(59) *moč* *to* *sawz-én=day* (GSK.e)
man 3S.REM.ACC construct-P/F.3P=SPC
'The men construct it.'

Certain predicates require their direct objects to be in the oblique case. These predicates express actions that in some way can be said to affect their objects, and they often take an object-marking postposition. These verbs include ditransitive verbs, which can be simple (for example, *bhíčhik* 'aiming or pointing at', *čúṇḍik* 'sting, bite', *ṭṣiṭṣhék* 'teach', and *greék* 'hurt something or someone') or complex (i.e. 'conjunct verbs' (Section 6.6.6), for example, *iphazát kárik* 'take care of', *pạgọ́hian tyek* 'kick', and *sazá dek* 'sentence, condemn, cause to suffer').[29]

(60) *sud-ón/ísi* *iphazát_kár-a* (GSK.e)
child-OBL.PL/3P.NE.OBL care_do-IPV.2P
'Take care of the children/them!'

(61) *se* *plín-as/ása* *pạgọ́hian_ty-el=day* (GSK.e)
3S.REM.DIR ball-OBL.SG/3S.NE.OBL kicking_hit-P/F.3S=SPC
'He kicks the ball/it.'

(62) *istríža* *móč-as/tása* *kitáb* *d-el=day* (GSK.e)
woman man-OBL.SG/3P.REM.OBL book give-P/F.3S=SPC
'The woman gives the man/ him a book.'

(63) *a* *sud-ón* *pi* *gumán_h-im* (GSK.e)
1S.DIR child-OBL.PL from suspecting_become-P/F.1S.NS
'I suspect the children (of doing it).'

(64) *may* *ažéli-an* *hátya* *moabát_kar-im* (GSK.e)
1S.OBL relative-OBL.PL towards loving_do-P/F.1S.NS
'I love my family.'

(65) *se* *móndr-an* *batí* *than_pr-áu* (GSK.e)
3S.REM.DIR word-OBL.PL concerning agreeing_give.PST.A-3S
'He agreed with what (the man) said.' (Lit. '… with the (man's) words.')

[29]See Heegård Petersen (2006b, 108–130) for lists of these predicates.

6.10.2. Volitionality and experiencer subjects

A great number of verbs that express bodily and emotional states occur in lexical-morphological pairs expressing actions or events that are involuntary ('non-volitional' or unavoidable) and actions that are volitional (or neutral with respect to volitationality).[30] Bashir (1988a, 197–209) defines four types of opposition, exemplified by (66)–(69).

The first of these four types makes use of the transitive formation with *-á-*: When attached to the stem and followed by the personal suffix with the initial *-i-*formant vowel, this creates a transitive-marking formant vowel *-e-*, for example, *bóm-* 'vomit' + *-á-* 'CS1' + *-ik* (INFTV) > **bom-a-ik* > *bom-ék* 'make (someone) vomit'.

(66a) *a* *bóm-im=day* (B88:198)
1S.DIR vomit-P/F.1S=SPEC
'I am vomiting.'

(66b) *may* *tabiát* *kharáp* *thi* *bom-él=day* (B88:198)
1S.OBL condition bad become.CP vomit-CS.3S.P/F=SPC
'Because I feel bad I am vomiting.' (Lit. 'My condition having become bad is is making me vomit.')

The intransitive, volitional construction (66a) has the subject in the direct case, and the verb agrees in person and number with the subject. It focuses on the physical action itself and connotes that the subject has control over the action. The transitive, or causative, involuntary construction (66b) encodes the experiencer in the oblique case, and the verb agrees in person and number with the cause of the action, which may be expressed or implied by the situation.

The semantics encoded by members of this opposition type are typically that of bodily conditions like 'coughing', 'panting', 'shivering', and 'breaking wind' but could also include cognitive states such as 'forgetting', 'grasping', etc. (Bashir 1988a, 199).

The second type is established by conjunct verbs with *dyek* 'put' or *griik* 'take' as the vector verb, encoding involuntary actions against either simplex transitive verbs or transitive conjunct verbs with *karik* 'do', *ik* 'come', or *ǰhonik* 'know' as vector verbs.

(67a) *a* *tay* *mon* *kọ̃_kár-im* (Ti.e)
1S.DIR 2S.OBL word ear_do-P/F.1S.NS
'I will listen to your words.'

[30]Bodily and emotional states include physical sensations and conditions, cognitive states of liking and perceiving, wanting or needing, obligation or compulsion, external circumstances, or events affecting the experiencer (Bashir 1988a, 155–185, 196–217, 1990).

(67b) *may* *kṓ-una_pr-áu* (B88:202)
1S.OBL ear-LOC2_put.PST.A-3S
'I heard it (by accident).'

In the volitional construction (67a), the agent is in the direct case, and in the involuntary construction the experiencer is in the oblique case. The semantics encoded by this opposition type are typically those of sensations and afflictions. Most weather phenomena are expressed by this formation type, with *dyek* as the vector verb in a conjunct verb formation (Bashir 1988a, 199–205).

In the third type, the involuntary action is encoded by a transitive conjunct verb with *kárik* 'do' or *karék* 'make (someone) do' as the vector verb. The action that is neutral with respect to volitionality is encoded by a simple intransitive verb or by a conjunct verb with intransitive *hik* 'become' or *párik* 'go' as the vector verbs.[31]

(68a) *a* *ḍúḍ-im=day* (GSK.e)
1S.DIR sleep-P/F.1S=SPC
'I sleep.'/'I will go to sleep.'

(68b) *may* *ispráp_kár-iu=day* (GSK.e)
1S.OBL sleep_do-P/F.3S=SPC
'I am sleepy.'/'I feel like going to sleep.'

In the volitional construction (68a), the agent is in the direct case, while in the involuntary construction the experiencer is in the oblique case. The semantics encoded by this opposition type are typically those of sensations and afflictions, such as 'be cold', 'be hungry', and 'be thirsty'.

In the fourth type, the volitional construction is typically formed by a conjunct verb with *kárik* 'do' as the vector verb (examples (69a) and (69c)), and the non-volitional construction by a conjunct verb with *hik* 'become' as the vector verb (examples (69b) and (69d)). In the volitional construction, the subject is in the direct case, and the verb agrees with the subject in person and number. In the non-volitional construction, the experiencer is in the oblique case, and the verb agrees in number with the entity causing the experience.

(69a) *čir_mo_kár-i* (B88:208)
lateness_PROH_do-IPV.2S
'Don't be late!'

(69b) *tay* *hátya* *čir_háw-au* (B88:208)
2S.OBL for lateness_become.PST.A-3S
'You are getting late (involuntarily).'

[31]When the +/– volitional action is expressed by a simplex verb or a conjunct verb with *parik* as the vector verb, the involuntary action can be expressed by a conjunct verb with *hik* as the vector verb (Bashir 1988a, 205).

(69c) *a* *tay* *hátya* *kahár_ár-is* (GSK.e)
1S.DIR 2S.OBL towards angriness_do.PST.A-1S
'I got angry with you.'

(69d) *may* *tay* *waǰahén day* *kahár_háw-is* (GSK.e)
1S.OBL 2S.OBL because of angriness_become.PST.A-3S
'I got angry because of you.'

This construction type resembles the construction known as the 'dative subject construction' in other NIA languages (Masica 1991, 347–356). Besides predicates denoting physical conditions and cognitive states like the other types, this type typically encompasses predicates that denote mental states, such as 'be angry', 'trust', 'believe', and 'need' or 'be in need of' (Bashir 1988a, 207–209).

6.10.3. Subordination

Kalasha has a wide range of subordination structures. Table 37 gives an overview of these structures, which will be examplified and explained below using examples (70)–(102).

Table 37. Subordination structures in Kalasha (with examples in parantheses).

Sentential subordination by complement markers 6.10.3.1
- *ghṍi*-clauses with explicit matrix verb: (70)–(76)
- *ghṍi*-clauses without matrix verb: (77)
- *ghṍi*-clauses with *ghõ̃i* and *ki*: (78)
- *ghṍi*-clauses with *ki* and omitted *ghṍi*: (79)
- *ghṍi*-clauses with omitted complement markers: (80)
Sentential subordination without complement markers 6.10.3.2
- with subordinated verb in the perfective participle: (81)
- with subordinated verb in the infinitive: (82)–(87)
- with a nominalised complement: (87)–(88)
Adverbial subordination with the conjunctive participle 6.10.3.3
Subordination with conjunctions and particles 6.10.3.4
- with subjunctive *haw/háwaw*: (93)
- 'as'-clauses, with enclitic *-e*: (94)
- 'if'-sentences, with *pe* (and *haw*): (95)–(96)
Relative clauses 6.10.3.5
- with finite verbal in relative clause: (97)
- with the verbal element in the relative clause as a participle: (98)
- with the verbal element in the relative clause in the infinitive: (99)
- with the verbal element in the relative clause nominalised into an agent noun: (100)
- with an interrogative *k*-pronoun: (101)
- with *wála* as a relative marker: (102)

6.10.3.1. Sentential subordination by complement markers. The most frequent pattern for sentential complements is their production using the complementiser, or 'conjunction', *ghõ̃i*, etymologically the present perfective of *ghõ̃ik* 'say, speak'. Bashir (1988a, 267–277) has identified 31 "predicate types" that can appear with *ghõ̃i* and two canonical sentence structures, [S] *ghõ̃i* V[32] and V [S] *ghõ̃i*.[33] For many of these predicates, *ghõ̃i* marks direct or indirect speech (70)–(73), while for others there is no action of utterance involved (74)–(76).

(70) *éłi* *kaw-éł-a* *al-áu* *ghõ̃i* (KK.na)
3P.DIST.DIR where-across edge-LOC1 bring-PST.A.3S QUOT
tanté *maškúl_háw-an*
by oneself conversation_become-PST.A-3P
'"From where did he bring them (the valuable things)?" – they discussed for themselves.'

(71) *asmán-ani* *thi* *át-au* *ḍumb_háw-imi* *ghõ̃i* (KK.na)
heaven-ABL2 be.CP fall.PST.A-3S lost_become.PST.A-1P QUOT
'(He thought,) "it fell from the sky, we are lost!"'

(72) *ghõ-íman_áy-is* *par-ím* *ghõ̃i* (B88:274)
speak-IMP.PF_AUX.PST.A.3S go-P/F.1S.NS QUOT
'He was saying, "(I) am going".'

(73) *Rakmát-as* *kái* *má-as* (B88:275)
Rakmat-OBL.SG to say-IPV.2S
du *ser* *álu* *ón-i* *ghõ̃i*
two *ser* potato bring-IPV.2S QUOT
'Tell Rakmat to bring two seers of potatoes.'[34]

(74) *a* *tay* *phuṭú* *čhał-ém* *ghõ̃i* *a-práṣm-is* (B88:269)
1S.DIR 2S.OBL photo take-P/F.1S.NS QUOT AU-forget-PST.A.2S
'I forgot to take your photograph.'

(75) *a* *Pešáur* *ne* *pár-is* *ghõ̃i* *faysalá ár-is* (B88:273)
1S.DIR Peshawar NEG go-P/F.2S.NS QUOT decision_do.PST.A-1S
'I decided not to go to Peshawar.'

[32]The predicates that occur with this structure typically denote 'say', 'think', 'want to', 'tell', 'fear', 'try', 'forget', 'remember', 'know', 'be ashamed', 'promise', 'consider', 'force', 'persuade', 'advice', 'believe', 'understand', 'recognise', 'realise', 'shout', 'scream', 'advise', 'cry', 'seem', 'intend', 'be able', 'be ready', 'be eager', 'decide', 'wonder', 'order', 'be greedy', 'ask for', 'beg', 'remind', 'warn', or 'allow' (Bashir 1988a, 268–274).

[33]According to Bashir (1988a, 274–277), the following predicates can occur with *ghõ̃i* in this structure: 'say', 'think', 'want to', 'tell', 'fear', 'try', 'hope', 'doubt', 'inform', 'convince', 'whisper', 'ask', 'conspire', 'challenge', or 'agree'.

[34] A *ser* is a measure of approximately one kilogram.

(76) *se* *bo* *košúš_ár-au* (B88:275)
3S.REM.DIR much trying_do.PST.A-3S
a *ne* *pád-im* *ghṍi*
1S.DIR not fart-P/F.1S.NS QUOT
'He tried very hard not to break wind.'

Constructions often occur without the matrix verb, with only the complement sentence and *ghṍi*:

(77) *Gulistán* *p-im=day* *ghṍi* (B88:285)
Gulistan drink-P/F.1=SPC QUOT
'Gulistan (says) she wants to drink it.'

A number of predicates also require the conjunction *ki* in combination with *ghṍi*, with the structure V *ki* [S] *ghṍi*.[35]

(78) *a* *čit-íman_áy-is* *ki* *tu* *tása* (B88:276)
1S.DIR think_IMP.PF_AUX.PST.A-1S CONJ 2S.DIR 3S.REM.DIR
khat *ne* *de-s* *ghṍi*
letter not give-P/F.2S.NS QUOT
'I thought you wouldn't give him the letter.'

Other predicates can take a *ki* complement without *ghṍi*, for example with the structure V *ki* [S]:[36]

(79) *may* *khiál* *š-íu* *ki* *se* *wákht-una* *ne* *í-u* (B88: 283)
1S.OBL thought be-P/F.3S.NS CONJ 3S.REM.DIR time-LOC2 NEG come-P/F.3S.NS
'I think he won't come on time.'

(80) *a* *čít-im=day* (B88:283)
1S.DIR think-P/F.1S=SPC
may *gak* *kúra* *lawá-i_á-au* *háwaw*
1S.OBL cow who steal-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S SUBJ
'I wonder who stole my cow.'

6.10.3.2. Sentential subordination without complementiser. A few predicates take a sentence-like complement in which the subordinated verb occurs in the perfective participle form (see Section 6.10.3.3), for example:

(81) *ṣumbér* *mastrúk-asa* *a* *ghum* *lé-i* *khul-és* (B88:285)
last month-TEMP 1S.DIR wheat cut-CP finish-PST.A.1S
'Last month I finished harvesting wheat.'

[35]Predicates of this type include 'speak', 'think', 'want', 'fear', 'reply', and 'exclaim' (Bashir 1988a, 280–282).
[36]Predicates of this type include 'speak', 'think', 'know', 'be ashamed', 'believe', 'understand', and 'wonder' (Bashir 1988a, 282–285).

The infinitival verb form may be used as a subordinated verb. It can occur in the oblique case form with the postpositions *báti* 'for' (82) or *hátya* 'for, towards'[37] with a conjunct verb or a simple verb as the matrix verb.[38]

(82) *dzuka-ík-as* *báti* *tayarí_kár-iu=day* (B88:286)
push-INFTV-OBL.SG to readiness_do-P/F.3S=SPC
'He is getting ready to push it.'

(83) *ása* *súda* *łabę_h-ík-as* *košúš kar-íman_áy-is* (B88:288)
3S.DI.OBL child play_become-INFTV-OBL.SG trying_do-IPF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3S
'She was trying to play with the baby.'

(84) *muč-ík-as* *thi_š-iu* (B88:288)
rain-INFTV-OBL.SG become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
mučí=o *ne* *š-iu*
rain=TOP NEG be-P/F.3S
'It is about to rain, (but) it hasn't rained yet.'

A few predicates that consist of an adjective or a noun in the direct case or with a locative suffix plus a finite form of a 'be'-verb may take a sentential complement with an oblique infinitive.[39]

(85) *digą* *prik-ík-as* *tap* (B88:290)
wall fall-INFTV-OBL.SG on the verge of
'The wall is just about to fall.'

(86) *tása* *ṣo* *tarík-an* *ík-as* *mon* *áš-is* (B88:290)
3S.REM.OBL six data-INSTR come-INFTV word be.PST.A-3S
'He said he would come on the sixth (but he hasn't come yet).'

The most common type of an infinitival complement has the infinitive in the direct case.[40]

(87) *tu* *áu_gár-ik* *khulá-i=a* (B88:292)
2S.DIR bread_do-INFTV finish-PST.A.2S=INTER
'Have you finished making bread?'

[37]Predicates that can occur with this complement construction include 'prepare', 'allow', 'tell', 'decide', 'remind', 'be ready', 'be eager', and 'get a chance' (Bashir 1988a, 286–288).
[38]Predicates that can participate in this construction include 'try', 'order', 'fear', 'advise', 'think of', 'be about to', and 'begin to' (Bashir 1988a, 288–290).
[39]Predicates of this type include 'be about to', 'be appropriate', 'say', and 'intend' (Bashir 1988a, 290).
[40]These predicates include 'be able to', 'begin to' , 'look for', 'want to', 'finish', 'stop', 'know how to', 'learn', 'teach', 'think about', 'remember', 'forget', 'like', and 'fear' (Bashir 1988a, 291–293).

Finally, a few predicates take a nominalised sentential complement, either where the verb stem is treated as a noun (88) or where the motion verb in the complement sentence is omitted (89).[41]

(88) *phaw* *žú-una* *sudáyak-as* *mo* *las-á-i* (B88:293)
soil eat-LOC2 baby-OBL.SG PROH let-CS1-IPV.2S
'Don't let the baby eat dirt.'

(89) *se* *tan* *čhúł-as* *sukúl-una* *hátya* (B88:294)
3S.REM.DIR own daughter-OBL.SG school-LOC2 to
ne *las-él=lái*
NEG let go-P/F.3S=SPC
'He doesn't let his daughter (go) to school.'

6.10.3.3. Adverbial subordination: the conjunctive participle construction. As a means of adverbial subordination, Kalasha makes extensive use of converb constructions (Haspelmath 1995), often termed 'conjunct participle construction' in South Asian languages (Masica 1991, 323, 397–401). A sentence with a conjunctive participle construction, henceforth abbreviated 'CP', consists of a finite verb as the matrix verb and one or more subordinated infinite verbs, formed with the present partiple *-i* or a suppletive participial form. The form of the CP verb is identical to the participial verb form used in perfect tenses (Table 16, examples (19) and (24)). Even though the actual infinite verb form is identical, the grammatical gloss expresses the different *functions* of these verbs, and 'CP' denotes that the participial verb form is used as a conjunctive participle. The semantics expressed by the CP construction may be instrumental, causal, or temporal (i.e. event(s) preceding the main event in time). The literal translation into English will be 'having V-ed', but often a paraphrase is more obvious, for example with the conjunction 'and' or adverbialising 'by means of'.

Examples (90)–(92) show how CP constructions are used in Kalasha (CPs highlighted).

(90) *to* *ek* *gagíik* ***dhú-i*** *žu_húła* (KK.na)
3S.REM.ACC a small cow milk-CP eat.PF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S
'He was feeding himself solely by milking that one cow …'

(91) ***úṣṭi*** *tará* *pháto* ***dhrak_dái*** (KK.na)
climb-CP there.REM.SPC then lie down-CP
te *moč* *ǰiá-i_á-au*
3P.REM.ACC people watch-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Having climbed up there, then, as (he was) lying down, (he) watched the people.

[41]These predicates encompass 'allow (to go)', 'be eager', 'be ready', and 'consider' (Bashir 1988a, 293–295).

(92) ***adyá-i*** *tará* ***pá-i*** *badók* ***łas-á-i*** (KK.na)
run-CP there.REM.SPC go-CP axe let out-CS1-CP
to *čhałá-au*
3P.REM.ACC pull-PST.A.3S
'(He) ran, going there, (he) took his axe (and) pulled it (: the box) out (from the water).'

In (90), the CP *dhúi* 'milking' expresses the means by which the actant feeds himself. In (91), the two CPs *úṣṭi* and *dhrak_dái* express two sequential actions. In (92), with three CPs, the first (*adyái* 'running') expresses the manner by which the action of moving (*pái* 'going') is carried out, with this CP itself expressing a preceding action to the third CP ((*badók*) *łasái* 'letting out (an axe)'), which describes an action that precedes the main action or perhaps the means by which the action expressed through the main verb is carried out.

6.10.3.4. Subordination by conjunction and particles. Examples (32)–(34) (Section 6.6.3) showed that *háwaw/haw* marks complement subjunctive and subordinated clauses. Example (93) shows that *háwaw/haw* can also introduce 'when'-sentences.

(93) *par-ón* ***haw*** *wáw=o* *ek* *istrižagu̯ak-as* *aṣék* *áy-is* (Sa.na)
go-PST.A.3P SUBJ grandfather=TOP a girl-OBL.SG love be.PST.A-3S
'**When** they went, then/so, grandfather, he was in love with one of the going women.'

'As' sentences are constructed with the enclitic particle *-e*:

(94) *tsíam* *pá-i* *ǰagá-au=**e*** *ṭṣhet.móč-una* *ghum* *ší-an* (Sa.na)
Tsiam go-CP look-PST.A.3S=**as** field.middle-LOC2 wheat be-PRS.3P.NS
'Having gone to Tsiam, and **as** he looked, there was wheat in the fields.'

'If' sentences are constructed using the conjunction *pe* in the protasis, either with *pe* alone (95) or in combination with the subjunctive *háwaw/haw* (93). When occurring alone and in combination with *hawaw/haw*, *pe* stands immediately before the finite verb, and *hawau/haw* occurs clause-finally, after the finite verb.

(95) *tu* *pešáwar* ***pe*** *pár-is* *a* *tay* *tád-a* (B88:62)
2.DIR Peshawar if go-P/F.2S.NS 1S.DIR 2S.OBL near-LOC1
tása *hátya* *paysá* *an-zém*
3S.REM.OBL to money send-P/F.1S.NS
'**If** you go to Peshawar, I will send money for him with you.'

(96) *bitr* ***pe*** *háw-aw=ław* ***haw*** *ǰahas* *í-u* (B88:64)
clear sky if become.PST.A-3S=RDPL SUBJ plane come- P/F.3S.NS
'**If** it is clear, the plane will come.'

6.10.3.5. Relative clauses. Kalasha has six different subordinating strategies that correspond to relative clauses in other languages.[42] In all six strategies, the relative, nominal-modifying clause precedes the antecedent. In one strategy (97), the verbal element in the relative clause is finite. In another strategy, "the participial strategy" (98) (Bashir 1988a, 332), the relative clause has the shape of a genitive noun phrase, with the verbal element as a CP and the 'subject' for the subordinated verbal element in the oblique case. In a third strategy (99), the verbal element in the relative clause is wholly nominalised in the infinitive with an oblique case ending.

(97) *sarák-una* *kás-iu=day* *moč* *may* *mõa* (B88:331)
road-LOC2 walk-P/F.3S=SPC man 1S.OBL maternal uncle
'The man who is walking on the road is my (maternal) uncle.' (Lit. 'On road walking man my maternal uncle.')

(98) *tay* *káda* *krom* *may* *bo* *khoš* (B88:332)
2S.OBL do.CP work 1S.OBL very like
'I like the work you did very much.' (Lit. 'Your done work me very like'.)

(99) *a* *sabák_mã-ík-as* *ṭém-una* *ábi* *čatráw* *par-ómi* (B88:333)
1S.DIR lesson_say-INFTV-OBL.SG time-LOC2 1P.DIR Chitral go-PST.A.1P
'While I was studying, we went to Chitral.' (Lit. 'I study at time we Chitral went.')

In a fourth strategy (100), the verbal concept is nominalised into an agent noun, similar to English 'the one/someone who VB', in which 'the one/someone' is an implied pronominal concept (Bashir 1988a, 333).

(100) *ía* *may* *ṣṓa* *našawáw-as* *pútr-as* (B88:333)
3S.NE.DIR 1S.OBL dog killer-OBL.SG son-OBL.SG
'He is the son of the one who killed my dog.' (Lit. 'He my dog killer's son.')

According to Bashir (1988a, 334–335), Kalasha also employs two borrowed relativisation strategies. The most common of these, especially in narrative texts, uses an interrogative pronoun element with *k*-, often in combination with the conjunction *ki* (101). In this construction, the relative clause is "internally headed" (Bashir 1988a, 334), i.e. the head-NP is mentioned in the relative clause, preceded by the interrogative *k*- element. Most often between this element and *ki* – and repeated by a pronoun – is the co-relative element in the matrix clause.

[42]For an in-depth analysis of relativisation structures in Kalasha, see Bashir (1988a, 325–384).

(101) *kía* *čakú* *gri* *ki* (B88:334)
what knife with CONJ
krom *kar-íman_áy-is* *se* *dhãbá* *húła*
work do-IMP.PF_AUX.PST.A_1S 3S.REM.DIR dull become.PST.I.3S
'The knife with which I was working was dull.' (Lit. 'What knife with that work I was doing it dull was.')

The sixth strategy makes use of Urdu *wála* as the relative marker. In (102), the relative clause, marked by *wála*, intervenes between the attributive *ása* 'that' and the head NP *moč* 'man',

(102) *ása* *udulúna* *pirán* *wála* *moč* *kura* (B88:335)
3S.DI.DIR torn shirt REL man who
'Who is that man with the torn shirt/whose shirt is torn?' (Lit. 'That torn shirt whose man who (is)?')

6.10.4. Discourse particles

Kalasha makes use of a great number of discourse particles to express topicality, focus, and contrast as well as mood and epistemic senses.[43] Some of these particles are free morphemes, and some attach as enclitics to a particular word. They can have a particular phrase or a whole clause as their scope. In (103), *-ta* expresses emphasis. In (104), *-o* expresses contrast with a previously mentioned situation. In (105), *-tik* has a presumptive meaning.

(103) *phúč-i=ta_á-am* (B88:50)
ask-PF.PTC=EMPH_AUX-P/F.1S
'I <u>have</u> asked.' (As a reply to 'Why don't you ask?')

(104) *mič* *áš-is* *mazá=o_ne_ár-au* (B88:50)
only eat.PST.A-1S enjoyment=TOP_not_do.PST.A-3S
'I only ate, I didn't enjoy it.'

(105) *tay* *putr* *ǰa ne_kái_á-au=tik* (B88:52)
2S.OBL son wife_not_do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=PRESUMPT
'Your son is probably not married (I reckon).'

When occurring in combination with other discourse particles or with other morpho-syntactic constructions, the discourse particles may acquire new semantics. The enclitic *-o* can combine with the CP to express temporal sequentiality between two events (compare (106a) with (106b)):

[43]See Bashir (1988a, 49–53) for a brief survey of some of these discourse particles.

(106a) *žay* *ká-i* *uk* *hal-ím-dái* (B88:51)
water channel do-CP water bring-P/F.1S=SPC
'By making a water channel, I am bringing/providing water.'

(106b) *žay* *ká-i=o* *bo* *uk* *í-u* (B88:51)
water channel do-CP=TOP much water come-P/F.3S.NS
'When/if (we) make a water channel, a lot of water will come.'

In (106a), the CP construction conveys the meaning of manner or reason. In (106b), the combination of CP and *-o* conveys the sense of sequentiality (Bashir 1988a, 51).

Another example is given in (107), in which *-o* and *-ta* suffixed to different words together convey the meaning of 'but'.

(107) *š=ási* *istrižá-an* *móč-ai* *dú=ta* (B88:52)
EMPH=3P.DI.OBL woman-OBL.PL middle-LOC3 two=EMPH
may *dust* *dú=o* *may* *dušmán*
1S.OBL friend two=TOP 1S.OBL enemy
'Two of those women are my friends, but two are my enemies.'

In the texts, discourse particles will be glossed with their 'canonical' meaning, for example EMPH for *-ta*. Enclitic *-o* has a variety of functions and will be glossed was a general topicaliser, TOP. The particular meanings arising from specific combinations will either appear from the translations or be clarified in comments to the translations.

7. Linguistic and stylistic characteristics of storytelling in Kalasha

This chapter aims to provide insight into the linguistic features characterising the samples of oral literature presented in this publication. The presentation does not seek to be exhaustive, as a fuller and more comprehensive survey would require a complete publication of its own. It is, however, the aim to give the reader an idea of the linguistic and paralinguistic strategies that speakers use in constructing texts of these sorts and thus to suggest topics for further studies in Kalasha text linguistics.[44]

7.1. Paralinguistic features

Mimicry and gesture are essential to absorbing storytelling, underlining the multimodality of language. Quite a few of the storytellers in this publication use mimicry and gesture to underline the behaviour of the characters and unfolding events in the story. Esteemed storytellers also characteristically maintain eye-contact with the audience, thereby involving the audience in the narration, for example in order to prompt encouraging feedback. Mimicry and gesture also serve textual functions as they can disambiguate and clarify deictic expressions. When examining the texts, the reader may in some places be confused as to the exact deictics of the 'there' and 'here' adverbs. This ambiguity only exists in writing: In the actual narration, pointing gestures, gaze direction, or head nods clarify the exact locations, for example in Text 8.1, Lines 40–78, a passage that is crucial to understanding the fox's intentions and thus the dramatic climax of the story.

Incorporation of these paralinguistic features into storytelling underlines the importance of using video to document language, as this indisputably contributes to a clearer understanding of the use of the 'deictic place adverbs' as well as the derived use of the geography-anchored adverbs for 'upstream', 'downhill', etc. (Grammar, Sections 6.7.1–6.7.2).

7.2. Prosodic features

Intonation and voice modulation such as murmuring, whispering, and variation in loudness and register may, of course, be exploited in order to dramatise events or give characters specific profiles. People who are considered to be good storytellers always make use of these features. In Kalasha storytelling there are three prosodic features that are used more systematically and that have lexical and grammatical equivalents: creaky voice, breathy voice, and vowel lengthening.

Creaky voice may be used to emphasise intensity or a high degree of a given quality assigned to an entity or situation, for example in (108) (underlined words).

[44]A number of these strategies, with similar or different functions, are documented for Gilgiti Shina in Radloff and Shakil (1998).

Several words in a sentence or a whole sentence may be pronounced using this feature. As evident in this example, the meaning of creaky voice is translated by use of degree adverbs in English.

(108) **Toa tara musim bo kharap thi ashis.** (Text 8.3, Lines 10–11)
ˈtoa taˈra muˈsim bo khaˈrap thi_ˈaɕ-is
then there.REM.SPC weather.DIR very bad become.PF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3S
Bo sirã' diman ashis
bo siˈrã˜_ˈd-iman_ˈaɕ-is
much wind_give-IPF.PTC__AUX.PST.A-3S
Then the weather had become very, very bad there (on the island).
There was really a lot of wind ... .

Breathy voice seems to have a similar function to that of creaky voice. In (109), the word *ǰanǰál* 'argument' is pronounced with a breathy voice in order to give the impression that an intense argument was going on.

(109) **Mis't'eras som janjal araw.** (Text 8.2, Line 2)
miʂˈʈer-as som ʤaɲˈʤal_ˈar-au
teacher-OBL.SG with argument_do.PST.A-3S
(He) argues a lot with the teacher.

Lengthening of a stressed vowel is also frequently used by most narrators, and it may indicate intensity, overlapping in function with creaky voice and breathy voice, as in (110).

(110) **Se lash bewmut'a us't'i aaw, se.** (Text 8.4, Line 18)
se la::ɕ bew_ˈmuʈ-a ˈuʂʈ-i_ˈa-au se
3S.REM.DIR slowly willow_tree-LOC1 climb-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR
Very, very slowly he climbed (up in) a willow tree, he.

Vowel lengthening can have other connotations as well. In (111), the stressed vowel in *upáčhi* 'pulling out' indicates that this activity went on for a long time.

(111) **Upac'hi khulel-day-e, gheri mek diun pay …** (Text 8.2, Line 49)
uˈpa::ʧh-i khuˈl-el=laj=e ˈgheri mek di-ˈun_ˈpa-i
pull out-CP finish-P/F.3S=SPC=as again nail give-PASS_go-CP
Having taken out nails for a very long time, ... (then) again, it was (keeping) giving nails ...

In (112), we find another function of vowel lengthening, namely as a means of emphasising that the reported series of events actually occurred in a specific place.

(112) **Deshuna ashis, aya deshuna.** (Text 8.5, Line 10)
ˈde::ɕ-una aˈɕ-is aˈja ˈdeɕ-una
valley-LOC2 be.PST.A-3S here.NE.SPC valley-LOC2
It was in this valley, here in this place.

Later in the same text, see (113), the vowel lengthening highlights that the man is totally surrounded by wheat and thus that there really was a lot of wheat in that place, the mythical homeland of the Kalasha, *Tsíam*.[45]

(113) **Tsiam pay jagaaw-e, c'hetmocuna ghum shian.** (Text 8.5, Line 57)
ˈtsiam ˈpa-i dʑaˈga-au=e tʂhet.ˈmo::tɕ-una ghum ˈɕi-an
Tsiam go-CP look-PST.A.3S=as field.middle-LOC2 wheat be-P/F.3P.NS
Having gone to Tsiam, and as he looked, there was really much wheat in the fields.

7.3. Word repetition

Another means of expressing that an activity is of extended duration and/or is carried out with a certain intensity is through word repetition, as in (114).

(114) **Suyra dyay s'us'ay-o, citi aaw citi aaw.** (Text 8.4, Line 13)
ˈsujr-a ˈdja-i ʂuˈʂ-a-i=o ˈtɕit-i_ˈa-au ˈtɕit-i_ˈa-au
sun-LOC1 put-CP dry-CS1-CP=TOP think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Having let (skin) dry by putting it in the sun, he thought for long time.

In the same text, (115), the repetition of the auxiliary *áini* emphasises the actual character of the village people.

(115) **Te taa kia ne diman aini** (Text 8.4, Lines 223–224)
te ˈta.a ˈkia ne ˈd-iman_ˈai-ni
3P.REM.DIR 3S.REM.DIR what not give-IPF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
shẽ thi aini aini.
ɕẽ thi_ˈai-ni=ˈai-ni
like this be.PST.PF.A_AUX-P/F.3P=REP
They (the other people in the village) were not giving him anything, (because) they were indeed like this.

7.4. Ritualised openings and closenings

It is recognised that languages can have formulaic means of opening fairytales: for instance, 'once upon a time' in English and 'es war einmal' in German. In Kalasha, fairytale openings can be *káymina káymina* (literally *kay* 'when' + *-mina* 'in the period of'. Closenings are also well-known, for example, 'og de levede lykkeligt til deres dages ende' (literally 'and they lived happily to the end of their days', i.e. 'ever after') in Danish. In Kalasha, closenings can be simple statements to the effect that the story has ended, *Ía kisá khathúm háwau* 'this story has become finished' (Text 8.4, Line 227) or that the story reports mythological 'facts', as in Text 8.5, Line 158: *Šató maškulgí* 'and that's the way it is' (literally EMPH + 3S.REM.DIR + 'conversation'). A more cunning means of ending a story is to expose ones' own position. For example,

[45]Radloff and Shakil (1998, 77, and elsewhere) report functions of vowel lengthening in Gilgiti Shina.

in (115), the storyteller claims that he has nothing more to give. Another common closening phrase is seen in (117), where the narrator connects the final activity in the story with herself, becoming the unfortunate owner of a lame horse.

(116) **Phato ac'o'ĩk-o khul hawaw, a asta phato.** (Text 8.6, Line 66)
ˈphato aˈʈʂoˑiŋk=o khul ˈhaw-au a ˈasta ˈphato
then story=TOP finish become.PST.A-3S 1S.DIR also then
Then the story has ended, and I also, then.

(117) **Gheri zheri kay zhun-day pin-day** (Text 8.7, Line 590)
ˈgheri ʑeˈri ˈka-i ʑ-un=daj p-in=daj
again celebrations do=CP eat-P/F.3P=SPC drink-P/F.1P=SPC
nisi aan.
niˈs-i_ˈa-an
settle down-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Again while celebrating, they are eating, drinking, staying there.

(118) **<u>May-o khuta hãsh pron.</u>** (Text 8.7, Line 594)
ˈmaj=o ˈkhuta hãɕ pr-on
1S.OBL=TOP lame horse give.PST.A-3p
<u>And me they gave a lame horse.</u>

An even more clever method is evident in Text 8.2, Lines 91–95, where the storyteller first claims that the story is a lie and then elaborates upon the lame horse perspective.

7.5. Missing constituents

Ellipsis is a recognised syntactic phenomenon, but comparison of the texts in Kalasha with their English translations highlights how frequently basic constituents are omitted. It is no surprise that the subject may be omitted since Kalasha verbs are inflected for person and number of subjects. Often, however, objects are also left out, for example in (119)–(120) (missing constituents shown with '<u>Ø[ ]</u>').

(119) **Cisti kõ' aran kõ' kay pishtyak on,** (Text 8.4, Line 150)
ˈtɕist-i kõˑ_ˈar-an kõˑ_ˈka-i piɕˈtyak on
stand-CP ear_do.PST.A-3P ear_do-CP back come.PST.A.3P
"<u>Ø[SBJ]</u> <u>Ø[OBJ]</u> Airaw" ghõi.
Ø Ø ˈair-au ˈghõi
[the river] [him] take away.PST.A-3S QUOT
(They) stood and listened, having listened, (they) came back (thinking): "(<u>It, the river</u>) has taken (<u>him</u>)."

(120) **<u>Ø[SBJ]</u> Tara pay <u>Ø[OBJ]</u> jiaw jaluna s'at'iaw.** (Text 8.6, Line 29)
taˈra ˈpa-i ʤi-ˈau ˈʤal-una ˈʂaʈi-au
there.SPC.ABS go-CP look-PST.A.3S trap-LOC2 be caught-PST.A.3S
Having gone there, (<u>he, the crow</u>) saw (<u>the markhor</u>) caught in the trap.

In (119), the context makes clear the identity of the object and that the river is the subject. The same is true for (120). It is nevertheless puzzling to determine the effect of the ommissions since it is not always objects that are left out. It is a task for future studies to find out which types of constituents can be elided and under which circumstances.

Inquit verbs are often missing, as in (119). The quotative particle *ghõi* often marks direct or indirect speech, but direct speech without inquit verbs and the quotative is also frequent.

7.6. The afterthought construction

A constituent that is missing from the sentence core is often expressed after the main clause, in the so-called 'afterthought construction', also known as 'extra-position' in other linguistic traditions. All non-verbal constituents may be omitted from the main clause and expressed in the afterthought position. In (121), it is the subject, in (122) the object, in (123) the indirect object, and in (124) an adverbial (the missing constituent is represented with 'Ø' in the main clause and with underlining in the afterthought position).

(121) **Ø Bo afsus kariu-day, l'awak.** (Text 8.6, Line 9)
bo ˈafsus _ˈkar-iu=daj łaˈwak
much eagerness__do-P/F.3S=SPC fox
(He) is very eager, the fox.

(122) **Tara pay nat'hay [Ø] agrian, to.** (Text 8.6, Line 140)
taˈra ˈpa-i naˈt̪ha-i a-ˈgri-an to
there.REM.SPC go-CP chase-CP AU-catch-PST.A.3P 3S.REM.ACC
Having gone there, (they) chased and caught (him), him.

(123) **se-o bihot'ay Ø[INDIR OBJ] histi aaw tasa kay.** (Text 8.7, Line 425)
ˈse=o biˈhot̪a-i ˈhist-i_ˈa-au ˈtasa ˈkai
3S.REM.DIR=TOP cross-mountain-CP throw-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.OBLto
... she threw it away (to him), to him.

(124) **"… a isi pashem," ghõi amaaw, tante.** (Text 8.6, Lines 118–119)
a ˈisi paˈɕ-em ˈghõi a-ˈma-au tanˈte
1S.DIR 3P.NE.OBL show-P/F.1S.NS QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S by himself
" ... I will show them", he said, to himself.

The afterthought construction can also be used to repeat a constituent, as in (125), where the repeated constituent is further specified, 'of ours'.

(125) **"Abi ei gak marik, homa emi gak."** (Text 8.4, Line 98)
ˈabi ˈe.i gak ˈmar-ik ˈhoma ˈemi gak
1P.DIR 3P.NE.ACC cow slaughter-P/F.1P.NS 1P.OBL 3P.NE.DIR cow
"We will slaughter those cows, those cows of ours."

This phenomenon is common in South Asian languages, and the afterthought construction may function to clarify information or establish or repeat the focus. For information-structuring functions in Gilgiti Shina and Dameli respectively, see for example Radloff and Shakil (1998, 93 et passim) and Perder (2013, 188–189).

7.7. Shift of tense

Like many other languages, Kalasha makes use of tense shift in a narrative in describing the unfolding of events, for example, a shift from reporting past tense to historical present tense. Texts 9.6 and 9.7 provide many examples of such tense shifts. In Text 8.6, for instance, the narrator unfolds the event and lines in the past tense ('… said he (the crow)') until Line 28, when he abruptly shifts to the present/future-specific, only to continue in the past tense ('having gone there, he saw …') in Line 29.

(126) **Pay to asta gri pay jagel-day, ka'ga'.** (Text 6, Line 28)

ˈpa-i	to	ˈasta	gri	ˈpa-i	dʑaˈg-el=daj	ka-ˈga-
go-CP	3S.REM.ACC	also	with	go-CP	look at-P/F.3S=SPC	crow

(When (the markhor) was caught in the trap, the fox and the crow went to spend the night in the mountain cave. After they have gone to sleep, the crow said to him (the fox) ... As the crow said ... (the fox) said, ... (Then) early in the morning, "The one friend is not here", said he (the crow).) He (the crow) looks together with the fox, the crow. (Having gone there, he (the crow) saw (the markhor) caught in the trap ...)

The past tense may be used to describe the simple unfolding of events in previous time, whereas a shift to the present/future tense may direct attention to a specific turn of events or create suspense by expressing dynamicism. Shift of tense may also function as a foregrounding/backgrounding device, and it is possible that prosody and/or gesture may in this case interact with the grammatical choices. This remains a matter on which future studies of narratives can cast light.

7.8. Sequentiality

The texts provide many examples of constructions and markers that link clauses. Some of these are discussed in the Grammar, Section 6.10.4, 'Discourse particles'. One strategy is to use the 'then' adverbs *to*/*tóa* 'then' and *pháto* 'then, consequently'. Another strategy is to use conjunctive participle construction, see Grammar, Section 6.10.3.3. By repeating a verb (and its object or an adverbial phrase) from the preceding sentence in a participle form, cohesion between the two sentences is made explicit. The topicaliser *-o* often

occurs with the conjunctive participle, but it need not always do so, as shown by (127), where the finite verb *ačhínaw* 'cut (PST-A)' is repeated by the CP *čhíni* 'cutting; having cut'.[46]

(127) **To kulpi achinau,** (Text 8.4, Lines 158–159)
to kulˈpi a-ˈtɕhin-au
3P.REM.ACC lock AU-cut-PST.A.3S
chini jagaau gad'a tal'ai aau.
ˈtɕhin-i dʑaˈga-au ˈgaɖa taˈɬ-ai ˈa-au
cut-CP look-PST.A.3S old there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 be-P/F.3S.NS
He cut that lock, having cut (the lock, he) looked, the old (man) was there.

In many cases, a literal translation of this function of the CP looks somewhat clumsy in English. A paraphrase is often required, or the literal meaning of the cohesion CP may simply be ignored, and the conjunction paraphrased with 'and' or a similar conjunction.

The CP *pái* 'going, having gone' may be used without a clear indication of a preceding motion event, as in (126).

(126) **Pay bo wat pis'taw-o a sangays** (Text 8.3, Lines 33–34)
ˈpa-i bo wat ˈpiʂtaw=o a saŋˈga-is
go-CP much time later=TOP 1S.DIR hear-PST.A.1S
moc alagul karin-day.
motɕ alaˈgul_ˈkar-in=daj
people bustle_do-P/F.3P=SPC
A long time later I heard people were bustling about.

Before this sentence, the story goes like this: *Then I went inside, inside the ship a lot of people were sitting. Some were watching TV, some where doing other things. I went in there, sat down on a chair and then fell asleep. Having fallen asleep, and then, not being awake, a long way later, I realised that the ship was shaking a lot. Then, (because) I slept, I thought: "What is that ???".* There is, as far as I can tell, no motion involved to which *pái* 'going, having gone' can provide repetition or make direct linkage. It thus seems as if it has lost its lexical meaning and become a temporal connector.

As shown in Grammar, Section 6.10.3.3, the syntactc function of CP constructions is to establish adverbial constituents. The CPs can accummulate

[46]This linkage strategy is known througout the Hindu Kush region and is also referred to as 'tail-head linkage' (Perder 2013, 189, citing Coupe 2006, 151). Similar strategies are described, for example, for Dameli (Perder 2013, 189–193), Gilgiti Shina (Radloff and Shakil 1998, 124, 150), and Shina of Indus Kohistan (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008, 223–225).

and form a series of actions that culminate in the action denoted by the main verb. This is often used as a means of dramatising the events, as in (127), a repetition of example (72), where an important turn of events is described.[47]

(127) **Adyay tara pay badok l'asay to chal'aaw.** (Text 8.4, Line 157)

aˈdja-i	taˈra	ˈpa-i	baˈdok	łaˈs-a-i	to	tɕhaˈła-au
run-CP	there.REM.SPC	go-CP	axe	let out-CS1-CP	3P.REM.ACC	pull-PST.A.3S

(He) ran, going there, (he) took his axe (and) pulled it (: the box) out (from the water).

[47]See Schmidt and Kohistani (2008, 229) for a similar function of conjunctive and adverbial participles in Shina of Indus Kohistani.

8. Texts

Text 8.1: L'awakas kisa
'The story of a fox'

Narrated by Erfan (Guru, Biriu) 1996
Transcribed and translated by Taj Khan and Jan Heegård 1996, 2010, 2014.

This is one of many fables with a fox who cheats on its companion. In this version it seems to be the fox' fear of a bigger animal, a markhor, that causes it to cheat on that animal. A good understanding of the semantics of place adverbs is crucial for the understanding of the story's fatal event.

L'awakas kisa

Toa baya, ek wakhtuna ek l'awak asta. To ek phonduna pariman asta, se. To parikwew tasa kakboy roitu del'-day. To kakboy roitu del'-day. Te du sal'a karin-day. Se l'awak bhiiu-day. Se bi-bhiu-day ki-o: "Ia kakboy, ia gad'a. "Ia may zhu," ghõau-day. Se l'awak calak, se matraw-day: "Baya, a zhe tu bo prus' moc, a zhe tu bayawt hik. To tasa phand del' kakboyas. Tasa kay matraw ki: "Tu bo prus' moc, a zhe tu baya."

To phonday parin-day, mashkul' himan parin-day. L'awak matraw, kakboyas kay: "Tu shẽhẽ kari ki ek nawats awata pay wal' ha, sharon hatya." "Shara in, shara on haw, shara gri undruak histi ogal'a tyay nashiu," aghõaw.

Kakboy matraw: "A pe to aris haw, tu may hatya kia karis?"

L'awak amaaw: "A tay hatya tsa-tshatak krom karim." "Tay hatya uk onim. Tay hatya shul'a onim."

To se matraw: "Prus' dhõyo parik," ghõaw.

To pay hutal'a awata pay wajaw, kakboy. Se asta tara asaw, l'awak baya. To shara iu to gri histiu, undruak. Se histi aaw. Ogal'a pay ga'ngay tyay shara nashiu. Ogal'a pay ga'ngay tyay shara nashiu.

To l'awak maau: "Onja bo chir hawaw, baya." "Al'bat copawew-o parik." "Prel'ikasa tara pay a zhe tu zhuk." "Prel'ik pashik." Toa se apaw del'.

Toa tara uc'hars'is' hiu, gona uc'har. To tara d'ud'in, te. L'awak matraw: "Tu aya mo d'ud'I, aya d'ud'i," ghõaw, kakboyas kay. Ia nawats, aya mo d'ud'i, aya d'ud'i," ghõaw. To kakboy matraw: "Prus' atra d'ud'im," ghõi.

D'ud'in te. L'awak-o aya d'ud'iu nawats ghenaw-day, nawats ghenaw-day. Pay rat hiu rat-o l'awak us't'iu. Us't'i kakboyas kay maau: "May histis-day, baya," ghõaw. "Tichak buchum khezas," ghõaw. Se khabar ne tan pi kakboy-o. L'awak nawats ghenaw day us't'i tharaw day se d'ud'iu tharaw day se d'ud'iu. Prasuikwew matraw ki: "Buchum khezas," ghõaw, kakboyas kay. "Kakboy baya, buchum khezas," ghõaw.

Kakboyas khial' hiu: "A tharaw day asam, buchum khezam," ghõi citiu. To se buchum khezaw. Se buchum khezikas wãuna undruak khezaw. Nawats ghen khezaw. L'awak andyei usti aya d'ud'i aw. Toa l'awak tichak d'ud'iu. D'udi-o geri matraw: "Puchum khezas, baya," ghõaw.

To se geri khezaw, se al'ay kay khezaw, nawatsghen kay. To tichak d'ud'iu l'awak. D'ud'i tichak asta kai-o geri matraw: "Al'ay khezas-l'a baya may nawatsuna al'i aas," ghõaw. Toa se kakboy aya zhal'iu nawatsuna.

To geri jagel', jagai-o geri d'ud'iu. D'ud'iu d'ud'iu tichak asta kai-o us't'iu: "Tichak asta khezas l'a baya, tu may bo nawatsuna ala."

To tichak asta khezi, aya chur'ika zhal'iu, kakboy. Toa ek gona bat oni aya thel'. Toa jagal': "Prus' d'ud'iu, se kakboy." Ad'ud'aw pe haw-ta aya batuna khur s'at'aw, shẽhẽ kay zuk dyel', kakboyas. Ogal'a pay ga'ngay tyel'-day, se kakboy. Se kakboy pay ogal'a ga'ngay tyita. To se l'awak koshan hiu. "Kakboy baya parau," ghõaw. "Cop-o tara pay jagem," ghõaw.

Copawew pariu, tara. Shara asta tara shiaw, kakboy asta nashi asaw. Toa tara pay awdu kay prus zhu. Se tan bihikas wajahen day kakboybayaa hatya cal'aki araw. Badmashias thara to nashel', gona kakboy. L'awak shamon cal'ak. Toa kisa khul' hawaw, baya.

The story of a fox

Then, baya, at one time, there was a fox. Then, he was walking along a road, he. Then, as his was walking, he comes across a snow leopard. He meets that snow leopard. These two are discussing. The fox is frightened. He is very frightened, because: "This snow leopard, he is big, he will eat me," he says to himself. But the fox is clever, he says, "Brother, I and you are very good men. I and you shall be brothers, we go along as brothers," he says. Then, he lies, to the snow leopard. The fox said to him: "You are a very good person, I and you are brothers."

Then, they are walking along, they are talking, they are going. The fox says, to the snow leopard "You should do like this: go to a dangerous place, a high place, take hunting position, for the markhors." "The markhors will come, when the markhors have arrived, you catch a markhor, throw it downhill, throw it down, it will die," he said.

The snow leopard says: "If I do this, what will you do for me?"

The fox said: "I'll do some small favours for you." "I'll bring you water. I'll bring you firewood."

Then, the snow leopard says "OK, so we shall go."

Then, as they go along and come to a high place, he waits, the snow leopard. He was also there, the baya-fox. Then a markhor comes, the snow leopard catches it and throws it downhill. He threw it. Going down, falling into the hole, the markhor dies.

Then the fox says: "Now it has become very late, brother," "maybe we should go early tomorrow morning instead." "Going there in the morning I and you shall eat the markhor." "It will be day, and then we will see," then he stayed.

Then there is the top end of a waterfall, it is a big waterfall. Then they go to sleep there, they. The fox says, "You shall not sleep here, sleep here instead,

he says, to the snow leopard "This is dangerous, don't sleep here, sleep there," he says. Then the snow leopard says, "OK, I'll sleep there.

They go to sleep, they. The fox sleeps there at the dangerous place. It becomes night, at night the fox gets up. Getting up, he says to the snow leopard: "You are throwing me, baya," he says. "Move a little uphill," he says. He is not aware of himself, the leopard. Getting up from the dangerous side, the fox goes to sleep at the upper and safer side. While they are asleep, the fox says: "You shall move uphill," he says, to the snow leopard. "Snow leopard-baya, you shall move uphill," he says.

The snow leopard thought to himself, "I am at the upper side, I move further uphill, he thought. Then he moves uphill. But instead of moving to an uphill place, he moves downwards. He moves to the dangerous side. The fox gets up from here, and sleeps here. Then the fox sleeps a little bit. Sleeping, he says again, "You shall move uphill, baya," he says.

Then the snow leopard moves again, he moves to there, to the dangerous side. Then he sleeps a little, the fox. Having slept a little, he says again: "As you have moved there, my dear baya, you have brought me to the dangerous place," he says. Then the snow leopard reaches here at the dangerous place

Then the fox looks again, having looked he sleeps again. He sleeps and he sleeps, for a little while, then he gets up saying: "Move a little bit, dear baya, you brought me to a very dangerous place."

Then the snow leopard moves yet a little bit, he reaches the tip of the high place, the snow leopard. Then the fox gets a big stone and places it here. Then he looks and says to himself: "He sleeps well, the snow leopard." As the snow leopard was deep asleep, the fox here at the stone, he attaches his legs to the snow leopard and pushes, the leopard. Going down, he falls into the hole, the leopard. That snow leopard is going, being hit into the hole. Then that fox becomes happy. "The snow leopard-baya went down," he says, "tomorrow I will go there and look," he says.

In the early morning he goes, there. The markhor is also there, the snow leopard has died. Then, going there, he eats both of them. Because of his own fear the fox tricked the snow leopard Because of that trouble he kills it, the big snow leopard. The fox was such a cunning being. Then the story is finished, baya.

1 Toa baya, ek wakhtuna ek[48] l'awak asta.
ˈtoa ˈbaja ek ˈwakht-una ek łaˈwak ˈasta
then brother a time-LOC2 a fox be.PST.I.3S[49]
Then, baya, at one time, there was a fox.

2 To ek phonduna pariman asta, se.
to[50] ek ˈphond-una paˈr-iman_ˈasta se
then a road-LOC2 go-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S 3S.REM.DIR
Then, (it) was walking along a road, he.

3 To parikwew tasa kakboy roitu del-day.
to par-ik=ˈwew[51] ˈtasa kakˈboj ˈrojtu_d-el=laj[52]
then go-INFTV=during 3S.REM.OBL snow leopard person_give-P/F.3S=SPC
Then, as his was walking, he comes across a snow leopard.

4 To kakboy roitu del-day.
to kakˈboj ˈrojtu_ d-el=laj
3S.REM.ACC snow leopard person_give-P/F.3S=SPC
(He) comes across that snow leopard.

5 Te du sala karin-day,
te du saˈla_ˈkar-in=daj
3P.REM.DIR two discussion_do-P/F.3P=SPC
These two are discussing.

6 Se l'awak bhiiu-day.
se łaˈwak ˈbhi-iu=daj
3S.REM.DIR fox be afraid-P/F.3S=SPC
The fox is frightened.

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[48]As a numeral, *ek* means '1', but it also functions to introduce a discourse referent and as such is translated with 'a' or 'an'.
[49]With the inferential aspect form of the verb, the narrator sets the narrative in a fictional world.
[50]*To* 'then' is a variant form of *toa*.
[51]The derivative suffix *-wew* 'while, during, at the time of' suffixes to the infinitive form of the verb.
[52]The conjunct verb *roytu dek* seems to be a loan or a calque from Khowar *roytu dik* 'meet someone' (Bashir, pers. comm.). In Khowar, *roy* means 'person', *-tu* s a locative case-marker associated with a vertical motion of configuration, and *dik* means 'give'. The specific verb particle *-day* [dɛ]/[dɛɪ̯] has the allomorph *-lay* [lɛ]/[lɛɪ̯] after a verb inflection in *-l*.

7 Se bi-bhiu-day ki-o:
se bi=ˈbh-iu=daj[53] ˈki=o
3S.REM.DIR RDPL=be afraid-P/F.3S=SPC conj_TOP

8 "Ia kakboy, ia gad'a,
ˈia kakˈboj ˈia ˈgaɖa
3S.NE.DIR snow leopard 3S.NE.DIR big

9 ia may zhu," ghõaw-day.
ˈia maj ʑ-u ˈghõ-au=daj
3S.NE.DIR 1S.OBL eat-P/F.3S.NS say-P/F.3S=SPC
He is very frightened, because: "This snow leopard, he is big, he will eat me," he says to himself.

10 Se l'awak calak[54], se matraw-day[55]:
se łaˈwak ˈtɕalak se ˈmatr-au=daj
3S.REM.DIR fox clever 3S.REM.DIR say-P/F.3S=SPC

11 "Baya, a zhe tu bo prus' moc,
ˈbaja a ʑe tu bo pruʂ motɕ
baya 1S.DIR and 2S.DIR very good man

12 a zhe tu bayawt hik parik ghõaw-dai.
a ʑe tu baˈj=awt[56] h-ik paˈr-ik ˈghõ-au=daj
1S.DIR and 2S.DIR brother=LIN.SFX become-P/F.1P.NS go-P/F.1P.NS say-P/F.3S=SPC
(But) the fox is clever, he says, "Brother, I and you are very good men. I and you shall be brothers (by kin), we go (along as brothers)," he says.

13 To tasa phand del, kakboyas.
to ˈtasa phand_d-el kakˈboj-as
then 3S.REM.OBL lying_give-P/F.3S.NS snow leopard-OBL.SG
Then, he lies, to the snow leopard.

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[53]Reduplication of a stressed syllable is a frequent means of expressing intensification or moreness. If the reduplicated syllable contains an aspirated consonant, the aspiration is not reduplicated (see *tsa-tshatak* 'very small' in Line 24).

[54]Lines 9-10 show that the copula verb is omitted in equative sentences, whether the predicative constituent is an adjective ('the fox (is) clever') or a noun phrase ('I and you (are) good people').

[55]The verb *matrik* with the intervocalic consonant group *-tr-* is the Biriu equivalent to Rukmu-Mumoret *maik*.

[56]The suffix *-awt/-awtr* attaches to kinship terms that denote family members on the paternal side who are equal by blood to Ego, such as *baja* 'brothers, paternal male cousins', *baba* 'sisters, paternal female cousins', *dada* 'paternal uncles (father's brothers)', and *nana* 'paternal aunts (father's sisters)'. The suffix takes the main stress of the suffixed word, and the root final *a* vowel is deleted by the suffixation.

14 Tasa kay matraw ki: "Tu bo prus' moc,
ˈtasa kaj ˈmatr-au ki tu bo pruʂ motɕ
3S.REM.OBL to say-P/F.3S.NS conj 2S.DIR very good man
15 a zhe tu baya."
a ʑe tu ˈbaja
1S.DIR and 2S.DIR *baya*
(He, the fox) said to him, "you are a very good person, I and you (are) brothers."

16 To phonday parin-day, mashkul' himan parin-day.
to ˈphond-ai paˈr-in=daj maɕˈkul_ˈh-iman paˈr-in=daj
then road-LOC3 go-P/F.3P=SPC conversate_become-IMPF.PTC go-P/F.3P=SPC
Then, they are walking along, they are talking, they are going.

17 L'awak matraw, kakboyas kay:
łaˈwak ˈmatr-au kakˈboj-as kaj
fox say-P/F-3S.NS snow leopard to
18 "Tu shẽhẽ kari ki ek nawats awata pay
tu ɕẽˈhẽ ˈkar-i ki ek naˈwats aˈwat-a ˈpa-i
2S.DIR like this do-IPV.2S CONJ a dangerous place-LOC1 go-IPV.2S
19 wal' ha, sharon hatya."
wał_ha[57] ɕaˈr-on ˈhatja
hunting position_become.IPV.2S markhor-OBL.PL for
The fox says, to the snow leopard: "You should do like this, go to a dangerous place (in a high place), take hunting position, for the markhors."

20 "Shara in, shara on haw, shara gri
ˈɕara i-n ˈɕara on haw ˈɕara gr-i
markhor come-P/F.3P.NS markhor come.PST.A.3P when markhor take- IPV.2S
21 undruak histi ogal'a tyay nashiu," aghõaw.
undruˈak ˈhist-i ˈogała ˈtja-i ˈnaɕ-iu a-ˈghõ-au
downhill throw-IPV.2S down hit-IPV.2S die-P/F.3S.SPC AU-say-PST.A.3S
"The markhors will come, when the markhors (have) come, you catch the markhor, throw it downhill, throw it down, it will die," he said.

22 Kakboy matraw: "A pe to aris haw,
kakˈboj ˈmatr-au: a pe to ˈar-is haw
snow leopard say-P/F.3S.NS 1S.DIR if 3S.REM.ACC do.PST.A-1S SUBJ
23 tu may hatya kia karis?"
tu maj ˈhatja ˈkia ˈkar-is
2S.DIR 1S.OBL for what do-P/F.2S.NS
The snow leopard says: "If I do this, what will you do for me?"

[57]According to Trail and Cooper (1999), the conjunct verb *wal' hik* means 'be a guard or protector', but here it seems to have the more specific meaning of 'go into or take a waiting position (as if hunting)'.

24 L'awak amaau: "A tay hatya tsa-tshatak krom karim."
łaˈwak a-ˈma-au a taj ˈhatja tsa=ˈtshatak krom ˈkar-im
fox AU-say-PST.A.3S 1S.DIR 2S.OBL for RDPL=small work do-P/F.1S.NS
The fox said, "I'll do some small favours for you."

25 "Tay hatya uk onim. Tay hatya shul'a onim."
taj ˈhatja ug[58] ˈon-im tay ˈhatja ɕuˈła ˈon-im
2S.OBL for water bring-P/F.1S.NS 2S.OBL for firewood bring-P/F.1S.NS
"I'll bring you water. I'll bring you firewood."

26 To se matraw: "Prus' dhõyo parik," ghõaw.
to se ˈmatr-au pruʂ ˈdhõjo paˈr-ik ˈghõ-au
then 3S.REM.DIR say-P/F.3S.NS good therefore go-P/F.1P.NS say-P/F.3S.NS
Then, he (the snow leopard) says: "OK, so we shall go."

27 To pay hutal'a awata pay wajaw, kakboy.
to ˈpa-i ˈhutała aˈwat-a ˈpa-i ˈwadʑ-au kakˈboj
then go-CP high place-LOC1 go-CP wait-PST.A.3S snow leopard
Then, as (they) go along and come to a high place, (he) waits, the snow leopard.

28 Se asta tara asau, l'awak baya
se ˈasta taˈra ˈas-au łaˈwak ˈbaja
3S.REM.DIR also there.REM.SPC be-P/F.3S.NS fox brother
He was also there, the baya-fox.

29 To shara iu to gri histiu, undruak.
to ˈɕara ˈi-u to gr-i ˈhist-iu undruˈak
then markhor come-P/F.3S.NS 3S.REM.ACC take-CP throw-P/F.3S.NS downhill
Then a markhor comes, (he, the snow leopard) catches it and throws it downhill.

30 Se histi aaw. Ogal'a pay ga'ngay tyay shara nashiu.
se ˈhist-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.DIR throw-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

31 Ogal'a pay ga'ngay tyay shara nashiu.
ˈogała ˈpa-i ˈga-ŋg-ai ˈtja-i ˈɕara ˈnaɕ-iu
down go-CP hole-LOC3 hit-CP markhor die-P/F.3S.NS
He threw it. Going down, falling into the hole, the markhor dies.

32 To l'awak maau: "Onja bo chir hawaw, baya."
to łaˈwak ˈma-au ˈondʑa bo tɕhir_ˈhaw-au ˈbaja
then fox say-P/F.3S.NS now very late_become.PST.A-3S brother
Then the fox says, "now it has become very late, brother."

[58]The noun *uk* owater' in *ug onim* 'I'll fetch water' shows that voice assimilation may work across a word boundary.

33 “Al’bat copawew-o[59]parik.”
alˈbat tɕopaˈwew=o paˈr-ik
majbe early moning=TOP go-P/F.1P.NS
“Maybe we should go early tomorrow morning instead.”

34 “Prel’ikasa tara pay, a zhe tu zhuk.”
preˈɬik=asa[60] taˈra ˈpa-i a ʑe tu ʑ-uk
light=TEMP there.REM.SPC go-CP 1S.DIR and 2S.DIR eat-P/F.1P.NS
Going there in the morning I and you shall eat (the markhor).”

35 “Prel’ik pashik.” Toa se apaw den’.
preˈɬik ˈpaɕ-ik ˈtoa te aˈpaw_d-en
light see-P/F.1P.NS then 3P.REM.DIR dwelling_give-P/F.3P.NS
“It will be day, we will see,” then they stayed (there).

36 Toa tara uc’hars’is’ hiu, gona uc’har.
ˈtoa taˈra uʈʂharˈʂiʂ[61] ˈh-iu ˈgona uˈʈʂhar
then there.REM.SPC water fall.TOP become-P/F.3S.NS big water fall
Then there is the top end of a water fall,(it is) a big water fall.

37 To tara d’ud’in, te.
to taˈra ˈɖuɖ-in te
then there.DI.SPC sleep-P/F.3P.NS 3P.REM.DIR
Then (they) go to sleep there, they.

38 L’awak matraw: “Tu aya mo d’ud’,
łaˈwak ˈmatr-au tu aˈja mo ˈɖuɖ-i
fox say-P/F.3S.NS 2S.DIR here.NE.SPC PROH sleep-IPV.2S

39 aya d’ud’i,” ghõaw, kakboyas kay.
aˈja ˈɖuɖ-i ˈghõ-au kakˈboj-as kaj
here.NE.SPC sleep-IPV.2S say-P/F.3S.NS snow leopard-OBL.SG to
The fox says, “You shall not sleep here, sleep here (instead),” he says, to the snow leopard

40 Ia nawats, aya mo d’ud’i,
ˈia naˈwats aˈja mo ˈɖuɖ-i
3S.NE.DIR dangerous here.NE.SPC PROH sleep-IPV.2S

41 aya d’ud’i,” ghõaw.
aˈja ˈɖuɖ-i ˈghõ-au
here.REM.SPC sleep-IPV.2S say-P/F.3S=SPC
“This is dangerous, don’t sleep here, sleep here,” he says.

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[59]*Copa* ‘morning’ and the suffix *-wew* have lexicalised to mean ‘early morning; day-break’.
[60]The temporal suffix *-asa* attaches to nouns and denotes a period during which the phenomenon that the noun denotes takes place.
[61]In compounds, the second element takes the main stress, as in *uc’hars’is’* ‘top end of waterfall’ (*uc’har* ‘waterfall’ + *s’is’* ‘top end’).

42 To kakboy matraw: "Prus' atra d'ud'im," ghõi.
to kakˈboj ˈmatr-au pruʂ aˈtra ˈɖuɖ-im ˈghõi
then snow leopard say-P/F.3S.NS good there.DI.SPC sleep-P/F.1S.NS QUOT
Then the snow leopard says, "OK, I'll sleep there."

43 D'ud'in te. L'awak-o aya[62] d'ud'iu
ˈɖuɖ-in te łaˈwak=o[63] aˈja ˈɖuɖ-iu
sleep-P/F.3P.NS 3P.REM.DIR fox=TOP here.NE.SPC sleep-P/F.3S.NS

44 nawats ghenaw day.
naˈwats ˈghen-aw[64] daj
dangerous side-ABL3 from
(They) go to sleep, they. The fox sleeps here at the dangerous place.

45 Pay rat hiu rat-o l'awak us't'iu.
ˈpa-i rat ˈh-iu ˈrat=o łaˈwak ˈuʂʈ-iu
go-CP night become-P/F.3S.NS night=TOP fox get up-P/F.3S.NS
It becomes night, at night the fox gets up.

46 Us't'i kakboyas kay maau:[65]
ˈuʂʈ-i kakˈboj-as kaj ˈma-au
get up-CP snow leopard-OBL.SG to say-P/F.3S.NS

47 "May histis-day, baya," ghõaw.
maj ˈhist-is=daj ˈbaja ˈghõ-au
1S.OBL throw-P/F.2S=SPC brother say-P/F.3S.NS
Getting up, (he) says to the snow leopard: "You are throwing me (down), baya," he says.

48 "Tichak buchum khezas," ghõaw.
ˈtitɕhak buˈtɕhum[66] ˈkhez-as ˈghõ-au
little uphill move-P/F.2S.NS say-P/F.3S.NS
"Move a little uphill," he says.

49 Se khabar ne tan pi kakboy-o
se khaˈbar ne tan pi kakˈboj=o
3S.REM.DIR information not own from snow leopard=TOP
He is not aware of himself, the leopard

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[62]According to Jan Heegård's field notes, the narrator points out with gestures where the fox sleeps in relation to where the snow leopard sleeps. He does so to make clear where the two characters sleep in relation to one another, which is essential for understanding the subsequent events. The words for 'here' and 'there' in the following are also accompanied by pointing gestures.

[63]The suffix *-o* marks the focus constituent here. As the following lines will show, it is essential that it is the fox that initially sleeps at the dangerous place, near the edge of the waterfall.

[64]*Ghen* is a variant form of *gehen* 'direction'.

[65]Here the narrator uses the Rukmu-Mumoret version *maau*, not Biriu *matraw*.

[66]A few words alternate with respect to their initial labial stop consonant. *Puchum/buchum* is one example, and *post/bost* 'skin' is another. This speaker seems to prefer the variant with [b].

50 L'awak nawats ghenaw day us't'i tharaw day se d'ud'iu
łaˈwak naˈwats ˈghen-aw daj ˈuʂʈ-i
fox dangerous side-ABL3 from get up-CP

51 tharaw day se d'ud'iu
ˈthar-aw daj se ˈɖuɖ-iu
above-ABL3 from 3S.REM.DIR sleep-P/F.3P.NS
Getting up from the dangerous side, the fox goes to sleep (again) at the upper (and safer) side.

52 Prasuikwew matraw ki:
prasu-ik=ˈwew ˈmatr-au ki
sleep-INFTV=during say-P/F.3S.NS CONJ

53 "Buchum khezas," ghõaw, kakboyas kay.
buˈtɕhum ˈkhez-as ˈghõ-au kakˈboj-as kaj
uphill move-P/F.2S.NS say-P/F.3S.NS snow leopard-OBL.SG to
While they are asleep, (the fox) says: "You shall move uphill," he says, to the snow leopard.[67]

54 "Kakboy baya buchum khezas," ghõaw.
kakˈboj ˈbaja buˈtɕhum ˈkhez-as ˈghõ-au
snow leopard brother uphill move-P/F.2S.NS say-P/F.3S.NS
"Snow leopard-baya, you shall move uphill," he says.

55 Kakboyas khyal hiu:
kakˈboj-as khjal_ˈh-iu
snow leopard-OBL.SG thought_become-P/F.3S.NS

56 "A tharaw day asam, buchum khezam," ghõi citiu.
a ˈthar-aw daj ˈas-am buˈtɕhum ˈkhez-am ˈghõi ˈcit-iu
1S.DIR above-ABL3 from be-P/F.1S uphill move-P/F.1S.NS QUOT think-P/F.3S.NS
The snow leopard thought to himself, "I am at the upper side, I move (further) uphill, he thought.

57 To se buchum khezaw.
to se buˈtɕhum ˈkhez-au
then 3S.REM.DIR uphill move-P/F.3S.NS
Then he moves uphill.

58 Se buchum khezikas wãuna undruak khezaw.
se buˈtɕhum kheˈz-ik-as ˈwã-una undruˈak ˈkhez-au
3S.REM.DIR uphill move-INFTV-OBL.SG place-LOC2 downhill move-P/F.3S.NS
(But instead of) moving to an uphill place, he moves downwards.

[67]As the snow leopard is fast asleep, he is not aware that the fox has moved to the safer sleeping place, up the mountain. In his sleep, the snow leopard thinks that the fox is near the edge of the waterfall, so that if he moves in the opposite direction, 'uphill', like the fox tells him, he will move farther up when he is in fact moving closer to the edge, downhill, to the dangerous side.

59 Nawats ghen khezaw.
na'wats ghen 'khez-au
dangerous side move-P/F.3S.NS
He moves to the dangerous side.

60 L'awak andyei usti aya d'ud'i aaw.
ła'wak an'dj-ei 'ust-i a'ja 'ɖuɖ-i_'a-au
fox here.NE.NONSPC-ABL1 get up-CP here.NE.SPC sleep-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
The fox gets up from here, and sleeps here.

61 Toa l'awak tichak d'ud'iu.
'toa ła'wak 'titɕhak 'ɖuɖ-iu
then fox little sleep-P/F.3S.NS
Then the fox sleeps a little bit.

62 D'ud'i-o geri matraw: "Puchum khezas, baya," ghõaw.
'ɖuɖ-i=o 'geri 'matr-au pu'chum 'khez-as 'baja 'ghõ-au
sleep-CP=TOP again say-P/F.3S.NS uphill move-P/F.2S.NS brother say-P/F.3S.NS
Having slept a little bit, (he) says, "You shall move uphill, baya," he says.

63 To se geri khezaw,
to se 'geri 'khez-au
then 3S.REM.DIR again move-P/F.3S.NS

64 se al'ay kay khezaw, nawatsghen kay.
se a'ɬ-ai kaj 'khez-au nawats.'ghen kaj
3S.REM.DIR there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 to move-P/F.3S.NS dangerous.side to
Then he (the snow leopard) moves again, he moves to there, to the dangerous side.

65 To tichak d'ud'iu l'awak.
to 'titɕhak 'ɖuɖ-iu ła'wak
then a little sleep-P/F.3S.NS fox

66 D'ud'i tichak asta kai-o geri matraw:
'ɖuɖ-i 'titɕhak 'asta 'ka-i=o 'geri 'matr-au
sleep-CP a little also do-CP=TOP again say-P/F.3S.NS

67 "Al'ay khezas-la, baya,
a'ɬ-ai 'khez-as=la[68] 'baja
there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 move-P/F.2S.NS=ENDEAR brother

68 may nawatsuna ali aas," ghõaw.
maj na'wats-una a'l-i_'a-as 'ghõ-au
1S.OBL dangerous-LOC2 bring-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.2S say-P/F.3S.NS
The (he) sleeps a little, the fox. Having slept a little, (he) says again,"As you have moved there, my dear baya, you have brought me to the dangerous place," he says.

[68]The suffix *-la* may be used for downtoning a command. It may also be used for expressions of admiration.

69 Toa se kakboy aya zhal'iu nawatsuna.
ˈtoa se kakˈboj aˈja ˈʑał-iu naˈwats-una
then 3S.REM.DIR snow leopard here.NE.SPC reach-P/F.3S.NS dangerous-LOC2
Then the snow leopard reaches here at the dangerous place.

70 To geri jagel, jagay-o geri d'ud'iu.
to ˈgeri dʑaˈg-el dʑaˈga-i=o ˈgeri ˈɖuɖ-iu
then again look-P/F.3S.NS look-CP=TOP again sleep-P/F.3S.NS
Then (the fox) looks again, having looked he sleeps again.

71 D'ud'iu d'ud'iu tichak asta kay-o us't'iu:
ˈɖuɖ-iu ˈɖuɖ-iu[69] ˈtichak ˈasta ˈka-i=o ˈuʂʈ-iu
sleep-P/F.3S.NS sleep-P/F.3S.NS a little also do-CP=TOP get up-P/F.3S.NS
He sleeps and he sleeps, for a little while, (then) he gets up (saying):

72 "Tichak asta khezas la, baya,
ˈtitɕhak ˈasta ˈkhez-as=la ˈbaja
a little also move-P/F.2S.NS=ENDEAR brother
73 tu may bo nawatsuna ala."
tu maj bo naˈwats-una aˈl-a
2S.DIR 1S.OBL very dangerous-LOC2 bring-PST.A.2S
"Move a little bit, dear baya, you brought me to a very dangerous place."

74 To tichak asta khezi,
to ˈtitɕhak ˈasta ˈkhez-i
then a little also move-CP
75 aya chur'ika zhal'iu, kakboy.
aˈja tɕhuˈʈik-a ˈʑał-iu kakˈboj
here.NE.SPC top of high place-LOC1 reach-P/F.3S.NS snow leopard
Then (he, the snow leopard) moves (yet) a little bit, he reaches the tip of the high place, the snow leopard.

76 Toa ek gona bat oni aya thel.
ˈtoa ek ˈgona bat ˈon-i aˈja th-el
then a big stone bring-CP here.NE.SPC place-P/F.3S.NS
Then (he, the fox), gets a big stone and places it here.

77 Toa jagel: "Prus' d'ud'iu, se kakboy."
ˈtoa dʑaˈg-el pruʂ ˈɖuɖ-iu se kakˈboj
then look-P/F.3S.NS good sleep-P/F.3S.NS 3S.REM.DIR snow leopard
Then he looks (and says to himself) "He sleeps will, the snow leopard."

[69]Word repetition is here used to express a prolonged or intense activity.

78 Ad'ud'aw pe haw-ta aya batuna khur s'at'aw,
a-ˈɖuɖ-au pe ˈhaw=ta aˈja ˈbat-una khur ˈʂaʈ-au
AU-sleep-PST.A.3S if SUBJ=CTR here.NE.SPC stone-LOC2 leg attach-PST.A.3S

79 shẽhẽ kay zuk dyel, kakboyas.
ɕẽˈhẽ ˈka-i zuk_dj-el[70] kakˈboj-as se
like this do-CP pushing_give-P/F.3S.NS snow leopard-OBL.SG 3S.REM.DIR
As (he, snow leopard) was deep asleep, (he, the fox) here at the stone, he attaches his legs like this (to the snow leopard) and pushes, the leopard.

80 Ogal'a pay ga'ngay tyel-day, se kakboy.
ˈogała ˈpa-i ˈga˞ŋg-ai tj-él=laj se kakˈboj
down go-CP hole-LOC3 hit-P/F.3S=SPC 3S.REM.DIR snow leopard
Going down, he falls into the hole, the leopard.

81 Se kakboy pay ogal'a ga'ngay tyita.
se kakˈboj ˈpa-i ˈogała ˈga˞ŋg-ai ˈtj-ita
3S.REM.DIR snow leopard go-CP down hole-LOC3 hit-PST.PTC
That snow leopard is going, being hit into the hole.

82 To se l'awak koshan hiu.
to se łaˈwak koˈɕan ˈh-iu
then 3S.REM.DIR fox happy become-P/F.3S.NS
Then that fox becomes happy.

83 "Kakboy baya paraw," ghõaw,
kakˈboj ˈbaja paˈr-au ˈghõ-au
snow leopard brother go-PST.A.3S say-P/F.3S.NS

84 "Cop-o tara pay jagem," ghõaw.
ˈtɕop=o taˈra ˈpa-i ʥaˈg-em ˈghõ-au
morning=TOP there.REM.SPC go-CP look-P/F.1S.NS say-P/F.3S.NS
"The snow leopard-baya goes," he says, "tomorrow I will go there and look," he says.

85 Copawew pariu, tara.
tɕopaˈwew paˈr-iu taˈra
early morning go-P/F.3S.NS there.REM.SPC
In the early morning he goes, there.

86 Shara asta tara shiaw, kakboy asta nashi asaw.
ˈɕara ˈasta taˈra ˈɕi-au kakˈboj ˈasta ˈnaɕ-i̯_ˈas-au
markhor also there.REM.SPC be-P/F.3S snow leopard also die-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
The markhor is also there, the snow leopard has also died.

87 Toa tara pay awdu kay prus zhu.
ˈtoa taˈra ˈpa-i awˈdu ˈka-i prus ʑ-u
then there.REM.SPC go-CP both do-CP well eat-P/F.3S.NS
Then, going there, (he) eats both of them well.

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[70]The conjunct verb *dzuk dyek* is peculiar since there is a close synonym in the language, *dzukek* 'move someone'. It seems as if the verb stem *dzuk* has been incorporated into the productive verb-formation process constituted by the conjunct verb formation. (The voiced dental affricate [dz] varies freely with [z].)

88 Se tan bihikas wajahen day
se tan biˈh-ik-as wadʑaˈhen daj
3S.REM.DIR own fear-INFTV-OBL.SG because of

89 kakboybayaa hatya calaki araw.
kakboj.baˈja-a ˈhatja ʨalaˈki_ˈar-au
snow leopard *baya*-OBL.SG towards tricking_do-PST.A-3S
Because of his own fear (he, the fox) tricked the snowleopard.

90 Badmashias thara to nashel, gona kakboy.
badmaˈɕi-as ˈthara to naˈɕ-el ˈgona kakˈboj
trouble-OBL.SG upon 3S.REM.ACC kill-P/F.3S.NS big snow leopard
Because of that trouble, (he) kills it, the big snow leopard.

91 L'awak shamon calak.
ɬaˈwak ɕaˈmon ˈʨalak
fox so much cunning person
The fox was such a cunning being.

92 Toa kisa[71]khul hawaw, baya.
ˈtoa kiˈsa khul ˈhaw-au ˈbaja
then story finished become.PST.A-3S *baya*
Then the story is finished, baya.

[71]*Kisa* is a loanword for 'story'. It is widely used in Biriu instead of the indigenous *ac'hõ'ik*.

***Text 8.2:* Kambak chul'as at's'hõ'ik**
'The story of the unfortunate daughter'

Narrated by Rabijan (Guru, Biriu), December 1996.
Transcribed and translated by Taj Khan and Jan Heegård 2014.

Told by a female informant, this story incorporates aspects of female destiny, jealousy and self-sacrifice. It sets out in a known context, a girl going to school, but soon becomes mystic with supernatural events. The story is probably not a story which is typical for the Kalasha, but perhaps a story known in the Chitral region. It is vividly told, with use of address terms to the audience (two field-workers), and with use of a number of the narrative characteristics, including par-alinguistic features such as vowel lenghtening and creakiness to indicate iterativity and extendedness.

Kambak chul'as at'shõ'ik

Kaymina kaymina, bo suda sukuluna pariman asta, baya. Toa baba ek mocas putr ne asta, ek chu asta. Se asta sukuluna pariman asta. Ek mocas put ne asta, tasa chu asta. Se asta sukuluna pariman asta.

Bo t'em se tara sukuluna pariu-day, baya. Se tal'ey iw-day, dura. Mis't'er to khund'ial-day. Saw suda prus't' kay khund'ial-day, se. Tasa kay matraw-day ki, se: "E kambakas chul'as!" "Anday ita sabak matras," ghõaw-day, tasa kay.

Toa se bo kapha hawaw, mis't'eras pi. Toa se dura paraw. Dura pay dadas kay amatraw ki: "Dada, suda prus' kay khund'ial-day, mis't'er, may kay matraw-day ki kambakas chul'as." "Tes tu anday ita sabak matras," ghõaw-day.

Cop-o us'ti dadas paraw. Shẽhẽ ki, baba, sukuluna hatya, sukuluna pay, baba, mis't'eras som janjal araw. Janjal kay matrau: "Tu prus' kay saw suda prus' kay khund'ies-day. Tu khẽchãkan may chul'a kay, "kambak chulas anday ita sabak matras," ghõas-day." "Tay galat mondr, asa."

Toa mis't'er amatraw ki: "Tay chul'aw kambak."

"Khẽ thi kambak may chu?."

"Tay chul'aw cimbar shenas hatya nasib hiu, cimbar shenas hatya."

Paraw, tal'ey dras'ni. Achitaw, achitaw-ta, dras'ni paraw, phonduna paraw. Dhenta shiaw, ghona dhenta. Dhenta umri chul'as udrimana hawaw. Dadas bian thaw hawaw. Dadas t'amt'aka thi thaw hawaw ki: "O, may chu, ia mis'ter jhoni asta." "May chu al'ay dhentay ataw." "A thaw hawis, maidanuna."

Toa, baba, se shẽhẽ thi asaw ki dadas pay asaw. Chulas udriman dhẽtauna ati jagay asaw-e, udriman dhẽtauna cimbar shen shiaw. Tap tramas'ung, moc ne pashin ogoek. Ek sha-to shen pashiw-day. Toa, tara, cimber shenuna imiti mek shian. Toa achitaw achitaw-ta te mek upac'au. Upac'hi khulel-day-e, gheri mek diun pay, puchum pariw-day. Tharaw day-o upac'iw-day, undruak pishtyak mek diman parin-day. Ne abhaaw, se.

Toa shãshondyaka phrelik tara ati shiaw. Tara ati shiaw-e, toa istrizhaguak nisi bo wat-ta. Khialiti pay asaw, se chiti asaw. Toa ek istriza bata tara payda thi asaw, to-o du thi asan.

Du jhon thi to upaci asan, te mek. Upac'i aya s'is'una ghona mek shial'a. Toa upac'i asan to upac'i asan-e us'ti nisi asaw, juan moc. Se tasi hatya cimbar shen thi asaw, baba, shẽhe ki, se moc asta.

Phato se pis't'aw jaas zhe s'umber jaas som hamdardi kariu. S'umber jaas mon ne day asaw, taa som. Bo kapha thi asaw. Pis't'aw jaas koshamani kay asaw, taa som. Toa se bazaruna pay ki-o tasa hatya mar'ik gri oniw hul'a. "May hatya may beru griw, a dukanuna ne parim." Toa tasa hatya bo ishnya-hari oniw hul'a.

Se huk asta ne, "Tu may kay ko ne mond des-day." "Asa may kio ki ona-waaw-day kio kia" "Tu asta may ja, asa asta may ja."

Toa se matri asaw ki: "A kia onawaam tay s'at'away." "May kia ajat ne hin-day." "Ek mar'ik may hatya oni.

"To kia mar'ik?."

"Ek kalamdar mar'ik may hatya oni," ghõy asaw.

To bazaruna pay to oni asaw-e, jaas shehẽ kay muc' dhari asau. "Aya muc'a thai." Asa to thay asaw-e, "Dupat'a ha-o, kalamdar mar'ik," ghõy asaw. "Khias," ghõy asaw, tasa kay. Se kalamdar mar'ik asta chii shiaw, istriza asta nashi asaw.

Kura may laway asini, baba, chutyakuna. A-o mimi kay aris. Ek hãsh may day asini. Se khut'a asta, ne. A ne jagay to greda him

'The story of the unfortunate daughter'

Once upon a time many children were going to school, baya. Then, baba, a man had no sons, he had a daughter. She was also going to school. A man did not have sons, he had a daughter. She was also going to school.

She is in school for a long time, baya. The teacher calls at her. He talks nicely to all the children, but he says to her, he: "Hey, daughter of misfortune! Come here and study," he says, to her. "Hey, daughter of misfortune, come here quickly and study," he says, to her.

Then she became sad because of the teacher. Then she went home, having come home she said to her father: "Father, he talks nicely to all the children, the teacher, but to me he is saying "daughter of misfortune, come here quickly and study, he says."

Getting up in the morning, her father went to the school. Like this, baba, to the school, going to the school, baba, he argues with the teacher. As they are arguing, he says, "You talk nicely to all the children, but how come you are saying to my daughter "daughter of misfortune, come here and study?" ." "Your words are wrong, they."

Then the teacher said: "Your daughter is misfortunate."

"How is my daughter misfortunate?" the father asked.

"Your daughter will be the wife of an iron bed."

He went away, the father, appeared from there. He thought and he thought, going away from there, walking along the road (together with his daughter),

there is a mountain, a big mountain. As the mountain opens, the daughter steps inside. Her father is left behind outside. Her father, now bereft of his daughter is left behind, saying: "Oh no, my daughter!, apparently that teacher was right." "My daughter has gone into that mountain there." "I have been left in the open field."

Then, baba, it was like this, her father has left. As the daughter had entered the inside in the mountain and looked around, inside in the mountain there is an iron bed. It is completely dark, people cannot see each other. Only that bed she sees. Then, there, the iron bed had nails all over. Then she thought and thought and took out the nails. Having taking out nails for a very long time, and as she is finishing the job, then again, it was keeping giving nails, and she goes upwards. As she finishes pulling nails out from the upper side of the bed, the nails were still coming up in the lower side. She could not do the job.

Then suddenly a light entered there. As the light had entered, she realised a girl had been sitting there for a long time. She fell into wonder, she thought. As a woman had appeared there, they then became two.

Being two persons, they pulled out, the nails. After pulling nails out for a long time, there was a large nail here at the head of the bed. Then they pulled it out, and as they pulled it out, a young man got up and sat right down. He has become an iron bed for them, baba, like this, but he was a man.

Then he became sympathetic to the second wife and first wife. The first wife did not talk, with him. She became very sad. The later wife had fun, with him, so he would go to the market and bring beads for her. "My husband will buy things for me, I'm not going to the shop," she said. So he would bring many things for her.

She was also not saying anything. "Why don't you say something to me?," the husband asked. "She (: the second wife) asks me to bring whatever for her." "You are my wife as she is my wife," the husband said.

Then she (: the first wife) said: "What should I ask you to bring, I don't need anything." "Just bring me one bead."

"What bead?," her husband asked.

"Bring me a magic bead," she said.

After he went to the bazar and bought her that, his wife opens her hand and says "Put it here in my hand." As he puts it there, "break into two halves, precious bead," she said. "Break," she said, to the bead. As the magic bead indeed broke, the woman died too.

Someone had lied this tale to me, baba, in my youth. Now I passed it on to you. They gave me a horse. He was halt, right. I took it without noticing it.

1 Kaymina kaymina,[72] bo suda sukuluna pariman asta, baya.[73]
ˈkajmina ˈkajmina bo ˈsuda suˈkul-una paˈr-iman_ˈasta[74] ˈbaja
once upon a time many children school-LOC2 go-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3P *baya*
Once upon a time many children were going to school, baya.

2 Toa baba,[75] ek mocas putr ne asta, ek chu asta.
ˈtoa ˈbaba ek[76] ˈmotɕ-as[77] putr ne ˈasta ek tɕhu ˈasta
then *baba* a man-OBL.SG son no be.PST.INF.3P a daughter be.PST.INF.3S
Then, baba, a man had no sons, (he had) a daughter.

3 Se asta sukuluna pariman asta.
se ˈasta suˈkul-una paˈr-iman_ˈasta
3S.REM.DIR also school-LOC2 go-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S
She was also going to school.

4 Ek mocas put ne asta, tasa chu asta.[78]
ek ˈmotɕ-as put ne ˈasta ˈtasa tɕhu ˈasta
a man-OBL.SG son not be.PST.INF.3S 3S.REM.OBL daughter be.PST.INF.3S
A man did not have sons, he had a daughter.

5 Se asta sukuluna pariman asta.
se ˈasta suˈkul-una paˈr-iman_ˈasta
3S.REM.OBL also school-LOC2 go-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S
She was also going to school.

[72]The phrase *kaymina kaymina* has lexicalised to mean or equate to the English ‘once upon a time’, an introduction to a fictional narrative.
[73]As a means of involving the audience from the start of the narration, the narrator addresses the male fieldworker with the term of address for a male person, *baya*. Its literal meaning is ‘brother’ or ‘male cousin’.
[74]The narrator uses the inferential aspect from the start to set the narrative in a fictional realm.
[75]*Baba*, literally ‘sister’ or ‘female cousin’, is the female term of address equivalent to *baya*, and the narrator uses it to address the female fieldworker.
[76]The numeral *ek* ‘1’ here functions to introduce a discourse referent, translated in English by the indefinite article *a*.
[77]Kalasha does not have a ‘have’ verb. Possession is expresed with the possessor in the genitive-oblique case, the possessed entity (here people) in the direct case, and a ‘be’ verb inflected in accordance with the number of the possessed entity.
[78]The person in question is the same person as introduced above. The narrator merely repeats the information that the man had no sons as a means of emphasising his unfortunate situation.

6 Bo t'em se tara sukuluna pariu-day, baya.
bo ʈem se taˈra suˈkul-una paˈr-iu=daj[79] ˈbaja
much time 3S.REM.OBL there.REM.SPC school-LOC2 go-P/F.3S=SPC *baya*
She is going to school for a long time, baya.

7 Se tal'ey iu-day, dura.
se taˈɨ-ei ˈi-u=daj ˈdur-a
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 come-P/F.3S=SPC house-LOC1
She comes home from there.

8 Mis't'er to khund'ial-day.
miʂˈʈer to khuɳɖi-ˈal=laj[80]
teacher 3S.REM.ACC call-P/F.3S=SPC
The teacher calls at her.

9 Saw suda prus't' kay khund'ial-day, se.
saw ˈsuda pruʂ ˈka-i[81] khuɳɖi-ˈal=laj se
all children well do-CP call-P/F.3S=SPC 3S.REM.DIR
(He) calls all the children nicely, he.

10 Tasa kay matraw-day ki, se:
ˈtasa kaj ˈmatr-au=daj ki se
3S.REM.OBL to say-P/F.3S=SPC CONJ 3S.REM.DIR

11 "E kambakas chul'as!"
e ˈkambak-as[82] ˈʧhuɨ-as
hey unfortunate-OBL.SG daughter-3S.PSR.SG.PSD

12 "Anday ita sabak matras," ghõaw-day, tasa kay.
anˈd-ai ˈi-ta saˈbak_ˈmatr-as ˈghõ-au=daj ˈtasa kaj
here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3 come-CP lesson_say-P/F.3S.NS say-P/F.3S=SPC 3S.REM.OBL to
(He) says to her, he: "Hey, daughter of misfortune! Come here and study," he says, to her.

13 Toa se bo kapha hawaw, mis't'eras pi.
ˈtoa se bo kaˈpha_ˈhaw-au miʂˈʈer-as pi
then 3S.REM.DIR very sad_become.PST.A-3S teacher-OBL.SG from
Then she became sad because of the teacher.

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[79]The narrator here shifts to the present tense, the narrative present. The meaning is probably that the daughter is at school for a long time, and then as told in the following sentence, she (finally) goes home from there.
[80]The specific particle *dai* has the allomorph *lai* when following an ending in *-l*.
[81]The manner adverbial *prus'* kai 'well' is an example of how *kai* 'doing, done' can be used to form transitive adverbials, see Grammar, Section 6.10.3.3.
[82]The adjective *kambak* 'unfortunate' here functions as a noun, with the genitive-oblique ending.

14 Toa se dura paraw,
ˈtoa se ˈdur-a paˈr-au
then 3S.REM.DIR house-LOC1 go-PST.A3S

15 dura pay dadas kay amatraw ki:
ˈdur-a ˈpa-i[83] ˈdad-as kaj a-ˈmatr-au ki
house-LOC1 go-CP father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
Then she went home, having come home she said to her father,

16 "Dada, suda prus' kay khund'ial-day, mis't'er,
ˈdada ˈsuda pruʂ ˈka-i khuɳɖi-ˈal=laj miʂˈʈer
father child well do call-P/F.3S=SPC teacher

17 may kay matraw-day ki kambakas chul'as."
maj kaj ˈmatr-au=daj ki ˈkambak-as ˈʨhuł-as
1S.OBL to say-P/F.3S=SPC CONJ unfortunate-OBL.SG daughter-3S.PSR.SG.PSD
"Father, (he) calls all the children nicely, the teacher, (but) to me he is saying daughter of misfortune."

18 "Tes tu anday ita sabak matras," ghõaw-day.
tes tu anˈd-ai i-ta saˈbak_ˈmatr-as ˈghõ-au=daj
quickly 2S.DIR here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3 come-CP study-P/F.3S.NS say-P/F.3S=SPC
"Come here quickly and study, he says."

19 Cop-o us'ti dadas paraw.
ˈʨop=o ˈuʂʈ-i ˈdad-as paˈr-au
tomorrow=TOP get up-CP father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD go-PST.A.3S
Getting up in the morning, her father went (to the school).

20 Shẽhẽ ki, baba, sukuluna hatya, sukuluna pay, baba,
ɕẽˈhẽ ki ˈbaba suˈkul-una ˈhatja suˈkul-una ˈpa-i ˈbaba
like this CONJ *baba* school-LOC2 to school-LOC2 go-CP *baba*

21 mis't'eras som janjal[84]araw.
miʂˈʈer-as som ʤaɲˈʤaḷ_ˈar-au
teacher-OBL.SG with argument_do.PST.A-3S
Like this, baba, to the school, going to the school, baba, (he) argues with the teacher.

[83]The repetion of the preceding verb as a CP adds no new information but can be seen as means of creating cohesion between succeding events. A literal translation into English often seems awkard or unnecessary. For a description, see Section 7.8.
[84]*Janjal* 'argument' is pronounced with a strong, breathy voice, indicating an intense argument.

22 Janjal kay matrau:
dʑaɲˈdʑaɭ_ˈka-i ˈmatr-au
argument_do-CP say-P/F.3S.NS

23 "Tu prus' kay saw suda prus' kay khund'ies-day.
tu pruʂ ˈka-i saw ˈsuda pruʂ ˈka-i khuɳɖi-ˈes=daj
2S.DIR well do-CP all children well do-CP call-P/F.3S=SPC

24 Tu khẽchãkan may chul'a kay,
tu khẽtɕhaŋkan maj ˈtɕhuł-a kaj
2S.DIR how come 1S.OBL daughter-1S.PSR.SG.PSD to

25 "kambak chulas anday ita sabak matras,"
ˈkambak ˈtɕhuł-as anˈd-ai ˈi-ta saˈbak_ˈmatr-as
unfortunate daughter-3S.PSR.SG.PSD here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3 come-CP lesson_say-P/F.3S.NS

26 ghõas-day."
ˈghõ-as=daj
say-P/F.3S=SPC
As they are arguing, (he) says, "You call all the children nicely, (but) how come you are saying to my daughter "daughter of misfortune, come here and study?"."

27 "Tay galat mondr, asa."
taj gaˈlat mondr ˈasa
2S.OBL wrong word 3S.DI.DIR
"Your words are wrong, they."

28 Toa mis't'er amatraw ki:"Tay chul'aw kambak."
ˈtoa miʂˈʈer a-ˈmatr-au ki: taj ˈtɕhuł-au ˈkambak
then teacher AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ 2S.OBL daughter-2S.PSR.SG.PSD unfortunate
Then the teacher said: "Your daughter is misfortunate."

29 "Khẽ thi kambak may chu?
khẽ thi ˈkambak maj tɕhu
how become.CP unfortunate 1S.OBL daughter
"How is my daughter misfortunate?" (The father asked.)

30 "Tay chul'aw cimbar shenas hatya nasib hiu,
taj ˈtɕhuł-au ˈtɕimbar ˈɕen-as ˈhatja naˈsib ˈh-iu
2S.OBL daughter-2S.PSR.SG.PSD iron bed-OBL.SG to wife become-P/F.3S.NS

31 cimbar shenas hatya."
ˈtɕimbar ˈɕen-as ˈhatja
iron bed-OBL.SG to
"Your daughter will be the wife of an iron bed." "(The wife of) an iron bed." (The teacher said.)

32 Paraw, tal'ey dras'ni.
paˈr-au taˈɭ-ei draʂˈn-i
go-PST.A.3S there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 appear-CP
He (the father) went away, appeared from there.

33 Achitaw achitaw-ta, dras'ni paraw, phonduna paraw.

a-ˈchit-au	a-ˈchit-au = ta[85]	dr-aʂˈni	paˈr-au	ˈphond-una	paˈr-au
AU-think-PST.A.3S	AU-think-PST.A.3S = CTR	appear-CP	go-PST.A.3S	road-LOC2	go-PST.A.3S

34 dhenta shiaw, ghona dhenta.

ˈdhenta ˈɕi-au ˈghona ˈdhenta
mountain be-P/F.3S big mountain
He thought and he thought, going away from there, walking along the road, there is a mountain, a big mountain.

35 Dhenta umri chul'as udrimana hawaw.

ˈdhenta umˈr-i ˈtɕhuɫ-as uˈdriman-a ˈhaw-au
mountain open-CP daughter-3S.PSR.SG.PSD inside-LOC1 become.PST.A-3S
As the mountain opens, the daughter steps inside.

36 Dadas bian thaw hawaw.

ˈdad-as ˈbian thaw_ˈhaw-au
father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD outside remaining_become.PST.A-3S
Her father is left behind outside.

37 Dadas t'amt'aka thi thaw hawaw ki:

ˈdad-as ʈamʈaˈka thi thaw_ˈhaw-au ki
father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD bereft become.CP remaining_become.PST.A-3S CONJ
Her father, now bereft (of his daughter) is left behind, (saying):

38 "Oo, may chu, ia mis'ter jhoni asta."

oo maj tɕhu ˈia miʂˈʈer ˈdʑhon-i_ˈasta
oh 1S.OBL daughter 3S.NE.DIR teacher know-PF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S
"Oh no, my daughter!, (apparently) that teacher knew (: was right).

39 "May chu al'ay dhentay atau."

maj tɕhu aˈɫ-ai ˈdhent-ai[86] ˈat-au
1S.OBL daughter there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 mountain-LOC3 enter-PST.A.3S
"My daughter has gone into that mountain there."

40 "A thaw hawis, maidanuna[87]."

a thaw_ˈhaw-is majˈda::n-una
1S.DIR remaining_become.PST.A_1S open field-LOC2
"I have been left in the open field."

[85]The contrastive particle *-ta* here has an emphasising function.
[86]The locative ending *-ai* is used instead of *-una* to express the idea that the daughter has entered a big enclosure and is out of sight for the father, see Grammar, Section 6.3.5.
[87]The word for 'field, open space' *maydan* is pronounced with a prolonged vowel in the second syllable as a means of emphasising that the father is all alone in big, empty space.

41 Toa, baba, se shẽhẽ thi asaw ki
ˈtoa ˈbaba se ɕẽˈhẽ thi_ˈas-au ki
then *baba* 3S.REM.DIR like this become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

42 dadas pay asaw.
ˈdad-as ˈpa-i _ˈas-au
father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then, baba, it was like this, her father has left.

43 Chulas udriman dhẽtauna ati jagay asaw-e,
ˈtɕhuł-as uˈdriman dhenˈta-una[88] ˈat-i ʤaˈga-i_ˈas-au=e
daughter-3S.PSR.SG.PSD inside mountain-LOC2 enter-CP look-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

44 udriman dhẽtauna cimbar shen shiaw.
uˈdriman dhenˈta-una ˈtɕimbar ɕen ˈɕi-au
inside mountain-LOC2 iron bed be-P/F.3S.NS
As the daughter had entered the inside in the mountain and looked, inside in the mountain there is an iron bed.

45 Tap tramas'ung, moc ne pashin ogoek.
tap[89] tramaˈʂung motɕ ne ˈpaɕ-in ogoˈek
completely dark people not se-P/F.3P.NS each other
It is completely dark, people cannot see each other.

46 Ek sha-to shen pashiu-day.
ek ɕa=ˈto ɕen ˈpaɕ-iu=daj
a EMPH=3S.REM.ACC bed see-P/F.3S=SPC
Only that bed she sees.

47 Toa, tara, cimber shenuna imiti mek shian.
ˈtoa taˈra ˈtɕimber ˈɕen-una ˈimiti mek ˈɕi-an
then there.REM.SPC iron bed-LOC2 all over nail be-P/F.3P.NS
Then, there, the iron bed had nails all over.

48 Toa achitaw achitaw-ta te mek upac'au.
ˈtoa a-ˈtɕhit-au a-ˈtɕhit-au=ta te mek uˈpatʂ-au
then AU-think-PST.A.3S AU-think-PST.A.3S=CTR 3P.REM.ACC nail pull out-PST.A.3S
Then she thought and thought and took out the nails.

[88]Although the location of the bed is still in an enclosure, the locative ending *-una* can be used instead of *-ai* because the location is known and exactly specifiable to the narrator and the audience (see Grammar, Section 6.3.5).
[89]*Tap* 'completely' is pronounced with a creaky voice, as a means of emphasising the darkness inside the mountain.

49 Upac'hi khulel-day-e, gheri mek diun pay,
u'pa::ʈʂh-i[90] khu'l-el=laj=e 'gheri mek di-'un_'pa-i
pull out-CP finish-P/F.3S=SPC=as again nail give-PASS_go-CP

50 puchum pariu-day.
pu'ʨhum[91] pa'r-iu=daj
uphill go-P/F.3S=SPC
Having taking out nails for a very long time, and as she is finishing (the job), (then) again, it was (keeping) giving nails,(and) she goes upwards.

51 Tharaw day-o upac'iu-day,
'thar-aw daj=o[92] u'paʈʂ-iu=daj
above-ABL3 from=TOP pull out-P/F.3S=SPC

52 undruak pishtyak mek diman parin-day.
undru'ak piɛ'tjak mek 'd-iman_pa'r-in=daj[93]
downhill again nail give-IMPF.PTC_go-P/F.3P=SPC
As she finishes pulling nails out from upper side of the bed, the nails were still coming up in the lower side.

53 Ne abhaaw, se.
ne a-'bha-au se
not AU-be able-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.DIR
She could not do (the job).

54 Toa shãshondyaka phrelik tara ati shiaw
'toa ɕã'ɕondjaka phre'lik ta'ra 'at-i_'ɕi-au
then suddenly light there.REM.SPC enter-PS.PF_AUX-P/F.3S
Then suddenly a light entered there.

55 Tara ati shiaw-e, toa istrizhagu'ak[94]nisi bo wat-ta.
ta'ra 'at-i_'ɕi-au=e 'toa istriʐa'gu-ak ni's-i bo 'wat=ta
there.REM.SPC enter-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as then girl sit-CP much time=CTR
As the light had entered, (she realised) a girl had been sitting there for a long time.

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[90]*Upac'hi* 'pulled out' is pronounced with a long vowel as a means of indicating that the daughter pulled out nails from the bed for a very long time, i.e. that there were a lot of nails attached to the bed.

[91]The adverb *puchum* 'uphill' refers to the end of the bed that is away from the daughter. It is probably not used in the topographical sense, as the synonym *thar-* 'top part of something' is used in the next line.

[92]The particle *-o* has a contrastive meaning here, highlighting the two ends of the beds, as our protagonist goes from the top part of the bed to the 'downhill part' of bed, i.e. the lower, opposite part.

[93]In combination with a verb in a perfective conjugation, the verb *parik* 'go' may add a sense of completeness (Trail and Cooper 1999, 230) or passivity. The construction *diman parik* is not analysed here as a compound verb construction since *parik* occurs with the imperfective participle *-iman* and not the perfective participle *-i*, see Grammar, Sections 6.6.1 and 6.6.5; see also Bashir (1988a, 56).

[94]The word for 'girl' *istrizhagu'ak* refers to another woman in the mountain.

56 Khialiti pay asaw, se chiti asaw.
khiaˈliti_ˈpa-i_ˈas-au se ˈtɕhit-i_ˈas-au
wonder_go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
She fell into wonder, she thought.

57 Toa ek istriza bata tara payda thi asaw,
ˈtoa ek iˈstriʒa ˈbata taˈra pajˈda_thi_ˈas-au
then a woman CTR there.REM.SPC appearing_become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

58 to-o du thi asan.
ˈto=o du thi_ˈas-an
then=TOP two become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
When a woman appeared there, they then became two.

59 Du jhon thi to upaci asan, te mek.
du dʑhon thi to uˈpatʂ-i_ˈas-an te mek
two person become.CP then pull out-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P 3P.REM.DIR nail
Being two persons, they pulled out, the nails.

60 Upac'i aya s'is'una ghona mek shial'a.
uˈpa::tʂ-i[95] aˈja ˈʂiʂ-una ˈghona mek ɕi-ˈała
pull out-CP here.NE.SPC head-LOC2 big nail be-PST.INF.3P
After pulling (nails) out for a long time, there was a large nail here at the head (of the bed).

61 Toa upac'i asan,
ˈtoa uˈpatʂ-i_ˈas-an
then pull out-PF.PTC_AUX-3P

62 to upac'i asan-e us'ti nisi asaw, juan moc.[96]
to uˈpatʂ-i_ˈas-an=e ˈuʂt-i niˈs-i_ˈas-au dʑuˈan motɕ
then pull out-PF.PTC_AUX-3P=as get up-CP sit down-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S young man
Then they pulled it out, (and) as they pulled it out, a young man got up and sat right down.

63 Se tasi hatya cimbar shen thi asaw, baba, shẽhe ki,
se ˈtasi ˈhatja ˈtɕimbar ɕen thi_ˈas-au ˈbaba
3S.REM.DIR 3P.REM.OBL to iron bed become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S *baba*

64 se moc asta.
ɕẽˈhe ki se motɕ ˈasta
like this CONJ 3S.REM.DIR man be.PST.INF.3S
He has become an iron bed for them, baba, like this, (but) he was a man.

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[95]Again, the narrator uses vowel lengthening as a means of indicating an intense and long activity.
[96]The afterthought construction is here for the introduction of a new discourse referent, the young man.

65 Phato se pis't'aw jaas zhe

ˈphato	se	ˈpiʂʈaw	ˈʥa-as	ʑe
then	3S.REM.DIR	later	wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD	and

66 s'umber jaas som hamdardi kariu.

ʂumˈber	ˈʥa-as	som	hamdarˈdi_ˈkar-iu
before	wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD	with	sympathy_do-P/F.3S.NS

Then he became sympathetic to the second wife and first wife.[97]

67 S'umber jaas mon ne day asaw, taa som.

ʂumˈber	ˈʥa-as	mon_ne_ˈda-i_ˈas-au	ˈta.a	som
before	wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD	word_not_give-PF.PTC_AUX.P/F-3S	3S.REM.OBL	with

The first wife did not talk, with him.

68 Bo kapha thi asaw.

bo̰	ka̰ˈpha̰_thḭ_ˈa̰s-a̰ṵ[98]
very	sad_become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

She became very sad.

69 Pis't'aw jaas koshamani kay asaw, taa som.

ˈpiʂʈaw	ˈʥa-as	koɕamaˈni_ˈka-i_ˈas-au	ˈta.a	som
later	wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD	happy_do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S	3S.REM.OBL	with

The later wife had fun, with him.

70 Toa se bazaruna pay ki-o

ˈtoa	se	baˈzar-una	ˈpa-i	ˈki=o
then	3S.REM.DIR	bazar-LOC2	go-CP	CONJ=TOP

71 tasa hatya mar'ik gri oniu hul'a.

ˈtasa	ˈhatja	maˈɽik	gr-i	ˈon-iu	ˈhuɬa[99]
3S.REM.OBL	to	bead	buy-CP	bring-P/F.3S.NS	it seems

So he would go to the market and bring beads for her.

72 "May hatya may beru griu, a dukanuna ne parim."

maj	ˈhatja	maj	beˈru	ˈgr-iu	a	duˈkan-una	ne	paˈr-im
1S.OBL	to	1S.OBL	husband	buy-P/F.3S.NS	1S.DIR	shop-LOC2	not	go-P/F.1S.NS

"My husband will buy (things) for me, I'm not going to the shop" (she said).

[97]The 'later' wife, i.e. the second wife, is our protagonist, the unfortunate daughter. The 'before' wife, i.e. the first wife, introduced as *istrizhagu'ak* in Line 55, is the wife who was already there in the mountain.

[98]This clause is pronounced with a creaky voice throughout, to express the intense sadness that the first wife is experiencing since her husband is only talking to the second, the new wife.

[99]The past inferential (3SG and 3PL) of *hik* 'become' here functions as a marker of inferentiality, used with the present tense *oniu* 'brings', rendering the notion of 'would' (see Bashir 1988a, 77).

73 Toa tasa hatya bo ishnyahari oniu hul'a.
ˈtoa ˈtasa ˈhatja bo iɕnjaˈhari ˈon-iu_ ˈhuła
then 3S.REM.OBL to many things bring-P/F.3S.NS it seems
So he would bring many things for her.

74 Se[100] huk asta ne, "Tu may kay ko ne mond des-day."
se huk ˈasta ne tu maj kaj ko ne mon_d-es=daj
3S.REM.DIR sound also not 2S.DIR 1S.OBL to why not word_give-P/F.3S.SPC
She was also not saying anything, "why don't you say something to me?" (the husband asked).

75 "Asa may kio ki onawaaw-day kio kia."
ˈasa maj ˈkio ki on-aˈw-a-au=daj ˈkio ˈkia
3S.DI.DIR 1S.OBL what ever bring-CS2-CS1-3S=SPC what ever
"She (: the second wife) asks me to bring whatever (for her)."

76 "Tu asta may ja, asa asta may ja."
tu ˈasta maj dʑa ˈasa ˈasta maj dʑa
2S.DIR also 1S.OBL wife 3S.DI.DIR also 1S.OBL wife
"You are my wife as she is my wife"(the husband said).

77 Toa se matri asaw ki:
ˈtoa se ˈmatr-i_ˈas-au ki
then 3S.REM.DIR say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

78 "A kia onawaam tay s'at'away."
a ˈkia on-aˈw-a-am taj ʂaʈaˈwai
1S.DIR what bring-CS2-CS1-1S 2S.OBL by
Then she (: the first wife) said (to him): "What should I ask you to bring."

79 "May kia ajat ne hin-day."
maj ˈkia aˈdʑat_ne_h-in=daj
1S.OBL what need_not_become-P/F.3P=SPC
"I don't need anything."

80 Ek mar'ik may hatya oni.
ek maˈʈik maj ˈhatja ˈon-i
one bead 1S.OBL to bring-IPV.2S
"Just bring me one bead."

81 "To kia mar'ik?"
to ˈkia maˈʈik
3S.REM.ACC what bead
"What bead?" (her husband asked).

[100]The reference of *se* 'she' is under-specified. However, it must be the first wife who did not say anything.

82 "Ek kalamdar mar'ik may hatya oni," ghõi asaw.
ek kalamˈdar maˈɽik maj ˈhatja ˈon-i ˈghõ-i_ˈas-au
a magic[101] bead 1S.OBL to bring-IPV.2S say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"Bring me a magic bead, she said.

83 To bazaruna pay to oni asaw-e,
to baˈzar-una ˈpa-i to ˈon-i_ˈas-au=e
then bazar-LOC2 go-CP 3S.REM.ACC bring-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=AS

84 jaas shehẽ kay muc' dhari asau
ˈʤa-as ɕeˈhẽ ˈka-i muʈʂ ˈdhar-i_ˈas-au
wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD like this do-CP fist open-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

85 "Aya muc'a thai."
aˈja ˈmuʈʂ-a ˈtha-i
here.NE.SPC fist-LOC1 place-IPV.2S
As he went to the bazar and bought her that, his wife opens her hand (and says): "Put it here in my hand."

86 Asa to thay asaw-e,
ˈasa to ˈtha-i_ˈas-au=e
3S.DI.DIR 3S.REM.ACC place-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=AS

87 "Dupat'a ha-o, kalamdar mar'ik," ghõi asaw.
duˈpaʈa_ˈha=o kalamˈdar maˈɽik ˈghõ-i_ˈas-au
half_become.IPV.2S=TOP magic bead say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
As he puts it (there), "break into two halves, precious bead," she said.

88 "Khias," ghõi asaw, tasa kay.
ˈkhi-as ˈghõ-i_ˈas-au ˈtasa kaj
break-IPV.2S say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.OBL to
"Break," she said, to it (the bead).

89 Se kalamdar mar'ik asta chii shiaw,
se kalamˈdar maˈɽik ˈasta ˈʧhi-i_ˈɕi-au
3S.REM.DIR magic bead indeed break-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

90 istriza asta nashi asaw.
iˈstriza ˈasta ˈnaɕ-i_ˈas-au
woman also die-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
As the magic bead indeed broke, the woman died too.[102]

[101]Trail and Cooper (1999) analyse *kalamdar* as a noun meaning 'a person who wanders around and sings and makes charms for money'. Here *kalamdar* is clearly used as an adjective and translated as 'magic'.

[102]'Woman' is unspecified and ambiguous. In order for the story with the protagonist portrayed as 'unfortunate' to make sense, it must be the 'unfortunate daughter' who dies, in or by the hands of the first wife of their shared husband.

91 Kura may laway asini, baba, chutyakuna.[103]
ˈkura maj laˈwa-i_ˈas-ini ˈbaba ˈtɕhutjak-una[104]
who 1S.OBL lie-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S *baba* youth-LOC2
S*omeone had lied (this tale) to me, baba, in my youth.*

92 A-o mimi kay aris.
ˈa=o ˈmimi kaj ˈar-is
1S.DIR=TOP 2P.OBL to do.PST.A-1S
Now I passed it on to you.

93 Ek hãsh may day asini.
ek hãɕ maj ˈda-i_ˈas-ini
a horse 1S.OBL give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
They gave me a horse.

94 Se khut'a asta, ne.
se ˈkhuʈa ˈasta ne
3S.REM.DIR halt be.PST.INF.3S right
He was halt, right.

95 A ne jagay to greda him
a ne dʑaˈga-i to ˈgr-eda_h-im
1S.DIR not look-CP 3S.REM.ACC take-PST.PTC_AUX.PST.I-1S
I took it without noticing it.

[103]Lines 91–95 form a formulaic means of ending a narrative, where the narrator ironically downgrades the validity of the story ('someone told me this lie'), the trustworthiness of the himself or herself ('and now I passed it on to you'), and his or her judgement ('I bought a halt horse').
[104]The adjective *chutyak* 'young (animate)' is here analysed as a noun, 'youth', since it takes the locative ending *-una* which only suffixes to nouns (Grammar, Section 6.3.5).

Text 8.3:* Ek khacha sirã' adua *'A bad, stormy day'

Told by Sikandar Ghulam Khan (Kraka, Mumoret) in Thessaloniki, Greece, 2004.
Transcribed and translated by Jan Heegård 2006.

This story is an example of how a self-experienced (and dramatic) situation can be reported in a narrative format. On his way home to Thessaloniki in Greece from his cousin who lives on a Greek island, the narrator experiences a rather dramatic trip with the ferry. This is reported in an entertaining way, in particular with the use of vowel lengthening and creaky voice to emphasise the dramatic moments.

Ek khacha sirã' adua

Ah baya, a Sherwal'i pashika pay ays. Se may baya hiu. May zhe tasa ayas babawtr. Tasa dura pay ays. Tasa dur ek bo shishoyak adrakuna shiu, bilkul tana awata. Toa tara bas thi-o.

Toa a pishtyak Athens dai ita Thesaloniki hatya iman ays. Thesaloniki hatya iman ays. May bo krom ashini. Toa tara musim bo kharap thi ashis. Bo sirã' diman ashis koki se 'island'-una samandaraw wajahen bo sirã' dyel. To hawel adua a shase samandarani tiket' gri im ghõi acitis-e, Kishti ne parik abhaaw bo sirã'as wajahen dai. Copamin-o gheri ne parik abhaaw.

Waresh-o du tre bas pis't'aw-o. Toa copawewuna parikas t'em hawaw, hul'uk. Tre bajaano kishti samandari pulis amaan ki: "Ajo pariu," ghõi. Toa a pay t'iket' agri.

T'iket' grii nisa nisi-o sirã' dyiman ashis. Tes sirã' dyiman ashis. Toa a-o udriman ati kishtias udrimana bo moc nisi aini. T'v-'see'-iman aini, kuro kariman aini. A tara pay kursiuna nisi phato ad'ud'is.

D'ud'i-o phato anga ne hawis pay, bo phond pis't'aw, se kishti bo tsal'akiman ashis. Phato ad'ud'is, a acitis "asa shemi-o," ghõi.

Pay bo wat pis'taw-o a sangais moc alagul karin-day. Alagul aran toa a d'ud'i ays a ek tam anga thi jages-e. Moc saw pal'ay aan tal'ey nisikeynani thi. Jages se kishti bilkul mus'an gherikas hiu-day. Ek wã pel'at'ikas hiu-day.

Toa a asta adyais. Phato to bag gri adyay bian nia. Moc tal'ay tshatak kishtiuna nisiman aini. Kiaki warek tshatak kisthti shian iphazatas bati. Iphazatas bati tal'ay nisiman aini. Adyay us't'iman aini moc bo aboi diman aini. Bo aboi diman aini bo perishan aini.

Toa phato adek wat pis't'aw, phato sahi haw.

A stormy day

Ah, you see, baya, I went to see Sherwali. He is my cousin. My and his mother are sisters. I went to his house. His house lies in a very beautiful forest area, in a completely separate place. Then, I was staying there.

Then, coming back via Athens, I was going to Thessaloniki. I had a lot of things to do. Then the weather had become very bad there on the island. There was much wind because, on the island there is much wind because of the ocean. Then, on the the first day, as I thought that I would better go and buy that ferry ticket. The ship could not sail because of the strong wind. In the morning time (the next morning), it still not could not sail.

Then the next day after, two to three days later. Then, during the morning, it was time to leave, it was noon. At three o'clock, the sea police said, "Now it sails." Then I went and bought a ticket.

Having bought the ticket, I sat down, as I sat down, the wind was still blowing. It was blowing fast. Then I went inside, inside the ship a lot of people were sitting. Some were watching TV, some where doing other things. I went in there, sat down on a chair and then fell asleep.

Having fallen asleep, and then, not being awake and aware about the situation, a long way later, the ship was shaking a lot. Then, because I slept, I thought, "What is that!?"

A long time later I heard people were bustling about. They were bustling about, then, I was sleeping, as I suddenly awoke and looked, all people escaped from the sitting place there. I looked and saw that the ship was about to turn over. The ship was indeed about to turn over.

Then I also ran away. Then catching the bag and running, I came out. There people were sitting in small boats. There were other small boats, lifeboats. They were siting there in order to be rescued. Running like crazy, they were getting up in the boats, people were calling 'help'. They were crying 'help' a lot, they were very afraid.

Then, a little time later, then it became okay.

1 Ah baya, a Sherwal'i pashika pay ays.
ah ˈbaja a ɛerwaˈɬi paˈɛ-ik-a ˈpa-i_ˈa-is
oh brother 1S.DIR Sherwali see-INFTV-PURP go-PF.PTC_AUX-PST.A.3S
Ah, you see, baya, I went to see Sherwali.

2 Se may baya hiu.
se maj ˈbaja ˈh-iu
3S.REM.DIR 1S.OBL cousin become-P/F.3S.NS
He is my cousin.

3 May zhe tasa ayas babawtr.
maj ʐe ˈtasa ˈaj-as[105] baˈb=awtr[106]
1S.OBL and 3S.REM.OBL mother-3S.PS.SG.PSD sister=KINSFX
My and his mother are sisters.

4 Tasa dura pay ays.
ˈtasa ˈdur-a ˈpa-i_ˈa-is
3S.REM.OBL house-LOC1 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
I went to his house.

5 Tasa dur ek bo shishoyak adrakuna shiu,
ˈtasa dur ek bo ɕiˈɛojak aˈdrak-una ˈɛ-iu
3S.REM.OBL house a very beautiful forest-LOC2 be-P/F.3S.NS
6 bilkul tana awata.
ˈbilkul taˈna aˈwat-a[107]
completely separate place-LOC1
His house lies in a very beautiful forest area, in a completely separate place.

7 Toa tara bas thi-o.
ˈtoa taˈra bas_thi=o[108]
then there.REM.SPC day_become.CP=TOP
Then, (I) was staying there.

[105]This should be *aya-a* 'mother-1P.PSR.SG.PSD' ('our mother'), with *-a* indicating the first plural possessor (Grammar, 6.3.7, Table 11), but it seems that the second component, third singular *tasa* in the phrase *may zhe tasa* 'my and his' governs the ending.
[106]The suffix *-awtr* is used when denoting a group of blood-related siblings by the same father, e.g. *dadawtr* 'uncles' (i.e. father's brother), *bayawtr* 'brothers', *babawtr* 'sisters', and *nanawtr* 'aunts' (i.e. mother and her sisters).
[107]*Awat* is one of many words for 'place'. It is used when the location is exactly identifiable.
[108]*Bas* 'day, 24 hours' and *hik* 'become' here constitute a lexicalised conjunct verb 'stay (temporarily)'.

8 Toa a pishtyak Athens day ita Thesaloniki hatya iman ays.
ˈtoa a piɕˈtjak ˈathens daj ˈita
then 1S.DIR back Athens via come.CP

9 Thesaloniki hatya iman ays.
thesaloˈniki ˈhatja ˈi-man_ˈa-is
Thessaloniki to come_ IMPF.PTC_AUX-PST.A.1S
Then, coming back via Athens, I was going to Thessaloniki.

10 May bo krom ashini.
maj bo krom ˈaɕ-ini
1S.OBL much work be.PST.A-3P
I had a lot of things to do.

11 Toa tara musim[109] bo kharap thi ashis.
ˈtoa taˈra mu̯ˈsi̯m bo khaˈrap thi_aˈɕ-is
then there.REM.SPC weather.DIR very bad become.PF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3S
Then the weather had become very bad there (on the island).

12 Bo sirã' diman ashis koki,
bo̯ ˈsirã˗_ˈd-iman_aˈɕ-is[110] ˈkoki
much wind_give-IMPF.PTC__AUX.PST.A-3S because

13 se 'island'-una samandaraw wajahen bo sirã' dyel.
se ˈajland-una samanˈdar-aw wadʑaˈhen bo ˈsirã˗_dj-el
3S.REM.DIR island-LOC2 ocean-ABL3 because of much wind_give-P/F.3S.NS
There was much wind because, on the island there is much wind because of the ocean.

14 To hawel adua
to:: haˈwel ˈadu-a
then first day-LOC1

15 a shase samandarani t'iket' gri im ghõi acitis-e
a ɕa=se samandar-ani ʈiketʈ gr-i i-m ghõi a-ʈɕit-is=e
1S.DIR EMPH=3S.REM.DIR sea-ABL2 ticket take-CP come-1S.P/F.NS QUOT AU-think-PST.A.1S=as

16 kishti ne parik abhaaw bo sirã'as wajahen day.
kiɕˈti ne paˈr-ik a-ˈbha-au bo siˈrã˗-as wadʑaˈhen daj
ship not go-INFTV AU-be able-PST.A.3S much wind-OBL.SG because of
Then, on the the first day, as I thought that I (better) would go and buy that 'ocean-ticket' (: ferry ticket), the ship could not sail because of the strong wind.

[109]The narrator has a creaky voice on the word *musim* to emphasise that the weather is really bad. In the next line, *bo* 'much' is also pronounced with a creaky voice, again to emphasise that the weather is bad.
[110]In conjunct verbs that denote weather phenomena, the vector verb is *dyek* 'put'.

17 Copamin-o gheri ne parik abhaaw.
ˈtɕopamin=o ˈgheri ne paˈr-ik a-ˈbha-au
morning time=TOP again not go-IFTV AU-be able-PST.A.3S
In the morning time (the next morning), it still not could not sail.

18 Waresh-o du tre bas pis't'aw-o,
waˈreɕ=o du tre bas ˈpiʂʈaw=o
the day after tomorrow=TOP two three day later=TOP

19 Toa copawewuna parikas t'em hawaw, hul'uk.
ˈtoa tɕopa=ˈwew-una paˈr-ik-as ʈem ˈhaw-au ˈhułuk
then morning=time-LOC2 go-INFTV-OBL.SG time become.PST.A-3S noon
(Then) the next day after, two to three days later, then, during the morning, it was time to, (it was) noon.

20 Tre bajaano kishti samandari pulis amaan ki:
tre baˈja-ano kiɕˈti samanˈdar=i[111] puˈlis a-ˈma-an ki
three at … o'clock-TEMP ship ocean=ADJ police AU-say-PST.A.3P CONJ

21 "Ajo pariu," ghõi.
ajo paˈr-iu ˈghõi
now go-P/F.3S.NS QUOT
At three o'clock, the sea police said, "Now it sails."

22 Toa a pay t'iket' agri.
ˈtoa a ˈpa-i ʈiˈkeʈ a-ˈgr-i
then 1S.DIR go-CP ticket AU-buy-PST.A.1S
Then I went and bought a ticket.

23 T'iket' grii nisa nisi-o sirã' dyiman ashis.
ʈiˈkeʈ ˈgri-i niˈs-a niˈs-i=o ˈsirã˗_ˈdj-iman_aˈɕ-is
ticket buy-CP sit down-PST.A.1S sit down-CP=TOP wind_give-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3S
Having bought the ticket, I sat down, as I sat down, the wind was (still) blowing.

24 Tes sirã' dyiman ashis.
tes ˈsirã˗_ˈdj-iman_aˈɕ-is
fast wind_give-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3S
It was blowing fast.

[111] The adjectivising suffix *-i* is probably a loan from Persian.

25 Toa a-o udriman ati.
ˈtoa ˈa=o uˈdriman ˈat-i
then 1S.DIR=TOP inside enter-CP

26 kishtias udrimana bo moc[112] nisi aini.
kiɛˈti-as uˈdriman-a bo̰ mo̰tɕ niˈs-i_ˈai-ni[113]
ship-OBL.SG inside-LOC1 many people sit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Then I went inside, inside the ship a lot of people were sitting.

27 T'v-see-iman aini kur-o kariman aini.
ˈʈivi_si-ˈiman_ˈaini ˈkur=o kaˈr-iman_ˈai-ni
TV_see-IMPF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S who=TOP do-IMPF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Some were watching TV, some where doing (other things).

28 A tara pay kursiuna nisi phato ad'ud'is.
a taˈra ˈpa-i kurˈsi-una niˈs-i ˈphato a-ˈɖuɖ-is
1S.DIR there.REM.SPC go-CP chair-LOC2 sit-CP then AU-sleep-PST.A.1S
I went in there, sat down on a chair and then fell asleep.

29 D'ud'-io phato anga ne hawis pay, bo phond pis't'aw,
ˈɖuɖ-i=o ˈphato aŋˈga_ne_ˈhaw-is_ˈpa-i[114] bo̰[115] phond ˈpiʂʈaw
sleep-CP=TOP then awake_not_become.PST.A_go-CP much road later

30 se kishti bo tsal'akiman ashis.
se kiɛˈti bo tsałaˈk-iman_aˈɛ-is
3S.REM.DIR ship much shake-IMPF.PTC_ AUX.PST.A-3S
Having fallen asleep, and then, not being awake, a long way later, (I realised that) the ship was shaking a lot.

31 Phato ad'ud'is,
ˈphato a-ˈɖuɖ-is
then AU-sleep-PST.A.1S

32 a acitis "asa shemi-o," ghõi.
a a-ˈtɕit-is ˈasa ˈɛ=emi=o ˈghõi
1S.DIR AU-think-PST.A.1S 3S.DIST.DIR EMPH=what=TOP QUOT
Then, (because) I slept, I thought: "What is that ???"

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[112]There is a very strong creaky voice in the phrase *bo moc*, which indicates that there were a lot of people inside the ship.
[113]Used with durative verbs, the present perfect denotes a progressive meaning.
[114]The verb *parik* 'go' is here used as a vector verb in a compound verb construction, *anga hik parik*, which gives an additional meaning of 'completely' to the negated verb *anga ne hik* 'not be awake' (see Grammar, Section 6.6.5). In addition, to emphasise even more that he was not at all awake, the narrator uses a creaky voice in *pay*.
[115]*Bo* 'much' is pronounced with a creaky voice, indicating that what follows occured a long time after the narrator had fallen asleep.

33 Pay[116] bo wat pis'taw-o a sangays[117]
ˈpa-i bo wat ˈpiʂtaw=o a saŋˈga-is
go-CP much time later=TOP 1S.DIR hear-PST.A.1S

34 moc alagul karin-day.
motɕ alaˈgul_ˈkar-in=daj
people bustle_do-P/F.3P=SPC
A long time later I heard people were bustling about

35 Alagul aran toa a d'ud'i ays
alaˈgul_ˈar-an ˈtoa a ˈɖuɖ-i_ˈa-is
bustle_do.PST.A-3P then 1S.DIR sleep-PF.PTC.A_AUX.PST.A-1S

36 a ek tam anga thi jages-e,
a ek tam ã̃ˈga_thi jaˈg-es=e
1S.DIR suddenly become awake.CP look-PST.A.1S=as
They were bustling about, then, I was sleeping, as I suddenly awoke and looked,

37 moc saw pal'ay aan
mo̯tɕ sa̯w pa̯ˈɬa̯-i̯_ˈa̯-a̯n
people all run away-P/F.PRF_AUX-3P

38 tal'ey nisikeynani thi[118].
ta̯ˈɬ-e̯i̯ nis-iˈk=ejn-ani[119] thi[120]
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 sit down-IFTV=place of-ABL2 be.CP
all people escaped from the sitting place there.

39 Jages se kishti bilkul mus'an gherikas hiu-day.
jaˈg-es se kiɕˈti ˈbilkul muˈʂan_gheˈr-ik-as ˈh-iu=daj
look-PST.A.1S 3S.REM.DIR ship completely turn over-INFTV-OBL.SG become-P/F.3S=SPC
I looked and saw that the ship was about to turn over.

40 Ek wã̃ pel'at'ikas hiu-day.
ekˈwã̃_peɬaˈʈ-ik-as ˈh-iu=daj
turn over-INFTV-OBL.SG become-P/F.3S=SPC
(The ship) was (indeed) about to turn over.

41 Toa a asta adyays.
ˈtoa a ˈasta aˈdja-is
then 1S.DIR also run-PST.A.1S
Then I also ran away.

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[116]It seems as if the function of *pay* here is merely to create cohesion as it cannot refer to any motion mentioned before; see also Section 7.8.
[117]The narrator uses a creaky voice with an emphasising effect throughout this sentence.
[118]Until the word *nisikeynani*, the narrator has an emphasising creaky voice.
[119]The suffix *-eyn* denotes a place where a certain activity (here a sitting activity) is going on.
[120]The participle *thi* 'being, becoming' can be used in an ablative context in order to emphasise the source location in a motion away from somewhere.

42 Phato to bag gri adyay bian nia.
ˈphato to bag gr-i aˈdja-i ˈbian ˈni-a
then 3S.REM.ACC bag take-CP run-CP outside come out-PST.A.1S
Then catching the bag and running, I came out.

43 Moc tal'ay tshatak kishtiuna nisiman aini.
motɕ taˈɫ-ai ˈtɕhatak kiɕˈti-una niˈs-iman_ˈai-ni
people there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 small boat-LOC2 sit down-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3P
There people were sitting in small boats.

44 Kiaki warek tshatak kisthti shian iphazatas bati.
ˈkiaki waˈrek ˈtɕhatak kiɕˈtiˈɕi-an iphaˈzat-as ˈbati
what ever another small boat be-P/F.3P.NS security-OBL.SG for
There were other small boats, for safety's reason (: lifeboats).

45 Iphazatas bati tal'ay nisiman aini.
iphaˈzat-as ˈbati taˈɫ-ai niˈs-iman_ˈai-ni
security-OBL.SG for there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 sit down-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3P
They were siting there for safety's reason (: in order to be rescued).

46 Adyay us't'iman aini moc bo aboi diman aini.[121]
a̰ˈdja̰-ḭ ṵʂˈʈ-ḭma̰n_ˈa̰ḭ-nḭ mo̰tɕ bo̰ a̰ˈbo̰ḭ_ˈd-ḭma̰n_ˈa̰ḭnḭ
run-CP get up-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3P people.DIR much help_give-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST. A-3P
Running (like crazy), they were getting up (in the boats), people were calling 'help'.

47 Bo aboi diman aini bo perishan aini.
bo aˈboi_ˈd-iman_ˈai-ni bo periˈɕan ˈai-ni
much help_give-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3P much afraid be-PST.A.3P
They were crying 'help' a lot, they were very afraid.

48 Toa phato adek wat pis't'aw, phato sahi haw.
ˈtoa ˈphato aˈdek wat ˈpiʂʈaw ˈphato ˈsahi haw
then then a little time later then okay become.PST.A.3S
Then, a little time later, then it became okay.

[121]This sentence is also spoken with an emphasising creaky voice.

***Text 8.4:* Gad'a mocas zhe gromani mocan ac'ho'ĩk**
'The story of an old and lonely man's struggle with the people from a village'

Narrated by Kalamder Khan (Kraka, Mumoret), May 2005.
Transcribed and translated by Nabaig, Taj Khan and Jan Heegård.

This is a story of a clever but poor, old and lonely man who cheats a group of naïve people from a nearby village. As we will see, their naivity has severe consequences. There is a personal twist in this story, as the narrator himself is an elderly man who lives by himself.

Gad'a mocas zhe gromani mocan ac'ho'ĩk

Ek gad'a moc asta, gad'a moc shẽhẽ thi aaw, ki ek kut'uay asta, se. Khay, tal'ay kut'uay-o, shẽ thi aaw ki ek gagiik, tasa. To ek gagiik dhui zhu hul'a, taa balbac-o ne.

Toa shẽ thi aaw se gak chiay aaw. Chiay aaw-e phato hayran thi aaw. Hayran thi shẽ thi aaw ki kura taa kia den, bo garip moc. Toa to gak mari aaw, se gad'a moc. Gak mari shẽ thi aaw ki to post-o suira dyay s'us'ay aaw. Suira dyay s'us'ay-o, citi aaw citi aaw.

To asta gri drazi pay aaw. Pay ek biabanuna pay aaw, tara moculak tara asan. Moc tara asan, to-o ne pashi aan. Se lash bewmut'a us't'i aaw, se. Tara-o us't'i bewmut'a us't'i, tara tasa hatya jayga shial'a. To gaw asta ala us't'aaw.

Us't'i tara, phato dhrak day te moc jiay aaw. Te tasi ulakan kia day aan, te. Day shẽ thi tan aw zhui aan. Aw-maw zhui-o te d'ud'i aan.

Se-o tara mut'a isprapuna parau. Isprapuna pay, kimon ad'ud'aw kimon ne haw, anga ne hawaw, gad'a moc. Khur pastari aaw, gaw ataw, undruhak pal'i dariauna paw. Tara no'una daria ashis. Dariauna tyay aheraw, moc anga ne hawaw, gad'a moc.

Ko kay-o se anga thi aaw gaw pal'i shiu. To gaw asta ger ne kay aaw, se. Se gheri se jiay aaw, moc d'ud'i aan. Se asta gheri isprapuna pay aaw.

Se shatara d'ud'ikas mocuna gaw pal'i dariauna tyay shiu, s'ong-s'ongay tyay, awaza thi shiu, awaza thi shiu. Asmanani thi ataw, ghõi, tal'ay te moc-o ugay dyay aan. Pl'ik te asini, bishiani asta ziad moc, uk airaw.

Airaw-e l'ush thi shiu. L'ushun-o jiay aaw-e ul'ak tara bhoni shian. Perishan aan t'ung day. Lash to gaw jiaw-e gaw ne shiu. "Ah, gaw kura airan." Uchundi aaw, uchundi anday-al'ay tyay aaw. Uk hay shiu to gaw asta. "Asmanani thi ataw, d'umb hawimi," ghõi. Te asta uguna tyay, pal'i te asta d'umb, gaw asta d'umb.

Lash uchundi tay ul'akan tada us'is'a pay aaw. Pragoa pay aaw. Du gan't'a tara nisaw. Nisaw-e mocan pata ne hawaw. Caw baja-o, ponj baja-o, chak praw, mocan pata ne. Tasi tal'ay kharca ashini, tasi praw.

Te kharca-marca tasi day-o, te bic'haraw. Bic'hari saman-maman gardokan hatya pharaw. Te rumbay ani-o, gad'a moc. Tara asini gak tara gordok hãsh, sohorum ashini. Te asta pharaaw, pharay paraw.

Pay ek deh ashis. Tara dehuna paraw tasa kut'uas tada. Tara paraw-e moc bihan nihi jagaan. "Ey moc, shaa gad'a moc bo dewalat onaw." "Gaw pharay pay ays." "El'i kawel'a alaw," ghõi, tante mashkul hawan.

Se tara nii taa tara kut'uuna nii. Te gos't'ay praw, te saman athaaw. Thay gec araw, mocan pata ne. Te taa som jare hawan, moc-o uk hay shiu.

Toa moc, gromani moc, tara pay tasa aphucan ki: "Ey gad'a moc, tu emi kawei halya." "Gaw pharay pay ay."

"Ey moc, a to gaw taza kay pe abrinkis, bo dewalat onis dya." "A to gaw brinki shemi hali aam."

"Ne, ne, tu gaw brinki-ta shamon dewalat ne oni."

"Ne gaw brinki aam, wareg-o may kura den?"

Paron tara dehuna pay amaan ki: "Gad'a moc shẽ shẽ maaw-day." Te kõ' aran, te, bishi bas hawaw, mastruk paraw, pata ne. Toa shẽhẽ sala aran ki, gromani moc: "Shase garip gad'a moc shamon mamila araw." "Abi ei gak marik, homa emi gak."

Pl'ik te gak niniay tara pay aaw, ghõi, shor hawan, te du shor hawan, amaran. Mari mos abrinkan azhuan gaw-o s'us'aan. S'us'ay-o paron, ek mulkuna bazaruna hatya paron. Bazaruna hay amaan ki: "Ey, gocu ne grea-day-e," ghõi amaan-e.

"Gocu ispa kia ajat," ghõi amaan.

Post ne agrian, ne grii, akasan, akasaan pishtyak on. Pishtyak tara ita gad'a mocas hatya kahari hawan. Kahari thi, "Al'a junkik, homa taba arau," ghõi. Shẽ amaan-e: "Al'a junka," ghõi, gad'a moc mutra kariu-day, bihan dras'naw. Te tara kut'uuna angar s'at'aan. Angar s'at'aan kut'u ad'uaw.

Se-o bhut muc'a kay tara cisti aaw, jiel-day, tara kay. "Shel'i may hatya zid aran, dus'mani aran." "A-ta khalash thi aam, may kut'u ajunkan." "Khayr shiu, a isi pashem," ghõi amaaw, tante.

"Khodayas sargayro to kura pashin" paron, angar s'at'ay-o. Aduaw, se kut'u, dui nisau s'ut'ik hawaw.

L'uzhun-o us't'I, "Ajunkimi, to gad'a moc, se homa taba kay ays." L'uzhun-o us't'on-e, gad'a moc bojeyuna s'ut'ik pirel-day. "Ey, se-ta khalash thi aaw, kia mamila," ghõi amaan-e, dunion dunion: "Asa jadu, asa kia ne hiu." "Asa hatya kia cal karik, homa taba araw." "Abi onja wec'hiru hawimi, balbac kibaw hawan, kawa pay gak griik?"

Toa tara tan gromuna sala aran, sala kay amaan: "Asa hatya warek cal karik," she amaan. "Kia cal?," aghõan. "Asa hatya ek cal shiu." "Al'a atra pay nat'hek." "Nat'hay gri al'a bhoni uk histik," ghõi amaan.

Tara pay nat'hay agrian to. Bo moc te, se-o gezhi. Taa balbac asta ne, garip moc. Nat'hay gri to bakasay pron bakasay dyay, kulpi pron. Kulpi dyay to drazi airan, hay uk ahistin. Uk histi airaw, daria, to. Se-o "Abayo, ne ne" ghõi amaaw, shẽ amaaw. Cisti kõ' aran kõ' kay pishtyak on, "Airau," ghõi.

Hay ek biabanuna hairau, biabanuna hay, mocas zhontruna zhal'aaw, hunduruna al'ay hairaw. Hay zhontruna hatya hairaw, hairaw-e, tara-o bo dewalatman moc, maldar moc tara ays, du shor pay aini.

Se-o "Tara kia hariu-day?" ghõi. Adyay tara pay badok l'asay to chal'aaw. Chal'ay to kulpi achinaw, chini jagaaw gad'a moc tal'ay aaw.

"Ey moc, tu may ko chal'ay," ghõi amaaw ki: "May histi," aghõaw. "Atra bacahi may hatya zhal'aaw-day," aghõaw.

Shẽhẽ amaaw-e wal'moc amaaw ki: "May baza khul hawan, may histi, a bacahiuna nisim, atra mehtar griin-day." "May hatya phayda shiu may histi," ghõi amaaw.

Gad'a moc sustaaw, se moc juhan thi. "May shẽ mal dewalat, tu nii," "may histi," aghõaw. Ne-o se shẽ hawan, hawan-ta, wal'moc tal'ay ataw.

Ataw-e gad'a moc kulpi dyay, j'anj'er s'at'ay, gon'd' tal'ay dyay, drazi gad'a moc paraw. Hay to hay batthara hay, to uk ahistaw. To uk ahistaw. Uk histi amaaw ki: "Tu "ne" ghõi maas, atra tay phucin-day."

Gad'a moc tara paraw, bazuri tsandays pay l'asaaw. L'asay te pay gri paraw, tara pay. Te mal tara jaygauna zhal'aaw-e, gromani moc hayran hawan.

"Gad'a moc jadu, mal gri-aw, gheri dewalat onaw," ghõi amaan-e. "Dikia cal karik," bion, moc.

Gad'a moc tasi amaaw: "May shẽ dewalat grea." "May-o gheri uk hista, atra nii, a bacahiuna apaw dem." "A emi kia sektik ne bhaam," ghõi amaaw-e, te bion.

Bihi amaan ki "al'a kia ne pata hiu ... asa al'ei duniani asta iu," ghõi amaan, shẽhẽ may. Te moc amaan ki: "Ey, ek cal karik." "Asa bo dewalat onaw, asa el'i-ta aan-mi-oria". "Asa kia cal c'ic'hi aaw, aspab bihan chal'ay, ay maydanuna apaw dek, homa ama grom junkik. "Asa s'ut'ik hay sohorum onaw, asa uk ahistimi, mal gri aw, gaw faray gak mari, dewalat onaw." "Ajo kia ne bata hiu, abi al'a cal kay abi bata jiek."

Aspab chal'aan, chal'ay niay maydanuna histi, ... gromuna angar s'at'aan, te-mi. Angar s'at'ay grom ajunkan. Grom junki s'ut'ik pharaan bo moc hayran. Bo moc hayran. Hay bazaruna hay abrinkan-e amaan ki: "S'ut'ik ne grea-day?."

"Kia s'ut'ik", aghõ. "Somaniaw saruzo," ghõi amaan-e.

Shẽhẽ amaan-e, amaan ki: "Shul'a gri kay a-am, shul'a gri kay aam," ghõi amaan. "Shul'as'ut'ik-o homa kia adyat ne hiu" ghõi, ne agrian. Ne agrian. Ne gri, pishtyak ita, te gad'a mocas pi asta garip hawan. Maydanuna thaw hawan, gad'a moc dewalatman.

Gad'a moc aw, kas'ong asta niji aaw, wal' pariu-day. Hãshas thara nisiu-day, gordok t'rat'rel-day. Tasa kia l'ochiu zhe pociu-day. Dewalat tasa praw, khoday. Te taa kia ne diman aini shẽ thi aini aini. Tan wakht kibaw aran zaya aran. A tara jaygauna ays to apashis. Ia kisa khatum hawaw.

The story of an old and lonely man's struggle with the people from a village

There was an old man, the old man he has become like this, in a shelter (he) was, he. Well, there in the shelter, it was like this, one cow there was, of his. He was feeding himself solely by milking that one cow, he had no family.

Then it happened like this, the cow stopped giving milk. As it had stopped giving milk, then he became worried. Worried like this, because who will give him anything, he was a very poor man. Then he killed the cow, that old man. After killing the cow, it was like this, he dried the skin by putting it in the sun. Having let the skin dry by putting it in the sun, he thought and thought.

He loaded the skin on the back and went off. Going, he came to a wilderness, there there is a crowd of people. There are people there, they have not seen him. Very, very slowly he climbed up in a willow tree, he. Having climbed up there, having climbed the willow tree, there was a place for him. He also took the dried cowhide up there.

Having climbed up there, then, as he was lying down, he watched the people. They gave their flocks of animals something to eat, they. After giving the animals something to eat, they ate their own food. After eating the food and stuff, they slept.

He fell asleep there in the tree. Falling asleep, whatever much he might have slept, he did not wake up, the old man. He stretched his legs, the cowhide fell (down), falling down, it hit the river. There below there was a river. As it hit the river, the river took it, the man did not wake up, the old man.

After some time he woke up realising that the cowhide has fallen. He was not aware about that cowhide, he. Again he looked at the people, they are sleeping. He also went to sleep again.

Right there, in the middle of the sleeping, when the cowhide had fallen and hit the river, a sound appeared as the cowhide hit the branches. Thinking that something fell down from the sky the people there went into the water. All, they are more than 20, there are a lot of people, the water took them.

As the river took them, it became morning time. In the morning, as the old man looked down, a herd of animals were fastened there. They are worried, bowing their heads down. Slowly, as he looked for that cowhide, the cowhide was not there. "Oh, who took the cowhide?," he asked himself. He climbed down, and after climbing down, he looked here and there. The water has taken that cowhide. He thought: "It fell from the sky, we are lost!" "They also jumped into the water, they were lost as the cowhide was lost."

Climbing down very slowly, he went near to their herd of animals, up to the front part of the herd. He went down to the rear part of the herd. He was there for two hours. As he sat there, there was no sight of anyone. It became 4 o'clock, and even 5 o'clock, it became dark, no sight of anyone. There, there were things for the animals, he gave them things to eat.

After giving them those things to eat, he released them. After releasing them, he loaded the things for the donkeys. Having gathered them in a line, he

took them away, the old man. There were cows, donkeys, horses there, there were gold. He loaded that too, loaded and went away.

Going away, there was a valley. He went there to the valley, near his shelter. As he went there, people came out and looked. They said to each other: "Hey people, that old man brought a lot of riches." "Carrying the cowhide on his back, he left." "From where did he bring the valuable things?" – They discussed that for themselves.

He took it there, he took it there to his shelter. He put it in the stable, he put the things down. Having put it down, he waited and looked, no sight of anyone. The valuable things were his in possession, because the water has taken the people.

Then the people, the village people, went there and asked him: "Hey old man, from where did you bring this. Carrying a cowhide on your back, you went away."

"Hey people, if I would have sold that cowhide being alive then I would have brought much more wealth." "Selling that cowhide, I have brought this."

"No no, by selling a cowhide, you cannot bring so much wealth."

"If I have not sold the cowhide, who else will give me (the wealth)?"

They left, having gone there to the village, they said: "The old man says this and this." They listened, the other people in the village, 20 days passed, a month passed, nothing happened. Then they discussed the matter like this, the people of the village, that .. "This poor and old man did so many things." "We will slaughter those cows, those cows of ours."

They all took the cows out, going over there, to a field, they became 100, they became 200, they slaughtered them. After slaughtering them, they sold and ate the meat, and they dried the cowhides. After having dried the cowhides, they left, they went to a place, to the bazar. Taking the cowhides to the bazar, they said: "Hey, you are not buying the cowhides?" they said.

"To what need are the cowhides for us?" they said.

They did not buy the cowhides, not buying, (the village people) walked and walked with the cowhides and finally they came back. Having come back, they got angry with the old man. Being angry (they said): "We will burn him, he destroyed us." As they said like this, "burn him," the old man was going to urinate, he came out. They set fire to the shelter there. They set on fire, the shelter burnt down.

The old man stood there with the pants in his hand and looks at the fire there. "They have created problems for me, they have been hostile." "I am safe but they burnt my shelter". "No problem, I will show them," he said, to himself.

"Who will see him except God?" they said to themselves, they went, after making fire. It burnt down, that shelter, after being burnt down, it became ashes.

After waking up in the morning, they thought: "We burnt him, that old man, he had destroyed us." As they woke up in the morning, the old man fills the ashes into a sack. "Hey, he is safe, how come?," as they said this, they thought for a long time: "He is a magician, nothing can happen to him ...." "What plans shall we make against him, he destroyed us." "We have now become without milk, our family became like this, where shall we go and buy cows?"

Then they made plans in there in their own village, having made plans they said: "We shall do something else against him," they said like this. "What plans?," they asked. "There is one plan for him." "Going there we will chase him." "After chasing and taking him we will tie him up and throw him into the water.".

Having gone there, they chased and caught him. They were many, he was alone. He had no family, a poor man. Having chased and caught him, they put him in a box, put him in a box and locked it. After locking they took him away on their shoulders, taking him away they threw him into the water. Being thrown into the water, it took him, the river, him. He shouted out, "no no" he said, he said like this. They stood and listened, having listened, they came back thinking: "The river has taken him."

Being taken, the river took him to a wilderness, being taking to a wilderness, he arrived at a person's watermill, being taken through the hundur. Being taken, the river took him to a watermill, as he was taken, there was a very rich man there, he was a very rich man, he had 200 goats.

He thought: "What is the water taking there?." He ran, going there, he took his axe and pulled the box out from the water. Pulled out the box, cut the lock, having cut the lock, he looked, the old man was there.

"Hey man, why did you take me out?," the old man said, "throw me in again," he said. "To me a kingdom will arrive there," the old man said.

When he said this, the shepherd replied: "My hands are finished, throw me and I will settle in the kingdom, there they are choosing a king." "There will be a benefits for me, throw me into the water," he said.

The shepherd defeated the old man, the shepherd being young. "Take all of my valuable goods, throw me," the shepherd said. Neither him nor the other they were like this, the shepherd entered into there into the box.

As the shepherd entered the box, the old man locked it, attached a chain, put a stick onto there, put him on his back and left. Taking it, he took it and took it onto a stone and threw him into the water. Throwing him into the water he said: "You will say no, there they will ask you."

The old man went there, folded up his sleeves and released the goats. After releasing them, he left with the goats, went there. As he reached there to his own place with the livestock, the village people became surprised.

"The old man is a magician, he took the livestock, and in return he brought wealth," as they said this. "What shall we do now?," they were afraid, the people.

The old man said to them: "Take this wealth of mine and throw me again into the water, being taken there, I will live in a kingdom ...." "I cannot take care of this, the wealth," as he said this, they became frightened.

Being frightened they said: "We don't know about him, he can even come from that world," they said. The people said: "Hey, we will do a trick". "He brough much wealth, let that be with him." "He has learnt some tricks, we will take all our things outside, we will live in a flat field, we will burn this our village down." "He took ashes and brought gold, we threw him into the water and he came with livestock, carrying the cowhide after killing a cow, he brought riches." "Now, but there can be nothing, now we will try this trick too, then we will see."

They took out the things, taking them out and throwing it onto the field, they set fire to the village themselves. Having set fire, they burnt down the village. After burning the village, they carried the ashes on their shoulders, a lot of people took it away. Taking it, taking it to the bazar, as they sold it they said: "You don't buy the ashes?."

"What ashes?" the people in the bazar replied. "Is this ashes from the somani-juniper?".

As they said this, they said, "We made it from wood", they said. "We don't need wood-ashes," they (: the bazaar people) said, and they didn't buy it. The others also not buying and having come back, they (: the villagers) became even poorer than the old man. They were left on the bare field, the old man was rich.

The old man came, he has also taken off his hat, he goes herding. He sits on a horse, he releases the donkeys. He has no worries. He gave him riches, God. The other people in the village were not giving him anything, (because) they were like this. They wasted their time. I was there in that place, I saw it. This story is finished.

1 Ek gad'a moc asta, gad'a moc shẽhẽ thi aaw,
ek ˈgaɖa motɕ ˈasta[122] ˈgaɖa motɕ ɕẽˈhẽ thi_ˈa-au
a old man be.PST.I.3S old man like this become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

2 ki ek kut'uay asta, se.
ki ek kuˈʈu-ai[123] ˈasta se
CONJ a shelter-LOC3 be.PST.I.3S 3S.REM.DIR
There was an old man, the old man he has become like this, in a shelter (he) was, he.[124]

3 Khay, tal'ay kut'uay-o,
khaj taˈɬ-ai kuˈʈu-ai=o[125]
well there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 shelter-LOC3=TOP

4 shẽ thi aaw ki ek gagiik, tasa.
ɕẽ thi_ˈa-au ki ek gaˈgiik ˈtasa
like this become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ a small cow 3S.REM.DIR
Well, there in the shelter, it was like this, one cow (there was), of his.

5 To ek gagiik dhui[126]zhu hul'a, taa balbac-o[127]ne.
to ek gaˈgiik ˈdhu::-i ˈzu-i_ˈhuɬa ˈta.a[128] balˈbatɕ=o ne
3S.REM.ACC a cow milk-CP eat-PF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S 3S.REM.DIR family=TOP not
He was feeding himself solely by milking that one cow, he had no family.

6 Toa shẽ thi aaw se gak chiay aaw.[129]
ˈtoa ɕẽ thi_ˈa-au se gak tɕhiˈa-i_ˈa-au
then like this be.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR cow dry up-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then it happened like this, the cow stopped giving milk.

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[122]The hearsay-past *asta* in the initial sentence of the narrative signals that the story is set in a non-actual world.
[123]A *kut'u* is a small and simple construction used as a temporary shelter and built near one's field for protection and rest.
[124]This means that the old man was so poor that he could only live in a *kut'u* and not in a proper house.
[125]Suffixed to a recently mentioned word, the particle *-o* functions as a marker of sequentiality.
[126]The participle verb form *dhui* functions here as a conjunctive participle, expressing the manner in which the leading character of the story was living. The vowel lengthening, marked with '::', expresses intensification or prolongation of an activity. Here it is used as a means of expressing that the protagonist indeed lived the simple and poor life of a shepherd, milking goats and living from the milk. This connotation is rendered in English by the adverb 'solely'.
[127]In contrast to its previous use, the particle *-o* has a contrastive function in this clause, marking information that is contrastive to something either mentioned or (as here) expected.
[128]Like many other Indo-Aryan languages Kalasha lacks a verb 'have' to indicate possession. Possession is expressed with the possessor in the oblique case, the possessed entity in the nominative, and a copula verb that agrees with the possessed item in number: *may ek dur shiu* 'I have a house' (literally 'my one house is').
[129]The verb *chiaik* 'dry up' can be used for a spring or for milk-giving animals such as goats and cows.

7 Chiay aaw-e phato hayran thi aaw.
tɕhiˈa-i_ˈa-au=e ˈphato hajˈran thi_ˈa-au
dry up-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as then worried become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
As it had stopped giving milk, then (he) became worried.

8 Hayran thi[130]shẽ thi aaw ki
hajˈran thi ɕẽ thi_ˈa-au ki
worried be.CP like this be.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ
9 kura taa kia den, bo garip moc.
ˈkura ˈta.a ˈkia d-en bo gaˈrip motɕ
who.DIR 3S.REM.DIR what give-P/F.3P.NS very poor man
Worried like this, (because) who will give him anything, (he was) a very poor man.

10 Toa to gak mari aaw, se gad'a moc.
ˈtoa to gak ˈmar-i_ˈa-au se ˈgaɖa motɕ
then 3S.REM.ACC cow slaughter-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR old man
Then he killed the cow, that old man.

11 Gak mari shẽ thi aaw ki
gak ˈmar-i ɕẽ thi_ˈa-au ki
cow slaughter-CP like this be.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ
12 to post-o suira dyay s'us'ay aaw.
to ˈpost=o ˈsujr-a[131] ˈdja-i[132] ʂuˈʂ-a-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.ACC skin=TOP sun-LOC1 put-CP dry-CS1-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
After killing the cow, it was like this, he dried the skin by putting it in the sun.

[130]The participle *thi* 'being, becoming' functions here as conjunctive participle in the typical narrative use. It repeats the previously mentioned action or state of affairs as background information for the following action or state of affairs. This use of the conjunctive participle occurs throughout the narrative, frequently by use of the verb form *pay* 'going, having gone, gone', from *parik* 'go'.
[131]*Suyr-* is a root allomorph of *suri* 'sun', where the palatal /i/ shifts to /j/, '*y*' in the Kalasha orthography.
[132]The participle word form *dyay*, from *dyek* 'put', is here a conjunctive participle with a subordinating function. It subordinates the action 'placing something in the sun' to the syntactically primary action 'letting dry'.

13 Suyra dyay s'us'ay-o, citi aaw citi aaw.
ˈsujr-a ˈdja-i ʂuˈʂ-a-i=o[133] ˈtɕit-i_ˈa-au ˈtɕit-i_ˈa-au[134]
sun-LOC1 put-CP dry-CS1-CP=TOP think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Having let (skin) dry by putting it in the sun, he thought and thought.

14 To asta gri drazi pay aaw.
to ˈasta gri ˈdraz-i ˈpa-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.ACC along with load on back-CP go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
(He) loaded it (: the skin) on the back and went off.

15 Pay ek biabanuna pay aaw,
ˈpa-i ek biaˈban-una ˈpa-i_ˈa-au
go-CP a wilderness-LOC2 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

16 tara moculak tara asan.
taˈra moˈtɕulak taˈra ˈas-an
there.REM.SPC crowd of people there.REM.SPC be-P/F.3P.NS
Going, he came to a wilderness, there there is a crowd of people.

17 Moc tara asan, to-o ne pashi aan.
motɕ taˈra ˈas-an ˈto=o[135] ne ˈpaɕ-i_ˈa-an
people.DIR there.REM.SPC be-P/F.3P.NS 3S.REM.ACC=TOP not see-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
There are people there, (they) have not seen him.

18 Se lash bewmut'a us't'i aaw, se.
se la::ɕ[136] bew_ˈmuʈ-a ˈuʂʈ-i_ˈa-au se
3S.REM.DIR slowly willow_tree-LOC1 climb-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR
Very, very slowly he climbed (up in) a willow tree, he.

19 Tara-o us't'i bewmut'a us't'i,
taˈra=o ˈuʂʈ-i bewˈmuʈ-a ˈuʂʈ-i
there.REM.SPC=TOP climb-CP willow tree-LOC1 climb-CP

20 tara tasa hatya jayga shial'a.
taˈra ˈtasa ˈhatja dʑajˈga ɕi-ˈała
there.REM.SPC 3S.REM.DIR for place be-PST.I.3S/P
Having climbed up there, having climbed the willow tree, there was a place for him.

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[133]With the conjunctive participle, *-o* expresses temporal sequentiality (Bashir 1988a, 51). This function can be seen throughout all of the narratives.
[134]Word repetition, here of the verb form *citi aaw* '(he) thought', is a means of expressing a repeated or a prolonged activity, implying here that the protagonist thought a lot about what to do.
[135]This use of *-o* expresses counter-expectation: Although many people were present, none of them noticed the poor man.
[136]The vowel lengthening expresses intensification, translated here in English with a repetition of the adverb 'very'.

21 To gaw asta ala us't'aaw[137].
to gaw ˈasta ˈala uˈʂʈ-a-au
3S.REM.ACC cowhide also high up bring up-CS1-PST.A.3S
He also took the dried cowhide up (there).

22 Us't'i tara, phato dhrak day te moc jiay aaw.
ˈuʂʈ-i taˈra ˈphato dhrak_ˈda-i
climb-CP there.REM.SPC then lie down-CP

23 te moc jiay aaw.
te motɕ dʑiˈa-i_ˈa-au
3P.REM.ACC people watch-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Having climbed up there, then, as he was lying down, he watched the people.

24 Te tasi ulakan kia day aan, te.
te ˈtasi uˈlak-an ˈkia ˈda-i_ˈa-an te
3P.REM.DIR 3P.REM.DIR flock-OBL.PL what give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P 3P.REM.DIR
They gave their flocks of animals something to eat, they.

25 Day shẽ thi tan aw zhui aan.
ˈda-i ɕẽ thi tan aˈu ʑu-i_ˈa-an
give-CP like this own food eat-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
After giving (the animals something to eat), they ate their own food.

26 Aw-maw zhui-o te d'ud'i aan.
au=ˈmau[138] ˈʑu-i=o te ˈɖuɖ-i_ˈa-an
food=RDPL eat=-CP=TEMP.SEQ 3P.REM.DIR sleep-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
After eating the food and stuff, they slept.

27 Se-o tara mut'a isprapuna paraw,
ˈse=o taˈra ˈmuʈ-a isˈprap-una_paˈr-au
3S.REM.DIR=TOP there.REM.SPC tree-LOC1 sleep-LOC2_go-PST.A.3S
He fell asleep there in the tree.

[137]With the causative suffix *-a-*, the intransitive verb *us't'ik* 'climb, ascend, get up from lying position' here means 'bring in up-lying position'.
[138]The word form *au-mau* is an *m*-reduplication in which the word form is repeated, *m*-inserted before a word-initial vowel (or replacing a word-initial consonant), and the accent shifted to the reduplicated word part. The *m*-reduplication renders the meaning 'and stuff', indicating that the actants consumed food and that which belonged to it. Another meaning of the *m*-reduplication is 'vehemence' (cf. Bashir 1988a, 393; Heegård Petersen 2006a, 48).

28 Isprapuna pay, kimon ad'ud'aw kimon ne haw
isˈprap-una_ˈpa-i kiˈmon a-ˈɖuɖ-au kiˈmon ne haw
sleep-LOC2_go-CP how much AU-sleep-PST.A.3S how much not SUBJ

29 anga ne hawaw[139], gad'a moc.
aŋˈga_ne_ˈhaw-au ˈgaɖa motɕ
awake_not_become.PST.A-3S old man
Falling asleep, however much he might have slept, he did not wake up, the old man.

30 Khur pastari aaw, gaw ataw,
khur pastaˈr-i_ˈa-au gaw ˈat-au
leg stretch-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S cowhide fall.PST.A-3S

31 undruhak pal'i dariauna paw.
undruˈhak ˈpał-i dariˈa-una ˈpa˗-u
down fall-CP river-LOC2 hit.PST.A-3S
He stretched his legs, the cowhide fell (down), falling down, it hit the river.

32 Tara no'una daria ashis.
taˈra ˈno˗-una dariˈa a-ˈɕ-is
there.REM.SPC below-LOC2 river AU-be-PST.A.3S
There below there was a river.

33 Dariauna tyay aheraw, moc anga ne hawaw, gad'a moc.
dariˈa-una ˈtja-i a-ˈher-au[140] motɕ aŋˈga_ne_ˈhaw-au ˈgaɖa motɕ
river-LOC2 hit-CP AU-take-PST.A.3S man aware_not_become.PST.A-3S old man
As it hit the river, (it, the river) took it, the man did not wake up, the old man.

34 Ko kay-o se anga thi aaw gaw pal'i shiu
ko ˈkaj=o se aŋˈga_th-i_ˈa-au gaw ˈpał-i_ˈɕ-iu
some time=TOP 3S.REM.DIR awake-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S cowhide fall-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
After some time he woke up (realising), the cowhide has fallen.

35 To gaw asta ger ne kay aaw, se.
to gaw ˈasta ger_ne_ˈka-i_ˈa-au se
3S.REM.ACC cowhide also aware_not_do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR
(He) was not aware about that cowhide, he.

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[139]*Anga hik* 'wake up, stay awake, remember' is a conjunct verb that consists of the adjective *anga* 'awake, alert, aware' and the intransitive vector verb *hik* 'become'. As this example shows, a conjunct verb is negated by inserting the negation between the nominal element and the vector verb.

[140]*Harik* means 'take, take away something (inanimate)'. In the past actual tense, it can have the forms *aher-* and *air-*. The narrative contains several other words for 'take' and 'bring'.

36 Se gheri se jiay aaw, moc d'ud'i aan.
ˈgheri se dʑiˈa-i_ˈa-au motɕ ˈɖuɖ-i_ˈa-an
again 3S.REM.DIR look-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S people sleep-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P[141]
Again he looked (at the people), they are sleeping.

37 Se asta gheri isprapuna pay aaw.
se ˈasta ˈgheri isˈprap-una ˈpa-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.DIR also again sleep-LOC2 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
He also went to sleep again.

38 Se shatara d'ud'ikas mocuna gaw pal'i
se ɕa=taˈra ɖuˈɖ-ik-as ˈmotɕ-una gaw ˈpał-i
3S.REM.DIR EMPH= there.REM.SPC sleep-INFTV-OBL.SG middle-LOC2 cowhide fall-CP
39 dariauna tyay shiu, s'ong-s'ongay tyai,[142]
dariˈa-una ˈtja-i_ˈɕ-iu ʂoŋg=ˈʂoŋg-ai ˈtja-i
river-LOC2 hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S branch=RDPL-LOC3 hit-CP
40 awaza thi shiu,
awaˈza th-i_ˈɕ-iu
noise become-PF.PTC_AUX-P/FS.3S
Right there, in the middle of the sleeping, when the cowhide had fallen and hit the river, a sound appeared (as the cowhide) hit the branches.

41 Asmanani thi ataw, ghõi,
asˈman-ani thi ˈat-au ˈghõi[143]
heaven-ABL2 be.CP[144] fall.PST.A-3S QUOT
42 tal'ay te moc-o ugay dyay aan.
taˈł-ai te ˈmotɕ=o ˈug-ai ˈdja-i_ˈa-an
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 3P.REM.DIR people=TOP water-LOC3 put-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Thinking that something fell down from the sky, the people there went into the water,

[141]With durative verbs, the present perfect denotes a state, here 'being asleep' (Bashir 1988a, 67).
[142]The conjunctive verb phrase *s'ong-s'ongay tyay* 'hitting the branches' denotes the cause of the sound's appearance. The reduplication of the stem renders the idea of a moreness of branches. The locative ending *-ai* renders the idea of inexact or dispersed location, that the cowhide hit the branches all the way through the tree; see Grammar, Section 6.3.5.
[143]The quotative *ghõi* here indicates 'indirect thought', i.e. what the people thought for themselves when the cowhide hit the water.
[144]Following a nominal phrase with an ablative ending, as in *asmanani thi*, *thi* 'being, becoming', indicates a natural relationship or stable contact between the entity moving away from somewhere and the source of the motion (here the sky) (Heegård Petersen 2006a, 240–242). In this use, *thi* invokes the idea that something belonging to the sky falls down upon the crowd of people, who are naturally very frightened.

43 Pl'ik te asini,[145] bishiani asta ziad moc, uk airaw
płik te ˈa::s-ini ˈbiɕi-ani ˈasta ziˈad moɕ uk ˈair-au
all 3P.REM.DIR be-P/F.3P.NS twenty-ABL2 more a lot people water take.PST.A-3S
All, they are more than 20, there are a lot of people, the water took (them).

44 Airaw-e l'ush thi shiu.
ˈair-au=e łuɕ th-i_ˈɕ-iu
take.PST.A-3S=as morning become-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
As the river took (them), it became morning time.

45 L'ushun-o jiay aaw-e
ˈłuɕ-un=o ʥiˈa-i_ˈa-au=e
morning-LOC2=SEQ look-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as
46 ul'ak tara bhoni shian.
ˈułak taˈra ˈbhon-i_ˈɕi-an
herd of animals there.REM.SPC tie-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
In the morning time, as (the old man) looked (down), a herd of animals were fastened there.

47 Perishan aan t'ung day.
periˈɕan ˈa-an ʈuŋg_ˈda-i
worried be-P/F.3P.NS bow_give-CP
They (: the animals) are worried, bowing their heads down.

48 Lash to gaw jiaw-e gaw ne shiu.
la::ɕ to gaw ʥi-ˈau=e gaw ne ˈɕ-iu
slowly 3S.REM.ACC cowhide look-PST.A.3S=as cowhide not be-P/F.3S.NS
Very slowly, as he looked for that cowhide, the cowhide was not there.

49 "Ah, gaw kura airan."
ah gaw ˈkura ˈair-an
oh cowhide who take.PST.A-3P
"Oh, who took the cowhide?" (he asked himself).

[145]The vowel lengthening emphasises that all of the people jumped into the water (out of fear).

50 Uchundi aaw, uchundi anday-al'ay[146]tyay aaw.[147]
utɕhunˈd-i_ˈa-au utɕhunˈd-i anˈdai aˈɬai ˈtja-i_ˈa-au
climb down-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S climb down-CP here and there hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
He climbed down, (and) after climbing down, he looked here and there.

51 Uk hay shiu to gaw asta
uk ˈha-i_ˈɕ-iu to gaw ˈasta
water take-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.ACC cowhide be.PST.INF.3S
The water has taken that cowhide.[148]

52 "Asmanani thi ataw, d'umb hawimi," ghõi.[149]
asˈman-ani thi ˈat-au ɖumb_ˈhaw-imi ˈghõi
heaven-ABL2 be.CP fall.PST.A-3S lost_become.PST.A-1P QUOT
(He thought:) "It fell from the sky, we are lost!"

53 Te asta uguna tyai,
te ˈasta ˈug-una ˈtja-i
3P.REM.DIR also water-LOC2 hit-CP
54 pal'i te asta d'umb, gaw asta d'umb.
ˈpał-i te ˈasta ɖumb gaw ˈasta ɖumb
fall-CP 3P.REM.DIR also lost cowhide also lost
"They also jumped into the water, they were lost as the cowhide was lost."

55 Lash uchundi tai[150]ulakan tada us'is'a pay aaw.
laːːɕ utɕhunˈd-i ˈta.i ˈulak-an ˈtad-a[151]
slowly climb down-CP 3P.DIST.OBL flock of animals-OBL.PL near-LOC1
56 us'is'a pay aaw.
uˈʂiʂ-a[152] ˈpa-i_ˈa-au
upper part-LOC1 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Climbing down very slowly, he went near to the their herd of animals, up to the front of part (of the herd).

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[146]The phrase *anday-al'ay* is composed of *anday* 'here (non-specific)' and *al'ay* 'there (distant, non-specific)' but is lexicalised to mean 'here and there'.
[147]The verb *tyek* 'hit' may be used instead of a regular action verb, here 'look', in order to emphasise the intensity of the action.
[148]With the past-hearsay *asta*, this sentence expresses the old man's thought or conclusion. The cowhide is not present, and he has not seen where it went, so (by inference) it must have been taken away.
[149]The quotative particle indicates that the sentence expresses the old man's thought.
[150]*Tai* '3P (remote, oblique)' is a casual form of *tasi*.
[151]As a relational adverb (Grammar, Section 6.7.2), *tad-* denotes the projective location of something or someone in relation to a ground location (Heegård Petersen 2006a, 247–262). The entity to which a relational noun indicates a location is always in the oblique case. The root *tad-* can thus be translated as '(something's) near'.
[152]The narrator uses the noun *us'is'* 'top, upper portion of something' (here the herd of animals) and its counterpart *prago* 'lower portion of something' perhaps in order to indicate a sloping location for the herd of animals, which is located along a river bank. One portion of the herd is located upriver, and the end of the herd is located downriver.

57 Pragoa pay aaw.
pra'go-a 'pa-i_'a-au
lower part-LOC1 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
He went down to the rear part (of the herd of animals).

58 Du gan't'a tara nisaw.
du ganˌʈa ta'ra ni's-au
two hour there.REM.SPC be located-PST.A.3S
He was there for two hours.

59 Nisaw-e mocan pata ne hawaw.
ni's-au=e 'motɕ-an 'pata ne 'haw-au
be located-PST.A.3S=as people-OBL.PL knowledge.DIR not become.PST.A-3S
As he sat there, there was no sight of anyone.

60 Caw baja-o, ponj baja-o, chak praw,
tɕaw ba'dʑa=o[153] pondʑ ba'dʑa=o tɕhak_'pr-au
four clock=TOP five clock=TOP shadow_give.PST.A-3S

61 mocan pata ne.
'motɕ-an 'pata ne
people-OBL.PL knowledge not
(It became) 4 o'clock, and even 5 o'clock, it became dark, no sight of anyone.

62 Tasi tal'ay kharca ashini,
'tasi ta'ɭ-ai khar'tɕa a-'ɕ-ini
3P.DIST.OBL there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 fodder[154] AU-be-PST.A.3P

63 tasi praw.
'tasi 'pr-au
3P.DIST.OBL give.PST.A-3S
There, there were things for them (the animals), he gave them (things to eat).

64 Te kharca-marca tasi day-o,
te khartɕa=mar'tɕa[155] 'tasi 'da-i=o
3P.REM.DIR fodder=RDPL 3P.DIST.OBL give-CP=TOP

65 te bic'haraw.
te biʈʂha'r-au
3P.REM.ACC release-PST.A.3S
After giving them those things to eat, he released them.

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[153]The use of *-o* in the phrase 'NP-*o* ... NP-*o*', here with NPs expressing time, renders the meaning 'and even', 'it was NP, and even NP'.
[154]Trail and Cooper (1999) translate *kharca* as 'spending money, expense'. Used in this specific context, it seems to mean 'things to give (to animals)', i.e. 'food' or 'fodder'.
[155]The *m*-reduplication denotes an indefinite number or mass of the entity denoted by the noun, here 'fodder', and in the following line 'luggage and stuff' (Bashir 1988a, 393; Heegård Petersen 2006b, 48).

66 Bic'hari saman-maman gardokan hatya pharaw.
biʈʂhaˈr-i saman=maˈman garˈdok-an ˈhatja phaˈr-au
release-CP luggage=RDPL donkey-OBL.PL for load-PST.A.3S
After releasing (them), he loaded the things for the donkeys.

67 Te rumbay ani-o, gad'a moc.
te rumˈb-a-i[156] aˈn-i=o ˈgaɖa motɕ
3P.REM.ACC gather-CS1-CP take-CP=TOP old man
Having gathered them in line, (he) took them (away), the old man.

68 Tara asini gak tara gordok[157] hãsh,
taˈra::[158] ˈas-ini gak taˈra gorˈdok hãɕ
there.REM.SPC be.PST.A-3P cow there.REM.SPC donkey horse

69 sohorum ashini.
soˈhorum[159] a-ˈɕ-ini
precious things AU-be-PST.A.3P
There were cows, donkeys, horses there, there were gold.

70 Te asta pharaaw, pharay paraw.
te ˈasta phaˈra-au phaˈra-i paˈr-au
3P.REM.ACC also load-PST.A.3S load-CP go-PST.A.3S
He loaded that too, loaded and went away.

71 Pay ek deh ashis.
ˈpa-i ek deh aˈɕ-is
go-CP[160] a valley be-PST.A.3S
Going away, there was a valley.

72 Tara dehuna paraw tasa kut'uas tada.
taˈra ˈdeh-una paˈr-au ˈtasa kuˈʈu-as ˈtad-a
there.REM.SPC valley-LOC2 go-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.DIR shelter-OBL.SG near-LOC1
He went there to the valley, near his shelter.

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[156]The verb *rumbek* has the specific meaning of gathering animals in a line.
[157]The word *gordok* 'donkey' is Khowar but is frequently used by the Kalasha. The Kalasha word is *gardok*.
[158]The vowel lengthening emphasises that there were many animals and other things present.
[159]*Sohorum* means 'gold, precious metal, precious things'. The plural verb form shows that it is a plural word.
[160]The use of the conjunctive participle *pay* 'going' is a means of creating cohesion between the clauses in a narrative. Repeating the main verb of the previous sentence, it seems to be semantically redundant as the listener is already aware of what action is taking place.

73 Tara paraw-e moc bihan nihi jagaan.

taˈra	paˈr-au=e	motɕ	ˈbihan	niˈh-i	dʑaˈga-an
there.REM.SPC	go-PST.A.3S=as	people	outside	come out-CP	look-PST.A.3P

As he went there, people came out and looked.

74 "Ey moc, shaa gad'a moc bo dewalat onaw."

ey	motɕ	ˈɛ=a.a	ˈgadɻa	motɕ	bo	dewaˈlat	ˈon-au
hey	people	EMPH=3S.NE.DIR	old	man	much	riches	bring-PST.A.3S

(They said to each other:)"Hey people, that old man brough a lot of riches."

75 "Gaw pharay pay ais."

gaw	phaˈra-i	ˈpa-i_ˈa-is	
cowhide	carry on one's back-CP	go- PST.PF.A_AUX-2S	

"Carrying the cowhide on his back, he left."

76 "El'i kawel'a alaw," ghõi,

ˈeɫi	kaˈw=eɫ-a[161]	aˈl-au	ˈghõi[162]
3P.DIST.DIR	where=across edge-LOC1	bring-PST.A.3S	QUOT

77 tante mashkul hawan.

tanˈte	maɕˈkul_ˈhaw-an
by oneself	conversation_become.PST.A-3P

"From where did he bring them (the valuable things)?" – They discussed (that) for themselves.

78 Se tara nii taa tara kut'uuna nii.

se	taˈra	ˈni-i	ˈta.a	taˈra	kuˈʈu-una	ni-i
3S.REM.DIR	there.REM.SPC	take-CP	3S.REM.DIR	there.REM.SPC	shelter-LOC2	take-CP

He took (it) there, (he) took (it) there to his shelter.

79 Te gos't'ay praw, te saman athaaw.

te	ˈgoʂʈ-ai	ˈpr-au	te	saˈman	a-ˈtha-au
3P.REM.ACC	stable-LOC3	put-PST.A.3S	3P.REM.ACC	things	AU-place-PST.A.3S

(He) put it in the stable, (he) put the things down.

80 Thay gec araw, mocan pata ne.

ˈtha-i	getɕ_ˈar-au[163]	ˈmotɕ-an	ˈpata	ne
place-CP	eye_do.PST.A-3S	people-OBL.PL	knowledge	not

Having put (it) down, he waited and looked, no sight of anyone.

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[161]*Kawel'a* 'from where' is made up of the adverbial root *kaw-* 'where', the 'across edge' derivative *-el'-*, and the Loc1 suffix *-a* (see Grammar, Section 6.7.1.1, Table 23).
[162]The quotative particle *ghõi* marks indirect speech.
[163]The noun *gec* is Khowar for 'eye' but adopted into Kalasha as part of a conjunct verb meaning 'to wait'.

81 Te taa som jare hawan,
te ˈta.a som ʤaˈre_ˈhaw-an
3P.REM.DIR 3S.REM.OBL by absorbing_become.PST.A-3P

82 moc-o[164] uk hay shiu.
ˈmotɕ=o ug ˈha-i_ˈɕ-iu
people=TOP water take-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
They (: the valuable things) were his possession, (because) the water has taken the people.

83 Toa moc, gromani moc, tara pay
ˈtoa motɕ ˈgrom-ani motɕ taˈra ˈpa-i
then people village-ABL2 people there.REM.SPC go-CP

84 tasa aphucan ki:
ˈtasa a-ˈphutɕ-an ki
3S.REM.DIR AU-ask-PST.A.3P CONJ

85 "Ey gad'a moc, tu emi kawei halya."
ey ˈgaɖa motɕ tu ˈemi kaˈw-ei haˈl-i-e
hey old man 2S.DIR 3P.NE.ACC where-ABL1 bring-PST.A.2S-INTERR

86 "Gaw pharay pay ay."
gaw phaˈra-i ˈpa-i_ˈa-i
cowhide carry on one's back-CP go-PST.PF.A_AUX-2S
Then the people, the village people, went there and asked him: "Hey old man, from where did you bring this. Carrying a cowhide on your back, you went away."

87 "Ey moc, a to gaw taza kay pe abrinkis,
ey motɕ a to gaw taˈza_ˈka-i[165] pe a-ˈbriŋk-is
hey people 1S.DIR 3S.REM.ACC cowhide healing_do-CP if AU-sell-PST.A.1S

88 bo dewalat onis dya."
bo dewaˈlat ˈon-is dja[166]
much richness bring-PST.A.1S CTRF
"Hey people, if I would have sold that cowhide being alive[167] then I would have brought much more wealth.

89 "A to gaw brinki shemi hali aam."
a to gaw ˈbriŋk-i ˈɕ=emi haˈl-i_ˈa-am
1S.DIR 3S.REM.ACC cowhide sell-CP EMPH=3P.NE.ACC bring-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S
"Selling that cowhide, I have brought this."

[164]The particle *-o* here indicates that the people who were taken away by the river have been mentioned before.
[165]Trail and Cooper (1999) translate *taza karik* 'heal' in the participle form 'healed'. In the context here, it seems to mean 'alive'.
[166]The construction *pe ... dya* gives the meaning 'if ...., then ....'.
[167]Meaning 'having sold that skin while the cow had been alive'.

90 "Ne, ne, tu gaw brinki-ta shamon dewalat ne oni."

ne	ne	tu	gaw	ˈbriŋk-i=ta	ɕaˈmon	dewaˈlat	ne	ˈon-i
no	no	2S.DIR	cowhide	sell-CP=CNTR	so much	richness	not	bring-PST.A.2S

"No no, by selling a cowhide, you cannot bring so much wealth."

91 "Ne gaw brinki aam, wareg-o may kura[168] den?"

ne	gaw	ˈbriŋk-i_ˈa-am	waˈreg=o	may	ˈkura	d-en
not	cowhide	sell-PF.PTC_AUX-1S	who else=TOP	1S.OBL	who	give-P/F.3P.NS

"If I have not sold the cowhide, who else will give me (the wealth)?"

92 Paron tara dehuna pay amaan ki:

paˈr-on	taˈra	ˈdeh-una	ˈpa-i	a-ˈma-an	ki
go-PST.3P.NS	there.REM.SPC	place-LOC2	go-CP	AU-say-PST.A.3P	CONJ

93 "Gad'a moc shẽ shẽ maaw-day"

ˈgaɖa	motɕ	ɕẽ ɕẽ	ˈma-au=daj
old	man	like this	say-P/F.3S=SPC

They left, having gone there to the village, they said: "The old man says this and this."

94 Te kõ' aran, te, bishi bas hawaw,

te	kõ˗_ˈar-an	te	ˈbiɕi	bas	ˈhaw-au
3P.REM.DIR	ear_do.PST.A-3P	3P.REM.DIR	twenty	day	become.PST.A-3S

95 mastruk paraw, pata ne.

masˈtruk	paˈr-au	ˈpata	ne[169]
month	go-PST.A.3S	knowledge	not

They listened, they (: the other people in the village), 20 days passed, a month passed, nothing happened.

96 Toa shẽhẽ sala aran ki, gromani moc:

ˈtoa	ɕẽˈhẽ	ˈsala_ˈar-an	ki	ˈgrom-ani	motɕ
then	like this	discussion_do-PST.A-3P	CONJ	village-ABL2	people

Then they discussed (the matter) like this, the people of the village, that ..

97 "Shase garip gad'a moc shamon mamila[170]araw."

ɕa=ˈse	gaˈrip	ˈgaɖa	motɕ	ɕaˈmon	mamiˈla	ˈar-au
EMPH=3S.REM.DIR	poor	old	man	so much	situation	do.PST.A-3P

"This poor and old man did so many things.

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[168]Trail and Cooper (1999) give the construction *warego kia* 'what else' (literally, 'another-*o*' + 'what'). The construction *warego kura* (literally, 'another who', with possible *g*-drop) seems to be built upon the same pattern, meaning 'who else'. Like other fixed constructions, this can also be broken up by other words.

[169]*Pata ne*, literally 'knowledge not', is here translated as 'nothing happened'. In normal speech, *pata ne* can also mean 'I don't know'.

[170]*Mamila* has vague semantics. Trail and Cooper (1999) translate it as 'situation, condition, happening'. It can be used as a sort of dummy noun meaning 'an event, situation, or condition of some sort'.

98 "Abi ei[171] gak marik, homa emi gak."

ˈabi	ˈe.i	gak	ˈmar-ik	ˈhoma	ˈemi	gak
1P.DIR	3P.NE.ACC	cow	slaughter-P/F.1P.NS	1P.OBL	3P.NE.DIR	cow

"We will slaughter those cows, those cows of ours."

99 Pl'ik te gak niniay tara pay aaw, ghõi,

płik	te	gak	nini-ˈa-i	taˈra	ˈpa-i_ˈa-an	ˈghõi[172]
all	3P.REM.DIR	cow	appear-CS1-CP	there.REM.SPC	go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P	QUOT

100 shor hawan, te du shor hawan, amaran.

ɕor	ˈhaw-an	te	du ɕor	ˈhaw-an	a-ˈmar-an
hundred	be.PST.A-3P	3P.REM.DIR	200	become.PST.A-3P	AU-slaughter-PST.A.3P

They all took the cows out, going over there (: to a field), (they) became 100, they became 200, (they) slaughtered (them).

101 Mari mos abrīkan azhuan, gaw-o s'us'aan

ˈmar-i	mos	a-ˈbriŋk-an	a-ˈʑu-an	ˈgaw=o	ʂuˈʂ-a-an
slaughter-CP	meat	AU-sell-PST.A.3P	AU-eat-PST.A.3P	cowhide=TOP	dry-CS1-PST.A.3P

After slaughtering (them), (they) sold and ate the meat, (and they) dried the cowhides.

102 S'us'ay-o paron, ek mulkuna bazaruna hatya paron.

ʂuˈʂ-a-i=o	paˈr-on	ek	ˈmulk-una	baˈzar-una	ˈhatja	paˈr-on
dry-CS1-CP=TOP	go-PST.A.3P	a	country-LOC2	bazar-LOC2	to	go-PST.A.3P

After having dried (the cowhides), (they) left, (they) went to a place, to the bazar.

103 Bazaruna hay amaan ki:

baˈzar-una	ˈha-i	a-ˈma-an	ki
bazar-LOC2	bring-CP	AU-say-PST.A.3P	CONJ

Taking (the cowhides) to the bazaar, they said:

104 "Ey, gocu[173]ne grea-day-e," ghõi amaan-e.

ey	goˈʨu	ne	ˈgr-ea=daj=e	ˈghõi	a-ˈma-an=e	
hey	cowhide	not	buy-P/F.2S=SPC=INTERR	QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3P=as	

"Hey, you are not buying the cowhide?" they said

[171]The truncated forms of the demonstrative pronouns with elided an intervocalic consonant, here *ei* for *emi*, are frequent in everyday language but are by no means obligatory. Note the full form *emi* in the following clause.

[172]Used with a sentential complement only, without a matrix verb, *ghõi* can indicate the meaning 'intention' (Bashir 1988a, 284–185).

[173]The speaker here uses the Khowar word *gocu* for 'cowhide' instead of Kalasha *gaw* in order to indicate the language of the bazaar.

105 "Gocu ispa kia ajat,"[174] ghõi amaan.
go'tɕu is'pa 'kyaa a'dʑat 'ghõi a-'ma-an
cowhide we why need QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3P
"To what need are the cowhides for us?" they said.

106 Post ne agrian, ne grii,
post ne a-'gri-an ne 'gri-i
cowhide not AU-buy-PST.A.3P not buy-CP

107 akasan, akasaan[175]pishtyak on.
a-'kasa-an a-'kasa-an piɕ'tjak on
AU-walk-PST.A.3P AU-walk-PST.A.3P back come.PST.A.3P
They did not buy the cowhide, not buying, (they) walked and walked with the cowhide and (finally) (they) came back.

108 Pishtyak tara ita gad'a mocas hatya kahari hawan.
piɕ'tjak ta'ra 'i-ta 'gaɖa 'motɕ-as 'hatja kaha'ri_'haw-an
back there.REM.SPC come-CP old man-OBL.SG with angry_become.PST.A-3P
Having come back, (they) got angry with the old man.

109 Kahari thi, "Al'a jũkik, homa taba araw," ghõi
kaha'ri_thi 'ała 'dʑuŋk-ik 'homa ta'ba_'ar-au 'ghõi
angry_become.CP 3S.NE.ACC burn-P/F.1P.NS 1P.OBL destroying_do.PST.A-3S QUOT
Being angry (they said): "We will burn him, he destroyed us."

110 Shẽ amaan-e, "Al'a jũka," ghõi,
ɕẽ a-'ma-an=e 'ała 'dʑuŋk-a 'ghõi
like this AU-say-PST.A.3P=as 3S.NE.ACC burn-IPV.2P QUOT

111 gad'a moc mutra kariu-day, bihan dras'naw.
'gaɖa motɕ 'mutra_'kar-iu=daj 'bihan draʂ'n-au
old man urinate-P/F.3S=SPC out come out-PST.A.3S
As they said like this, "burn him," the old man was going to urinate, (he) came out.

112 Te tara kut'uuna angar s'at'aan.
te ta'ra ku'ʈu-una an'gar ʂa'ʈ-a-an
3P.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC shelter-LOC2 fire set-CS1-PST.A.3P
They set fire to the the shelter there.[176]

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[174]The line "goču ispa kyaa ajat" is Khowar, here used to imitate the language of the people in the bazaar. The Kalasha equivalent would be *gaw homa kia atyat hiu*.

[175]The repetition of the movement verb expresses that the walking took place for a long time and perhaps that it was tedious (indicated in English here by the adverb 'finally') since the village people had no luck selling the cowhide.

[176]This somewhat dramatic line is followed by the complimenting heckle *khay baca* 'al-right king' from a member of the audience.

113 Angar s'at'aan kut'u ad'uaw.
anˈgar ʂaˈʈ-aa-an kuˈʈu a-ˈɖu-au
fire set-CS1-PST.A.3P shelter AU-burn down-PST.A.3S
(They) set on fire, the shelter burnt down

114 Se-o bhut muc'a kay tara cisti aaw,
ˈse=o bhut ˈmuʈʂa_ˈka-i taˈra ˈtɕist-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.DIR=TOP trousers fist_do-CP there.REM.SPC stand-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

115 jiel-day, tara kay.
ʤi-ˈel=laj taˈra kaj
look-P/F.3S=SPC there.REM.SPC at
He (the old man) stood there with the pants in his hand and looks at (it, the fire) there.

116 "Shel'i may hatya zid aran, dus'mani aran."
ˈɕ=eɬi may ˈhatja zit_ˈar-an duʂmaˈni_ˈar-an
EMPH=3P.DI.DIR 1S.OBL towards problem_do.PST.A-3P hostility_do.PST.A-3P
"They have created problems for me, they have been hostile."

117 "A-ta khalash thi aam, may kut'u ajũkan."
ˈa=ta khaˈlaɕ_thi_ˈa-am may kuˈʈu a-ˈʤuŋk-an
1S.DIR=CNTR.EXP safe_be.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S 1S.OBL shelter AU-burn-PST.A.3P
"I am safe but they burnt my shelter."

118 "Khayr shiu, a isi pashem,"
khajr ˈɕ-iu a ˈisi paˈɕ-em
peace be-P/F.3S.NS 1S.DIR 3P.NE.OBL show-P/F.1S.NS

119 ghõi amaaw, tante.
ˈghõi a-ˈma-au tanˈte
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S by himself
"No problem, I will show them," he said, to himself.

120 "Khodayas sargayro to kura pashin" paron, angar s'at'ay-o.
khoˈdaj-as sarˈgayro to ˈkura ˈpaɕ-in
god-OBL.SG without 3S.REM.ACC who see-P/F.3P.NS

121 paron, angar s'at'ay-o.
paˈr-on aŋˈgar ʂaˈʈ-a-i=o
go-PST.A.3P fire attach-CS1-CP=TOP
"Who will see him except God"[177] *(they said to themselves), they went, after making fire.*

[177]Meaning 'who cares for him except God'.

122 Aduaw, se kut'u, dui nisaw
a-ˈdu-au se kuˈʈu ˈdu-i_niˈs-au[178]
AU-burn down-PST.A.3S[179] 3S.REM.DIR shelter get burn-CP_sit-PST.A.3S
s'ut'ik hawaw.
ʂuˈʈik ˈhaw-au
ashes become.PST.A-3S
(It) burnt down, that shelter, after being burnt down, (it) became ashes.

123 L'uzhun-o us't'i "Ajunkimi, to gad'a moc,
ˈɬuʐ-un=o ˈuʂʈ-i a-ˈdʑuŋk-imi to ˈgaɖa moʨ
morning-LOC2=TOP wake up-CP AU-think-PST.A.1P 3P.REM.DIR old man
124 se homa taba kay ais."
se ˈhoma taˈba_ˈka-i_ˈa-is
3S.REM.DIR 1P.OBL destroy_do-CP_AUX.3S
After waking up in the morning, (they thought): "We burnt him, that old man, he had destroyed us."

125 L'uzhun-o us't'on-e,
ˈɬuʐ-un=o uʂˈʈ-on=e
morning-LOC2=TOP wake up-PST.A.3P=as
126 gad'a moc bojeyuna s'ut'ik pirel-day.
ˈgaɖa moʨ boˈdʑej-una ʂuˈʈik piˈr-el=laj
old man sack-LOC2 ashes fill-P/F.3S=SPC
As they woke up in the morning, the old man fills the ashes into a sack.

127 "Ey, se-ta khalash thi aaw, kia mamila"
ey ˈse=ta khaˈlaɕ_thi_ˈa-au ˈkia mamiˈla
hey 3S.REM.DIR=CNTR.EXP safe_become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S what situation
128 ghõi amaan-e, dunion dunion,
ˈghõi a-ˈma-an=e duni-ˈon duni-ˈon[180]
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3P=as think-PST.A.3P think-PST.A.3P
129 "asa jadu, asa kia ne hiu."
ˈasa dʑaˈdu ˈasa ˈkia ne ˈh-iu
3S.DI.DIR magician 3S.DI.OBL what not become-P/F.3S.NS
"Hey, he is safe, how come?," as they said (this), they thought for a long time: "He is a magician, nothing can happen to him ..."

[178]The compound verb *dui nisik*, literally 'burnt go', indicates that *nisik* 'sit down' can also function as a vector verb, as a supplement to the three vector verbs *dek* 'give', *parik* 'go', and *dyek* 'put' identified by Bashir (1988a, 220). The meaning seems to be that of 'completion of event' and 'negative outcome'. *Nisik* thus seems to compete with *parik* in function (Bashir 1988a, 242).
[179]*Duik* means 'get burnt' and *junkik* 'to burn'.
[180]The repetition of the verb *dunion* 'thought' indicates iterative or prolonged activity.

130 "Asa hatya kia cal karik, homa taba araw."
ˈasa ˈhatja ˈkia tɕal_ˈkar-ik ˈhoma taˈba_ˈar-au
3S.DI.OBL to what plan_do-P/F.1P.NS 1P.OBL destroying_do-PST.A-3S
"What plans shall we make against him, he destroyed us."

131 "Abi onja wec'hiru hawimi,
ˈabi ˈondʑa we=ˈʈʂhir=u ˈhaw-imi
1P.DIR now without=milk=without become.PST.A-1P
132 balbac kibaw hawan, kawa pay gak griik?"
balˈbatɕ kiˈbaw ˈhaw-an kaˈw-a ˈpa-i gak ˈgri-ik
family event[181] become.PST.A-3P where-LOC1 go-CP cow buy-P/F.1P.NS
"We have now become without milk, (our) family became like this, where shall we go and buy cows?"

133 Toa tara tan gromuna sala aran, sala kay amaan:
ˈtoa taˈra tan ˈgrom-una saˈla_ˈar-an saˈla_ˈka-i a-ˈma-an
then there.REM.SPC own village-LOC2 plan_do.PST.A-3S plan_do-CP AU-say-PST.A.3P
Then they made plans in there in their own village, having made plans they said,

134 "Asa hatya warek cal karik," she amaan.
ˈasa ˈhatja waˈrek tɕal_ˈkar-ik ɕe a-ˈma-an
3S.DI.OBL against another plan_do-P/F.1P.NS like this AU-say-PST.A.3P
"We shall do something else against him," (they) said like this (: some of the people said this).

135 "Kia cal," aghõan.
ˈkia tɕal a-ˈghõ-an
what plan AU-say-PST.A.3P
"What plans," they asked (some other of the people).

136 "Asa hatya ek cal shiu."
ˈasa ˈhatja ek tɕal ˈɕ-iu
3S.DI.OBL for one plan be-P/F.3S.NS
"There is one plan for him." (some of the people said).

137 "Al'a atra pay nat'hek."
ˈała aˈtra ˈpa-i naˈʈh-ek
3S.NE.ACC there.DI.SPC go-CP chase-P/F.1P.NS
"Going there we will chase him."

[181] *Kibaw*, here translated as 'event', is a high-frequency word that can substitute for practically all nouns or phrases that denote events or situations of some sort, meaning 'an event or situation of some kind'.

138 "Nat'hay gri al'a bhoni uk histik,"
nat̪ʿha-i gr-i ʿała ʿbhon-i uk[182] ʿhist-ik
chase-CP take-CP 3S.NE.ACC tie-CP water throw-P/F.1P.NS

139 ghõi amaan.
ʿghõi a-ʿma-an
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3P
"After chasing and taking him we will tie him up and throw him into the water," they said.

140 Tara pay nat'hay agrian to.
taʿra ʿpa-i naʿt̪ha-i a-ʿgri-an to
there.REM.SPC go-CP chase-CP AU-catch-PST.A.3P 3S.REM.ACC
Having gone there, (they) chased and caught him.

141 Bo moc te, se-o gezhi
bo motɕ te ʿse=o ʿgez̪i
many people 3P.REM.DIR 3S.REM.DIR=TOP alone
They were many, he was alone.

142 Taa balbac asta ne, garip moc.
ʿta.a balʿbatɕ ʿasta ne gaʿrip motɕ
3S.REM.DIR family be.PST.INF.3S not poor man
He had no family, a poor man. (: he had no one to help him).

143 Nat'hay gri to bakasay pron bakasay dyai,
naʿt̪ha-i gr-i to ʿbakas-ai pr-on ʿbakas-ai ʿdja-i
chase-CP catch-CP 3S.REM.ACC box-LOC3 put.PST.A-3P box-LOC3 put-CP

144 kulpi pron.
kulʿpi_pr-on
lock_put.PST.A-3P
Having chased and caught (him), (they) put him in a box, put him in a box and locked (it).

145 Kulpi dyay to drazi airan,
kulʿpi_ʿdja-i to ʿdraz-i ʿair-an
lock_put-CP 3S.REM.ACC carry on shoulder-CP take away-PST.A.3P

146 hay uk ahistin.
ʿha-i uk a-ʿhist-in
take-CP water AU-throw-PST.A.3P
After locking (they) took him away on their shoulders, taking (him) away (they) threw (him) into the water.

[182]In this and the following sentences, the narrator says *uk* and not *ukai* with the locative ending *-ai*, indicating encompassed (and hidden) location (Grammar, Section 6.3.5). One language consultant prefers *ukai* because the shepherd "is totally surrounded by the water." Another language consultant explains that *-ai* is not grammatically compulsory with nouns denoting liquids.

147 Uk histi airaw, daria, to.
uk ˈhist-i ˈair-au dariˈa to
water throw-CP take away.PST.A-3S river 3S.REM.ACC
Being thrown into the water, (it) took (him), the river, him.

148 Se-o "Abayo[183], ne ne" ghõi amaaw, shẽ amaaw.
ˈse=o abaˈjo ne ne ˈghõi a-ˈma-au ɕẽ a-ˈma-au
3S.REM.DIR=TOP INTERJ no-no QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S like this AU-say-PST.A.3S
He shouted out, "no no" he said, he said like this.

149 Cisti kõ' aran kõ' kay pishtyak on,
ˈtɕist-i kõ˗_ˈar-an kõ˗_ˈka-i piɕˈtyak on
stand-CP ear_do.PST.A-3P ear_do-CP back come.PST.A.3P

150 "Airaw" ghõi.
ˈair-au ˈghõi
take away.PST.A-3S QUOT
(They) stood and listened, having listened, (they) came back thinking: "(It, the river) has taken (him)."

151 Hay ek biabanuna hairaw,[184] biabanuna hai, mocas
ˈha-i ek biaˈban-una ˈhair-au biaˈban-una ˈha-i ˈmoʈɕ-as
take-CP a wilderness-LOC2 take away.PST.A-3S wilderness-LOC2 take-CP man-OBL.SG

152 zhontruna zhal'aaw, hunduruna[185] al'ay hairaw.
ˈʑontr-una ʑaˈɬ-aau ˈhundur-una aˈɬ-ai ˈhair-au
watermill-LOC2 arrive-PST.A.3S *hundur*-LOC2 there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 take away.PST.A-3S
Being taken, (the river) took (him) to a wilderness, being taking to a wilderness, (he) arrived at a person's watermill, being taken through the hundur.

153 Hay zhontruna hatya hairaw, hairaw-e,
ˈha-i ˈʑontr-una ˈhatja ˈhair-au ˈhair-au=e
take-CP watermill-LOC2 to take away.PST.A-3S take away-PST.A.3S=as

154 tara-o bo dewalatman moc, maldar moc tara ais,
taˈra=o bo dewalatˈman moʈɕ malˈdar moʈɕ taˈra ˈa-is
there.REM.SPC=TOP much richness man rich man there.REM.SPC be-PST.A.3S

155 du shor pay aini.
du ɕor pay ˈa-ini
two hundred goat be-PST.A.3P
Being taken, (it, the river) to (him) to a watermill, as he was taken, there was a very rich man there, he was a very rich man there, (he had) 200 goats.

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[183]The interjection *abayo* expresses recognition that something bad has happened.
[184]Due to the lability of voiced aspiration, see Section 6.2.1, the past tense form of *harik* 'take something (inanimate) away' shows considerable variation: *ahirau*, *hairau*, *airau*.
[185]A *hundur* or *undur* is the hollowed piece of timber that functions as a channel leading the water from the irrigation canal to the water mill.

156 Se-o: "Tara kia hariu-day?" ghõi.
ˈse=o taˈra ˈkia ˈhar-iu=daj ˈghõi
3S.REM.DIR=SEQ there.REM.SPC what take-P/F.3S=SPC QUOT
He (thought[186]*):"What is (the water) taking there?"*

157 Adyay tara pay badok l'asay to chal'aaw.
aˈdja-i taˈra ˈpa-i baˈdok łaˈs-a-i to tɕhaˈła-au
run-CP there.REM.SPC go-CP axe let out-CS1-CP 3P.REM.ACC pull-PST.A.3S
(He) ran, going there, (he) took his axe (and) pulled it (: the box) out (from the water).

158 Chal'ay to kulpi achinaw,
tɕhaˈła-i to kulˈpi a-ˈtɕhin-au
pull-CP 3P.REM.ACC lock AU-cut-PST.A.3S

159 chini jagaaw gad'a moc tal'ay aaw.
ˈtɕhin-i dʑaˈga-au ˈgaɖa motɕ taˈɬ-ai ˈa-au
cut-CP look-PST.A.3S old man there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 be-P/F.3S.NS
Pulled out (the box), cut the lock, having cut (the lock, he) looked, the old man was there.

160 "Ey moc, tu may ko chal'ai," ghõi amaaw ki
ey motɕ tu may ko tɕhaˈła-i ˈghõi a-ˈma-au ki
hey man 2S.DIR 1S.OBL why take out-CP QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

161 "may histi," aghõaw.
may ˈhisti a-ˈghõ-au
1S.OBL throw-IPV.2S AU-say-PST.A.3S
"Hey man, why did you take me out?," (he, the old man) said, "throw me (in again)," he said.

162 "Atra bacahi may hatya zhal'aaw-day," aghõaw.
aˈtra batɕaˈhi may ˈhatja ʑaˈɬ-au=daj a-ˈghõ-au
there.DI.SPC kingdom 1S.OBL for arrive-P/F.3S=SPC AU-say-PST.A.3S
"To me a kingdom will arrive there," (he, the old man) said.

163 Shẽhẽ amaaw-e wal'moc amaaw ki:
ɕẽˈhẽ a-ˈma-au=e wałˈmotɕ a-ˈma-au ki
like this AU-say-PST.A.3S=as shepherd AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
When he said like this, the shepherd replied,

[186]The matrix verb *duniis* or *acitis* 'thought' is omitted, and direct speech is indicated by the quotative *ghõi*.

164 "May baza khul hawan, may histi,
maj ba'za khul 'haw-an may 'hist-i
1S.OBL arm finished become.PST.A-3S 1S.OBL throw-IPV.2S

165 a bacahiuna nisim, atra mehtar griin-day."
a batɕa'hi-una ni's-im a'tra meh'tar 'gri-in=daj
1S.DIR kingdom-LOC2 be located-P/F.3S.NS there.DI.SPC king take-P/F.3P=SPC
"My hands are finished, throw me and I will settle in the kingdom, there they are choosing a king"

166 "May hatya phayda shiu may histi," ghõi amaaw
maj 'hatja phaj'da 'ɕ-iu maj 'hist-i 'ghõia-'ma-au
1S.OBL for benefit be-P/F.3S.NS 1S.OBL throw-IPV.2S QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
"There will be a benefits for me, throw me (into the water)," he said.

167 Gad'a moc sustaaw, se moc juhan thi.
'gaɖa motɕ sus'ta-au se motɕ dʑu'han thi
old man overcome-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.DIR man young be.CP
He (: the shepherd) defeated the old man, that man (: the shepherd) being young.

168 "May shẽ mal dewalat, tu nii,"
may ɕẽ mal dewa'lat tu ni-i
1S.OBL like this goods richness 2S.DIR take-IPV.2S

169 "may histi," aghõaw.
may 'hist-i a-'ghõ-au
1S.OBL throw-IPV.2S AU-say-PST.A.3S
"Take all of my valuable goods, throw me," he (the shepherd) said

170 Ne-o se ne-o se shẽ hawan,
'ne=o[187] se 'ne=o se ɕẽ 'haw-an
not=TOP 3S.REM.DIR not=TOP 3S.REM.DIR like this become.PST.A-3S

171 hawan-ta, wal'moc tal'ay ataw.
'haw-an=ta wał'motɕ ta'ł-ai 'at-au
become.PST.A-3S=CNTR shepherd there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 enter-PST.A.3S
Neither him nor the other they were like this, the shepherd entered into there (into the box).

172 Ataw-e gad'a moc kulpi dyai, j'anj'er s'at'ai,
'at-au=e 'gaɖa motɕ kul'pi_'dja-i dʐaɳ'dʐer ʂa'ʈ-a-i
enter-PST.A.3S=as old man lock_put-CP chain attach-CS1-CP

173 gon'd' tal'ay dyai, drazi gad'a moc paraw.
goɳ ta'ł-ai 'dja-i 'draz-i 'gaɖa motɕ pa'r-au
stick there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 put-CP load on back-CP old man go-PST.A.3S
As (the shepherd]) entered, the old man locked (the box), attached a chain, put a stick onto there, put him on his back and left.

[187]The construction *ne-o ... ne-o ...* ('not-TOP ... not-TOP') means 'neither ..., nor ...'.

174 Hay to hay batthara hai.
ˈha-i to ˈha-i bat_ˈthar-a ˈha-i
take-CP 3P.REM.ACC take-CP stone_upon-LOC1 take-CP

175 to uk ahistaw.
to ˈuk a-ˈhist-au
3P.REM.ACC water AU-throw-PST.A.3S
Taking (it), (he) took it (and) toke it onto a stone and threw him into the water.

176 Uk histi amaaw ki:
uk ˈhist-i a-ˈma-au ki
water throw-CP AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

177 "Tu "ne" ghõi maas, atra tay phucin-day."
tu ne ˈghõi ˈma-as aˈtra tay ˈphutɕ-in=daj
2S.DIR not QUOT say-P/F.2S.NS there.DI.SPC 2S.DIR ask-P/F.3P=SPC
Throwing him into the water he said: "You will say no, there they will ask you."

178 Gad'a moc tara paraw, bazuri tsandays pay l'asaaw.
ˈgaɖa motɕ taˈra paˈr-au bazuˈri tsanˈda-is paj ɬaˈsa-au
old man there.REM.SPC go-PST.A.3S sleeve fold-PST.A.3S goats release-PST.A.3S
The old man went there, folded up his sleeves and released the goats.

179 L'asay te pay gri paraw, tara pay.
ɬaˈsa-i te ˈpay gr-i paˈr-au taˈra ˈpa-i
release-CP 3P.REM.ACC goats take-CP go-PST.A.3S there.REM.SPC go-CP
After releasing (them), (he) left with the goats, went there.

180 Te mal tara jaygauna zhal'aaw-e,
te mal taˈra dʑajˈga-una ʑaˈɬa-au=e
3P.REM.ACC livestock there.REM.SPC place-LOC2 arrive-PST.A.3S=as

181 gromani moc hayran hawan.
ˈgrom-ani motɕ hajˈran_ˈhaw-an
village-ABL2[188] people surprise_become.PST.A-3P
As he reached there to his own place with the livestock, the village people became surprised.

[188]The Abl2-*ani* can be used to denote the belonging of someone or something to someone or something (here 'the people of the village').

182 "Gad'a moc jadu, mal griaw,
ˈgaɖa motɕ dʑaw mal ˈgri-au
old man magician livestock take-PST.A.3S

183 gheri dewalat onaw," ghõi amaan-e.[189]
ˈgheri dewaˈlat ˈon-au ˈghõi a-ˈma-an=e
again wealth bring-PST.A.3S QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3P=as

184 "Dikia cal karik," bion, moc
diˈkia tɕal_ˈkar-ik bi-ˈon motɕ
what plan_do-P/F.1P.NS be afraid-PST.A.3P people
"The old man is a magician, he took the livestock, and in return he brought wealth," as they said (this, they said): "What shall we do now?," (they) were afraid, the people.

185 Gad'a moc tasi amaaw, "may shẽ dewalat grea,"
ˈgaɖa motɕ ˈtasi a-ˈma-au maj ɕẽ dewaˈlat ˈgre-a
old man 3S.REM.OBL AU-say-PST.A.3S 1S.OBL like this wealth take-IPV.2P

186 "may-o gheri uk hista,
ˈmaj=o ˈgheri uk ˈhist-a
1S.OBL=TOP again water throw-IPV.2P

187 atra nii, a bacahiuna apaw dem."
aˈtra ni-i a batɕaˈhi-una aˈpaw_d-em
there.DI.SPC take-CP 1S.DIR kingdom-LOC2 dwell-P/F.1S.NS
The old man said to them: "Take this wealth of mine and throw me again into the water, being taken there, I will live in a kingdom ...."

188 "A emi kia sektik ne bhaam,"
a ˈemi ˈkia sekˈt-ik ne ˈbha-am
1S.DIR 3P.NE.OBL what look after-INFTV not be able to-P/F.1.NS

189 ghõi amaaw-e, te bion.
ˈghõi a-ˈma-au=e te bi-ˈon
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S=as 3P.REM.DIR be afraid-PST.A.3P
"I cannot take care of this (: the wealth)," as (he) said this, they became frightened.

[188]The Abl2-*ani* can be used to denote the belonging of someone or something to someone or something (here 'the people of the village').
[189]This line is followed by the heckle *khay, baca!* 'OK, king!' from a member of the audience.

190 Bihi amaan ki "al'a kia ne pata hiu ...
biˈh-i a-ˈma-an ki ˈała ˈkia ne ˈpata ˈh-iu
be afraid-CP AU-say-P/F.3P.NS CONJ 3S.DI.ACC what not knowledge become-P/F.3S.NS

191 asa al'ei duniani asta iu,"
ˈasa aˈɫ-ei duˈni-ani ˈasta i-u
3S.DI.DIR there.DI.NONSPC-ABL1 world-ABL2 even come-P/F.3S.NS

192 ghõi amaan, shẽhẽ may.
ˈghõi a-ˈma-an ɕẽˈhẽ ˈma-i
QUOT AU-say-P/F.3P.NS like this say-CP
Being frightened they said: "We don't know about him, he can even come from that world,"[190]*(they) said, said like this.*

193 Te moc amaan ki, "Ey, ek cal karik".
te motɕ a-ˈma-an ki ej ek tɕal_ˈkar-ik
3P.REM.DIR people AU-say-PST.A.3P CONJ hey a plan_do-P/F.1P.NS
The people said: "Hey, we will do a trick".

194 "Asa bo dewalat onaw,
ˈasa bo dewaˈlat ˈon-au
3S.DIST.DIR much richness bring-PST.A.3S

195 asa el'i-ta aan-mi-oria".
ˈasa ˈeɫi=ta a-an=ˈmi=oria[191]
3S.DIST.DIR 3P.DI.ACC=CTR be-P/F.3P=EMPH=OPT
"He brough much wealth, let that be with him."

196 "Asa kia cal c'ic'hi aaw, aspab bihan chal'ai,
ˈasa ˈkia tɕal ʈʂiʈˈʂh-i_ˈa-au asˈpab ˈbihan tɕhaˈła-i
3S.DIST.DIR what trick learn-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S possessions outside take out-CP

197 ay maydanuna apaw dek, homa ama grom junkik.
ˈa.i majˈdan-una aˈpaw_d-ek ˈhoma ˈama grom ˈdʑuŋk-ik
1P.DIR flat field-LOC2 live-P/F.1P.NS 1P.OBL 3S.NE.ACC village burn-P/F.1P.NS
"He has learnt some tricks, we will take all our things outside, we will live in a flat field (: on the bare land), we will burn this our village down."

198 "Asa s'ut'ik hay sohorum onaw,
ˈasa ʂuˈʈik ˈha-i soˈhorum ˈon-au
3S.DIST.DIR ashes bring-CP gold bring-PST.A.3S

199 asa uk ahistimi, mal gri aw,
ˈasa ˈuk a-ˈhist-imi mal gri ˈa-u
3S.NE.OBL water AU-throw-PST.A.1P livestock with come.PST.A-3S

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[190]Meaning that he must be from another world since he can do these things that we cannot.

[191]With *asik* 'be (animate)', the construction with the emphasising suffix *-mi* and the optative *-oria* means 'let it happen that …, let it be that … '.

200 gaw faray gak mari, dewalat onaw."
gaw pha'ra-i gak 'mar-i dewa'lat 'on-au
cowhide carry on shoulder-CP cow slaughter-CP richness bring-PST.A.3S
"He took ashes and brought gold, we threw him into the water and he came with livestock, carrying the cowhide after killing a cow, he brought riches."

201 "Ajo kia ne bata hiu,
'adʑo 'kia ne 'bata 'h-iu
now what not CNTR become-P/F.3S.NS
202 abi al'a cal kay abi bata jiek."
'abi 'ała tɕal_'ka-i 'abi 'bata dʑi-'ek
1PL.DIR 3S.DI.ACC trick_do-CP 1PL.DIR CNTR look-P/F.1P.NS
"Now, but there can be nothing, now we will try this trick too, then we will see."

203 Aspab chal'aan, chal'ay niay maydanuna histi, ...
as'pab tɕha'ła-an tɕha'ła-i ni-'a-i maj'dan-una 'hist-i
possessions take out-PST.A.3P take out-CP come out-CS1-CP field-LOC2 throw-CP
204 gromuna angar s'at'aan, te-mi.
'grom-una aŋ'gar_ʂa'ʈa-an te='mi
village-LOC2 fire_set-PST.A.3P 3P.REM.DIR=EMPH
They took out the things, taking them out and throwing it onto the field, they set fire to the village themselves.

205 Angar s'at'ay grom ajunkan.
an'gar_ʂa'ʈa-i grom a-'dʑuŋk-an
fire_set-CP village AU-burn down-PST.A.3P
Having set fire, (they) burnt down the village.

206 Grom junki s'ut'ik pharaan bo moc hayran.
grom 'dʑuŋk-i ʂu'ʈik pha'ra-an
village burn down-CP ashes carry on shoulder-PST.A.3P
207 bo moc hayran.
bo motɕ 'hajr-an
many people take away.PST.A-3P
After burning the village, (they) carried the ashes on their shoulders, a lot of people took (it) away.

208 Hay bazaruna hay abrinkan-e amaan ki:
'ha-i ba'zar-una 'ha-i a-'briŋk-an=e a-'ma-an ki
take-CP bazar-LOC2 take-CP AU-sell-PST.A.3P=as AU-say-PST.A.3P CONJ
209 "S'ut'ik ne grea-day?"
ʂu'ʈik ne 'gre-a=daj
ashes not buy-P/F.2P=SPC
Taking (it), taking (it) to the bazar, as they sold it they said:"You don't buy the ashes?."

210 "Kia s'ut'ik", aghõ. "Somaniaw saruzo," ghõi amaan-e.
ˈkia ʂuˈʈik a-ˈghõ-au somaˈni-aw saˈruz-o[192] ˈghõi a-ˈma-an=e
what ashes AU-say-PST.A.3S *somani*-ADJ juniper-OBL.SG QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3P=as
"What ashes" they (the people in the bazar) replied. "Is this (ashes) from somani-juniper?," as they said (this)

211 Shẽhẽ amaan-e, amaan ki "shul'a gri kay a-am,
ɕẽˈhẽ a-ˈma-an=e a-ˈma-an ki
like this AU-say-PST.A.3P=as AU-say-PST.A.3P CONJ

212 shul'a gri kay aam," ghõi amaan.
ɕuˈła gri ˈka-i_ˈa-am ˈghõi a-ˈma-an
wood with make-PF.PTC_AUX-1S QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3P
As they said this, (they) said, "I made it from wood," they said.

213 "Shul'as'ut'ik-o homa kia adyat ne hiu" ghõi, ne agrian.
ɕuła_ʂuˈʈik=o ˈhoma ˈkia aˈdjat ne ˈh-iu ˈghõi
wood_ashes=TOP 1P.OBL what need not become-P/F.3S.NS QUOT

214 ne agrian.
ne a-ˈgri-an
not AU-buy-PST.A.3P
"We don't need wood-ashes," they said, (they) didn't buy (it).

215 Ne gri, pishtyak ita,
ne gr-i piɕˈtjak ˈi-ta
not buy-CP back come-CP

216 te gad'a mocas pi asta garip hawan.
te ˈgaɖa ˈmoʨ-as pi ˈasta gaˈrip ˈhaw-an
3P.REM.DIR old man-OBL.SG from even poor become.PST.A-3P
(The others also) not buying and having come back, they (: the village people) became even poorer than the old man.

217 Maydanuna thaw hawan, gad'a moc dewalatman.
majˈdan-una thaw_ ˈhaw-an ˈgaɖa moʨ dewalatˈman
field-LOC2 be left_become.PST.A-3P old man poor
They were left on the bare field, the old man was rich.

[192]The narrator here uses Khowar *somaniaw saruzo* '(ashes) of somani juniper' to imitate the language of the people in the bazaar. *Somani* is a kind of wild bush, probably of the juniper type, the ashes of which are used in making *naswar*, a sort of tobacco that is placed in the mouth behind the upper or lower lip. We are grateful to Elena Bashir for explaining this Khowar phrase.

218 Gad'a moc aw,
ˈgaɖa motɕ ˈa-u
old man come-PST.A.3S

219 kas'ong asta niji aaw, wal' pariu-day.
kaˈʂoŋg ˈasta niˈdʑ-i_ˈa-au wał_paˈr-iu=daj
hat also take off-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S herding_go-P/F.3S=SPC
The old man came, (he) has also taken off his hat,[193] *he goes herding.*

220 Hãshas thara nisiu-day, gordok t'rat'rel-day.
ˈhãɕ-as ˈthara niˈs-iu=ˈdai[194] gorˈdok ʈraˈʈr-el=ˈlai
horse-OBL.SG upon sit-P/F.3S=SPC donkey release-P/F.3S=SPC
He sits on a horse, he releases the donkeys.

221 Tasa kia l'ochiu zhe pociu-day.[195]
ˈtasa ˈkia łoˈtɕh-iu ʑe poˈtɕ-iu=ˈdai
3S.REM.DIR what boil-P/F.3S and cook-P/F.3S=SPC
He has no worries.

222 Dewalat tasa praw, khoday.
dewaˈlat ˈtasa ˈpr-au khoˈdaj
riches 3S.REM.DIR give-PST.A.3S God
He gave him riches, God.

223 Te taa kia ne diman aini
te ˈta.a ˈkia ne ˈd-iman_ˈai-ni
3P.REM.DIR 3S.REM.DIR what not give-IMP.INF_AUX-P/F.3P

224 shẽ thi aini aini.[196]
ɕẽ thi_ˈai-ni=ˈai-ni
like this be.PST.PF.A_AUX-P/F.3P=REP
They (the other people in the village) were not giving him anything, (because) they were like this.

225 Tan wakht kibaw aran zaya aran.
tan wakht kiˈbaw_ˈar-an zaˈja_ˈar-an
own time event_do.PST.A-3P wound _do.PST.A-3P
They wasted their time.

[193]According to one informant, to take off one's hat or to go around without a hat can be seen as a symbol of being young, i.e. possessing the strength of youth.
[194]Sitting on a horse implies wealth and power, hence no need for donkeys.
[195]The narrator uses Khowar *lochiu zhe pociu* instead of the Kalasha equivalent *wis'iu zhe paciu-day* ('boils and cooks') as an effective means of finishing the story. It is an idiomatic phrase meaning that someone has no worries.
[196]The repetition of the auxiliary *aini* '(they) were' indicates intensification of the characteristics of the village people.

226 A tara jaygauna ais to apashis.

a	taˈra	ʤajˈga-una	ˈa-is	to	a-ˈpaɕ-is
1S.DIR	there.REM.SPC	place-LOC2	be-PST.A.1S	3P.REM.ACC	AU-see-PST.A.1S

I was there in that place, I saw it.

227 Ia kisa khatum[197] **hawaw.**

ia	kiˈsa	khaˈtum	ˈhaw-au
3S.NE.DIR	story	finished	become-PST.A-3S

This story is finished.

[197]The narrator again uses a Khowar expression, (*ia) kisa khatum* ('story finished') as a sort of emphasis. The Kalasha version is *atʼsʼoʼĩk khul*.

***Text 8.5:* Ya'si parikas barauna**

A myth about women's ritual protest to the gods about rainy weather, and how wheat came to be a crop in the Kalasha valleys.

Narrated by Sayed (Kraka, Mumuret), May 2005.
Transcribed by Nabaig and Jan Heegård. Translated by Sikander Ghulam Khan, Taj Khan and Jan Heegård 2006 and 2014.

With this story we are introduced to the mythology of the Kalasha. The story sets out with being an explanation of the ritual *Yas'i parik* (*Yasi* + go) where in the case of a rainy period the women of a valley traverse the valley to make clear to the gods that they want this situation to stop. From this start, the story continues to explain how the important crop wheat came to the Kalasha valleys. As narrated in this form by Sayed, a man knowledgeable about traditional Kalasha customs and religion, this myth contains symbolic elements of fertility and divine purity. The story is full of geographical details and names as a means of emphasising the relevance for present-day Kalasha community.

Yas'i parikas barauna

Wakti may wakt ashis. May wawaa nom Khan. Khana (putras) nom Mirota. Mirotaa (putras) nom Sudrum Khan, Sayed Khan a-o, tasa putr. Sayed Khan a-o, tasa putr.

Waktimaya homa ek wawa asta. Zamana ashis, sak piliwe' hul'a, basund ashis. Basund ashis-o, homa wawa ek istrizhaas hatya as'ek asta. Deshuna ashis, aya deshuna. Anishuna zha Brũ'a zha Darazguru zha, shal'ay homa shia desh. Khabar biko, basundmastruk, sak az'aiush. Sak piliwe' hul'a, muchi-l'a, muchi sat bas pilewe' hul'a.

Toa te istrizha Yas'i pay aan. Kra'ka'ay day pay kanderisar tyay te asta gri pay, Batrika tyay Brũ'a tyay Anizhuna tyay prehãk pay aan. Paron haw, khay, waw-o shatasa pariawan ek istrizhagua'kas as'ek asta.

Kabar biko, khay, "kawa basi aaw," ghõi citi aaw. Copamin-o jagay aaw-e,

istrizha ne ita aaw, hic kura ne ita aan. Weyrakas asta ne ita aaw, warek asta istrizha ne ita aan. Taa som d'aluna pay aan, shate ne ita aan. Ne ita aan haw, prenaw Kanderisar pay, jagay aaw-e ne. Khoji pay aaw, se, tre caw basan, ne-mi ita aan. Tal'ey Batrika pay aaw, tara ne, tara phuci aaw. Brũ'a paraw, tara ne, Anishuna paraw, tara ne. Darazguru paraw, tara ne.

Phato wawaa shẽ khial hawaw ki "Albat no'ay-day paron, a tharay ita aam." Pishtyak aw, se Kra'ka' pishtyak wehãk aw. Ita aya ita jagaaw, ne pata. Phato se te isap aral'-e, sat istrizha pay aan. Hawel' namber Ac'u'yak Awa. Gad'erak se tasi mocaw, istrizhon mocaw. Duo namber Nilikashẽ, Niliba'i, Sonba'i, D'ukbibi, Kacenduk. S'hel'i sat istrizha pay aan, nom asta sabit, shemi nom. Nom asta sabit, shemi nom.

Khabar biko, taa dustas tal'ay mocay, wawa pay aaw, phato. Tal'ey paraw pay. Senjil'a pa'u, Senjila tyay E'hẽ' paraw, E'hẽ' tyay. Biriunisara prehãk asta

paraw. Phato wawaa pata ne hawaw, tasa. Se upul'i paraw, se cisti paraw, se kia thi paraw haw.

Pay Tsiam azhal'aw, mishari zamana. Tsiam pay jagaaw-e, c'hetmocuna ghum shian.

Tara zamanauna ghum ne. Homa aya ghum shiw, tagar-o kawa ne, aya asta sujakbi.

Tara pay jagay aaw-e, ghummocuna ek istrizha uk dyel-day. Toa deshay thi jagaaw, jagaaw tara pay. Tara hatya haybat praw, gromuna hatya parik ne abhaaw. Tara pay to uk achinaw. Uk chini-o mikinno'ay l'uhi aaw. Khabar biko, ogal'ay thi se istrizha khundi aaw, ogal'a gromuna kay. Grom tichak desha shial'a.

"Oh, Ac'uyak Awa, anday i, uk achis," ghõi amaaw, tasa kay. Se c'hetmocani istrizha, se-o tasa se dustas asta.

To uk chini-o se mikinno'ay l'uhi aaw. Toa se gad'a istrizha tal'ey gromaw dras'niaw. Ita tara ita to uk gheraaw. Uk gheray ukas al'-ayhak tyay-o. Paraw gheri, gromuna hatya.

Gromuna pay kia phat gan'd'a hawaw, shamondyaka hawaw, gheri to uk achinaw tara pay, se wawa. U'k achinal'-e se istrizha "kimon khundiem," ghõi-o, phato ita aaw. Ita tara ita to uk gherel, uk gheraaw. Uk gheray tara c'hetruna hatya, parim ghõi cak hawal'-e, homa se wawa dras'naw mikinno'aw.

"Ey, kaway paris-day, kawa ay, khẽ thi a?". Anday jagaaw-e, dustas tara ita aaw. "Ey khẽ thi a, tu khẽ thi a?."

"Tu khẽ thi a, a asta shẽhẽ thi a," ghõi amaaw. "Anday cisti na."

"May t'em ne onj-o, ne cistim a." "May t'em asta ne tay tada onja cistikani, a onjes't'a hawis," se istrizha shẽhẽ amaaw.

"A tay tada khali mashkul him, kia may drazhi-o mo de."

Khay duniauna shamon phond khulay wawa pay aaw .

"Dikia mon, kia mon praw," ghõi. Taa gehen kay paraw, paraw.

"Tu mo mo may mo cut'i," ghõi amaaw.

"Mo cut'i," ghõi amaaw haw, "Ey, ko shẽ maaw-day?," ghõi.

Sak kibaw hawaw, se kibaw thi se amaaw ki: "Tu akher t'okmat kay may cut'im," ghõas-day." "Tu cut'i-ta mo may drazhi mo." "Tu tay al'a chutyak a'nguyak may shaya kibawuna zhal'ay," ghõi amaaw. "A pe ne l'awem-day haw."

Shẽhẽ kay chutyak a'nguyak tara bazuyruna zhal'aaw e, cew bazuyruna zhal'aaw-e, s'us'i shanday azhal'aw-aw. As'us'aw toa shẽhẽ kay tasa-mi ek l'ok ahistaw. Se istrizha kawa kibawuna gren' dyay ays haw. Ahistaw, toa gri abhonaw tyay to a'nguyak bhoni. Shẽ kay tasa kay ahistaw, "Thedi may mo cut'i, ajo hawaw ne may pi tasali hawaw tay." "A onjes't'a thi aam a sucaun para." "May tu mo cut'i," ghõi may ays. "Tu may acut'i, tu onj-o pishtyak pari."

"Pishtyak pari," aghõaw haw, wawa acitaw acitaw s'is' kucays. S'is' kucay-o amaaw ki: "Dõyõ parim-day-e, tu aya cisti-na," ghõi amaaw.

"Ek ponj milet' cisti adhek wat cisti," ghõi amaaw. "Adhek wat cisti," ghummocuna pay, mocuna pay jagaaw-e, mocuna awatay-ta kibaw shian hari-l'ak shian. Mocuna se ghora thi ita shian, te ghuum. Chini chini chini chini bat'i kay-o. Shamondyaka bat'i kay cu'i.sutr gri cu'i chini tyay bhoni. Ghren' dyay-o tara ita, tara zhaygon'd'a ita wawaa kay ahistaw.

"Shemi hay tan hatya, bi kari," aghõal'-aw.

Phato sida ao, ita se bas hawaw. Gheri se, khay mishari moc, hawaay ao. Hawaay ita dubajay zhal'i-o. Kasi ita Kra'Ka' ao. Kra'ka' ita to ghum s'us' ay-o phato bi araw.

Bi kay, ek-du mand hawaw, se ghum. Du mand hik zhe khabardar hawaw. Deshuna haw kawa asta moc khabar hawaw ki tasa khon'd'aghum payda thi shiu. Phato kas-o, ek ser praw, kas-o bat'i praw kas-o du paw praw. Shẽ kay to aphazhaw, tasa-mi hatya thaway-o.

Shasa ghum homa shatasa wawaa nis'an. Sal'a ghum homa-day aaw, day aal'aw. Shato ghum phato jari haw, se mulkuna jari hawal'-aw. Sha-to mashkulgi.

About women's ritual protest to the gods about rainy weather

Once upon a time, there was a time. My grandfather's name Khan. Khan's son's name Mirota. Mirota's son's name Sudrum Khan, I'm Sayed Khan, his son.

Once upon a time, we had a grandfather. There was a time, it became a very rainy season, it was Spring. It was Spring, our grandfather was in love with a woman. It was in the valley, here in this place. Until Anish, till Brun, till Darazguru, over there this is our valley.

Suddenly, Spring month, apricot-kernels appearing. It was a very rainy season, it rained a lot, it rained for seven days, it was raining for seven days.

Then the women had gone to do Yas'i. Starting from Kraka, from Kanderisar, they took them along also, from Batrik, from Brun, from Anish, they went downstream. When they went, then, grandfather, he was in love with one of the women who were going.

Then suddenly, so, he thought: "Where did she sleep?," "where can she have been?." As he looked the next morning, the woman has not come, nobody at all has come. His beloved has not come, also other women have not come. Those who have gone together, none of them have come. As they have not come, as he went downstream to Kanderisar to find them, he could not find them. Then he has gone searching for three-four days, still they had not come. From there, he went to Batrik, and they were not there either, he asked for them there. He went to Brun, they were not there, he went to Anish, they were not there. He went to Darazguru, they were not there.

Then the grandfather thought like this that: "Perhaps they went the down-way, I have come the upper-way." He came back, he came back upstream to Kraka. Having come back, having come here, he looked, he didn't know of the

women's whereabouts. Then, as he counted them, he realised that seven women had gone. The first was Acuyak Awa. She was the elder of them, of the women. The second, Nilikashẽ, and then Nilibai, Sonbai, Dukbibi, Kacenduk. These seven women had gone, also the names are proof, these names.

Suddenly, his girlfriend was among them, grandfather has gone, then. From there he went, going for a long time. He reached Senjila, from Senjila, he went to Ayun, from Ayun, he also went down to Biriunisar, downstream. Then, about grandfather, we don't know anymore, about him doing this. Maybe he went flying, maybe he went standing, he may have gone in whatever way.

Whatever way he went, he arrived in Tsiam, it was mixed world. Having gone to Tsiam, and as he looked, there were wheat in the fields.

In those days there were no wheat in the Kalasha community. At our place now we have wheat, here is also small species of wheat.

As he has gone there, he saw a woman irrigating the wheat. Then he looked from far away, he looked, went there. He was afraid of going there, then he could not go to the village. He went there and stopped the water. Having stopped the water, he has hidden himself under the sage. Then suddenly, the woman from down-valley called someone, in the down below-village. The village was a little away.

"Oh, Acuyak Awa, come here, the water is closed," she said to her. The woman from the fields, she was his girlfriend.

After stopping the water, he was hiding under the sage. Then the old woman came out there from the village. Having come, having come there, she turned the water back for the fields. Having turned the water towards the field, then again she went back to village.

After she had gone to the village, after half an hour or so, he again stopped the water, having gone there, the grandfather. As he stopped the water, then the woman thought "how many times shall I call," then she came to turn the water herself. Having come there, she turns the water, she turned the water. Having turned the water, there to the field, having turned the water, when she was about to go to the field, our grandfather appeared from under the sage.

"Hey, where are you going, where were you, how did you come?," the grandfather asks.

When she looked to here at him, her friend has come there, "Hey, how did you come, how did you come?," she asked.

"The way you came – I also came like that," he said. "Come here and stand close to me," the man says,

"I don't have time now, I will not stand together with you," the woman said. "I don't have time to stand close to you now, I became onjeshta," the woman said. "I will only talk with you, but don't touch me!."

Khay! The grandfather has walked so many roads in all the world to find her, and then she won't have contact with him.

"What are these words, what is said by her," he thinks. Then he approached her.

"No, no, no, don't you touch me," she said.

When she said "don't touch me," "Hey, is why she talking like this?," he said to himself,

She became very upset, she, being upset, she thought to herself and said: "You insist touching me anyhow," she said. "Don't touch me, and don't even try to approach me," she says. "You can let that small finger of yours touch my cloth or anything," she said. "If I am not lying," she said.

Like this, as he lets the little finger touch the sleeves, as he lets the little finger touch the sleeves of the clothes, the finger dried here as it touched her cloth. It dried, then like this he threw the finger as if it was an old rag. The woman had a piece of cloth tied to her somewhere. She threw it, then he took it and fastened his finger with the piece of cloth. She threw like this, and said: "Now, don't touch me, so now, do you trust me?." "I have become onjes't'a, I have been purified." "I told you not to touch me." "You touched me, you go back now."

"When she said 'go back," grandfather thought and thought, scratched his head. Scratching his head, he said, "OK, I am going."

"You stay here for a while," she said. "Stay for 5 minutes time, stay a little while," she said. "Stay a little while" she said, as she went into the middle of the wheat fields, into the centre and looked, and in the centre, around there was something, it was green. In the centre the wheat has become white, it had ripened, the wheat. Cutting and cutting and cutting she cut a lot of wheat and made a bundle of it. Made a small bundle of wheat, took a braid-string and cut it, and fastened it tightly the bundle of wheat. Having tied it, she came there, having come there to the irrigation channel, she threw it (: the bundle) to grandfather.

"Take this and grow it for yourself, grow it," she said.

Then he came back to the Kalasha valley straight away, he came and stayed. Again, being a mixed person, he came by air through the air. He came by air, arrived there somewhere, at Dubaj, came to Kraka by walking. He came to Kraka by walking. Coming to Kraka, he dried the wheat and then cultivated it.

Having cultivated it, it became 1-2 mand, the wheat, and the valley, i.e. the people of the valley came to know about this. When in the valley and everywhere the people came to know that 'hairless wheat' has come into being. Then he gave one ser to someone, gave a bundle of wheat to another one, and two paw to another. He distributed like this and he left something for himself.

That wheat is a sign of that grandfather of ours. He has given us that wheat. That wheat, then, was eaten, eaten in the country. And that is the way it is.

1 Wakti may wakt ashis.[198]
ˈwakti maj wakt aˈɛ-is
once 1S.OBL time be.PST.A-3S
Once upon a time, there was a time.

2 May wawaa nom Khan. Khana (putras) nom Mirota.[199]
maj waˈwa-a[200] nom khan ˈkhan-a ˈputr-as nom miroˈta
1S.OBL grandfather-OBL.SG name Khan Khan-OBL son-3S.PSR.SG.PSD name Mirota
My grandfather's name Khan. Khan's (son's) name Mirota.

3 Mirotaa (putras) nom Sudrum Khan, Sayed Khan a-o, tasa putr.
miroˈta-a ˈputr-as nom ˈsudrum khan
Mirota-OBL son-3S.PSR.SG.PSD name S.K.

4 Sayed Khan a-o, tasa putr.
ˈsajed khan ˈa=o ˈtasa putr
S.K. 1S.DIR=TOP 3S.REM.DIR son
Mirota's (son's) name Sudrum Khan, I'm Sayed Khan, his son.

5 Waktimaya homa ek wawa asta.
ˈwakti_maˈja ˈhoma ek ˈwawa ˈasta
once upon a time 1P.OBL a grandfather be.PST.I.3S
Once upon a time, we had a grandfather.

6 Zamana ashis, sak piliwe' hul'a,
zamaˈna aˈɛ-is sak piliˈwe˗ ˈhuła
period be.PST.A-3S very rainy season become.PST.I.3S

7 basund ashis.
ˈbasun aˈɛ-is
Spring be.PST.A.3S
There was a time, it became a very rainy season, it was Spring.

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[198] *Wakti may wakt ashis* is a formulaic expression used to introduce a fictious story. It varies in form (see another variant in Line 5) and signals traditional storytelling.

[199] The narrator says *Khana nom Mirota*, without *putras* 'son's, descendant's', which seems to be implicitly understood, as in the next sentence *Mirotaa nom (putras) Sudrum Khan*, with the same structure. By mentioning the names of his ancestors and an unknown distant grandfather in Lines 3–4, the narrator connects the (mythical) events to be reported with a known history of descent.

[200] *Wawa* is treated as a proper noun with the oblique ending *-a* instead of *-as*; see Grammar, Section 6.3.7.

8 Basund ashis-o,
ˈbasun aˈɕ-is=o[201]
Spring be.PST.A-3S=TOP

9 homa wawa ek istrizhaas hatya as'ek asta.
ˈhoma ˈwawa ek istriˈʑa-as ˈhatja aˈʂek_ˈasta
1P.OBL grandfather a woman-OBL.SG towards love_be.PST.I.3S
It was Spring, our grandfather was in love with a woman.

10 Deshuna ashis, aya deshuna.
ˈdeːɕ-una[202] aˈɕ-is aˈja ˈdeɕ-una
valley-LOC2 be.PST.A-3S here.NE.SPC valley-LOC2
It was in the valley, here in this place.

11 Anishuna zha Brũ'a zha Darazguru zha,
aˈniʑ-una ʑa ˈbrũ˗a ʑa darazguˈru ʑa
Anish-LOC2 until Brun until Darazguru until

12 shal'ay homa shia desh.
ɕ=aˈɬ-ai ˈhoma ˈɕ=ia deɕ
EMPH= there-DI.NONSPC-LOC3 1P.OBL EMPH=3S.NE.DIR valley
Until Anish, till Brun, till Darazguru, over there this is (our) valley.

13 Khabar biko, basundmastruk, sak[203] az'aiush.
khaˈbar ˈbiko basun.masˈtruk sa̧k aza̧i.ˈuɕ
suddenly Spring month very apricot.kernel
Suddenly, Spring month, many apricot-kernels appearing.[204]

14 Sak piliwe' hul'a, muchil'a,
sa̧k piliˈwe˗ ˈhuła ˈmutɕh-iła
very rainy become.PST.I.3S rain-PST.PTC

15 muchi sat bas, pilewe' hul'a.
ˈmutɕh-i sat bas pileˈwe˗ ˈhuła
rain-CP seven day rainy become.PST.I.3P
It was a very rainy season, it rained a lot, it rained for seven (days), it was raining seasons (for seven days).

[201]Due to its focus-marking function, the particle *-o* establishes the temporal setting of events; see Grammar, Section 6.10.4.
[202]The vowel lengthening emphasises that the series of event to be told unfolded right there in the Mumoret valley where the narrator lives. This is a means of making the mythical story more real and relevant to the audience.
[203]In Lines 13–14, *sak* 'very' is spoken with a creaky voice as a means of emphasis.
[204]Meaning that it was the period when apricots were ripening.

16 Toa te istrizha Yas'i[205] pay aan.
ˈtoa te isˈtriʐa ˈjaʂi ˈpa-i_ˈa-an
then 3P.REM.DIR woman *Yas'i* go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Then the women had gone to do Yas'i.

17 Kra'ka'ay[206] day pay kanderisar tyay[207] te asta gri pay,
kra˗ˈka˗-ai ˈtja-i ˈpa-i kanderiˈsar ˈtja-i te ˈasta gri ˈpa-i
Kraka-LOC3 hit-CP go-CP Kanderisar hit-CP 3P.REM.DIR along with go-CP

18 Batrika tyay, Brũ'a tyay, Anishuna tyay,
baˈtrik-a ˈtja-i ˈbrũ˗a ˈtja-i aˈniʐ-una ˈtja-i
Batrik-LOC1 hit-CP Brun hit-CP Anish-LOC2 hit-CP

19 prehãk pay aan.
pre=ˈhãk ˈpa-i_ˈa-an
downstream=DIM go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Starting from Kraka, from Kanderisar, they took them (i.e. those from Kanderisar) *along also, from Batrik, from Brun, from Anish, they have gone downstream.*

20 Paron haw, khay, waw-o
paˈr-on haw khaj ˈwaw=o
go-PST.A.3P SUBJ then grandfather=TOP[208]

21 shatasa pariawan ek istrizha.gu'a'kas as'ek asta.
ɕa=ˈtasa pari=ˈaw-an[209] ek istriʐaˈgu˗a˗k-as aˈʂek ˈasta
EMPH=3S.REM.DIR go=AG-OBL.PL a girl-OBL.SG love be.PST.I.3S
When they went, then, grandfather, he was in love with one of women who were going.

22 Kabar biko, khay: "Kawa basi aaw?," ghõi citi aaw.
kaˈbar ˈbiko khaj kaˈwa ˈbas-i_ˈa-au ˈghõi ˈtɕit-i_ˈa-au
suddenly then where stay overnight-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then suddenly, so, he thought: "Where did she sleep"?

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[205] *Yasˈi* is a ritual performed by women in Mumuret. According to language consultants, after or during a rainy period, the women go singing to Darazguru, the village farthest downstream in Mumoret (see Map 2), to call on the gods to bring back the sun.
[206] The locative ending *-ai* may also be used in ablative contexts, often marking a specific place as the point of departure for a motion.
[207] The verb *tyek* 'hit' may be used as a general motion or activity verb, often with the connotation of emphasis.
[208] The particle *-o* clearly has a topic-contrastive function here. After reporting the women's activity, we are told about the grandfather's state of mind and activities.
[209] The noun *pariawan* 'of the ones who are going' is constructed with the verbal root *par-* 'go', the formant vowel *-i-*, the agentive derivative *-aw*, and the genitive-oblique plural *-an*. See Grammar, Section 6.10.3.5 for this relativisation strategy.

23 Copamin-o jagay aaw-e,
ˈtɕopamin=o dʑaˈga-i_ˈa-au=e
morning time=TOP look-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

24 istrizha ne ita aaw, hic kura ne ita aan
isˈtriʑa ne ˈi-ta_ˈa-au hitɕ ˈkura ne ˈi-ta_ˈa-an
woman not come.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S nobody come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
As he looked the next morning, the woman has not come, nobody at all have come.

25 Weyrakas asta ne ita aaw,
ˈwejrak-as[210] ˈasta ne ˈi-ta_ˈa-au
beloved-3S.PSR.SG.PSD also not come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

26 warek asta istrizha ne ita aan.
waˈrek ˈasta isˈtriʑa ne ˈi-ta_ˈa-an
another also woman not come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
His beloved has also not come, also other women have not come.

27 Taa som d'aluna pay aan,
ˈta.a som ˈdɑ::l-una[211] ˈpa-i_ˈa-an
3S.REM.OBL with as a group go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

28 shate ne ita aan.
ɕa=ˈte ne ˈi-ta_ˈa-an
EMPH=3P.REM.DIR not come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Those who have gone together, none of them have come.

29 Ne ita aan haw,
ne ˈi-ta_ˈa-an haw
not come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S SUBJ

30 prenaw Kanderisar pay, jagay aaw-e ne
ˈpren-aw kanderiˈsar ˈpa-i dʑaˈga-i_ˈa-au=e ne
downstream-ABL3 Kanderisar go-CP see-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as not
As they have not come, as he went downstream to Kanderisar to find, he could not find them.

31 Khoji pay aaw, se, tre caw basan,
ˈkhodʑ-i ˈpa-i_ˈa-au se tre tɕaw ˈbas-an
search-CP go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR three four day-INSTR

32 ne-mi ita aan.
ne=ˈmi ˈi-ta_ˈa-an
not=CTR come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then he has gone searching for three-four days, still they had not come.

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[210] *Weyrak* 'loved one, darling' is suffixed with the possessor ending *-as*, usually used exclusively with family terms, perhaps in order to express a close relationship between *wawa* and his beloved one; see Grammar, Section 6.3.7.

[211] The adverb *d'aluna* 'in a group, as a group' is a lexicalisation of *d'al* 'group' and the locative ending *-una*. The vowel lengthening emphasises that the women left as a group consisting of many women and not individually.

33 Tal'ei Batrika pay aaw, tara ne,
ta'ɨ-ei ba'trik-a 'pa-i_'a-au ta'ra ne
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 Batrik-LOC1 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S there.REM.SPC not

34 tara phuci aaw.
ta'ra 'phutɕ-i_'a-au
there.REM.SPC ask for-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
From there, he went to Batrik, (and they were) not there (too), he asked (for them) there

35 Brũ'a paraw, tara ne, Anishuna paraw, tara ne.
'brũ˗a pa'r-au ta'ra ne a'niʒ-una pa'r-au ta'ra ne
Brun go-PST.A.3S there.REM.SPC not Anish-LOC2 go-PST.A.3S there.REM.SPC not
He went to Brun, they were not there, he went to Anish, they were not there.

36 Darazguru paraw, tara ne.
darazgu'ru pa'r-au ta'ra ne
Darazguru go-PST.A.3S there.REM.SPC not
He went to Darazguru, they were not there.

37 Phato wawaa shẽ khyal hawaw ki:
'phato wa'wa-a ɕẽ[212] khjal_'haw-au ki
then grandfather-OBL.SG like thought_become.PST.A-3S CONJ

38 "Albat no'ay-day paron, a tharay ita aam."
al'bat 'no˗-ai 'dai pa'r-on a 'thar-ai 'i-ta_'a-am
perhaps down-LOC3 along go-PST.A.3P 1S.DIR up-LOC3 come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S
Then the grandfather thought like this that: "Perhaps they went the down-way, I have come the upper-way."

39 Pishtyak aw, se Kra'ka' pishtyak wehãk aw.
piɕ'tjak 'a-u se kra˗'ka˗ piɕ'tjak we='hãk 'a-u
back come.PST.A-3S 3S.REM.DIR Kraka back upstream=DIM come.PST.A-3S
He came back, he came back upstream to Kraka.

40 Ita aya ita jagaaw ne pata.
'i-ta a'ja 'i-ta ʤa'ga-au ne 'pata
come-CP here.NE.SPC come-CP look-PST.A.3S not knowledge
Having come (back), having come here, he looked, he didn't know (of the women's whereabouts).

[212]The word for 'like, like this' has the variant forms [ɕẽ], ['ɕẽẽ], [ɕẽ'ẽ], and [ɕẽ'ɦẽ] as well as forms without nasalisation.

41 Phato se te isap aral'-e,
ˈphato se te iˈsap_ˈar-aɫ=e
then 3S.REM.DIR 3P.REM.DIR counting_do.PST.A-3S=as

42 sat istrizha pay aan.
sat isˈtriʒa ˈpa-i_ˈa-an
seven woman go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then, as he counted them,[213] *seven women had gone.*

43 Hawel' namber Ac'u'yak Awa.[214]
haˈweɫ namˈber aˈʈʂu˗jak ˈawa
first number A.A.
The first number was Acuyak Awa.

44 Gad'erak se tasi mocaw, istrizhon mocaw.
gaˈɖerak se ˈtasi ˈmotɕe-aw istriˈʐ-on ˈmotɕe-aw
elder 3S.REM.DIR 3P.REM.DIR middle-ABL3 woman-OBL.PL middle-ABL3
She was the elder of them, of the women.

45 Duo namber Nilikashẽ, Niliba'i, Sonba'i, D'ukbibi, Kacenduk.
ˈdu=o namˈber nilikaˈɕẽ niliˈba˗i sonˈba˗i ɖukbiˈbi kaˈtɕenduk
two=TOP number Nilikashẽ Niliba'i Sonba'i D'ukbibi Kacenduk
The second, Nilikashẽ, (and then) Nilibai, Sonbai, Dukbibi, Kacenduk.[215]

46 S'hel'i sat istrizha pay aan, nom asta sabit, shemi nom.
ˈɕ=eɫi sat isˈtriʒa ˈpa-i_ˈa-an
EMPH=3P.DI.DIR seven woman go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P

47 nom asta sabit, shemi nom.
nom ˈasta saˈbit ˈɕ=emi nom
name also proof EMPH=3P.NE.DIR name
These seven women had gone, also the names are proof, these names.[216]

48 Khabar biko, ta.a dustas tal'ay mocay,
khaˈbar ˈbiko ˈta.a ˈdust-as taˈɫ-ai ˈmotɕe-ai
suddenly 3S.REM.DIR friend-OBL.SG there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 middle-LOC3

49 wawa pay aaw, phato.
ˈwawa ˈpa-i_ˈa-au ˈphato
grandfather go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S then
Suddenly, his girlfriend was among them, grandfather has gone, then,

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[213]Meaning 'as he counted the (remaining) women in Kraka'.
[214]The name *Ac'uyak Awa* is literally 'key grandmother'.
[215]The narrator miscalculates as he only mentions six names. All of these personal names are known as names from the old days.
[216]By telling the audience that these names are 'true', the narrator emphasises the trustworthiness of the story.

50 Tal'ei paraw pay.

taˈɫ-ei	paˈr-au	ˈpa-i::[217]
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1	go-PST.A.3S	go-CP

From there he went, going for a long time.

51 Senjil'a pa'u, Senjila tyay E'hẽ' paraw, E'hẽ' tyay

senˈdʑiɫa	ˈpa˜-u	senˈdʑila	ˈtja-i	e˜ˈhe˜	paˈr-au	e˜ˈhẽ˜	ˈtja-i
Senjila	reach.PST.A-3S	Senjila	reach-CP	Ayun	go-PST.A.3S	Ayun	reach-CP

52 Biriunisara prehãk asta paraw.

biriuniˈsar-a	pre=ˈhãk	ˈasta	paˈr-au
Biriunisar-LOC1	downstream=DIM	also	go-PST.A.3S

He reached Senjila, from Senjila, he went to Ayun, from Ayun, he also went down to Biriunisar, downstream.[218]

53 Phato wawaa pata ne hawaw, tasa.

ˈphato	waˈwa-a	ˈpata_ne_ˈhaw-au	ˈtasa
then	grandfather-OBL.SG	know_not_become.PST.A-3S	3S.REM.DIR

Then, about grandfather, we don't know anymore, about him.

54 Se upul'i paraw, se cisti paraw,

se	upuˈɫ-i	paˈr-au	se	ˈtɕist-i	paˈr-au
3S.REM.DIR	fly-CP	go-PST.A.3S	3S.REM.DIR	stand-CP	go-PST.A.3S

55 se kia thi paraw haw.

se	ˈkia	thi	paˈr-au	haw
3S.REM.DIR	what	be.CP	go-PST.A.3S	SUBJ

(Maybe) he went flying, (maybe) he went standing, he may have went in whatever way.

56 Pay Tsiam[219] azhal'aw, mishari zamana.

ˈpa-i	ˈtsiam	a-ˈʑaɫ-au	miˈɕari	zamaˈna
go-CP	Tsiam	AU-arrive-PST.A.3S	mixed	time

(Whatever way) he went, he arrived in Tsiam, it was mixed world.

57 Tsiam pay jagaaw-e, c'hetmocuna ghum shian.

ˈtsiam	ˈpa-i	dʑaˈga-au=e	ʈʂhet.ˈmo::tɕ-una[220]	ghum	ˈɕi-an[221]
Tsiam	go-CP	look-PST.A.3S=as	field.middle-LOC2	wheat	be-P/F.3P.NS

Having gone to Tsiam, and as he looked, there were wheat in the fields.

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[217]The adverbial phrase 'for a long time' is expressed by lengthening the final vowel in the verb form *pai* 'going'.

[218]These place names denote places outside of the Kalasha valleys.

[219]*Tsiam* is a mythical country from which the Kalasha believe they emigrated in the distant past.

[220]The vowel lengthening in *mo::cuna* 'in the middle' emphasises that the man is totally surrounded and hidden by the wheat (and consequently that the wheat grows well in this place).

[221]Notice the plural of the copula verb *shiik* 'be (inanimate)' although *ghum* 'wheat' is grammatically singular (as in the following sentence). The plural must be due to the fact that the speaker is referring to many wheat fields.

58 Tara zamanauna ghum ne.

ta'ra	zama'na-una	ghum	ne
there.REM.SPC	time-LOC2	wheat	not

In those days there were no wheat.

59 Homa aya ghum shiu, tagar-o kawa ne,

'homa	a'ja	ghum	'ɕi-u	ta'gar_o_ka'wa_ne[222]
1P.OBL	here.NE.SPC	wheat	be-P/F.3S.NS	remaining_where_not

60 aya asta sujakbi.

a'ja	'asta	sudʑak.'bi[223]
here.NE.SPC	also	small-grained wheat

At our place we have wheat, no where else, here is also small species (of wheat).

61 Tara pay jagay aaw-e,

ta'ra	'pa-i	dʑa'ga-i_'a-au=e
there.REM.SPC	go-CP	look-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

62 ghum.mocuna ek istrizha uk dyel-day.

ghum.'motɕ-una	ek	is'trizа	uk_dj-el=laj[224]
wheat.middle-LOC2	a	woman	water_put-P/F.3S=SPC

As he has gone there, (he) saw a woman irrigating the wheat.

63 Toa deshay thi jagaaw, jagaaw tara pay.

'toa	'deɕ-ai	thi	dʑa'ga-au	dʑa'ga-au	ta'ra	'pa-i
then	far away-LOC3	be.CP	look-PST.A.3S	look-PST.A.3S	there.REM.SPC	go-CP

Then he looked from far away, he looked, went there,

64 Tara hatya haybat praw,

ta'ra	'hatja	haj'bat_'pr-au
there.REM.SPC	towards	fear_give.PST.A-3S

65 gromuna hatya parik ne abhaaw.

'grom-una	'hatja	pa'r-ik	ne	a-'bha-au
village-LOC2	towards	go-INFTV	not	AU-be able to-PST.A.3S

He was afraid about (going) there, then he could not go to the village.

66 Tara pay to uk achinaw.

ta'ra	'pa-i	to	uk	a-'tɕhin-au
there.REM.SPC	go-CP	3S.REM.ACC	water	AU-stop-PST.A.3S

He went there and stopped the water.[225]

[222]The phrase *tagaro kawa ne* is lexicalised to mean 'nowhere else'.
[223]This compound noun is composed of *sujak* 'small' and *bi* 'seed'.
[224]In combination with a conjunct verb, *uk* 'water' and *dyek* 'put' have lexicalised to mean 'irrigate'.
[225]Meaning the water running through the irrigation channel to the fields.

67 Uk chini-o mikinno'ay l'uhi aaw.
uk ˈtɕhin-i=o mikin.ˈno˗-ai ˈłuh-i_ˈa-au
water close-CP=TOP sage.below-LOC3 hide-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Having stopped the water, (he) has hid himself under the sage

68 Khabar biko, ogal'ay thi se istrizha khundi aaw,
khaˈbar biko ˈogał-ai thi se isˈtriʒa khunˈd-i_ˈa-au
suddenly down-LOC3 be.CP 3S.REM.DIR woman call-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

69 ogal'a gromuna kay.
ˈogała ˈgrom-una kaj
down village-LOC2 at
Then suddenly, the woman from down called (someone), in the down below-village.

70 Grom tichak desha shial'a.
Grom ˈtitɕhak ˈdeɕa ˈɕi-ˈała
village a little away be-PST.I.3S
The village was a little away.

71 "Oh, Ac'uyak Awa, anday i, uk achis,"
oː aˈʈʂujakˈawa anˈd-ai i uk a-ˈtɕh-is
Oh A.A. here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3 come.IPV.2S water AU-stop-PST.A.3S

72 ghõi amaaw, tasa kay.
ˈghõi a-ˈma-au ˈtasa kaj
CONJ AU-say-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.DIR to
"Oh, Acuyak Awa, come here, water is closed," she said to her.

73 se c'het.mocani istrizha,[226]
se ʈʂhet.ˈmotɕ-ani isˈtriʒa
3S.REM.DIR field.middle-ABL2 woman

74 se-o tasa se dustas asta.
ˈse=o ˈtasa se ˈdust-as ˈasta
3S.REM.DIR=TOP 3S.REM.DIR 3S.REM.DIR friend-3.PSR.SG.PSD be.PST.I.3S
The woman from the fields, she was his girlfriend.

75 To uk chini-o se mikinno'ay l'uhi aaw.
to uk ˈtɕhin-i=o se mikin.ˈno˗-ai ˈłuh-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.ACC water stop-CP=TOP 3S.REM.DIR sage.below-LOC3 hide-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
After stopping the water, he was hiding under the sage.

76 Toa se gad'a istrizha tal'ei gromaw dras'niaw.
ˈtoa se ˈgaɖa isˈtriʒa taˈł-ei ˈgrom-aw draʂˈni-au
then 3S.REM.DIR old woman there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 village-ABL3 come out-PST.A.3S
Then the old woman (: Ac'uyak Awa) came out there from the village

[226]The ablative suffixes can function as possessive markers, as in *c'hetmocani istrizha* 'woman of the middle of the field'.

77 Ita tara ita to uk gheraaw.

ˈi-ta	taˈra	ˈi-ta	to	uk	gheˈr-a-au
come-CP	there.REM.SPC	come-CP	3S.REM.ACC	water	turn-CS1-PST.A.3S

Having come, having come there, she turned the water (back for the fields).

78 Uk gheray ukas al'-ayhak tyay-o.

uk	gheˈr-a-i	ˈug-as	ał-ai=ˈhak	ˈtja-i=o
water	turn-CS1-CP	water-OBL.SG	there-DI.NONSPC-LOC3=DIM	hit-CP=TOP

79 paraw gheri, gromuna hatya.

paˈr-au	ˈgheri	ˈgrom-una	ˈhatja
go-PST.A.3S	again	village-LOC2	towards

Having turned the water (towards the field), having turned the water thereto, then again she went (back) to village.

80 Gromuna pay kia phat gan'd'a hawaw,

ˈgrom-una	ˈpa-i	ˈkia	phat	gaɳˈɖa	ˈhaw-au
village-LOC2	go-CP	what	half	hour	become.PST.A-3S

81 shamondyaka hawaw, gheri to uk achinaw

ɕamonˈdjaka	ˈhaw-au	ˈgheri	to	uk	a-ˈʨhin-au
small amount	become.PST.A-3S	again	3S.REM.ACC	water	AU-stop-PST.A.3S

82 tara pay, se wawa.

taˈra	ˈpa-i	se	ˈwawa
there.REM.SPC	go-CP	3S.REM.DIR	grandfather

Having gone to the village, after half an hour or so, he again stopped the water, having gone there, the grandfather.

83 U'k achinal'-e[227]se istrizha: "Kimon khundiem?"

uk	a-ˈʨhin-ał=e	se	isˈtriʒa	kiˈmon	khundi-ˈem
water	AU-stop-PST.A.3S=as	3S.REM.DIR	woman	how many	call-P/F.1S.NS

84 ghõi-o, phato ita aaw.

ˈghõ-i=o	ˈphato	ˈi-ta_ˈa-au
said-CP=TOP	then	come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

As he stopped the water, then the woman thought: "How many (times) shall I call?," then she came (to turn the water herself).

85 Ita tara ita to uk gherel uk gheraaw.

ˈi-ta	taˈra	ˈi-ta	to	uk	gheˈr-el
come-CP	there.REM.SPC	come-CP	3S.REM.ACC	water	turn-P/F.3S.NS

Having come there, she turns the water, she turned the water,

[227] *Achinal'* is a variant form of *achinaw* 'stopped (PST.A.3S)', which often occurs before *e* 'as, when' or *haw* 'SUBJ'. The morphophonological alternation between a word-final *-u* or *-w* and the lamino-dental lateral *-l'(-)* is common. For nouns, it occurs word internally before case suffixes: *haw* 'plough (DIR.SG/PL)' – *hal'as* 'plough (OBL.SG)'. For verb endings in *-l*, we see the alternation before vowel initial clitics like *-e* 'as' or in reduplication of the third person ending *-aw*.

86 Uk gheray tara c'hetruna hatya,

uk	ghe'r-a-au,	uk	ghe'r-a-i	ta'ra	'ʈʂhetr-una	'hatja
water	turn-CS1-PST.A.3S	water	turn-CS1-CP	there.REM.SPC	field-LOC2	towards

87 parim ghõi cak hawal'-e,

pa'r-im	'ghõi[228]	ʨak_'h-aw-ał=e
go-P/F.1S.NS	QUOT	ready_become-PST.A-3S=when

88 homa se wawa dras'naw mikinno'aw.

'homa	se	'wawa	draʂ'ɳ-au	mikin.'no˗-aw
1P.OBL	3S.REM.DIR	grandfather	appear-PST.A.3S	sage.below-ABL3

Having turned the water there to the field, when she was about to go to the field, the grandfather appeared from under the sage.

89 "Ey, kaway paris-day, kawa ay,

ej	ka'w-ai	'par-is=daj	ka'w-a	'a-i
hey	where-LOC3	go-P/F.2S=SPC	where-LOC1	be-PST.A.2S

90 khẽ thi a?".

khẽ	thi	a
how	become.CP	come.PST.A.2S

"Hey, where are you going, where were you, how did you come?," (the grandfather asks).

91 Anday jagaaw-e,

an'd-ai	ʥa'ga-au=e
here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3	look-PST.A.3S=as

92 dustas tara ita aaw.

'dust-as	ta'ra	'i-ta_'a-au
friend-3S.PSR.SG.PSD[229]	there.REM.SPC	come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

When she looked here, her friend (: our grandfather) has come there,

93 "Ey khẽ thi a, tu khẽ thi a?."

ej	khẽ	thi	a	tu	khẽ	thi	a
hey	how	become.CP	come.PST.A.2S	2S.DIR	how	become.CP	come.PST.A.2S

"Hey, how did you come, how did you come?"(, she asked).

94 "Tu khẽ thi a,

tu	khẽ	thi	a
2S.DIR	how	become.CP	come.PST.A.2S

95 a asta shẽhẽ thi a," ghõi amaaw.

a	'asta	ɕẽ'hẽ thi	a	'ghõi	a-'ma-au
1S.DIR	also	like this	come.PST.A.2S	QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S

"The way you came - I also came like that," he said.

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[228]The phrase *parim ghõi cak hawaw* shows an interesting change of perspective. With *cak hawaw* in the third person singular, the narrator describes the scene from outside, so to speak. With *parim* in the first person and the quotative *ghõi*, he cites the thoughts of the woman. The phrase should literally be translated 'she has become ready, "I shall go," it was said'.

[229]The ending *-as* on *dust* 'friend' is here analysed as a kinship suffix, indicating that *dust* in the meanings 'girlfriend' and 'boyfriend' can also be treated as a term denoting close relationship; Grammar, Section 6.3.7.

96 "Anday cisti na."
anˈd-ai ˈʨist-i na
here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3 stand-IPV.2S won't you
"Come here and stand (with me)," (he says).

97 May t'em ne onj-o, ne cistim a."
maj ʈem ne ˈoɲdʐ=o ne ˈʨist-im a
1S.OBL time not now=TOP not stand-P/F.1S.NS 1S.DIR
"I don't have time now, I will not stand (together with you)," the woman (said).

98 "May t'em asta ne tay tada onja cistikani,
maj ʈem ˈasta ne taj ˈtad-a ˈoɲdʐa ˈʨist-ik-ani
1S.OBL time also not 2S.OBL near-LOC1 now stand-INFTV-ABL2

99 a onjes't'a[230]hawis," se istrizha shẽhẽ amaaw.
a ˈoɲdʐeʂʈa ˈhaw-is se isˈtriʐa ɕẽˈhẽ a-ˈma-au
1S.DIR *onjes't'a* become.PST.A-1S 3S.REM.DIR woman like this AU-say-PST.A.3S
"I don't have time, to stand close to you now, I became onjeshta," the woman replied.

100 "A tay tada khali mashkul him,
a taj ˈtad-a khaˈli maɕˈkul_h-im
1S.DIR 2S.OBL near-LOC1 only conversation_become-P/F.1S.NS

101 kia may drazhi-o mo de."
ˈkia maj ˈdraʐ-i=o mo d-e
what 1S.OBL touch-CP=TOP PROH give-IPV.2S
"I will only talk with you, close to you, but don't touch me!."

102 Khay duniauna shamon phond khulay wawa pay aaw.
khaj duniˈa-una ɕaˈmon phond khuˈl-a-i ˈwawa ˈpa-i_ˈa-au
INTERJ world-LOC2 so many road finish-CS1-CP grandfather go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Khay! The grandfather have walked so many roads in all the world (to go there find her).

103 "Dikia mon, kia mon praw" ghõi.
diˈkia mon ˈkia mon_ˈpr-au ˈghõi
what word what word_give.PST.A-3S QUOT
"What (are) this words, what is said (by her)," (he thinks),.

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[230]*Onjes't'a* denotes the concept of religious purity, and *pragat'a* denotes the contrasting concept of impurity. Gods, the high pastures, and the goat stables are considered *onjes't'a*, and boys and men serving religious practices can become *onjes't'a* through a purifying ritual. Typical *pragat'a* places are graveyards and the women's menstrual house, the *bashali*. Women in childbirth and menstruating women are also considered *pragata*. See Maggi (2001) and Fentz (2010) for discussions of these concepts and their impact on Kalasha daily life. The fact that the woman in this story is or becomes *onjes't'a* indicates that she is divine. In addition, the strong connection with wheat may suggest that the story is actually about a fertility goddess and the myths about how this divinity gave the fertile wheat to the Kalasha.

104 Taa gehen kay paraw, paraw.

ˈta.a	geˈhen	kaj	paˈr-au	paˈr-au
3S.REM.DIR	direction	to	go-PST.A.3S	go-PST.A.3S

Then he went towards her, he went.

105 "Tu mo mo may mo cut'i," ghõi amaaw.

tu	mo	mo	maj	mo	ˈtɕuʈ-i	ˈghõi	a-ˈma-au
2S.DIR	PROH	PROH	1S.OBL	PROH	touch-IPV.2S	QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S

"No, no, no, don't you touch me," she said.

106 "Mo cut'i," ghõi amaaw haw,

mo	ˈtɕuʈi	ˈghõi	a-ˈma-au	haw
PROH	touch-IPV.2S	QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S	SUBJ

107 "Ey, ko shẽ maaw-day?," ghõi.

ej	ko	ɕẽ	ˈma-au=daj	ˈghõi
hey	why	like this	say-P/F.3S=SPC	QUOT

As she said "don't touch me," (he said to himself): "Hey, why is she say saying like this?."

108 Sak kibaw hawaw, se kibaw thi

sak	kiˈbaw[231]	ˈhaw-au	se	kiˈbaw	thi
very	disturbance	become.PST.A-3S	3S.REM.DIR	disturbance	become.CP

109 se amaaw ki:

se	a-ˈma-au	ki
3S.REM.DIR	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

110 "Tu akher t'okmat kay may cut'im," ghõas-day[232].

tu	aˈkher	ʈokˈmat_ˈka-i	maj	ˈtɕuʈ-im	ˈghõ-as=daj
2S.DIR	at last	insisting_do-CP	1S.OBL	touch-P/F.1S.NS	say-P/F.2S=SPC

(She) became very upset, she, being upset, she (thought to herself and) said: "You insist to touch me anyhow," she says.

111 "Tu cut'i-ta mo may drazhi mo."

tu	ˈtɕuʈ-i=ta	mo	maj	ˈdraʐ-i	mo
2S.DIR	touch-IPV=CNTR	PROH	1S.OBL	come near-IPV.2S	PROH

"Don't touch me, and don't (even) try to approach me," (she said).

112 "Tu tay al'a chutyak a'nguyak

tu	taj	ˈała	ˈtɕhutjak	a-ŋˈgu=jak
2S.DIR	2S.OBL	3S.DI.ACC	small	finger=DIM

113 may shaya kibawuna zhal'ay," ghõi amaaw.

maj	ɕ=aˈja	kiˈbaw-una	ʐaˈła-i	ˈghõi	a-ˈma-au
1S.OBL	EMPH=here.NE.SPC	somewhere-LOC2	arrive-CP	QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S

"You let that small finger of yours touch my cloth or anything," she said.

[231] *Kibaw* has vague semantics. It is frequently used for referring to an event, situation, or mental state of any type.

[232] The second person singular *-as* may be a mistake for the third person singular *-aw*.

114 "A pe ne l'awem-day haw."[233]
a pe ne łaˈw-em=daj haw
1S.DIR if not lie-P/F.1S=SPC SUBJ
"If I am not lying," (she said).

115 Shẽhẽ kay chutyak a'nguyak tara bazuyruna[234]**zhal'aaw e,**
ɕẽˈhẽ_ˈka-i ˈtɕhutjak a-ŋˈgu=jak taˈra baˈzujr-una ʑaˈła-au=e
like this_do-CP small finger=DIM there.REM.SPC sleeve-LOC2 arrive-PST.A.3S=as

116 cew bazuyruna zhal'aaw-e,
tɕew baˈzujr-una ˈʑała-au=e
cloth sleeve-LOC2 arrive-PST.A.3S=as

117 s'us'i shanday azhal'aw-aw.
ˈʂuʂ-i ɕ=anˈd-ai a-ˈʑał-au=aw[235]
dried-CP EMPH= here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3 AU-arrive-PST.A.3S=RDPL
Like this, as he lets the little finger touched the the sleeves, as he lets (the little finger) touch the sleeves of the clothes, (the finger) dried here (as it) touched (her cloth).

118 As'us'aw toa shẽhẽ kay tasa-mi ek l'ok ahistaw.
a-ˈʂuʂ-au ˈtoa ɕẽˈhẽ_ˈka-i tasa=ˈmi ek łok a-ˈhist-au
AU-dry-PST.A.3S then like this_do-CP 3S.REM.DIR=EMPH a rag AU-throw-PST.A.3S
It dried, then like this he threw (the finger as if it was) an old rag.

119 Se istrizha kawa kibawuna.
se isˈtriʑa kaˈw-a kiˈbaw-una
3S.REM.DIR woman where-LOC1 somewhere-LOC2

120 Gren' dyay ays haw.
greɳ_ˈdja-i_ˈa-is haw
fastening_put-PF.PTC_AUX.PST.A-3S SUBJ
The woman had a piece of cloth tied to her somewhere.

121 Ahistaw, toa gri abhonaw tyay
a-ˈhist-au ˈtoa gr-i a-ˈbhon-au ˈtja-i
AU-throw-PST.A.3S then take-CP AU-tie-PST.A.3S hit-CP

122 to a'nguyak bhoni.
to a-ŋˈgu=jak ˈbhon-i
3S.REM.ACC finger=DIM tie-CP
She threw it, then he took it and fastened his finger (with the piece of cloth).[236]

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[233]The phrase *a pe ne l'awem-dai haw*, literally 'If I am not lying', is an idiom meaning 'trust my words, read my lips'. Because of her boyfriend's insistence, the woman finally lets him touch her, but only with the tip of his finger.
[234]*Bazuyr-* is an allomorph of *bazuri* 'sleeve', with a shift of the palatal segment /i/ to /j/, '*y*' in the Kalasha orthography.
[235]The form *azhal'aw-aw* is an example of *-aw*-reduplication, a process that may occur on the homophonous third person singular *-aw* and the ablative *-aw*.
[236]Notice that the woman throws the piece of cloth. She cannot hand it over to him because that would involve contact, which is impossible when she is *onjes'i'a*.

123 Shẽ kay tasa kay ahistaw, "Thedi may mo cut'i,
ɕẽ_ˈka-i ˈtasa kaj a-ˈhist-au theˈdi maj mo ˈtɕuʈ-i
like this_do-CP 3S.REM.DIR to AU-throw-PST.A.3S now 1S.OBL PROH touch-IPV.2S

124 ajo hawaw ne may pi tasali hawaw tay."
ˈadʑo ˈhaw-au ne maj pi tasaˈli_ˈhaw-au taj
so now become.PST.A-3S not 1S.OBL from trust_become.PST.A-3S 2S.OBL
She threw like this, (and said):"Now, don't touch me, so now, do you trust me?."

125 "A onjes't'a thi aam a sucaun para."
a ˈoɲdʑeʂʈa thi_ˈa-am a sutɕ-aˈun_ˈpar-a[237]
1S.DIR *onjeshta* become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S 1S.DIR purify-PASS_go-PST.A.1S
"I have become onjes't'a, I have been purified."

126 "May tu mo cut'i," ghõi may ays.
maj tu mo ˈtɕuʈ-i ˈghõi ˈma-i_ˈa-is
1S.OBL 2S.DIR PROH touch-IPV.2S QUOT say-PF.PTC_AUX-PST.A.1S
"I told you not to touch me."

127 "Tu may acut'i, tu onj-o pishtyak pari."
tu maj a-ˈtɕuʈ-i tu ˈoɲdʑj= o piɕˈtjak ˈpar-i
2S.DIR 1S.OBL AU-touch-PST.A.2S 2S.DIR now = TOP back go-IPV.2S
"You touched me, you go back now."

128 "Pishtyak pari," aghõaw haw,
piɕˈtjak ˈpar-i a-ˈghõ-aw haw
back go-IPV.2S AU-say-PST.A.3S SUBJ

129 wawa acitaw acitaw s'is' kucays.
ˈwawa a-ˈtɕit-au a-ˈtɕit-au ʂiʂ kuˈtɕa-is
grandfather AU-think-PST.A.3S AU-think-PST.A.3S head scratch-PST.A.3S
"When she said 'go back," grandfather thought and thought, scratched (his) head.

130 S'is' kucay-o amaaw ki: "Dõyõ parim-day-e,
ʂiʂ kuˈtɕa-i=o a-ˈma-au ki ˈdõjõ paˈr-im=daj=e
head scratch-CP=TOP AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ then go-P/F.1S=SPC=as

131 tu aya cisti-na," ghõi amaaw.
tu aˈja ˈtɕist-i=na ˈghõi a-ˈma-au
2S.DIR here.NE.SPC stand-IPV.2S=EXCL QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
Scratching his head, (and) as he said: "Then I am going," she said: "You stay here for a while."

[237]The phrase *sucaun para* is a rare example of the passive constructed by the accented suffix *-un* and the auxiliary verb *parik* 'go'; see Grammar, Section 6.6.1.

132 "Ek ponj milet'[238] cisti adhek wat cisti," ghõi amaaw.

ek	-poɲdʑ	miˈleʈ	ˈtɕist-i	aˈdhek	wat	ˈtɕist-i	ˈghõi	a-ˈma-au
one-	five	minute	stand-IPV.2S	a little	time	stand-IPV.2S	QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S

"Stay for 5 minutes time, stay a little while," she said,

133 "Adhek wat cisti,"

aˈdhek	wat	ˈtɕist-i
a little	time	stand-IPV.2S

134 ghummocuna pay, mocuna pay jagaaw-e,

ghum.ˈmotɕ-una	ˈpa-i	ˈmotɕ-una	ˈpa-i	dʑaˈga-au=e
wheat.middle-LOC2	go-CP	middle-LOC2	go-CP	look-PST.A.3S=as

135 mocuna awatay-ta kibaw shian haril'ak shian.

ˈmotɕ-una	aˈwat-ai=ta	kiˈbaw	ˈɕi-an	haˈriłak	ˈɕi-an
middle-LOC2	place-LOC3=CTR	something	be-P/F.3P.NS	green	be-P/F.3P.NS

"Stay a little while" (she said), as she went into the middle of the wheat fields, into the centre and looked, and in the centre-, around there was something, it was green.

136 Mocuna se ghora thi ita shian, te ghuum.

ˈmotɕ-una	se	ˈghora	thi	ˈi-ta_ˈɕi-an	te[239]	ghum
middle-LOC2	3S.REM.DIR	white	become.CP	come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P	3P.REM.DIR	wheat

In the centre it has become white (= ripened), the wheat.

137 Chini chini chini chini[240]bat'i kay-o.

ˈtɕhin-i	ˈtɕhin-i	ˈtɕhin-i	ˈtɕhin-i	ˈbaʈi	ka-i=o
cut-CP	cut-CP	cut-CP	cut-CP	bundle of wheat	do-CP=TOP

She cut a lot of wheat and made a bundle (of it).

138 Shamondyaka bat'i kay cu'isut gri cu'i chini tyay bhoni.[241]

ɕamonˈdjaka	ˈbaʈi	ˈka-i	tɕuˈi.ˈsut	gr-i
small amount	bundle of wheat	do-CP	braid.string	take-CP

139 cu'i chini tyay bhoni.

ˈtɕuˈi	ˈtɕhin-i	ˈtja-i	ˈbhon-i
braid	cut-CP	hit-CP	tie-CP

Made a small bundle of wheat, took a braid-string and cut it, and fastened it tightly (the bundle of wheat).

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[238]The phrase *ek ponj milet'* (literally 'one five minutes)' is lexicalised to mean 'for a little while, for a few minutes'.

[239]The use of *te* indicates that *ghum* 'wheat' is a plural noun in Kalasha.

[240]The repetion of *chini* 'having cut' is an example of how word repetition can be used for intensification, here meaning that a lot of cutting was going on and thus that a lot of wheat was being cut. An alternative translation would be '(he) cut (wheat) for long time'.

[241]With five CPs and another five in the preceding sentence, the narrator encapsulates a multi-faceted sequence of action in one sentence. With the three CPs in the following sentences, this expanded CP construction can also be seen as a means of dramatically building up the event that leads to the important transmission of the wheat from the *on-jes't'a* woman to the grandfather.

140 Ghren' dyay-o tara ita, tara zhaygon'd'a
ghreɳ ˈdja-i=o taˈra ˈi-ta taˈra ʑajˈgoɳɖ-a
fastening_put-CP=TOP there.REM.SPC come-CP there.REM.SPC irrigation channel-LOC1

141 ita wawaa kay ahistaw.
ˈi-ta ˈwawa-a kaj a-ˈhist-au
come-CP grandfather-OBL.SG to AU-throw-PST.A.3S
Having tied it, she came there, having come there at the irrigation channel, she threw it to grandfather.

142 "Shemi hay tan hatya, bi kari," aghõal'-aw
ˈɕ=emi ˈha-i tan ˈhatja bi_ˈkar-i a-ˈghõ-ał=aw
EMPH=3S.NE.ACC take-IPV.2S own for seed_do-IPV.2S AU-say-PST.A.3S=RDPL
"Take this and grow it for yourself, grow it," she said.

143 Phato sida ao, ita se bas hawaw.
ˈphato ˈsida ˈa-u ˈi-ta se bas_ˈhaw-au
then straight come.PST.A-3S come-CP 3S.REM.DIR night_become.PST.A-3S
Then he came straight away, he came and stayed.

144 Gheri se, khay mishari moc, hawaay aw.
ˈgheri se khaj miˈɕari motɕ haˈwa-ai ˈa-u
again 3S.REM.DIR alas mixed person air-LOC3 come.PST.A-3S
Again he, khay, (being) a mixed person, he came by air (through the air).[242]

145 Hawaay ita dubajay zhal'i-o.
haˈwa-ai ˈi-ta duˈbadʑ-ai ʑał-i=o
air-LOC3 come-CP *Dubac*-LOC3 arrive-CP=TOP
(He) came by air, arrived there somewhere, at Dubaj, came to Kraka by walking.

146 Kasi ita Kra'ka' aw.
ˈkas-i ˈi-ta kra˗ˈka˗ ˈa-u
walk-CP come-CP Kraka come.PST.A-3S
He came to Kraka by walking

147 Kra'ka' ita to ghum s'us'ay-o phato bi araw.
kra˗ˈka˗ ˈi-ta to ghum ʂuˈʂ-a-i=o ˈphato bi_ˈar-au
Kraka come-CP 3S.REM.ACC wheat dry-CS1-CP= TOP then seed_do.PST.A-3S
Coming to Kraka, he dried the wheat, and then cultivated it.

[242]The narrator presents the primary male character of the story as a 'mixed person' who can also fly, i.e. as a supernatural being.

148 Bi kay, ek-du mand hawaw, se[243]ghum.
bi_ˈka-i ek du mand ˈhaw-au se ghum
seed_do-CP one two *mand*[244] become.PST.A-3S 3S.REM.DIR wheat
Having cultivated it, 1-2 mand *(it) became, the wheat.*

149 Du mand hik zhe khabardar hawaw.
du mand h-ik ʐe khabarˈdar_ˈhaw-au
two *mand* become-INFTV and knowledge_become.PST.A-3S
2 mand *became (of the wheat) and (the valley, i.e. the people of the valley) came to know about this.*

150 Deshuna haw kawa asta moc khabar hawaw ki
ˈdeɕ-una haw kaˈwa ˈasta motɕ khaˈbar_ˈhaw-au ki
valley-LOC2 when everywhere people news_become.PST.A-3S CONJ

151 tasa khon'd'a.ghum payda thi shiu.
ˈtasa khoɳɖa.ˈghum pajˈda_thi_ˈɕ-iu
3S.REM.DIR half.wheat[245] appearing_become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
When in the valley and everywhere the people came to know that 'hairless wheat' has come into being/existence.

152 Phato kas-o- ek ser[246] praw,
ˈphato ˈkas=o ek ser ˈpr-au
then who=TOP one *ser* give.PST.A-3S

153 kas-o bat'i praw kas-o du paw[247] praw.
ˈkas=o ˈbaʈi ˈpr-au ˈkas=o du paw ˈpr-au
who.OBL.SG=TOP bundle give.PST.A-3S who.OBL.SG=TOP two *paw* give.PST.A-3S
Then he gave one ser *to someone, gave a bundle (of wheat) to another one, and two* paw *to another.*

154 Shẽ kay to aphazhaw, tasa-mi hatya thaway-o.
ɕẽ_ˈka-i to a-ˈphaʐ-au tasa=ˈmi ˈhatja thaˈwa-i=o
like this_do-CP 3S.REM.ACC AU-didivide-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.DIR=EMPH for leave-CP=TOP
He distributed like this, and he left (something) for himself.

155 shasa ghum homa shatasa wawaa nis'an.
ˈɕ=asa ghum ˈhoma ɕa=ˈtasa ˈwawa-a niˈʂan
EMPH=3S.DIST.DIR wheat 1P.OBL EMPH=3S.REM.DIR grandfather-OBL.SG sign
That wheat is a sign of that grandfather of ours.

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[243]Here *ghum* 'wheat' is treated as a singular noun.
[244]A *mand* is a measurement of approximately 80 kg.
[245]*Khon'd'a* ghum is literally 'half-wheat', denoting a wheat variety with short hairs that is grown in the Kalasha valleys.
[246]A *ser* is measurement of 1 kg.
[247]A *paw* is a 1/4 kg container.

156 Sal'a ghum homa-day aaw, day aal'aw.

ˈɕ=ała	ghum	ˈhoma	ˈda-i_ˈa-au	ˈda-i_ˈa-ał=au
EMPH=3S.DI.ACC	wheat	1P.OBL	give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S	give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=RDPL

He has given us that wheat.

157 Shato ghum phato jari haw,

ɕa=ˈto	ghum	ˈphato	ʥaˈri_haw[248]
EMPH=3S.REM.ACC	wheat	then	established_become.PST.A.3S

158 Se mulkuna jari hawal'-aw.

se	ˈmulk-una	ʥaˈri_ˈhaw-ał=au
3S.REM.DIR	country-LOC2	established_become.PST.A-3S=RDPL

That wheat, then, was eaten, eaten in the country.

159 Shato mashkulgi.[249]

ˈɕa=to	maɕkulˈgi
EMPH=3S.NE.DIR	talk

And that is the way it is.

[249]*Shato mashkulgi* (literally 'exactly that conversation') is a means of ending a conversation or a narrative, corresponding to 'and that's the way it is'.

***Text 8.6:* Lawak zhe tasa du yardust**
'A fox and his two friends'

Narrated by Sher John, Kraka, Mumoret, December 1996.
Transcribed and translated by Nabaig, Taj Khan and Jan Heegård 2004 and 2014.

This story is a traditional fable, with animal figures that behave like human beings. The fox is the cunning figure, who tries to do trick on his seemingly naïve friends, the mountain goat (the markhor) and the crow. The narrator, Sher John, is a reputable storyteller in the Kalasha community. His style is vivid as he uses mimics, voice modulation and gestures to support his narration and involve his audience. Linguistically his narratives are characterised by many lines of direct speech and dynamicity by use of tense shifts, and in general, his narratives contain many examples of the narrative features described in Chapter 8. In addition, Sher John often portrays the stories' figures with characteristics of his fellow villagers, in this particular fable, the detail about the fieldowner who smokes a chillum.

L'awak zhe tasa du yardust

Ek l'awak ek shara zhe ek ka'ga' malgiri asta, yardustan asta. Ek awata pay te tromish-o d'ud'in hul'a. Ek dhenta tara dhentakẽ'una pay, d'ud'in hul'a har tromish.

Se shara-o dish bad'ul'a thi asta. Toa se l'awak tan zhanuna amaaw hul'a: "Shama shara pe nashay-o pe, kawa idrõ' may den kawa a zum dya," ghõi. Bo afsus kariu-day, l'awak.

Ita tromizh-o ek awata basin hul'a. Ek adua taa mocas kay amaaw l'awak ki: "Tay c'hetruna ati ghum cariu-day shara." Shara ghum cariu-day, tay c'hetruna ati." "Tu nashay-o, idrõ' may hatya thaway, a zhum," aghõaw.

Toa se jal abhonaw, tara c'hetruna, se moc. Tromish-o shara tara ita jaluna as'a-t'aw. Jaluna as'at'aw haw l'awak zhe ka'ga'-o tara dhentakẽ'una bas pay aan. Bas pay-o ka'ga' tasa kay amaaw: "Hey, se ek yardust-o ne aaw, se ek yardust-o ne aaw." "To asta jiek, pre," ghõi amaaw-e, "Tromish hawaw-la, aaw shal'ai," ghõi amaaw.

Copamino rages't'i: "Se ek malgiri ne aaw," ghõi. Pay to asta gri pay jagel-day, ka'ga'. Tara pay jiaw jaluna s'at'iaw. Toa ka'ga' l'awakas kay amaaw ki: "Tay dando'yak tsil'aka, a ne bhaam …." "Tu al'a jalaw el'i sutr chini, ia khalas hiu malgiri, phato parik-a," ghõi amaaw, sher amaaw. L'awak amaaw: "nnn, may dando'yak trupal-day a ne bhaam," ghõi amaaw.

Batmashi kariu-day, ne, l'awak-o, hah!

"May dando'yak trupan-day," ghõi. Desha pay apaw praw. Toa se ka'ga' sharaas kay amaaw: "Tu nashikos' kay apaw-day, hũk asta mo kay." "Moc ita tay bic'haraw pe haw, bic'hari al'ay pe nihaw haw, toa a kia cal kaam." "Phato pal'aas," ghõi amaaw . Toa se moc aw, cilim z'ingaiman. Cilim z'ingaiman tara ita, cilim diga'thara thay-o, uchundi tara ita to bic'haraw-mi-e . Se ka'ga'-o pai to cilim tyay udzakaw to tamaku udzakaw, udzakaw hawaw. Se moc tes thi adyay paraw tasa ka'ga'as gehen "ay ai" kariman. Ka'ga'as gehen paraw haw shara-o pal'ay paraw.

Phato pal'ay paraw haw, badok phirikay pa'u tasa sharaas. Sharaas ne gri pay, l'awakas d'hãkuna tyay, l'awakas d'hãk-o ac'his.

Phato ka'ga' tasa kay amaaw: "Tu muziri kariman ai." "Khoday tay shẽhẽ araw, "homa-o ne shehe kaw," ghõi. Phato te paron.

Phato ac'o'ĩk-o khul hawaw, a asta phato.

A fox and his two friends

One fox and one markhor and one crow were friends. Having gone to a place they slept at night. There was a mountain there, they went sleeping in a mountain cave every evening.

The markhor was very fat. Then the fox in his innermost heart said: "If that markhor was killed, and the intestines were given to me, I will eat them," he said. He is very eager, the fox, in a false manner.

They then came in the evening to spend the night in one other place. One day the fox said to the owner of the field: "It will enter your field and eat the wheat, the markhor.""The markhor will eat your wheat, when entering your field." "When you have killed it, store the intestines for me, I'll eat them," the fox said.

Then he sat up a trap, there on the field, that man. In the evening the markhor came there and got caught in the trap. When the markhor was caught in the trap, the fox and the crow went to spend the night in the mountain cave.

After they have gone to sleep, the crow said to him (the fox): "Hey! the one friend, the markhor, is not here, the one friend is not here." As the crow said: "Let's go look for him," the fox said: "It has become very late, let it be!."

Then early in the morning, "The one friend is not here," said the crow. He looks together with the fox, the crow. Having gone there, the crow saw the markhor caught in the trap. Then the crow said to the fox: "Your teeth are very sharp, I cannot, ..." "You shall break these strings of the trap, and he will be free, the friend, then we shall go," he said, the crow said. The fox said: "No, my teeth are hurting, I cannot," he said.

He is making trouble, right, the fox, right!

"My teeth are hurting," saying this, the fox stepped aside and stayed there. Then the crow said to the markhor: "You stay here dying, don't say anything."

"When the man has come and untied you, untying you, when he has taken you out there, then I will find a solution." "Then run away," the crow said. Then the owner of field came, smoking a chillum. As he came there, smoking a chillum, putting the chillum on a wall, and going down, having come there, he let the markhor loose. Then that crow went there, hitting the chillum he spilled out the tobacco, he spilled it out. The man went quickly to stop that the crow, saying 'ai ai' to that crow."When he went towards the crow, the markhor escaped.

Then the markhor is escaping, the man by throwing an axe, is trying to hit that markhor. But as the axe did not catch the markhor, as the axe hitting the fox's back, only the fox's back broke.

Then the crow then said to the fox: "You were doing bad things to the markhor." "God did this to you, he will not do this to us," he said, Then crow and markhor left.

Then the story has ended, and I also, then.

1 Ek l'awak ek shara malgiri asta yardustan asta.

ek	łaˈwak	ek	ˈɕara	malˈgiri	ˈasta	jarduˈst-an[250]	ˈasta[251]
one	fox	one	markhor	friend	be.PST.I.3S	friend-COLL	be.PST.I.3P

One fox (and) one markor were friends.

2 Ek awata pay te tromish-o d'ud'in hul'a.

ek	aˈwat-a	ˈpa-i	te	ˈtromiɕ=o	ˈɖuɖ-in	ˈhuła[252]
a	place-LOC1	go-CP	3P.REM.DIR	evening=TOP	sleep-P/F.3P.NS	it seems

Having gone to a place they slept at night.

3 Ek dhenta tara dhentakẽ'una pay,

ek	ˈdhenta	taˈra	dhenta.ˈkeˑ-una	ˈpa-i
a	mountain	there.SPC.ABS	mountain.cave-LOC2	go-CP

4 d'ud'in hul'a har tromish.

ˈɖuɖ-in	ˈhuła	har	ˈtromiɕ
sleep-P/F.3S.NS	become.PST.I.3P	every	evening

(There was) a mountain there, they went sleeping in a mountain cave every evening.

5 Se shara-o dish bad'ul'a thi asta.

se	ˈɕara=o	diɕ	baˈɖuła	thi	ˈasta
3S.REM.N	markhor=TOP	very	fat	be.CP	be.PST.I.3S

The markhor was very fat,

6 Toa se l'awak tan zhanuna amaaw hul'a:

ˈtoa	se	łaˈwak	tan	ˈʑan-una	a-ˈma-au	ˈhuła[253]
then	3S.REM.DIR	fox	own	thought-LOC2	AU-say-PST.A.3S	it seems

Then the fox in his innermost heart (said):

[250]*Malgiri* and *yardust* (and *dust*) are synonyms. In this initial introduction, the narrator forgets to mention the third friend, the crow, *ka'ga'*. *Yardustan* occurs with (stressed) *-an* as a means of emphasising the unity of the three friends.

[251]With the past inferential *asta*, the narrator sets the story in an unreal, fictitious world from the start.

[252]The inferential meaning indicated by 'it seems' is expressed by *hul'a*, the past-inferential verb form of *hik* 'become'. With events expressed in a non-past tense, *hul'a* functions as a hearsay-marker, locating the narrated event in a fictitious world (Bashir 1988a, 77). *Hul'a* often has no direct equivalent in the English translation, but in some cases the inferential meaning will be expressed in English by 'would' or 'it seems (that …)'.

[253]The co-occurrence of the past-inferential *hul'a* with actual-past *amaaw* is peculiar since according to Bashir (1988a, 76), "the marked meaning of direct experience [as encoded by past-actual] is incompatible with the inferential meaning added by *hul'a*."

7 "Shama shara pe nashay-o pe,
ˈɕ=ama ˈɕara pe naˈɕa-i=o pe
EMPH=3S.NE.ACC markhor if kill-CP=TOP if

8 kawa idrõ' may den kawa a zhum dya," ghõi.
kaˈwa iˈdrõ˗ maj d-en kaˈwa a ʑu-m dja ˈghõi
where intestines 1S.OBL give-P/F.3P.NS where 1S.DIR eat-P/F.1S.NS CTFC QUOT
"If that markhor was killed, and the intestines were given to me, I will eat them," he said.[254]

9 Bo afsus kariu-day, l'awak.
bo ˈafsus _ˈkar-iu=daj łaˈwak
much eagerness__do-P/F.3S=SPC fox
He is very eager, the fox.[255]

10 Ita tromish-o ek awata basin hul'a.
ˈi-ta ˈtromiʑ=o ek aˈwat-a ˈbas-in ˈhuła
come-CP evening=TOP a place-LOC1 stay overnight-P/F.3P.NS it seems
(They then) came in the evening to spend the night in one place, it seems.

11 Ek adua taa mocas kay amaaw l'awak ki:
ek ˈadu-a ˈtasa ˈmoʨ-as kaj a-ˈma-au łaˈwak ki
one day-LOC1 3S.REM.OBL man-OBL.SG to AU-say-PST.A.3S fox CONJ
One day the fox said to the man (owner of the field),

12 "Tay c'hetruna ati ghum cariu-day shara."
taj ˈʈʂhetr-una aˈt-i ghum ˈʨear-iu=daj ˈɕara
2S.OBL field-LOC2 enter-CP wheat graze-P/F.3S=SPC markhor
"It will enter your field and eat the wheat, the markhor."

13 Shara ghum cariu-day, tay c'hetruna ati."
ˈɕara ghum ˈʨear-iu=daj taj ˈʈʂhetr-una ˈat-i
markhor wheat graze-P/F.3S=SPC 2S.OBL field-LOC2 enter-CP
"The markhor will eat your wheat, when entering your field."

14 "Tu nashay-o, idrõ' may hatya thaway,
tu naˈɕa-i=o[256] ˈidrõ˗ maj ˈhatja thaˈwa-i
2S.DIR kill-CP=TOP intestines.DIR 1S.OBL for store-CP

15 a zhum," aghõaw.
a ʑ-um a-ˈghõ-au
1S.DIR eat-P/F.1S.NS AU-speak-3S.PST.A
"When you have killed it, store the intestines for me, I eat them," he said.

[254]The counterfactive or subjunctive meaning comes about through the particle *dya*.
[255]According to Trail and Cooper (1999), *afsus* means 'sorrow, regret', but language consultants agree that *afsus kariu-day* is to be translated as 'is very eager'.
[256]With the CP, here *nashay* 'having killed', the topicaliser *-o* gives the meaning 'after'.

16 Toa se jal abhonaw,
ˈtoa se dʑal a-ˈbhon-au
then 3S.REM.DIR trap AU-bind-PST.A.3S

17 tara c'hetruna, se moc.
taˈra ˈʈʂhetr-una se motɕ
there.SPC.ABS field-LOC2 3S.REM.DIR man
Then he sat up a trap, there on the field, that man.

18 Tromish-o shara tara ita jaluna as'at'aw.
ˈtromiʑ = o ˈɕara taˈra ˈi-ta ˈdʑal-una a-ˈʂaʈ-au
evening = TOP markhor there.SPC.ABS come-CP trap-LOC2 PST.A-get stuck-PST.A.3S
In the evening the markhor came there and got caught in the trap.

19 Jaluna as'at'aw haw l'awak zhe ka'ga'-o
ˈdʑal-una a-ˈʂaʈ-au haw ɬaˈwak ʑe kaˈgaˈ=o[257]
trap-LOC2 AU-get stuck-PST.A.3S when fox and crow=TOP

20 tara dhentakẽ'una bas pay aan.
taˈra dhenta.ˈkẽˈ -una bas_ˈpa-i_ˈa-an[258]
there.SPC.ABS mountain.cave-LOC2 night_go-PF.PTC_be-P/F.3P.NS
When (the markhor) was caught in the trap, the fox and the crow went to spend the night in the mountain cave.

21 Bas pay-o ka'ga' tasa kay amaaw:
bas_ˈpa-i=o kaˈgaˈ ˈtasa kaj a-ˈma-au
night_go-CP=TOP crow 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S
After they have gone to sleep, the crow said to him (the fox),

22 "Hey, se ek yardust-o ne aaw,
hej se ek jarˈdust=o ne ˈa-au
INTERJ 3S.REM.DIR one friend=TOP not be-P/F.3S.NS

23 se ek yardust-o ne aau."
se ek jarˈdust=o ne ˈa-au
3S.REM.DIR one friend=TOP not be-P/F.3S.NS
"Hey! the one friend is not here, the one friend is not here.

[257]The topicaliser *-o* has a contrastive function here: The markhor is caught, yet the fox and the crow, in contrast, go to sleep in the cave.
[258]*Bas parik* (literally 'night go') is a conjunct verb with the meaning of 'spend the night, sleep (somewhere)'.

24 "To asta jiek, pre," ghõi amaaw-e,

to	ˈasta	dʑi-ˈek	pre	ˈghõi	a-ˈma-au=e
then	also	look for-INFTV	go.IPV.2P	QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S=as

25 "Tromish hawaw-la, aaw shal'ai,"

ˈtromiɕ	ˈhaw-aw=la	ˈa-au[259]	ɕ=aˈɨ-ai
evening	become.PST.A-3S=ENCL	be-P/F.3S.NS	EMPH=there.NONSPC.DI-LOC3

26 ghõi amaaw.

ˈghõi	a-ˈma-au
QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S

As the crow said, "let's go look for him," (the fox) said, "It has become very late, let it be there!."

27 Copamino rages't'i: "Se ek malgiri ne aau," ghõi.

ˈtɕopamin = o	raˈgeʂʈi	se	ek	malˈgiri	ne	ˈa-au	ˈghõi
morning = TOP	early	3S.REM.DIR	one	friend	not	be-P/F.3S.NS	QUOT

(Then) early in the morning, "The one friend is not here," said he (the crow).

28 Pay to asta gri pay jagel-day, ka'ga'.

ˈpa-i	to	ˈasta	gri	ˈpa-i	dʑaˈg-el=laj	kaˈ-ˈgaˈ-
go-CP	3S.REM.ACC	also	with	go-CP	look at-P/F.3S=SPC	crow

He (the crow) looks together with the fox, the crow.

29 Tara pay jiaw jaluna s'at'iaw.

taˈra	ˈpa-i	dʑi-ˈau	ˈdʑal-una	ˈʂaʈi-au
there.SPC.ABS	go-CP	look-PST.A.3S	trap-LOC2	be caught-PST.A.3S

Having gone there, he (the crow) saw (the markhor) caught in the trap.

30 Toa ka'ga' l'awakas kay amaaw ki:

ˈtoa	kaˈ-ˈgaˈ-	łaˈwak-as	kai	a-ˈma-au	ki
then	crow	fox-OBL.SG	to	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

31 "Tay dando'yak tsil'aka, a ne bhaam …."

taj	danˈdoˈ-jak	ˈtsiłaka	a	ne	ˈbha-am
2S.OBL	tooth	sharp	1S.DIR	not	be able-P/F.1S.NS

Then the crow said to the fox, "your teeth are very sharp, I cannot, …"

[259]The animate copula and auxiliary *asik* is here used to give the meaning 'let it be'.

32 “Tu al’a jalaw el’i sutr chini,
tu ˈała ˈdʑal-aw ˈełi sutr ˈtɕhin-i
2S.DIR 3S.DI.ACC trap-ABL3 3S.DI.ACC thread break-IPV.2S

33 ia khalas hiu malgiri,
ˈia khaˈlas_ˈh-iu malˈgiri
3S.NE.DIR free_become-P/F.3S.NS friend

34 phato parik-a,” ghõi amaaw, sher amaaw.
ˈphato paˈr-ik=a ˈghõi a-ˈma-au ˈɕara a-ˈma-au
then go-INFTV=PURP QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S markhor AU-say-PST.A.3S
“You shall break these strings of the trap, (and) he will be free, the friend, then we shall go,” he said, the crow said.

35 L’awak amaaw:
łaˈwak a-ˈma-au
fox AU-say-PST.A.3S

36 “Nnn, may dando’yak trupal-day a ne bhaam,”
nnn maj danˈdo-jak truˈp-al=ˈlai a ne ˈbha-am
no 1S.OBL tooth hurt-P/F.3S-SPC 1S.DIR not be able-P/F.1S.NS

37 ghõi amaaw.
ˈghõi a-ˈma-au
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
The fox said, “no, my teeth are hurting, I cannot,” he said.

38 Batmashi kariu-day, ne, l’awak-o, hah![260]
batmaˈɕi ˈkar-iu=daj ne łaˈwak=o hah!
trouble make-P/F.3S=SPC not fox=TOP INTERJ
He is making trouble, right, the fox, right!

39 “May dando’yak trupan-day,” ghõi,
maj danˈdo-jak truˈp-an=daj ˈghõi
1S.OBL tooth hurt-P/F.3P=SPC QUOT

40 desha pay apaw praw.
ˈdeɕa ˈpa-i aˈpaw_ˈpr-au
far go-CP dwell_give.PST.A-3S
“My teeth are hurting,” saying (this), (he, the fox) stepped aside and stayed (there).

41 Toa se ka’ga’ sharaas kay amaaw:
ˈtoa se kaˈga ɕaˈra-as kaj a-ˈma-au
then 3S.REM.DIR crow markhor-OBL.SG to AU-say-PST.A.3S
Then the crow said to the markhor,

[260]With this line, the narrator addresses the audience.

42 Tu nashikos' kay apaw-day, hũk asta mo kay.
tu naɕiˈk-oʂ ka-i aˈpaw_ˈda-i huŋk ˈasta mo ˈka-i
2S.DIR die-ADJ do-CP dwelling_give-CP sound also PROH do-IPV.2S
"You stay here dying, don't say anything."

43 "Moc ita tay bic'haraw pe haw,
motɕ ˈi-ta taj biˈʈʂhar-au pe haw
man come-CP 2S.OBL untie-PST.A.3S if SBJV
44 bic'hari al'ay pe nihaw haw,
biˈʈʂhar-i aˈɬ-ei pe niˈh-au haw
untie-CP there.NONSPC.DI-ABL1 if take out-PST.A.3S COND
45 toa a kia cal kaam."
ˈtoa a ˈkia tɕal ˈka-am
then 1S.DIR what trick make-P/F.3S.NS
"When the man has come and untied you,untying you, when he has taken you out there, then I will find a solution."

46 Phato pal'aas ghõi amaaw
ˈphato paˈɬa-as ˈghõi a-ˈma-au
then run away-IPV.2S QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
"Then run away," he (the crow) said.

47 Toa se moc aw, cilim z'ingaiman.
ˈtoa se motɕ ˈa-u tɕiˈlim ʐiŋga-ˈiman
then 3S.REM.DIR man come.PST.A-3S chillum smoke-PST.IMPF.3S
Then the man (the owner of field) came, smoking a chillum.[261]

48 Cilim z'ingaiman tara ita,
tɕiˈlim ʐiŋga-ˈiman taˈra ˈi-ta
chillum smoke-PST.IMPF.3S there.SPC.ABS come-CP
49 cilim diga'thara thay-o,
tɕiˈlim diga-ˈthar-a ˈtha-i=o
chillum wall.upon-LOC1 place-CP=TOP
50 uchundi tara ita to bic'haraw-mi-e .
utɕhunˈd-i taˈra ˈi-ta to biʈʂhar-au=ˈmi=e
go down-CP there.SPC.ABS come-CP 3S.REM.ACC untie-PST.A.3S=EMPH=as
As he came there, smoking a chillum, putting the chillum on a wall, and going down, having come there, he let it (the markhor) loose.

[261]The information that the man is smoking a chillum, i.e. smoking hashish, is clearly included for the sake of entertaining the audience.

51 Se ka'ga'-o pai
se ka˗ˈga˗-o ˈpa-i
3S.REM.DIR crow=TOP go-CP

52 to cilim tyay udzakaw to tamaku udzakaw,
to tɕiˈlim ˈtja-i uˈdzak-au to tamaˈku uˈdzak-au
3S.REM.ACC chillum hit-CP spill out-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.ACC tobacco spill out-PST.A.3S

53 udzakaw hawaw.
uˈdzakau ˈhaw-au
spill out-PST.A.3S become.PST.A-3S
Then that crow went (there),hitting the chillum (he) spilled out, the tobacco (he) spilled out spilled it out,

54 Se moc tes thi adyay paraw
se motɕ tes thi a-ˈdja-i paˈr-au
3S.REM.DIR man quickly be.CP AU-run-PST.A.3S go-PST.A.3S

55 tasa ka'ga'as gehen "ay ai" kariman.
ˈtasa ka˗ˈga˗-as geˈhen ˈai ˈai kaˈr-iman
3S.REM.OBL crow-OBL.SG direction INTERJ INTERJ make-PST.IMPF.3S
The man went quickly to stop that one (the crow), saying 'ai ai' to that crow.

56 Ka'ga'as gehen paraw haw shara-o pal'ay paraw.
ka˗ˈga˗-as geˈhen paˈr-au haw ˈɕara=o paˈɬa-i paˈr-au
crow-OBL.SG direction go-PST.A.3S SBJV markhor=TOP escape-CP go-PST.A.3S
"When he went towards the crow, the markhor escaped,

57 Phato pal'ay paraw haw,
ˈphato paˈɬa-i paˈr-au haw
then escape-CP go-PST.A.3S SBJV

58 badok phirikay pa'u tasa sharaas.
baˈdok phiriˈka-i ˈpa˗-u ˈtasa ɕaˈra-as
axe throw-CP hit.PST.A-3S 3S.REM.OBL markhor-OBL.SG
Then escaping (the markhor), (the man) by throwing an axe, (in order to) hit that markhor.

59 Sharaas ne gri pay,
ɕaˈra-as ne ˈgri-i_ˈpa-i[262]
markhor-OBL.SG not take-PF.PTC_go-CP

60 l'awakas d'hãkuna tyay, l'awakas d'hãk-o ac'his.[263]
ɬaˈwak-as ˈɖʰaŋk-una ˈtja-i ɬaˈwak-as ˈɖʰaŋk=o a-ˈʈʂʰ-is
fox-OBL.SG loin-LOC2 hit-CP fox-OBL.SG loin=TOP AU-break-PST.A.3S
(But) as the axe did not catch the axe, as (the axe) hitting the fox's back, only the fox's back broke.

[262]The construction *gri pai* is analysed as a compound verb (Grammer, Section 6.6.5), with *parik* 'go' as the vector verb. The semantics of finality of event (the throwing) and the negative outcome (a partly missed throw) accord with Bashir's (1988a, 242) observations regarding the function of *parik* in compound verbs.
[263]The accumulation of CP constructions (*gri pay* and *tyay*) and the fact that the story is about to come to an end are means of dramatising the events.

61 Phato ka'ga' tasa kay amaaw:
ˈphato ka-ˈga- ˈtasa kaj a-ˈma-au
then crow 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S
Then the crow then said to him (the fox),

62 "Tu muziri kariman ai."
tu muziˈri kaˈr-iman ˈa-i
2S.DIR evilness do-PST.IMPF be-PST.A.2S
"You were doing bad things (to the markhor)."

63 "Khoday tay shẽhẽ araw,
khoˈdaj taj ɕẽˈhẽ ˈar-au
God 2S.OBL like this do.PST.A-3S

64 "homa-o ne shehe kau," ghõi.
ˈhoma=o ne ɕeˈhe ˈkar-iu ˈghõi
1P.OBL=TOP not like this do-P/F.3S.NS QUOT
God did this to you, (he) will not do this to us," he said,

65 Phato te paron.
ˈphato te paˈr-on
then 3P.REM.DIR go-PST.A.3P
Then they (crow and markhor) left.

66 Phato ac'o'īk-o khul hawaw, a asta phato.
ˈphato aˈʈʂo-iŋk=o khul ˈhaw-au a ˈasta ˈphato
then story=TOP finish become.PST.A-3S 1S.DIR also then
Then the story has ended, and I also, then.

***Text 8.7:* Bacaas put ne ubujuna**
'A king without sons'

Narrated by Babi (Kraka, Mumoret), 1997.
Transcribed and translated by Nabaig, Taj Khan and Jan Heegård 2004 and 2014.

The text collection ends with a long and fantastic heroic story, told by Babi from Kraka (Mumoret). In her narration Babi weaves elements from different stories together in a living, elegant and fascinating way. As a price of his birth, the hero of the story is taken away by a *faker*, only shortly afterwards to start out on an adventure, which leads him to a magic woman, confronts him with animals in need, and leads him to a marriage with the youngest daughter of a king and thereupon an imprisonment which he escapes by being clever, only to be be confronted with jealousy which leads him to the killing of his brother. This tragic event is clarified by the intervention of a *faker*. The narrative contains all of the characteristic features of a well-told story. Enjoy!

Bacaas put nu ubujuna

Kaymina, kaymina, ek baca asta, tasa put ne ubujuna. Put ne ubuji, se akhabir hikas hul'a. Ego tasa hãsh asta, se asta ku'ak ne kada.

Toa ek phaker tara, ek faker tara al'a. Tara ita, baca tasa kay mail'a: "A akhabir hawis, may azheli ne ubujon," ghõi mail'a, shehe mail'a.

Se du pal'aw chal'ay taa dita. "Ek pal'aw-ta tu zhe tay jaaw kokhon'd'a kay zhua." Ek pal'aw-o tay hãshas de se ku'ak kaw. Se tay jaaw du put haliu. Du putr pe halaw haw, hawel'o, gad'ara putr-ta, may, se tshatak putraw tay," ghõi may aaw tasa kay, se faker. Shehe may aaw, faker, gal'a tal'ey.

Dura pay apaw-day aaw, kimon no mastruk hawaw kia haw. Se put haliaw. Put hali-mi te shehe araw ki: Tasi hatya ek band kamra sawzaaw, duniaas ne pashay, phawno'una kay. Te tal'ay kimon wat aini. Te gad'a hawan, juhan thi aan. Te sukuluna sabak maan-day.

Tasi t'em pura hawaw, te juhan hawan, ne. Faker aw, tara. Tara ita bacaas kay amaaw ki: "Ajo may put hali nim-dai." Shehe amaaw-e tasa kay, paraw tal'ey. Tara pay to gad'ara putras ne haliaw, ek chutyak putras haliaw. Tara hali to tasa pashaaw-e, se faker amaaw ki: "Ia may put ne, may put titeak bad'ul'a." "Se bo shishoyak, to hali," ghõi tasa kay amaaw.

Shehe amaal-e gheri paraw, tal'ay pay to hardi ne araw se bo shishoyak. Gheri paraw gheri shato-mi suda aniaw. Tara aniaw-e se amaaw ki: "Tu may som dukha mo kari, may put aya hali, a parim-dai," aghõaw.

Phato paraw baca tara pay, tasa kay amaaw-e, se rahi hawaw. Se ego hãsh tan som agriaw, ego khangar agriaw. Khangar agriaw bayas kay amaaw ki: "Tay khangaruna pe nanga l'ui akasaw tu may khoci i," ghõi may aaw. Se paraw tal'ey. Toa dadasi zhe tay som khodayar kay, faker aniaw, to.

Faker ni tasa jaygauna aniaw. Taa jaygauna ni, tara shial'a ek-ta mac'hiuts shial'a, ego preconawts shial'a Faker tasa kay amaaw ki: "May put shemi zhu,

zhuiman apaw de.” “A shonja-mi thesu shaya pay mutra kay-o pishtyak a im,” ghõi may aaw, faker, paraw.

Tasa shial’a sat kamra. Te ac’uyak tasa-day aaw, day-o, may aaw ki: “Ek kamra-o mo umray, tagar el’i-o jagay,” ghõi amaaw.

Se tal’ay l’abe’ thi tara pay ger ne kay ek awata umraaw-e: Ek gad’a istrizha tara aaw. Se bo kamzor thi aaw, gad’a istrizha.

Toa se tasa kay amaaw ki: “Ey, tu kawel’a payda hawi?” aghõ-la.

Se taa kay amaaw ki: “May gad’a moc haliaw, may dada.”

Toa se amaaw ki: “Dõyõ onja-ta pari.” “Tay dadaaw ikas t’em thi shiu.” “Copo tay dadaaw:

“gheri shonja-mi im,” ghõi-o pariu. “Se al’ay pay ponj basano iu.” “Toa may tada rages’t’i i, a tay kay mon dem,” ghõi amaaw taa kay, sudaas kay. May-o pishtyak paraw.

Se tara paraw-e dadas aw. Dadas tara ita: “Khẽ, may put, bad’ul’a hawi-e?” ghõi amaaw. Se amaaw ki: “Dada, a sak bad’ul’a thi aam.” “Khali precona ric’im-day, sak bad’ul’a thi aam.” Se bo khoshan hawaw.

Gad’a moc khoshan thi amaaw ki: “A dic-ta al’ay pay malal hul’a him.” “Onjo shonja-mi atra pay-o, gheri pishtyak a im.” May-o gheri paraw.

Toa sudayak phato adyays juan tara paraw-e, gad’a istrizha tal’ay aaw. Se amaaw ki, tasa kay: “Tu shal’a ek kamra asta umray,” aghõaw.

“Ne umray aam.

Se amaaw ki: “Shã shẽhẽ kay, se al’ey pay azheli aya haliman.” “Bad’ula kay-o se zhu-day.” “Te zhui te s’is’-o oni atra ek kamrauna, te saw darzen kay aaw.” “Dura puyrak thi shiu,

ek dana phatuki shiu tara.” “Tay asta pe ashaw haw pura hiu-day.” “To atra shehe ki aaw, may atra halaw-e, a te ne ashis.” “Ne ashis haw, a kamzor hawis.” “Phato may ne zhui-o, aya hali,

may kamraay-day band kay thay aaw.” “A-o anday kia asta pac’hiãk zhui, anday aam,” aghõaw.

Se amaaw ki: “Se tay dadaaw iu haw pe haw, tara ghona cidin shiu, sat kẽan cidin, to tara thel.” “Angara thayo angar tyel.” “Angar tyay precona tara puirak kay wis’el.”

“Wis’ay-o tay kay maaw ki: “May put, us’t’i, nat’ kari”“ ghõi amaaw. “Shehe pe amaaw haw, tu maas ki: “Dada, a kia jonim nat’ik.” “A thesu duni-auna paida thi.” “May dada may band kamraay hal’ay aaw. “A moc-mi ne jonim” “Onjo aya ita aam, a tay sargayro a kas ne jonim.” “Tu us’t’i nati, tay tada kay pashi-o a asta jhoni nat’ kaam”,” ghõi amaaw, se. “Amaaw pe haw, faker us’t’i nat’iu.” “Anat’aw pe haw, to t’uki angara histi.” “Tal’ay precona mocay to histi cidinay.” “Ahisti pe haw se abayo del: “A tay ne zhum, may chal’ay” ghõi.”To mo chal’ay.” “Se prus’t thi pe awis’aw, to chal’ay tasa at’hi drũki aya oni.” “Shal’ay sudayakan s’is’ shian.” “Al’ay kay tyay el’i saw us’t’in,” ghõi amaaw. Mon banday-o to ahut’aw tal’ey.

Se paraw tara pay nisi ays-ta, dadas aw, faker ao. Faker tara ita tasa kay amaaw ki: “May put tu khẽ bad’ul’a hawi?”

"Ãã dada, sak bad'ul'a thi aam," ghõi amaaw tasa kay.

Phato gad'a moc bedarman angar araw. Angar kay tara cidin athaaw. Cidin thay precona praw tara puirak kay. Day-o to wis'aaw wis'ay, us't'i may put nat' kari, mic-o t'em pas ne hiu.

"Us't'i nat'ik," ghõi amaaw-e, se amaaw: "Dada a kia jonim nat' karik?" "A moc-mi wats kay ne jhonim, kawa pashi-mi ne aam."

"Tu nat'i tay tada kay pashi-o toa nat'im", aghõal'-e, toa se us't'aw. Toa to l'as' t'uki tal'ay ahistaw, abayo praw ki: A nashim-day may chal'ay. Cidinay ahistaw toa se prus't' awis'aw. Tal'ay wis'i te mos tana hawan. Tana thi at'hi niweron toa chal'ay tara oni batthara kay adrũkaw. Drũki tara hay tal'ay kay udzaki praw-e te himiti us't'on.

Te pura tre caw bishi juanan, muray istrizha. Te us't'i amaan ki: … "Ey suda kia kesmat," aghõan-e se amaaw ki: "hic kia kesmat ne, khodayas nomuna para," ghõi amaaw, tasi kay. Te-ta paron tan duray hatya.

Shase band kamraay ays shase gad'a istrizha, gheri nokdar murayak hawaw. Murayak thi amaaw ki: "Tu kaway paris-day may ja kari." "Tu may ja kari aya-mi apaw dek aya bo kamra shian sat kamra shian," ghõi amaal'-e, se amaaw ki: "Prus't', aya nisim, "A adhek caker kay-o im" Tan hãsh asta gri paraw.

Ek awata paraw-e,ek jaygauna sonukuras mõ' shiu. Se har kal'a ku'ak kariu hul'a-e. Tara no'una samandar shiu hul'a. Tal'ey nong dras'ni toa zhu hula ku'akasi. Toa te sunukuras ku'akasi saw troin-day: "Har kal'a homa aya ku'ak kariu-day, shal'ey nong dras'ni homa zhu-day," aghõ.

shal'ey nong dras'ni homa zhu-day," aghõ.

Se amaaw ki: "Gam mo kara, a to nashem." Ghõi tara nisaw, nisaw-e pay,

shase nong tal'el'a dras'naw, bo gad'a. Dras'ni tasi neji zhal'iu-e, se to khangar gri tyay to nashaaw. Nashaaw-e te khalas hawan.

Toa sunukur ao, tasi hatya kia asta oniu. Ayas aw, tara ita amaaw: "Atra moc aaw, a zhum-day al'a," ghõi aaw, deshay thi. "Te amaan ki: "aya, tu mo zhu." "Ogal'a kay samandar jagay har kal'a jiay." "Tu ku'ak kaas-day-e te nong zhu-day onjo to nashaaw ".

Ghõi amaan-e, se bo koshan hawaw. Koshan thi tara ita amaaw ki: "Ey, kia kesmat" aghõaw-la. "Hic kia kesmat ne, a mic caker ita ays." "Parim-day caker parim-day," aghõ-le

Ek ku'ak tasa day-o amaaw ki: "May ku'ak tay hatya kia kesmat kariu." To asta gri paraw, se.

Pay ek awata paraw-e, sher aaw sher mut'una s'at'i aaw. Tara s'at'i khuruna tasa mas gri shiu. Mas gri mut'una s'at'i asta, se kasik ne bhaaw. Taa du ku'ak aan. Te adrakay pay tasa hatya ki asta gri oni tasa den-day Se zhuiman tara aaw hul'a. Se tasa kay khondiaw ki: "Ey juhan," aghõaw ki: "May shandey khalas karik." "Kia kesmat haw a tay hatya karim," aghõaw-la.

Se taa kay amaaw: "Tu may zhus," aghõaw-le. "Ne zhum," aghõaw, toa se paraw. Tara pay ek l'undur chini tasa ruaw ahistaw. Ruaw histi amaaw ki:

"Tay bo pe asa khur trupaaw haw, tu atra don c'hãc'i, mic-o may zhus, tu." "Daraja hik ne bhaas." "Asa khur atra thi s'at'i shiu," aghõ.

Ek l'undur tara histi to chalaaw. Tal'ey chalaaw-e, to l'undur asta brundi khulaaw, se sher.

Toa du ku'akasi on. Tara ita, "zhuk-day," ghõian. Se amaaw ki: "Mo zhua." Ay may shehe kay dariman aili, bo gudas himan aili onja, andey khalas hawis," aghõaaw-e, te bo koshan hawan.

Ek ku'akaso se taa praw. "Ia tay hatya kia kesmat kaaw," ghõi. Te asta gri paraw.

Kanduri beabanuna paraw, ek shehe ki t'ek jaygauna. Misali ogal'a shatra shahar jhonaaw

Shehe hutala jagayuna se aaw. Se tara-mi nisaw, tara bhangut-day nisi. Se tara-mi nisaw, tara bhangut-day nisi. Se zãgu us'i-o zãgu hiu-day hul'a tara. Tasa hãsh asta aaw, tara. Sher asta aaw, sunukur aaw.

Ek bacaas tre chu asta. Te ja ne-day asta. Adua-ta tal'ay se kasi hul'a, rat-o tromish-o tara ita basiu hul'a. Ek adua tal'ey paraw-e, bacaas chul'asi ja den-day.

Baca chul'asi kay may aaw ki: "A mimi muc'a gamburi dem, el'i gamburi gri abi kas tyat haw, shate mimi beru," ghõi amaaw, tasi kay. Shehe may, "Prus't'," ghõi chul'asi amaan.

Se chutyak chul'as al'a zangu hikwew, shato suda pashi asta. Se bazaray parikwew-o, ek l'andraos sambi bazaray pariu-day hul'a. Te sambiaw niji thel hul'a, te-o.

Toa himiti ek ghona maydanuna sariaan. Sari, saw mocbi tara sariay baca sariay aaw. "May chu ja dem," ghõi, tara-o gamburi tasi mut's'a-day aaw-e, chul'asi kuro kas kay tyay aan, kura kas bo shishoyak juhanan kay tyay aan.

Se-o shat asa l'handra mocas kay tyay aaw ki: "May beru shasa," ghõi. Toa baca kahari hawaw ki: "Tu l'handraas kay gamburi gri pa'." "A beyizat hawis, a bo ghona moc." "Sawin pi shishoyak tu chu ay may." "Tu bo shum beru ari."

Toa te shehe araw ki nii ek gakgos't'ay praw. Te du jamol'asi nii angut'iay nisaaw. Te tal'ay aini-ta. Rat-o tasi maharaman kay amaaw ki: "Para," pay kõ' kara, may jamol'ay kia mashkul hin-day." Te du jamol'asi hũk ne kaan-day tan te mashkul hin-day," ghõi may aaw. Se l'handra-ley amaaw ki: "Copamino pe may ishpashur pe homa mruan hutiu. Te du jamol'asi hũk ne kaan-day tan te mashkul hin-day," ghõi may aaw. Toa "Prus't'," aghõaw, se, tasa kay. "Ko ne hutum-day?." "Hutum, asa l'handra bo mon del," ghõi

Copamina te ahutaw, is'kar paron, te. Se tal'ey paraw ala pay, tan jaygauna pay. To l'andraos niji athaaw. Toa te saman sambiis. Sambi-o sunukuras zhe sheras kay amaaw ki al'ay pay du uprahu'yãk gri-o tagar te-o Gonjikaw dhen-tuna al'ay bihot'ai-o eu," ghõi amaaw. Se tara l'abe' hiu-day hul'a, te paron.

Tal'ay pay du dana gri onan. Tara oni te nit's'uay prus't' tayari kay, thay-o, se l'abe' hiu-day hul'a. Toa du jamol'asi thamam jaygauna kasi, nasi chal'ay-o.

Tara kay uchundon, tara uchundi-o amaan ki: “Ay bo gudas hawimi.” “Homa ek l’handra moc gudas araw.” “Abi ne sapremi,” aghõ-le, se amaaw ki: “A aya safar kay thay aam a mimi dem.”

Ek angus’t’yar tasa som ashis. To angus’t’yar l’at’s’hia araw l’at’s’hia kay. Tasi istek daralit’omay t’hapa s’at’aaw, nis’ani. S’at’ay-o tasi praw, te tasi-day-o te ahutaw.

Pis’t’aw se paraw te shangurbal’u asta gri. Tara hay te za aran, za kay chul’as to za asta gri dadas hatya paraw. Eg-o tal’ay gagrit’s’ ahistaw.

Se zhui zhui akhari-o jagaaw-e: “Bo dzaw shial’a isa l’handraas jaas dzaw,” ghõi. Prus’t’ asa gagrit’s’ tasa ashuna hawaw-e, asa gakrit’s’ al’ay histi oni aaw, asa kiaw ghõi. Tasa hatya bo khaca mon praw.

Se amaaw ki: “Khẽ kaam, dada, tu may nii gakgos’t’ay dyay ays. “Al’ay kaway pal’i shian,” ghõi se tasa kay amaaw. Toa ni ek gardokgos’t’ay te praw.

Tal’ey tromizh-o gheri ahutaw: “Pari,” kõ’ kari may jamol’ay kia mashkul hin-day ghõi. Se tara paraw-e, se amaaw ki: “Copamino pe homa mruan hutiu haw,” ghõi amaaw. “Prus’t’”, ghõi, geri ahutaw, te.

Ahutaw-e, gheri tal’ay paron. Tal’ay pay shase moc hala pay gheri. Taa sheras zhe sunukuras kay amaaw ki “Al’ay pay du shara grii-o tagar te-o khonjigaw dhentuna al’ay bihot’ay eu,” aghõaw.

Shate du jamol’asi gheri tara kay uchundon, bo gudas thi-o, tasi kirmec asta khul thi shian. Was’was’ thi tara uchundi maan: “Shatasa mocas hatya troik-day, abi.” “Ajo du adua al’ay pay gudas thi, ne saprek-day,” agõan-e, se amaaw ki: “Aya shian, a mimi dem.”

Gheri to angus’t’yar l’at’s’hia kay istek t’haralit’omay tay t’hapa s’at’aaw. T’hapa s’at’ay gheri tasi praw. Toa te asta gri paron, pay zama kai gheri ayran tromizh-o.

Toa ni ek chutyak angut’iay te nisaaw. Tal’ai-o gheri huti aaw: “Pay kõ’ kari kia maan-day,” ghõi. Toa se gheri may aaw ki: “Copamino pe homa hãshgal’ karawaaw ghõi amaaw. “Prus’t’,” ghõi, se. “Asa l’handra har chat kia asta maaw-day, karawaam hãshgal’.”

Copamino maydanuna sariini. Se jaas kay amaaw ki: “A hala parim al’ay pay may hãsh halim.” “May te samam sambi im”. “Atra ita hawel’o plinas tyeme ita, tay gad’ara babaaw gulina tyel.” “Se al’a oni may prelel.” “Se oni al’a oni may prelel.” “Tay mochumara babaaw gulina tyel.” “Se oni may demday,” ghõi. “Gheri-o pe pa’u tay gulina tyel.” “Tu-o bihot’ay histi.”

Shehe may-o se pay aaw. Tara pay te sambii-o. Copamina ita aaw. Bo moc-bi sari aan tal’ey, bacahiani saw. Toa hawel’-o pl’inas tyay aaw-e, tasa gad’ara baba-as gulina tyay shiu. Se tara hay taa prelay aaw. Te jhonin-o ne-day ki: “Asa homa jamow,” ghõi. Se bo shishoyak moc. Te samam sambi ita aaw. To hic kura ne jhonin aan ki asa beru ghõi.

Gheri tyay aaw-e, tasa ek babas gulina tyay shiu. Se tara hay tasa prelay aaw.

Te du jamol'asi-o shate t'hapa ki tay s'at'ay aan, shate tasi trupay gal' karik ne bhaan-day. Hãshthara nisik ne bhaan-day. Ek gehen hin-day te trupen-day, ek gehen hiu-day ek gehenaw trupel-lay.

Akhari-o tyay aaw-e, ta.a chutyak babas, se-o bihot'ay histi aaw tasa kay. Histi aaw-e, toa joni aan ki-o asa beru hula. Toa tasi pi bes'ay aaw, se. Te-o ek hal' asta chal'ek ne bhay aan.

Tal'ay-o bo koshan thi baca te uchundaaw. Tal'ay dura nii, gheri z'eri araw, tasi hatya. Z'eri kay teta mic shum kamraay nisaaw. To-o ni sahi shishoyak angut'iay nisay aan-o.

"Ia may jamow hul'a." "A ama ne jhoni ays ia hawel', l'handra ays," ghõi.

Tal'ay du bas aini ek bas aini.

Shehe ek pis't'aw-day ek t'ana kamra shial'a. Tal'el'a-day pay ek hin-duistrizha asta. Se-o idrõ' muzhi te bat kariman asta. Se suda pay tara duruna pay aaw-e se jaas may aaw ki: "Tu al'ay mo pari." "Al'ay pe paraw khatra," ghõi may aaw-e, se kabul ne kay aaw.

Tal'ay pay aaw-e, se jaduistrizha taa som jadu geri kay to bat kay aaw. Bat kay aaw-e, jaas phato nisi troi aaw.

Toa bayas jagay aaw-e, dadas dura bayas niranguna l'ui khas'i shiu. Toa se chutyak bayas citi aaw ki: "May baya khẽ hawaw haw?." Tasa is'kuna ek hãsh asta gri se ita aaw.

Ita shatara gad'a istrizhaasuna z'al'i aaw. Se gad'a istrizha to jhoni aaw.

"Jhoni may aaw ki: "Ey juhan, tu shonjami im," ghõi "pay aay." "Tu kawa pai-o a, shã shohon wat malal hawi," ghõi may aaw. Shehe may aaw-e se citi aaw ki: "May baya shaya ita aaw hul'a," ghõi.

Se tal'ey nasen dras'ni phato pay aaw. Sunukur-as tada zhal'i aaw. Sunukur may aaw ki: "Ey juan, may ku'ak tay hatya kia kesmat ne araw-e."

"Ne," ghõi may aaw.

Ek ku'ak gheri taa-day aaw. To asta gri pay aaw.

Gheri pay sheras tada zhali aaw-e, sher tasa kay may aaw ki: "Ey juan, may ku'ak tay hatya kia kesmat ne araw?."

"Ne araw." Eg-o gheri se-day aaw.

Te asta gri pay shatara zangu hiu-day, shatara jaygauna us't'i te jhoni aaw ki: "May baya shaya ita aaw," ghõi.

Tal'ey pay aaw se pay shaharay pay sida pay taa jaas dura ati aaw. Jaas dura ati aaw-e, jaas shatra to jagay bhalauna pali aaw. Ne taa kay mon dek bhai, ne-ta kia. Toa se mic pakti kay aaw. Pakti kay ruaw thay aaw. Thay aaw mocuna khangar histi aaw. "Shandey andaihak pe tay baza aaw haw tay nashes." To pakti zhui aan, du gehenaw-day.

To ek shen shial'a. Tal'ay d'ud'i aan-e, mocay khangar histi aaw. Andey andayhak pe tay pet'ek aaw haw, tay nashem," amaaw.

Toa se copamino gheri se bata pay aaw, taa duruna hatya. Pay aaw-e se may aaw tasa kay: "Tu hawel al'ay pay ay kia has zhui ay?" "Onjo gheri paris-day," ghõi may aaw, tasa kay. Toa se citi aaw ki: "Oh may baya shanday pay aaw-e.

Se tal'ey durani al'ey atikwew, atikwew, ek mizok tasa shanday ati aaw bazurai. Se tara pay jadu geriuna nisi aaw. Nisi kibaw kay idrõ' muzhi aan. Se istrizha to har karikas kay aaw, se mizok anenaw ut'iki tara tyay to istrizha har kay aaw. Toa se juan tasa kay amaaw ki: "Shel'i tu tes inisan kari," ghõi amaaw.

Te bat kay kay shaya puyrak kay aaw hul'a te moc. Toa se deras'ik gri shehe kay tyay aal'-e te himiti us't'i aan. Tara us't'i may aan ki: "Ey juan, kia kesmat ghõi aan-e. Hic kia kesmat ne, khodayas namuna para." "May bayaa bati a aya ita ays."

Toa tal'ey phato bayas asta thi ita aan. Phonday it-o se citi aaw ki: "Ia may jaa dura ita." "May jaa som bo mashkul thi aaw," ghõi, bayas nashay aaw, se ek bayas.

To nashayo se paraw dura hatya. Dura pay nisi aaw, nisi aaw-e, jaas balauna pal'i aaw. "Kia maam asa kay." Te al'ay parin-day, al'ay pay bat hin onja khẽ thi se ao.

To pakti kay zhui aan. Gheri pakti kay aan e hũk asta ne kay. Zhui aaw toa tasa kay may aaw ki: "Osi tay hatya kia wakia thi ashis ?"

"A osi pakti tay pra, mocay khangar ahisti," ghõi may aaw.

Huk ne kay aaw pakti zhui aaw. D'ud'ikwew gheri se may aaw ki: "Osi tay hatya kia wakia hawaw?" "Tu mocay khangar ahisti, "A tay nashem, ghõi," ghõi amaal-e. Toa se citi aaw ki: "Oooh may bayaa galti ne shial'a." "May baya mic nashes, a," ghõi.

Pishtyak se us't'i paraw us't'i tara pay, taa junazasena pai, nashi aaw. Se tara pay se troi aaw. Troi aaw-e tara ek faker payda hawaw. Faker payda thi taa kay amaaw ki: "Ey juan, ko trois-day?"

Se amaaw ki: "May baya a nashay ays." "Onjo a ita troim-day isa bati, ko nashes, ama," ghõi.

Se amaaw ki: "Tu ne nashay aas, isa phal'ik khul aaw ia anashaw, tay mut's'a thi." Se amaaw ki: "Dõyõ tu jonis-day."

"May umbur kimon, may kaw kimon shiu?," aghõaw.

Se taa kay amaaw ki: "Tay dubishizhedash kaw warek shiu," amaaw.

Se amaaw ki: "May zhe isa mocuna phazhi, dubishizheponj-o asa de bishizheponj-o may de." Se tasa phazhi praw-e se us't'aaw chĩki. Us't'aaw-e amaaw ki: "A sak d'ud'i ays may ko bujay?," bayas amaaw.

Se tasa kay amaaw ki: "Tu d'ud'is-o kia-day, a tay nashay ays." "Onjo gheri tay anga aris, may kaw tay som aphazhis."

Tal'ey dura paron dura pay, te bo wat tara hin. Tal'ey-o tan bacahiuna hatya te pishtyak, dadas kay amaaw ki: "Ai parik-day homa aya pashialak hiu-day, homa dada" ghõi amaal-e, baca tasi hatya bo saman tasi praw.-day te ahutaw sunukur asta gri.

Te pay shatara jaygauna azhal'an-e se istrizha tasi wal' thi aaw ja ne thi. To istrizh-o tasa ek bayas ja praw. Ja-day tan dura azhal'an-e dadas zhe ayas bo akhabir thi aan. Te pashi gheri te murayak hawan. Gheri zheri kay zhunday pin-day nisi aan.

May-o khuta hãsh pron.

A king without sons

Once upon a time, there was a king, he had no sons. Having no sons born, he was becoming old. He also had one horse, it also did not have offspring.

Then a faker came there, a faker came there. Having come there, the king said to him: "I have become old, to me no children are born," he said, he, the king, said so.

The faker took two apples and gave them to the king. "One apple you and your wife should eat, breaking it into two halves." "One apple you shall give to the horse, it'll give offspring." "She, your wife will give birth to two sons." "When two sons have been born, the first, eldest son is mine, the small son yours," he said to him, that faker. He said this, the faker, and he went away from there.

The king went home and stayed there some nine months, or so. The king's wife gave birth to a son. Having given birth to the sons, the king and his wife did so: For the sons the king made a locked room underground, so as they could not be shown to the world. They were there for a long time. They became older, they have become youngsters. They are studying in school.

When their time had come, when they had become youngsters, right, the faker came, there. Having come there, he said to the king: "Now bring my son, I'm taking him with me." As the faker said this to the king, the king walked away from there. Having gone back there, he did not bring the older son, the younger son he brought. Having brought him there, and as the king showed him to the faker, the faker said: "This is not my son, my son is a little thicker." "He is very handsome, bring him!," the faker said to the king.

Being so said, the king left again, and having gone there, he felt sad, because the older son was very beautiful. He went there, to the faker, again, again he brought the very same child. As he took him there, the faker said: "Don't fool me, bring my son here, I'm going," he said.

Then he left, the king, having gone there, and as he spoke to the son, the son became ready to go with the faker. He took both a horse and a sword with him and then went with the faker. He took a sword, and said to his younger brother: "When in case blood appears on your sword, come looking for me." And he went from there. Having said goodbye to the son's family, the faker took him away.

The faker taking him away, he took him to his place. Taking him to his place, there was a honey-spring, and, a precona-spring was also there. The faker said to him: "My son, eat this, stay here eating this." "I must go right now somewhere right near here, having been to the bathroom, I come back," he said, the faker, and went away.

Seven rooms the faker had there. The faker gave the older son the keys to the rooms. Having given him the keys, he said: "Don't open one specific room, whereas you can look in the other rooms," he said.

As the son was playing around at that place, and while going there to the rooms and having forgot about the faker's orders, he opened up a room: There is an old woman there. She had become very weak, the old woman.

Then she said to him: "Hey, where did you come from?," she said.

He told to her: "The old man brought me, my father."

Then she said: "Then, now go." "The time of your father's (: the faker's) coming back has come." "Tomorrow when your father again will be saying "I'll come very soon," he'll go." "Having gone somewhere, he'll come back after five days." "Then come early to me, I'll tell you something," she said to him, to the child. As she has said this, he went back.

As he went there to his room, his father (: the faker) came. His father having come there, and as he said: "Now, my son, have you become big and strong?," the boy said: "Father, I have become very big and strong." "I'm only shitting precona, I have become very big and strong." He the faker became very happy.

The old man being happy said: "When I went there previously, I realised that I was late." "Now I must go there, I'll be back soon." Saying so, he went away again.

Then, as the child, being young, ran there to the old woman's room, the old woman was there. She said, to him: "You should also open that one room too," she said.

"I haven't opened it yet," the boy said.

She said, "In this way, the faker is bringing children here from anywhere." "Making them big and strong, he eats them." "Having eaten them and brought the heads there to that room, they are all made a store of." "The house has become full, but one piece is needed there to fill the room." "When he has eaten you also, it'll be completed." "Then it happened like this there, as he brought me there, I didn't eat them." "As I didn't eat, I became weak." "Then he did not eat me, having brought me here, putting me in my room, he locked me in." "Whatever I find of different kinds of birds, I'm eating it, as I'm here," she said.

She said: "When he your father will come, there is a big pot there, a pot with seven handles, he'll put it there." "Having put it in on the fireplace, he'll light a fire." "Having lit the fire, and having filled it there with precona, he'll boil it." "Having boiled it, he'll say to you: "My son, stand up, dance," he will say." "When he has said this, you say: "Father, how do I know how to dance." "I appeared to the world only short time ago." "My father brought me up in a locked room." "I even don't know any people at all." "Now I have come here, and except for you I don't know anyone." "You stand up and dance, and from watching you, I'll also know how to dance," she said, she. "When you have said so, the faker'll then stand up and dance." "When he has danced, push him and throw him into the pot." "Throw him into there, into the middle of the precona, in the pot." "When you'll have thrown him, he'll cry, "oh-ho," "I'll not eat you, pull me out." "Don't pull him out."

"When he has boilt well, then pull him out, grind his bones, and bring them here." "There where the heads of the children are." "When the bone powder have been thrown in there, they'll all stand up," she said. Having taught him these words, she sent him away from there.

He went away to his own place, having gone there, and sat down there, his father came, the faker came. Having come there, the faker said to him: "My son, how fat have you become?"

"Yes father, I have become very big and strong," he told him.

Then the old man suddenly made a fire. Having made a fire, he put a pot there. Having put the pot there, he filled it, putting precona there. Having put it there, he boilt it, having boilt it, he said: "Get up, my son, dance, otherwise time will not pass."

As he said, "get up and dance," the boy said: "Father, what do I know about how to dance?" "I don't know people so well, I haven't seen any anywhere."

As he said: "You dance, watching you, then I'll dance," then the faker stood up. Then the boy quickly pushed him, threw him into the pot, he yelled "Oh-ho, I'm dying, pull me out." He threw him into the pot, then he boilt well. Having been boilt there, the meat separated from the bones. Being separated, the bones were separated, then having pulled them out, he brought them there, and he grinded them on a stone. Being grinded and brought there, and as he threw them there, they all stood up.

They were about 60-80 young men and young women. Having stood up, they talked. As they said, "Hey child, what service can we do for you?," he said: "No service at all, go in God's name," he said to them. They then went to their own houses.

That old woman who was in the locked room, became young again. Having become young, she said: "Where are you going?, marry me!" As she said, "You marry me, we can live right here together, here are many rooms, there are seven rooms", he said, "OK, I'll stay here." "But I'll come back, having gone travelling a bit." He went away on his horse.

As he came to a place, in that one place there was a falcon's nest. It was giving birth to offsprings every year. There below, under the nest, there was an ocean. From there a monster would appear and then eat its kids. Then, the kids of the falcon are all weeping, "Every year our mother is giving birth to offsprings, but from there, the ocean, the monster appears and is eating us," they said.

The boy said: "Don't worry, I'll kill it." Saying this, he stayed there, and as he stayed there, the dragon appeared from there, very big. As it had appeared, and not yet arrived for them the, offsprings, the boy killed it hitting it with a sword. As he killed it, they became free.

Then the falcon came, it was bringing them food. Their mother (: the falcon) came, having come there, the falcon said: "There is a man, I'm going to eat him," it said from very far away . They said: "Mother, don't eat him."

"Look at the ocean below, every year, look." "When you are giving birth to offsprings, the monster who is eating them, is killed."

As they said this, the falcon became very happy. Being happy, coming there, it said: "Hey, what service can I do for you," it said. "No service at all, I have only come by while travelling around", the boy said. "I'm going, I'm going for travelling," he said. Giving him one son, the falcon said: "My child will do whatever service for you." Then the boy left with the child of the falcon, he.

Going, as he came to a place, a lion was there, caught by a fallen tree. Being caught there, its leg was attached to the tree. Being attached, caught to the tree, it cannot move. The lion has two offsprings, they were going to the wild forest for him, bringing food and giving it to him. He was eating it, because he was stuck there. The lion called the boy: "Hey, young one," he said, "release me from here." "Whatever service you need, I'll do for you," it said.

The boy said to him: "You'll eat me," he said. "I'll not eat you," it said, and then the boy went there, to the lion. Having gone there, he cut a piece of timber, and threw it in front of the lion. Having put it in front of the lion, he said: "When the leg will pain you a lot, you bit the timber there, otherwise you'll eat me." "You cannot tolerate to be held in that place." "That leg has grown together with timber," he said.

Having put another piece of timber in front of the lion, he pulled the lion out. As he pulled the lion out, he broke the timber by biting it, that lion. Then its two offsprings appeared. Having come there, "We are going to eat him," they say. The lion said: "Don't eat." As the lion said: "You were looking after me like that, you were having much trouble, now I'm free from here," they became very happy.

The lion gave one off-spring to the boy. "He'll do whatever service for you," he said. He left with them.

He went through a lot of wilderness, to such a high place in the mountains. For example, a city there below appeared to him. In such a high place he was. He sat right there, hiding there. He hung up a hammock, and started swinging in it, there. He had a horse too with him there. The lion was also there, and the falcon was there.

A king had three daughters. He had not given them away in marriage. During the day he, the elder brother (: the hero of the story) was walking around there at his hiding place, at night, in the evening, he was sleeping there. One day as he left from there, the king's daughters were getting married.

The king said to his daughters, "I will hand you flowers, whoever you hit with these flowers, they will be your husbands," the king said to them. Saying this, "OK," his daughters said.

The youngest daughter, she had seen that boy while he was playing in the hammock and while he was going to the bazar, he was going to the bazar,

wearing the sick-skin clothes. He would wear it, and he would take them off, putting them in place (at his hiding place).

Then all people gathered in one big ground, gathering, a crowd being gathered there, the king announced to them all: "I am going to give my daughter away as a wife," he said, to whoever there the daughters have hit with those flowers, that he has handed the daughters, to whoever very handsome young man they have hit."

She (the younger daughter) hit exactly the skin-diseased man, "That is my husband," she said. Then the king became angry: "You hit a skin-diseased man with the flowers." "I have been dishonoured, I am big man." "You are the most beautiful of my daughters." "You have chosen a very bad husband."

Then he did this with them, taking them he placed them in a cattlehouse. Taking the two other sons-in-law and their wives he placed them in a guesthouse. There they were but at night the king said to their servants: "Go! and while going there, listen to what my sons-in-law are talking about." "The two sons-in-law are not saying anything interesting, they are only small-talking," the servant said. "The skin-diseased said: "If my father-in-law will send us for hunting tomorrow, then we will go." "The two sons-in-law are not saying anything important, they are only small-talking," the servant said. Then, "OK," the king said, he, to the servant, "Why am I not sending them away for hunting?." "I will send them hunting, that skin-diseased man talks too much."

In the morning he sent them away, they went hunting, they. The man with the sick-skin clothes left from there, going up to his own place. He took off the sick-skin clothes and put them in place. Then he dressed himself with his own clothes. Having dressed himself, he said to the falcon and the lion: "Go there, catch two pheasants, and let the rest cross the Gonjikaw mountain and come back," he said. He rested there, they went there (for hunting).

After having gone there, they brought two pheasants. Having brought them there, while they unfeathered them, they placed them after having them ready, the man with the sick-skin clothes was playing.

Then the other two sons-in-law walked around in the forest, but they looked in vain for pheasants to hunt. They came down there, having come down there (to the man with skin-sick clothes), they said, "We faced a lot of problems." "A man with sick skin tired us out." As they said "we did not find any pheasants," he said: "I have cleaned some here, I will give (them) to you."

He had a ring. He made that ring red by warming it over a fire, having made it red, he branded some signs on their buttocks. Having branded them, having given them signs on the buttocks, he sent them away. Later he left with the insides of the pheasants.

Having brought the intestines there to where the sons-in-law and their wives were staying, they made stew of them. Having made stew, the daughter went to her father with that stew. She threw one piece of cowshit into there.

After eating for a long time, the father finally realised: "It was very delicious, the stew of that skin-sick man's wife was delicious,," he said. As he had eaten that cowshit all up, after having put the cowshit into his mouth, he condemned it. He spoke very angrily to her.

She said, "What shall I do, father, you took me and placed me in a cattle-house." "Maybe the cowshit has fallen into the stew from somewhere in the cattlehouse," she said to him. Then the king took her and placed her in a donkey's stable.

In the evening he sent his servant there again, "Go!," he said, "listen to what my sons-in-law are talking about." As he the servant went there, and as the man with the skin-sick clothes said: "I wonder if our father in-law again sends us for hunting tomorrow," the father said, "OK," and sent his sons-in-law away again.

As he sent them, they went there again. Having gone there, the man with the skin-sick clothes having gone up there again, said to the lion and the falcon: "When you go there and have caught two markhors and sent the rest of them away across the Khonjigaw mountain, then come back here," he said.

Those two sons-in-law came down there again empty-handed, very tired, and their shoes had became broken. Ragged, going down there, they say: "We are crying because of that man, we." As they said "Now we have been away for two days and being tired out we don't find anything," the skin-sick man said: "The markhors are here, I give them to you."

Then again he made the ring burning red and marked signs on them on their buttocks. The marks being attached, again he gave them the caught markhors. Then they left with them (: the meat from the dead markhors), having left, they made stew, and again they carried it to the king in the evening.

Then the king took them and placed them, the daughters and his sons-in-law, in a small guest room. Again he sent his servant there: "When you have gone there, listen to what they are saying," he said. Then again the man with the skin-sick clothes said, "I wonder if he will make us play polo tomorrow," he said. "OK," said the king. "That skin-sick man is always talking about whatever, I make him play polo."

In the morning they gathered on a big polo ground. The man with the skin-sick clothes said to his wife: "I will go up to my hiding place, when I have gone there, I will bring my horse." "I will come wearing my own clothes there." "Coming back there to the polo ground, as I hit the first poloball it will fall into your elder sister's lap." "Bringing it she will hand it over to me." "When I hit it again, the ball will fall into the younger of your elder sisters' lap." "Bringing it, she will give it to me," he said. "When I hit the ball again, it will fall into your lap." "You throw it away." Saying this, he went away.

Having gone there to his hiding place he dressed in his own clothes. He came in the morning. Many people have already gathered, everybody from that kingdom. Then, as he then hit the ball the first time, it hit into the elder sister's

lap. Bringing it there, she handed it over to him. They did not know that "He is our own brother-in-law, because he is a very handsome man." The other man is wearing those dresses. Nobody at all recognized that he was the husband of the youngest daughter of the king.

When he again hit the ball, it was hit into the other sister's lap. Bringing it there, she handed it over to him.

The two brothers-in-law, because of those marks which was burned onto them and giving them pain, they can not play polo. They cannot sit on the horse. To whatever side they turn, they have pains. They turn on one side, and on the other side, it is hurting in both sides.

At last, as he hit the ball to the youngest sister, she threw it to him. As she threw the ball, then they knew that he was her husband. Then he beat them in the match, he. They could not even make one single goal.

There, being very happy, the king brought them down. Having taken them to the house, he made celebrations for them again. Having made celebrations for them, he simply placed them, the two other sons-in-law, in a bad room. He took the other two, his youngest daughter and her husband, and in a very beautiful guest room they were placed. "Now this is a true son-in-law of mine." "I didn't know him at first because he was skin-sick," he said. They were there for some days.

It was like this, to the back of the king's house there was another room. Having gone from there, there was a hindu-woman. When they were playing fivestones she was turning the losers into stones. The boy was going, as he went to the door, his wife said: "Don't go there, if you go there, it will be dangerous for you," as she said that, he did not accept it.

As he went there, a women-magician, turned him into a stone, as she was performing magic on him. As she made him a stone, the wife of his sat down and cried.

Then as his younger brother who was in his father's house looked at this brother's sword, "blood has smeared out." Then the younger brother thought, "My brother, what could have happened to him?." In his love he came on a horse to rescue his elder brother.

Having come there, he arrived at the old woman's place. The old woman, she recognized him, because he looked like his brother. Having recognized him, she said: "Hey, young man, you went from here, saying "I will come soon." "Where have you been, for such a long time you didn't come," she said. As she has said that, he thought, "My brother has been here," he thought.

He passed by her, then he left (not paying attention, to the old woman any longer). He came to the falcon. The falcon said: "Hey young man, didn't my offspring do a service for you," it said.

"No," he said.

Again it gave an offspring to him. Then he left with it.

As he again came to the lion, the lion said to him, "Hey, young man!, didn't my offspring do a service for you?"

"No, it didn't," the young man said. Also the lion gave him one more again.

Having gone there with the animal offsprings, to that place where his elder brother was lying in the hammock, getting up there, he knew that: "My brother has been here."

Going from there, leaving, leaving straight for the town, he entered his brother's wife's house. As he has entered his brother's wife's house, the wife there, looking at him, fell into wonder. Not being able to say anything to him at all. Then she just made rice as usual. Having made rice, she placed it before him. She placed the rice before him, and he placed the sword in the middle of the rice. "If your hand crosses the line from here, I will kill you." Then they ate rice from two sides.

Then there was a bed. As they slept there, he threw the sword into the middle of the bed. "If your veil crosses this line, I will kill you," he said.

Then, in the morning he went away again, to that house of the magical woman. As he went there, the sister-in-law said to him: "The first time you went there, what did you eat?." "Now you are going there again," she said to him. Then he thought, "Oh, my brother has been here in this house, with the magic woman."

At the time of entering the house from his own house, a mouse entered into his sleeve.

Going there, he stayed with the witchcraft (: the woman-magician). Staying there, doing whatever, they played fivestones. While the woman was winning, a mouse jumped out from here, from his sleeve, and hit the playing board, and it beat the woman. Then the younger brother said to her,"Quickly, make a good human being," he said.

She had made many people into stones, made the house full of stone statues of those people. Then taking the smaller stones, she threw them onto the statues like this, then they all stood up. Having stood up there, and as they said: "Hey young man, what service can we do for you," he said: "No service at all, in God's name, go." "I had come here because of my brother," the young man said.

Then his brother also being they appeared there. On the way, the boy who had just become alive thought to himself: "He came to my wife's house. He might have talked a lot with my wife," saying this to himself, he killed his brother, his younger brother.

Having killed him, he went to his house. He went home, sat down, as he sat down, his wife fell into wonder. "What shall I say to him." "They are going there, going there, they are becoming stones, now how can he come back!," the wife wondered.

Then having made rice, they ate. They made rice again, they did not say anything at all. He ate, then he said: "What happened to you last night." "Last night I served you rice and you put the sword into the middle of the rice, she said.

Then he did not say anymore, he just ate rice. At sleeping time, he asked again, "What happened to you last night?." "You put the sword into the middle of the bed, saying "I will kill you if you cross the dividing line indicated by the sword," as she said this, then he thought: "Oh no!, my brother did not do wrong." "I just killed my brother, I."

Then he stood up and left, having stood up and left for there, he went near to the dead body, where his brother died. Having gone there, he wept. As he wept, a faker appeared there. Having appeared, he (the faker) said to him, "Hey young man, why are you weeping?"

He said, "My brother, I have killed him, I." "Now, having come here, I'm crying for him, why did I kill him," he said.

The faker said: "You did not kill him, his grain had finished, he simply died, by your hands." He said: "Now you know it."

"What is my age, how many are my years," the young man said.

The faker said to him: "You have 50 more years," he said.

The young man said: "Divide them between me and him, give 25 to him, and give 25 to me." As the faker divided his remaining years for him, the younger brother got up and sneezed. As he stood up, he said, "I slept so well, why did you wake me?," his brother said.

He said to him: "You were not sleeping, I have killed you." "Now I woke you up again, I divided my years with you."

From there they went to the house, having gone to the house, they were there for a long time. The older brother again asked his father-in-law if they could go from there to their own kingdom again. As they said: "We are going now, we miss our mother and our father," the king gave them a lot of things. Having given them this, then he sent them away along with the falcon.

Having gone, and as they came that place of theirs, the woman waited, had not got married. That woman married with the youngest of the brothers. Being married, and as they came to their own house, his mother and father had become old. Seeing them again, they became young. Again while celebrating, they are eating, drinking, staying there.

And me they gave a lame horse.

1 Kaymina, kaymina[264], ek baca[265] asta,

ˈkaj=mina	ˈkaj=mina	ek	baˈtɕa	ˈasta
when=during	when=during	a	king	be.PST.I.3S

2 tasa put ne ubujuna[266].

ˈtasa	put	ne	ubuˈdʑ-una
3S.REM.DIR	son	not	be born-PST.I.3P

Once upon a time, there was a king, he had no sons.

3 Put ne ubuji, se akhabir hikas hul'a.

put	ne	ubuˈdʑ-i	se	akhaˈbir	ˈh-ik-as	ˈhuɬa[267]
son	not	be born-CP	3S.REM.DIR	old	become-INFTV-OBL.SG	become.PST.I.3S

Having no sons born, he was becoming old.

4 Ego tasa hãsh asta, se asta ku'ak ne kada.

ˈeg=o	ˈtasa	hãɕ	ˈasta	se	ˈasta	ˈku-ak	ne	ˈkada
one=TOP	3S.REM.OBL	horse	be.PST.INF.3S	3S.REM.DIR	also	offspring	not	do.PST.A.3S

He also had one horse, it also did not have offspring[268].

5 Toa ek phaker tara, ek faker tara al'a.

ˈtoa	ek	phaˈker	taˈra	ek	faˈker	taˈra	ˈa-ɬa
then	a	*faker*[269]	there.REM.SPC	a	*faker*	rem.SPC	come.PST.I.3S

Then a faker (came) there, a faker came there.

6 Tara ita, baca tasa kay mail'a:

taˈra	ˈi-ta	baˈtɕa	ˈtasa	kaj	ˈma-iɬa
there.REM.SPC	come-CP	king	3S.REM.OBL	to	say-PST.I.3S

Having come there, (the king) said to him,

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[264]The formulaic phrase *kaymina kaymina* is equivalent to the English 'once upon a time', a frequent means of starting a fictional narrative.

[265]*Baca* 'king' seems to be the preferred word for 'king' in stories (Trail and Cooper 1999, 23). Another word for 'king' is *s'a*.

[266]Kalasha lacks a 'have' verb. Possession of the type 'have children' is constructed using an 'experiencer construction', with the (experiencing) subject, the 'possessor' in the oblique, the 'possessed' entity (*put* 'sons' in the direct case), and the verb in agreement with the possessed entity (here in the past-inferential) (the auxiliary verb is omitted in the third person). The literal meaning is 'to him no sons were born'.

[267]A construction with a verb in the infinitive, with the oblique *-as* and the verb *hik* 'become', as in *(akhabir) hikas hul'a*, gives an inchoative meaning, 'start to'. The inferential *hul'a* sets the action in a fictitious world.

[268]The narrator uses actual aspect here, not inferential, perhaps because the story is already set in a fictional universe by *asta* and *hul'a*, so there are no strict discourse demands for a continuous use of the inferential. The inferential aspect is used elsehwere in this part of the story though, so it could also be a mistake.

[269]A *phaker* or *faker* is an ascetic phrophet-like person who wanders around and lives from alms. As seen in this line, the pronunciation can be [phaˈker] or [faˈker]. In the English translation, this word is rendered *faker*.

7 A akhabir hawis, may azheli ne ubujon,
a akhaˈbir ˈhaw-is maj aˈʑeli ne ubuˈdʑ-on
1S.DIR old become.PST.A-1S 1S.OBL children not be born-PST.A.3P

8 ghõi mail'a, shehe mail'a.
ˈghõi ˈma-iła ɕeˈhe ˈma-iła
QUOT say-PST.INF.3S like this say-PST.I.3S
"I have become old, to me no children are born," (he) said, (he, the king) said so.

9 Se du pal'aw chal'ay taa dita.
se du paˈław chaˈła-i ˈta.a ˈdi-ta
3S.REM.DIR two apple pull out-CP 3S.REM.OBL give-PST.I.3S
He (the faker) took two apples and gave them to him (the king).

10 "Ek pal'aw-ta tu zhe tay jaaw
ek paˈław=ta tu ʑe taj ˈdʑa-au
one apple=CTR 2S.DIR and 2S.OBL wife-2S.PSR.3S.PSD

11 kokhon'd'a kay zhua."
koˈkhoɳda_ˈka-i ˈʑu-a
in halves_do-CP eat-P/F.2P.NS
"One apple you and you wife should eat, breaking it into two halves" (he said).

12 "Ek pal'aw-o tay hãshas de, se ku'ak kaw."
ek paˈław=o taj ˈhãɕ-as de se ˈku-ak ˈka-u
one apple=TOP 2S.OBL horse-OBL.SG give.IPV.2S 3S.REM.DIR offspring do-P/F.3S.NS
"One apple you shall give to the horse, it will give offspring."

13 "Se tay jaaw du put haliu."
se taj ˈdʑa-au du put haˈl-iu
3S.REM.DIR 2S.OBL wife-2S.PSR.3S.PSD two son give birth to-P/F.3S.NS
"She, your wife will give birth to two sons.

14 Du putr pe halaw haw,
du putr pe haˈl-au haw
two son if give birth to-PST.A.3S SUBJ

15 hawel'o, gad'ara putr-ta, may,
haˈweł=o gaˈɖara ˈput=ta maj
first=TOP eldest son=CTRF 1S.OBL

16 se tshatak putraw tay."
se ˈtshatak ˈputr-au taj
3S.REM.DIR small son-2S.PSR.SG.PSD 2S.OBL

17 ghõi may aaw tasa kay, se faker.
ˈghõi ˈma-i_ˈa-au ˈtasa kai se faˈker
QUOT say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR to 3S.REM.DIR *faker*
When two sons have been born, the first, eldest son is mine, the small son (of yours) (is) yours," he said to him (the king), that faker.

18 Shehe may aaw, faker, gal'a tal'ey.
ɕeˈhe ˈma-i_ˈa-au faˈker ˈgała taˈɫ-ei
like this say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S *faker* go.PST.INF.3S there.REM.NONSPC-ABL3
He said this, the faker, (and) he went away from there.

19 Dura pay apaw day aaw,
ˈdur-a ˈpa-i aˈpaw_ˈda-i_ˈa-au
house-LOC1 go-CP dwelling_give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

20 kimon no mastruk hawaw kia haw.
kiˈmon no masˈtruk ˈhaw-au ˈkia haw
how many nine month become.PST.A-3P what SUBJ
(He, the king) went home and stayed (there) some nine months, or so.[270]

21 Se put haliaw.
se put haˈli-au
3S.REM.DIR son give birth to-PST.A.3S
She (the king's wife) gave birth to a son.

22 Put hali-mi te shehe araw ki:
put hal-i=ˈmi te ɕeˈhe ˈar-au ki
son give birth to-CP=EMPH 3P.REM.DIR like this do.PST.A-3S CONJ
Having given birth to the sons, they (the king and his wife) did so:

23 Tasi hatya ek band kamra sawzaaw,
ˈtasi ˈhatya ek band kamˈra sawˈz-au
3P.REM.OBL for a closed room make-PST.A.3S

24 duniaas ne pashay, phawno'una kay.
duniˈa-as ne paˈɕa-i phaw.ˈno˗-una kaj
world not show-CP earth.below-LOC2 at
For them (the sons), (the king) made a closed-off room underground, so as they could not be shown to the world.

25 Te tal'ay kimon wat aini.
te taˈɫ-ai kiˈmon wat ˈa-ini
3P.REM.DIR there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 how much time be-PST.A.PS
They were there (in his home) for a long time,

26 Te gad'a hawan, juhan thi aan.
te ˈgaɖa ˈhaw-an ʤuˈhan thi_ˈa-an
3P.REM.DIR old become.PST.A-3P young become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
They (the children) became older, they have become youngsters.

[270]The construction with *kimon* 'how many' and a number or quantity gives the imprecise 'some' meaning. The construction *hawaw kia haw* with *hik* 'become' in the past-actual tense, the indefinite pronoun *kia*, and the subjunctive particle *haw* gives the meaning of 'or so, or whatever'.

27 Te sukuluna sabak maan-day.[271]

te su'kul-una sa'bak_'ma-an=daj
3P.REM.DIR school-LOC2 lesson_say-P/F.3P=SPC
They are studying in school.

28 Tasi t'em pura hawaw, te juhan hawan, ne.

'tasi ʈem pu'ra 'haw-au te ʤu'han 'haw-an ne
3P.REM.DIR time full become.PST.A-3S 3P.REM.DIR young become.PST.A-3P right
Their time had come, they had become youngsters, right.

29 Faker aw, tara.

fa'ker 'a-u ta'ra
faker come.PST.A-3S there.REM.SPC
The faker came, there.

30 Tara ita bacaas kay amaaw ki:

ta'ra 'i-ta ba'ʧa-as kaj a-'ma-au ki
there.REM.SPC come-CP king-OBL.SG to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

31 "Ajo may put hali nim-day."

'aʤo maj put ha'l-i n-im=daj
now 1S.OBL son bring-IPV.2S take-P/F.1S=SPC
Having come there, (he) said to the king: "Now bring my son, I'm taking him with me."

32 Shehe amaaw-e tasa kay, paraw tal'ey.

ʧe'he a-'ma-au=e 'tasa kaj pa'r- au ta'ɫ-ei
like this AU-say-PST.A.3S=when 3S.REM.OBL to go-PST.A.3S there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1
As (he, the faker) said this to him (the king), he (the king) walked away from there.

33 Tara pay to gad'ara putras ne haliaw,

ta'ra 'pa-i to ga'ɖara 'putr-as ne ha'li-au
there.REM.SPC go-CP 3S.REM.ACC old son-OBL.SG not bring-PST.A.3S

34 ek chutyak putras haliaw

ek 'ʧhutjak 'putr-as ha'li-au
one small son-OBL.SG bring-PST.A.3S
Having gone (back) there, he did not bring the older son, the younger son he brought.

[271] *Sabak maik* (literally 'lesson say') is lexicalised to mean 'study (in school, etc.)'. The narrator changes briefly to the present tense for stylistic reasons.

35 Tara hali to tasa pashaaw-e,
ta'ra ha'l-i to 'tasa pa'ɕa-au=e
there.REM.SPC bring-CP 3S.REM.ACC 3S.REM.OBL show-PST.A.3S=as

36 se faker amaaw ki:
se fa'ker a-'ma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR *faker* AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

37 "Ia may put ne, may put titɕak bad'ul'a."
'ia maj put ne maj put 'titɕak ba'ɖuła
3S.NE.DIR 1S.OBL son not 1S.OBL son a little thick
Having brought him there, and as he (the king) showed him to him (the faker), the faker said, "This is not my son, my son is a little thicker."

38 Se bo shishoyak, to hali,"
se bo ɕi'ɕojak to ha'l-i
3S.REM.DIR very beautiful 3S.REM.ACC bring-IPV.2S

39 ghõi tasa kay amaaw.
'ghõi 'tasa kaj a-'ma-au
QUOT 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S
"He (: the thicker one) is very handsome, bring him!," (he, the faker) said to him (the king).

40 Shehe amaal-e[272]gheri paraw, tal'ay pay
ɕe'he a-'ma-al=e 'gheri pa'r- au ta'ɬ-ai 'pa-i
like this AU-say-PST.A=as again go-PST.A.3S there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP

41 to hardi ne araw se bo shishoyak.
to har'di_ne_'ar-au[273] se bo ɕi'ɕoyak
3S.REM.ACC compliance_not_do.PST.A-3S 3S.REM.DIR very beautiful
Being so said, he (the king) left again, and having gone there, he felt sad, (because) he (the older son) was very beautiful.

42 Gheri paraw gheri shato-mi suda aniaw.
'gheri pa'r- au 'gheri ɕa=to='mi 'suda a-'ni-au
again go-PST.A.3S again EMPH=3S.REM.ACC=EMPH child AU-bring-PST.A.3S
He went there (to the faker) again, again he brought the very same child.

[272]The ending *-aw* '3S.P/F' has a facultative, perhaps stylistically conditioned allomorph *-al'* before an enclitic with an initial vowel, here *-e* 'as, when'. The change of /u/ to /ɬ/ follows the obligatory change of stem-final /w/ to /ɬ/ before a suffix with an initial vowel, for example, *haw* 'plough' > *hal'as* 'plough-OBL.SG'.
[273]Note that a conjunct verb may be split by a negator, here *ne* 'not'.

43 Tara aniaw-e se amaaw ki:

taˈra	a-ˈni-au=e	se	a-ˈma-au	ki
there.REM.SPC	AU-bring-PST.A.3S=as	3S.REM.DIR	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

44 "Tu may som dukha mo kari,

tu	maj	som	duˈkha_mo_ˈkar-i
2S.DIR	1S.OBL	with	deceive_PROH_do-IPV.2S

45 may put aya hali, a parim-day," aghõaw.

maj	put	aˈja	haˈl-i	a	paˈr-im=daj	a-ghõ-au
1S.OBL	son	here.NE.SPC	bring-IPV.2S	1S.DIR	go-P/F.1S=SPC	AU-speak-PST.A.3S

As he took him there, he (the faker) said: "Don't fool me, bring my son here, I'm going," he said.

46 Phato paraw baca tara pay,

ˈphato	paˈr- au	baˈtɕa	taˈra	ˈpa-i
then	go-PST.A.3S	king	there.REM.SPC	go-CP

47 tasa kay amaaw-e, se rahi hawaw.

ˈtasa	kaj	a-ˈma-au=e	se	raˈhi_ˈhaw-au
3S.REM.OBL	to	AU-say-PST.A.3S=as	3S.REM.DIR	readiness _become.PST.A-3S

Then he left, the king, having gone there, as he spoke to him (the son), he (the son) became ready to go (with the faker).

48 Se ego[274]hãsh tan som agriaw,

se	ˈeg=o	hãɕ	tan	som	a-ˈgri-au
3S.REM.DIR	a=TOP	horse	own	with	AU-take-PST.A.3S

49 ego khangar agriaw.

ˈeg=o	khaŋˈgar	a-ˈgri-au
one=TOP	sword	AU-take-PST.A.3S

He took both a horse and a sword with himself (and then went with the faker).

50 Khangar agriaw bayas kay amaaw ki:

khaŋˈgar	a-ˈgri-au	ˈbaj-as	kaj	a-ˈma-au	ki
sword	AU-take-PST.A.3S	brother-OBL.SG	to	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

51 "Tay khangaruna pe nanga l'ui akasaw

taj	khaŋˈgar-una	pe	ˈnaŋga	ˈɬui	a-ˈkas-au	haw
2S.OBL	sword-LOC2	if	in case	blood	AU-smear out-PST.A.3S	SUBJ

52 tu may khoci i," ghõi may aaw.

tu	maj	ˈkhotɕ-i	i	ˈghõi	ˈma-i_ˈa-au
2S.DIR	1S.OBL	search for-CP	come.IPV.2S	QUOT	say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

He took a sword, and said to his (younger) brother: "When in case blood appears on your sword, come looking for me," (he) said.

[274]In the phrase *eg-o NP .. eg-o NP*, the repeated topic marker *-o* has a coordinating function, meaning 'both NP and NP' or 'NP and also NP'.

53 Se paraw tal'ey.
se pa'r- au ta'ɬ-ei
3S.REM.DIR go-PST.A.3S there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1
(And) he went from there.

54 Toa dadasi zhe tay som khodayar kay,
'toa 'dad-asi ʑe 'ta.i som khoda'jar_'ka-i
then father-3S.PSR.PL.PSD and 3P.REM.OBL with goodbye_do-CP
55 faker aniaw, to.
fa'ker a-'ni-au to
faker AU-take-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.ACC
Then, having said goodbye to the son's family, the faker took him away.

56 Faker ni tasa jaygauna aniaw.
fa'ker n-i 'tasa dʑaj'ga-una a-'ni-au
faker take-CP 3S.REM.OBL place-LOC2 AU-take-PST.A.3S
The faker taking him away, (he) took (him) to his place.

57 Taa jaygauna ni,
'ta.a dʑaj'ga-una n-i
3S.REM.OBL place-LOC2 take-CP
58 tara shial'a ek-ta mac'hiuts shial'a,
ta'ra ɕi-'ała 'ek=ta matʂhi.'uts ɕi-'ała
there.REM.SPC be-PST.INF.3S one=CNTR honey spring be-PST.INF.3S
59 ego preconauts[275] shial'a
'eg=o pretɕona.'uts ɕi-'ała
a=TOP *precona* spring be-PST.INF.3S
Taking (him) to his place, there was a honey-spring, (and), a precona-spring was also there.

60 Faker tasa kay amaaw ki:
fa'ker 'tasa kaj a-'ma-au ki
faker 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
61 "May put shemi zhu, zhuiman apaw de."
maj put 'ɕ=emi ʑu 'ʑu-iman a'paw_de
1S.OBL son EMPH=3S.NE.ACC eat.IPV.2S eat-IMPF.INF.3S dweilling_give.IPV.2S
The faker said to him: "My son, eat this, stay here eating (this)."

[275] *Precona* is clarified butter that resembles ghee. It is highly esteemed among the Kalasha.

62 "A shonja-mi thesu shaya pay

a	ɕ=oɲʤa=ˈmi	ˈthesu	ɕ=aˈja	ˈpa-i
1S.DIR	EMPH=now-EMPH	just now	EMPH= here.NE.SPC	go-CP

63 mutra kay-o pishtyak a im"

ˈmutra_ˈka-i=o	piɕˈtjak	a	i-m
urine_do-CP=TOP	back	1S.DIR	come-P/F.1S.NS

64 ghõi may aaw, faker, paraw.

ˈghõi	ˈma-i_ˈa-au	faˈker	paˈr- au
QUOT	say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S	*faker*	go-PST.A.3S

"I must go right now somewhere right near here, having been to the toilette, I come back," he said, the faker, and went away.

65 Tasa shial'a sat kamra.

ˈtasa	ɕi-ˈała	sat	kamˈra
3S.REM.OBL	be-PST.INF.3sp	seven	room

Seven rooms he (the faker) had there.

66 Te ac'uyak tasa day aaw.

te	aˈʈʂuyak	ˈtasa	ˈda-i_ˈa-au
3P.REM.ACC	key	3S.REM.OBL	give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

He (the faker) gave him (the older son) the keys (to the rooms).

67 Day-o, may aaw ki:

ˈda-i=o	ˈma-i_ˈa-au	ki
give-CP=TOP	say-PF.PTC_AUX.-3S	CONJ

68 "Ek kamra-o mo umray, tagar el'i-o jagay,"

ek	kamˈra=o	mo	umˈra-i	taˈgar	eˈɬi=o	ʤaˈga-i
one	room=TOP	PROH	open-IPV.2S	remaining	3P.DI.DIR=TOP	look at-IPV.2S

69 ghõi amaaw.

ˈghõi	a-ˈma-au
QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S

Having given (him the keys), he said: "Don't open one specific room, (whereas) (you can) look in the other rooms," he said.

70 Se tal'ay l'abe' thi tara pay ger ne kay

se	taˈɬ-ai	ɬaˈbe-_thi	taˈra	ˈpa-i
3S.REM.DIR	there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3	play_become.CP	there.REM.SPC	go-CP

71 ek awata umraaw-e.[276]

ger_ne_ˈka-i	ek	aˈwat-a	umˈra-au=e
awareness_not_do-CP	a	place-LOC1	open-PST.A.3S=as

As he (the son) was playing around at that place, and while going there (to the rooms) and having forgot (about the faker's orders), he opened up a place (: a room).

[276]With three CP-constructions in one sentence (*l'abe' thi*, *tara pay*, and *ger ne kay*), the narrator builds up a sense of tension before the next dramatic turning point in the narrative in Line 72.

72 Ek gad'a istrizha tara aaw.
ek ˈgaɖa iˈstriʐa taˈra ˈa-au
a old woman there.REM.SPC be-P/F.3S.NS
There is an old woman there.

73 Se bo kamzor thi aaw, gad'a istrizha.
se bo kamˈzor thi_ˈa-au [277] ˈgaɖa iˈstriʐa
3S.REM.DIR very weak become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S old woman
She had become very weak, the old woman.

74 Toa se tasa kay amaaw ki:
ˈtoa se ˈtasa kaj a-ˈma-au ki
then 3S.REM.DIR 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

75 "Ey, tu kawel'a payda hawi?" aghõ-la.
ej tu kaˈw-eɫ-a pajˈda_ˈhaw-i a-ˈghõ-au=la
hey 2S.DIR where-ACR-LOC1 appear_become.PST.A-2S AU-say-PST.A.3S=ENDEAR
Then she said to him: "Hey, where did you come from?," she said.

76 Se taa kay amaaw ki:
se ˈta.a kaj a-ˈma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

77 "May gad'a moc haliaw, may dada."
maj ˈgaɖa motɕ haˈli-au maj ˈdada
1S.OBL old man bring-PST.A.3S 1S.OBL father
He told her: "The old man brought me, my father."

78 Toa se amaaw ki: "Dõyõ onja-ta pari."
ˈtoa se a-ˈma-au ki ˈdõyõ ˈoɲʤa=ta paˈr- i
then 3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ then now=EMPH go-IPV.2S
Then she said, "then, now go."

79 "Tay dadaaw ikas t'em thi shiu."
taj daˈda-au ˈi-k-as ʈem thi_ˈɕ-iu
2S.OBL father-2S.PSR.SG.PSD come-INFTV-OBL.SG time become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"The time of your father's coming (back) has come."

80 Copo tay dadaaw:
ˈtɕop=o taj daˈda-au
tomorrow=TOP 2S.OBL father-2S.PSR.SG.PSD

81 "gheri shonja-mi im," ghõi-o pariu."
ˈgheri ɕ=oɲʤa=ˈmi i-m ˈghõ-i=o paˈr-iu
again EMPH=now=EMPH come-P/F.1S.NS say-CP=TOP go-P/F.3S.NS
"Tomorrow when your father again will be saying "I will come very soon," he will go."

[277] Language consultants suggest that the inferential *asta* 'be.PST.I.3S' should be used instead of the perfective *thi aaw.*

82 "Se al'ay pay ponj basano iu."
se a'ɬ-ai 'pa-i poɲdʑ 'bas-ano 'i-u
3S.REM.DIR there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP five day-TEMP come-P/F.3S.NS
"Having gone somewhere, he will come back after five days."

83 "Toa may tada rages't'i i, a tay kay mon dem,"
'toa maj 'tad-a ra'geʂ̍i i a taj kaj mon_d-em
then 1S.OBL near-LOC1 early come.IPV.2S 1S.DIR 2S.OBL to word_give-P/F.1S.NS
84 ghõi amaaw taa kay, sudaas kay.
'ghõi a-'ma-au 'ta.a kaj suda-as kai
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.OBL to child-OBL.SG to
"Then come early to me, I will tell you something, she said to him, to the child.

85 May-o pishtyak paraw.
'ma-i=o piɛ'tjak pa'r- au
say-CP=TOP back go-PST.A.3S
As she has said this, (he) went back.

86 Se tara paraw-e dadas aw.
se ta'ra pa'r- au=e 'dad-as a-u
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC go-PST.A.3S=as father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD come.PST.A-3S
As he went there (to his room), his father came.

87 Dadas tara ita:
'dad-as ta'ra 'i-ta
father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD there.REM.SPC come-CP
88 "Khẽ, may put, bad'ul'a hawi-e?" ghõi amaaw.
khẽ maj put ba'ɖuła 'haw-i=e 'ghõi a-'ma-au=e
how 1S.OBL son thick become.PST.A-2S=INTERR QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S=as
His father having come there, (and) as he said: "Now, my son, have you become big and strong?."

89 Se amaaw ki:
se a-'ma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
90 "Dada, a sak bad'ul'a thi aam."
'dada a sak ba'ɖuła thi_'a-am
father 1S.DIR very thick become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S
He (the boy) said: "Father, I have become very big and strong."

91 "Khali precona ric'im-day, sak bad'ul'a thi aam."
kha'li pre'tɕona 'riʈʂ-im=daj sak ba'ɖuła thi_'a-am
only *precona* shit-P/F.1S.NS=SPC very thick become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"I'm only shitting precona, I have become very big and strong."

92 Se bo khoshan hawaw.
se bo khoˈɕan ˈhaw-au
3S.REM.DIR very happy become.PST.A-3S
He (the faker) became very happy.

93 Gad'a moc khoshan thi amaaw ki:
ˈgaɖa motɕ khoˈɕan thi a-ˈma-au ki
old man happy become.CP AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

94 "A dic-ta al'ay pay malal hul'a him."
a ˈditɕ=ta aˈɬ-ai ˈpa-i maˈlal_ˈhuɬa_h-im
1S.DIR just before=CNTR there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP late_become.PST.I_AUX-P/F.1S
The old man being happy, said, "When I went there previously, I realised that I was late."

95 "Onjo shonja-mi atra pay-o,
ˈoɲdʑ=o ɕ=oɲdʑa=ˈmi aˈtra ˈpa-i=o
now=TOP EMPH=now=EMPH there.DI.SPC go-CP=TOP

96 gheri pishtyak a im."
ˈgheri piɕˈtjak a i-m
again back 1S.DIR come-P/F.1S.NS
"Now I must go there, I will be back soon."

97 May-o gheri paraw.
ˈma-i=o ˈgheri paˈr- au
say-CP=TOP again go-PST.A-3S
Saying (so), he went away again.

98 Toa sudayak phato adyays juan tara paraw-e,
ˈtoa suˈda=jak ˈphato a-ˈdja-is dʑuˈan taˈra paˈr-au=e
then child=DIM then AU-run-PST.A.3S young there.REM.SPC go-PST.A.3S=as

99 gad'a istrizha tal'ay aaw.
ˈgaɖa iˈstriʑa taˈɬ-ai ˈa-au
old woman there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 be-P/F.3S.NS
Then, as the child, being young, ran there (to the old woman's room), the old woman was there.

100 Se amaaw ki, tasa kay:
se a-ˈma-au ki ˈtasa kaj
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ 3S.REM.OBL to

101 "Tu shal'a ek kamra asta umray," aghõaw.
tu ˈɕ=ała ek kamˈra ˈasta umˈr-a-i a-ˈghõ-au
2S.DIR EMPH=3S.DI.ACC one room also open-CS1-IPV2 AU-say-PST.A.3S
She said, to him: "You should also open that one room too," she said.

102 "Ne umray aam.
ne umˈr-a-i_ˈa-am
not open-CS1-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S
"I haven't opened it (yet)"(, the boy said).

103 Se amaaw ki: "Shã shẽhẽ[278]kay,
se a-ˈma-au ki ˈɕã::_ɕẽˈhẽ ˈka-i
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ like this_like this do-CP

104 se al'ey pay azheli aya haliman."
se aˈɬ-ei ˈpa-i aˈʑeli aˈja haˈl-iman
3S.REM.DIR there.DI.NONSPC-ABL1 go-CP children here.NE.SPC bring-IMPF.PTC.3S
She said: "In this way, he (the faker) is bringing children here from anywhere."

105 "Bad'ula kay-o se zhu-day."
baˈɖuɬa ˈka-i=o se ʑ-u=daj
thick do-CP=TOP 3S.REM.DIR eat-P/F.3S=SPC
"Making them big and strong, he eats (them)."

106 "Te zhui te s'is'-o oni atra ek kamrauna,
te ˈʑu-i te ˈʂiʂ=o ˈon-i aˈtra ek kamˈra-una
3P.REM.ACC eat-CP 3P.REM.DIR head=TOP bring-CP there.DI.SPC one room-LOC2

107 te saw darzen kay aaw
te saw darˈzen_ˈka-i_ˈa-au
3P.REM.DIR all storage_do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"Having eaten them and brought the heads there to that room, they (the heads) are all made a store of."

108 "Dura puyrak thi shiu,
ˈdur-a ˈpujr=ak thi_ˈɕ-iu
house-LOC1[279] full=DIM become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

109 ek dana phatuki shiu tara."
ek daˈna phaˈtuki ˈɕ-iu taˈra
one piece less be-P/F.3S.NS there.REM.SPC
"The house has become full, (but) one piece is needed there (to fill the room)."

110 "Tay asta pe ashaw haw pura hiu-day."
taj ˈasta pe ˈaɕ-au haw puˈra ˈh-iu=daj
2S.OBL also if eat.PST.A-3S SUBJ full become-P/F.3S=SPC
"When he has eaten you also, it will be completed."

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[278]The vowel lengthening is probably used here as a means of emphasising the dramatic turn in the story, that the *faker* is actually taking away children in order to fatten them up and to stock them in his house.

[279]The phrase *dura puyrak thi shiu* with the subject *dur* 'house' in the locative case illustrates that locative endings can be used in what can be called a 'locative subject construction', in which the locative marks an inanimate entity that undergoes a change. This is similar to the so-called 'dative subject construction', common in South Asian languages, where an experiencing subject is in the dative case or, in the case of Kalasha, in the oblique case, for example, *may osh thi shiu* 'I have become cold'.

111 "To atra shehe ki aaw, may atra halaw-e,
to aˈtra ɕeˈhe ki ˈa-au maj aˈtra haˈl-au=e
then there.DI.SPC like this CONJ be-P/F.3S.NS 1S.OBL there.DI.SPC bring-PST.A.3S=as

112 a te ne ashis."
a te ne ˈaɕ-is
1S.DIR 3P.REM.ACC not eat.PST.A-3S
"Then it happened like this there, as he brought me there, I didn't eat them."

113 "Ne ashis haw, a kamzor hawis."
ne ˈaɕ-is haw a kamˈzor ˈhaw-is
not eat.PST.A-1S SUBJ 1S.DIR weak become.PST.A-1S
"As I didn't eat, I became weak."

114 "Phato may ne zhui-o, aya hali,
ˈphato maj ne ˈʐu-i=o aˈja haˈl-i
then 1S.OBL not eat-CP=TOP here.NE.SPC bring-CP

115 may kamraay day band kay thay aaw."[280]
maj kamˈra-ai ˈda-i band ˈka-i ˈtha-i_ˈa-au
1S.OBL room-LOC3 give-CP closed do-CP place-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"Then he did not eat me, having brought me here, putting me in my room, he locked me in."

116 "A-o anday kia asta pac'hiãk zhui,
ˈa=o anˈd-ai ˈkia ˈasta paˈʈʂhiãk ˈʐu-i
1S.DIR=TOP here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3 what also bird eat-CP

117 anday aam," aghõaw.
anˈd-ai ˈa-am a-ˈghõ-au
here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3 be-P/F.1S.NS AU-say-PST.A.3S
"Whatever I find of different kinds of birds, I am eating it, as I am here," she said.

118 Se amaaw ki:
se a-ˈma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

119 "Se tay dadaaw iu haw pe haw,
se taj daˈda-au i-u haw pe haw
1S.DIR 2S.DIR father-2S.PSR.SG.PSD come-P/F.3S.NS SUBJ if SUBJ

120 tara ghona cidin shiu, sat kẽan cidin,
taˈra ˈghona ʨiˈdin ˈɕ-iu sat ˈkẽ-an ʨiˈdin
there.REM.SPC big pot be-P/F.3S.NS seven ear-INSTR pot

121 to tara thel."
to taˈra th-el
3S.REM.ACC there.REM.SPC place-P/F.3S.NS
She said: "When he your father will come, there is a big pot there, a pot with seven handles, he will put it there."

[280]In the old woman's speech, the narrator uses four CP constructions in one sentence (*zhui* 'having eaten', *aya hali* 'having brought here', *kamraay day* 'putting in room').

122 "Angara thay-o angar tyel."
aŋˈgar-a ˈtha-i=o aŋˈgar_tj-el
fire-LOC1 place-CP=TOP fire light-P/F.3S.NS
"Having put it in on the fire (place), he will light a fire."

123 "Angar tyay precona tara puirak kay wis'el."
aŋˈgar_ˈtja-i preˈtɕona taˈra ˈpujrak ˈka-i wiˈʂ-el
fire_light-CP *precona* there.REM.SPC full do-CP boil-P/F.3S.NS
"Having lid the fire, and having filled it there with precona, (he) will boil it."

124 "Wis'ayo tay kay maaw ki:
wiˈʂ-a-i=o taj kaj ˈma-au ki
boil-CS1-CP=TOP 2S.OBL to say-P/F.3S.NS CONJ

125 "May put, us't'i, nat' kari", ghõi amaaw.
maj put ˈuʂʈ-i naʈ ˈkar-i ˈghõi ˈma-au
1S.OBL son stand-IPV.2S dance do-IPV.2S QUOT say-P/F.3S.NS
"Having boiled it, he will say to you: "My son, stand up, dance," he says."

126 "Shehe pe amaaw haw, tu maas ki:
ɕeˈhe pe a-ˈma-au haw tu ˈma-as ki
like this if AU-say-PST.A.3S SUBJ 2S.DIR say-P/F.2S.NS CONJ

127 "Dada, a kia jonim nat'ik.""
ˈdada a ˈkia ˈdʑon-im ˈnaʈ-ik
father 1S.DIR what know-P/F.1S.NS dance-INFTV
"When he has said like this, you say: "Father, how do I know how to dance.""

128 "A thesu duniauna payda thi."
a ˈthesu duniˈa-una pajˈda_thi
1S.DIR only world-LOC2 appear_become.CP
"I only short time ago appeared to the world."

129 "May dada may band kamraay hal'ay aaw.
maj ˈdada maj band kamˈra-ai haˈɬa-i_ˈa-au
1S.OBL father 1S.OBL closed room-LOC3 bring up-CS1-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"My father brought me up in a closed-off room."

130 "A moc-mi ne jonim."
a motɕ=ˈmi ne ˈdʑon-im
1S.DIR people=EMPH not know-P/F.1S.NS
"I even don't know any people at all."

131 "Onjo aya ita aam,
ˈoɲdʑ=o aˈja ˈi-ta_ˈa-am
now=TOP here.NE.SPC come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S

132 a tay sargayro a kas ne jonim."
a taj sarˈgajr=o a kas ne ˈdʑon-im
1S.DIR 2S.OBL except=TOP 1S.DIR who.OBL not know-P/F.1S.NS
"Now I have come here, (and) except for you I don't know anyone."

133 "Tu us't'i nati, tay tada kay pashi-o
tu ˈuʂʈ-i ˈnat-i taj ˈtad-a ˈka-i ˈpaˈɕ-i=o
2S.DIR stand up-IPV.2S dance-IPV.2S 2S.OBL near-LOC1 do-CP see-CP=TOP

134 a asta jhoni nat' kaam"," ghõi amaaw, se.
a ˈasta ˈdʑhon-i naʈ_ˈka-am ˈghõi a-ˈma-au se
1S.DIR also know-CP dance_do-P/F.1S.NS QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.DIR
"You stand up and dance, (and) from watching you, I will also know how to dance," she said, she.

135 "Amaaw pe haw, faker us't'i nat'iu."
a-ˈma-i pe haw faˈker ˈuʂʈ-i ˈnaʈ-iu
AU-say-PST.A.2S if SUBJ *faker* stand up-CP dance-P/F.3S.NS
"When you have said so, the faker will then stand up and dance."

136 "Anat'aw pe haw, to t'uki angara histi."
a-ˈnaʈ-au pe haw to ˈʈuk-i aŋˈgar-a ˈhist-i
AU-dance-PST.A.3S if SUBJ 3S.REM.ACC push-IPV.2S fire-LOC1 throw-IPV.2S
"When he has danced, push him (and) throw him into the pot (fire)."

137 "Tal'ay precona mocay to histi cidinay."
taˈɬ-ai preˈtɕona ˈmotɕ-ai to ˈhist-i tɕiˈdin-ai
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 *precona* middle-LOC3 3S.REM.ACC throw-IPV.2S pot-LOC3
"Throw him into there, into the middle of the precona, in the pot."

138 "Ahisti pe haw se abayo del:
a-ˈhist-i pe haw se abaˈjo_d-el
AU-throw-PST.A.2S if SUBJ 3S.REM.DIR oh-ho_give-P/F.3S.NS

139 "A tay ne zhum, may chal'ay ghõi
a taj ne ˈʑu-m maj tɕhaˈɬa-i ˈghõi
1S.DIR 2S.OBL not eat-P/F.1S.NS 1S.OBL pull out-IPV.2S QUOT
"When you will have thrown (him), he will cry, "oh-ho," "I will not eat you, pull me out."

140 "To mo chal'ay."
to mo tɕhaˈɬa-i
3S.REM.ACC PROH pull out-IPV.2S
"Don't pull him out."

141 "Se prus't thi pe awis'aw,
se pru::ʂʈ[281] thi pe a-ˈwiʂ-au
3S.REM.DIR well be.CP if AU-boil-PST.A.3S

142 to chal'ay tasa at'hi drũki aya oni."
to tɕhaˈɬa-i ˈtasa aˈʈhi ˈdruŋk-i aˈja ˈon-i
3S.REM.ACC pull-IPV.2S 3S.REM.OBL bone grind-IPV.2S here.NE.SPC bring-IPV.2S
"When he has boilt well, (then) pull him out, grind his bones, (and) bring (them) here."

143 "Shal'ay sudayakan s'is' shian."
ɕ=aˈɬ-ai suˈda=jak-an ʂiʂ ˈɕi-an
EMPH=there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 child=DIM-OBL.PL head be-P/F.3P.ns
"There where the heads of the children are."

144 "Al'ay kay tyay el'i saw us't'in,"
aˈɬ-ai kaj ˈtja-i ˈeɬi saw ˈuʂʈ-in
there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 to hit-CP 3P.DI.DIR all stand up-P/F.3P.ns

145 ghõi amaaw
ˈghõi aˈma-au
QUOT AU-say-P/F.3S.NS
"When the (the bone powder) have been thrown in there, they (the children) will all stand up," she said.

146 Mon banday-o to ahut'aw tal'ey.
mon banˈda-i=o to a-ˈhuʈ-au taˈɬ-ei
word teach-CP=TOP 3S.REM.ACC AU-send away-PST.A.3S there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1
Having taught him these words, she sent him away from there.

147 Se paraw tara pay nisi ays-ta,
se paˈr- au taˈra ˈpa-i niˈs-i_ˈa-is=ta
3S.REM.DIR go-PST.A.3S there.REM.SPC go-CP sit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=CNTR

148 dadas aw, faker aw.
ˈdad-as ˈa-u faˈker ˈa-u
father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD come.PST.A-3S *faker* come.PST.A-3S
He went away (to his place), having gone there, and sat down there, his father came, the faker came.

149 Faker tara ita tasa kay amaaw ki:
faˈker taˈra ˈi-ta ˈtasa kaj a-ˈma-au ki
faker there.REM.SPC come-CP 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

150 "May put tu khẽ bad'ul'a hawi?"
maj put tu khẽ baˈɖuɬa ˈhaw-i
1S.OBL son 2S.DIR how thick become. PST.A-2S
Having come there, the faker said to him: "My son, how fat have you become?"

[281]The vowel lengthening indicates that the faker should boil in the *precona* soup for a long time.

151 "Ãã dada, sak bad'ul'a thi aam"
ˈãã ˈdada sak baˈɖuła thi_ˈa-am
yes father very thick become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S

152 ghõi amaaw tasa kay.
ˈghõi a-ˈma-au ˈtasa kaj
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.OBL to
"Yes father, I have become very big and strong," he told him.

153 Phato gad'a moc bedarman angar araw.
ˈphato ˈgaɖa motɕ bedarˈman aŋˈgar ˈar-au
then old man suddenly fire do.PST.A-3S
Then the old man suddenly made a fire.

154 Angar kay tara cidin athaaw.
aŋˈgar ˈka-i taˈra tɕiˈdin a-ˈtha-au
fire do-CP there.REM.SPC pot AU-place-PST.A.3S
Having made a fire, he put a pot there.

155 Cidin thay precona praw tara puirak kay.
tɕiˈdin ˈtha-i preˈtɕona ˈpr-au taˈra ˈpujrak ˈka-i
pot place-CP *precona* put.PST.A-3S there.REM.SPC full do-CP
Having put the pot there, he filled (it), putting precona there.

156 Day-o to wis'aaw wis'ay,
ˈda-i=o to wiˈʂ-a-au wiˈʂ-a-i
put-CP=TOP 3S.REM.ACC boil-CS1-PST.A.3S boil-CS1-CP

157 us't'i may put nat' kari,
ˈuʂʈ-i maj put naʈ ˈkar-i
stand up.IPV.2S 1S.OBL son dance do-IPV.2S

158 mic-o t'em pas ne hiu.
ˈmitɕ=o ʈem pas_ne_ˈh-iu[282]
just=TOP time pass_not_become-P/F.3S.NS
Having put (it there), he boilt it, having boilt it (, he said): "Get up, my son, dance, otherwise time will not pass."[283]

[282]The phrase *pas ne hiu* has here been translated as 'will not pass' (about time) and analysed as consisting of the English loanword 'pass' alongside *ne* and the intransitive vector verb *hik*, productively used for forming intransitive verbs. Trail and Cooper (1999, 231) translate *pas hik* as 'to pass (in an examination or test)'. Here, however, the meaning seems temporal.
[283]Meaning that they will be bored if there is nothing going on.

159 "Us't'i nat'ik[284]," ghõi amaaw-e, se maaw:
ˈuʂʈ-i ˈnaʈ-ik ˈghõi a-ˈma-au=e se ˈma-au
stand up-IPV.2S dance-INFTV QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S=as 3S.REM.DIR say-P/F.3S.NS

160 "Dada a kia jonim nat' karik?"
ˈdada a ˈkia ˈdʑon-im naʈ ˈkar-ik
father 1S.DIR what know-P/F.1S.NS dance do-INFTV
As he (the faker) said, "get up and dance," he (the boy) said: "Father, what do I know about how to dance?"

161 "A moc-mi wats kay ne jhonim,
a motɕ=ˈmi wats_ˈka-i ne ˈdʑhon-im
1S.DIR people=EMPH clear_do-CP not know-P/F.1S.NS

162 kawa pashi-mi ne aam."
kaˈw-a paɕ-i=ˈmi ne ˈa-am
where-LOC1 se-CP=EMPH not be-P/F.1S.NS
"I don't know people so well, I haven't seen any anywhere."

163 "Tu nat'i tay tada kay pashi-o toa nat'im",
tu ˈnaʈ-i taj ˈtad-a kaj ˈpaɕ-i=o[285] ˈtoa ˈnaʈ-im
2S.DIR dance-IPV.2S 2S.OBL near-LOC1 at see-CP=TOP then dance-P/F.1S.NS

164 aghõal'-e, toa se us't'aw.
a-ˈghõ-ał=e ˈtoa se uˈʂʈ-au
AU-say-PST.A.3S=when then 3S.REM.DIR stand up-PST.A.3S
As he said: "You dance, watching you, then I will dance," then he (the faker) stood up.

165 Toa to l'as' t'uki tal'ay ahistaw,
ˈtoa to łaʂ ˈʈuk-i taˈł-ai a-ˈhist-au
then 3S.REM.ACC quickly push-CP there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 AU-throw-PST.A.3S

166 abayo praw ki: A nashim-day may chal'ay.
abaˈjo ˈpr-au ki a ˈnaɕ-im=daj maj tɕhaˈła-i
wow give.PST.A-3S CONJ 1S.DIR die-p/f.1s=SPC 1S.OBL pull out-IPV.2S
Then he (the boy) quickly pushed him, threw him into there (the pot), he yelled "Oh-ho, I'm dying, pull me out."

167 Cidinay ahistaw toa se prus't' awis'aw.
tɕiˈdin-ai a-ˈhist-au ˈtoa se pruʂʈ a-ˈwiʂ-au
pot-LOC3 AU-throw-PST.A.3S then 3S.REM.DIR well AU-boil-PST.A.3S
He threw him into the pot, then he boilt well.

168 Tal'ay wis'i te mos tana hawan.
taˈł-ai ˈwiʂ-i te mos taˈna ˈhaw-an
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 boil-CP 3P.REM.DIR meat separate become.PST.A-3P
Having been boilt there, the meat separated (from the bones).

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[284]This is an example of the infinitive used as a command, here following an imperative construction.
[285]The phrase *NP-as tada kay pashik* means 'watch somebody'.

169 Tana thi at'hi niweron toa chal'ay
ta'na thi a'ʈhi niwe'r-on 'toa tɕha'ɬa-i
separate become.CP bone become piece by piece-PST.A.3P then pull out-CP

170 tara oni batthara kay adrũkaw.
ta'ra 'on-i bat.'thar-a kaj a-'druŋk-au
there.REM.SPC bring-CP stone.upon-LOC1 on AU-grind-PST.A.3S
Being separated, the bones were separated, then having pulled them out, (he) brought them there, (and he) grinded them on a stone.

171 Drũki tara hay
'druŋk-i ta'ra 'ha-i
grind-CP there.REM.SPC bring-CP

172 tal'ay kay udzaki praw-e
ta'ɬ-ai 'ka-i u'dzak-i_'pr-au=e[286]
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 do-CP spill out-CP_give.PST.A-3S=as

173 te himiti us't'on.
te hi'miti u'ʂʈ-on
3P.REM.DIR all of them stand up-PST.A.3P
Being grinded and brought there, (and) as he threw them there, they all stood up (as they were before).

174 Te pura tre caw bishi juanan, muray istrizha.
te pu'ra tre caw 'biɕi ʤua'n-an mu'raj i'strizа
3P.REM.DIR full three four twenty young man-COLL young woman
They were about 60-80 young men and young women.

175 Te us't'i amaan ki: …
te 'uʂʈ-i a-'ma-an ki
3P.REM.DIR stand up-CP AU-say-PST.A.3P CONJ
Having stood up, they said …

176 "Ey suda kia kesmat," aghõan-e
ey 'suda 'kia kes'mat a-'ghõ-an=e
hey child what service AU-say-PST.A.3P=as

177 se amaaw ki: "hic kia kesmat ne,
se a-'ma-au ki hic 'kia kes'mat ne[287]
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ nothing at all service not

178 khodayas nomuna para," ghõi amaaw, tasi kay.
kho'daj-as 'nom-una pa'r- a 'ghõi a-'ma-au 'tasi kaj
god-OBL.SG name-LOC2 go-IPV.2P QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S 3P.REM.OBL to
As they said: "Hey child, what service can we do for you?," he said: "No service at all, go in God's name," he said to them.

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[286]*Udzaki dek* 'spill out-CP + give' is a compound verb construction with *dek* 'give' as the vector verb (see Grammar, Section 6.6.5).
[287]The phrase *hic kia NP ne* means 'no one, nobody, nothing at all', taking its exact meaning from the inserted noun.

179 Te-ta paron tan duray hatya.
ˈte=ta paˈr- on tan ˈdur-ai ˈhatja
3P.REM.DIR=CNTR go-PST.A.3P own house-LOC3 to
They then went to their own houses.

180 Shase band kamraay ays
ɕa=ˈse band kamˈra-ai ˈa-is
EMPH=3S.REM.DIR closed room-LOC3 be-P/F.3S.NS
181 shase gad'a istrizha, gheri nokdar murayak hawaw.
ɕa=ˈse ˈgaɖa iˈstriza ˈgheri nokˈdar muraˈjak ˈhaw-au
EMPH=3S.REM.DIR old woman once again mature become.PST.A-3S
That old woman who was in the closed-off room, became young again.

182 Murayak thi amaaw ki:
muraˈjak thi a-ˈma-au ki
mature become.CP AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
183 "Tu kaway paris-day may ja kari."
tu kaˈw-ai paˈr- is=daj maj ʤa_ˈkar-i[288]
2S.DIR where-LOC3 go-p/f.2s=SPC 1S.OBL wife_do-IPV.2S
Having become young, she said, "Where are you going?, marry me."

184 "Tu may ja kari aya-mi apaw dek
tu maj ʤa_ˈkar-i aˈja=mi aˈpaw_d-ek
2S.DIR 1S.OBL marry-IPV.2S here.NE.SPC=EMPH live_give-P/F.1P.NS
185 aya bo kamra shian sat kamra shian,"
aˈja bo kamˈra ˈɕi-an sat kamˈra ˈɕi-an
here.NE.SPC many room be-P/F.3P.NS seven room be-P/F.3P.NS
186 ghõi amaal'-e,
ˈghõi a-ˈma-aɫ=e
QUOT AU-say-PST.A-3S=as
187 se amaaw ki: "Prus't', aya nisim".
se a-ˈma-au ki pruʂʈ aˈja niˈs-im
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ OK here.NE.SPC stay-P/F.1S.NS
As she said: "You marry me, we can live right here together, here are many rooms, there are seven rooms", he said: "OK, I'll stay here."

188 "A adhek caker kay-o im"
a aˈdhek ʨaˈker_ˈka-i=o i-m
1S.DIR a little travelling_do-CP=TOP come-P/F.1S.NS
"But I will come back, having gone travelling a bit."[289]

[288]The conjunct verb *ja karik* (literally 'wife' + 'do') means 'marry a woman'.
[289]It seems a bit strange that the central figure will go on a journey immediately after having solved the problematic situation and married the now-young woman. However, with this line, the narrator introduces a new chapter of the story with a new plot, and the events to follow will portray the central male character as a true hero.

189 Tan hãsh asta gri paraw.
tan hãɕ ˈasta_gri paˈr- au
own horse along_with go-PST.A.3S
He went away on his horse.

190 Ek awata paraw-e,
ek aˈwat-a paˈr- au=e
a place-LOC1 go-PST.A.3S=as
191 ek jaygauna sonukuras mõ' shiu.
ek dʑajˈga-una soˈnukur-as mõ˖ ˈɕ-iu
one place-LOC2 falcon-OBL.SG nest be-P/F.3S.NS
As he came to a place, in that one place there was a falcon's nest.

192 Se har kal'a ku'ak kariu hul'a.
se har ˈkał-a ˈku˖ak ˈkar-iu ˈhuła
3S.REM.DIR every year-LOC1 kid do-P/F.3S.NS become.PST.INF.3S
It was giving birth to offsprings every year.

193 Tara no'una samandar shiu hul'a.
taˈra ˈno˖-una samandar ˈɕ-iu ˈhuła
there.REM.SPC below-LOC2 ocean be-P/F.3S.NS become. PST.INF.3S
There below (:under the nest) there was an ocean.

194 Tal'ei nong dras'ni
taˈł-ei noŋ draʂˈn-i
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 dragon appear-CP
195 toa zhu hula ku'akasi.
ˈtoa ʑ-u ˈhuła ˈku˖ak-asi
then eat-P/F.3S.NS become.PST.INF. 3S kid-3S.PSR.PL.PSD
From there a monster would appear and then eat its kids.

196 Toa te sonukuras ku˖akasi saw troin-day:
ˈtoa te soˈnukur-as ˈku˖ak-asi saw ˈtro-in=daj
then 3P.REM.DIR falcon-OBL.SG kid-3S.PSR.PL.PSD all cry-P/F.3P=SPC
Then, the kids of the falcon-like bird are all weeping,

197 "Har kal'a homa aya ku'ak kariu-day,
har ˈkał-a ˈhoma ˈaja ˈku˖ak ˈkar-iu=daj
every year-LOC1 1P.OBL mother kid do-P/F.3S=SPC
198 shal'ei nong dras'ni homa zhu-day," aghõ.
ɕ=aˈł-ei noŋ draʂˈn-i
EMPH=there.DI.NONSPC-ABL1 dragon appear-CP
199 shal'ei nong dras'ni homa zhu-day," aghõ.
ˈhoma ʑ-u=daj a-ˈghõ-an
1P.OBL eat-P/F.3S=SPC AU-say-PST.A.3P
"Every year our mother is giving birth offsprings, (but) from there (the ocean) the monster appears and is eating (us)"(, they said).

200 Se amaaw ki:
se a-ˈma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

201 "gam mo kara, a to nashem."
gam_mo_ˈkar-a a to naˈɕ-em
worry_PROH_do-IPV.2S 1S.DIR 3S.REM.ACC kill-P/F.1S.NS
He (the boy) said: "Don't worry, I'll kill it."

202 Ghõi tara nisaw, nisaw-e pay,
ˈghõi taˈra niˈs-au niˈs-au=e ˈpa-i
QUOT there.REM.SPC stay-PST.A.3S stay-PST.A.3S=as go-CP

203 shase nong tal'el'a dras'naw, bo gad'a.
ɕa=ˈse noŋ taˈłeł-a draʂˈn-au bo ˈgaɖa
EMPH=3S.REM.DIR dragon there.REM.ACR-LOC1 appear-PST.A.3S very big
Saying this, he stayed there, (and) as he stayed there, the dragon appeared from there, very big.

204 Dras'ni tasi neji zhal'iu-e,
draʂˈn-i ˈtasi ˈneji ʐaˈł-iu=e
appear-CP 3P.REM.OBL not yet arrive-P/F.3S.NS=as

205 se to khangar gri tyay to nashaaw.
se to khaŋˈgar gri ˈtja-i to naˈɕa-au
3S.REM.DIR 3S.REM.ACC sword with hit-CP 3S.REM.ACC kill-PST.A.3S
As it had appeared, (and) not (yet) arrived for them (: the offsprings), he (the boy) killed it hitting it with a sword.

206 Nashaaw-e te khalas hawan.
naˈɕa-au=e te khaˈlas ˈhaw-an
kill-PST.A.3S=as 3P.REM.DIR free become.PST.A-3P
As he killed it, they became free.

207 Toa sonukur aw, tasi hatya kia asta oniu.
ˈtoa soˈnukur ˈa-u ˈtasi ˈhatja ˈkia ˈasta ˈon-iu
then falcon come-PST.A.3S 3P.REM.OBL to what ever bring-P/F.3S.NS
Then the falcon came, it was bringing them whatever food.

208 Ayas aw, tara ita amaaw:
ˈaj-as ˈa-u taˈra ˈi-ta a-ˈma-au
mother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD come-PST.A.3S there.REM.SPC come-CP AU-say-PST.A.3S
Their mother came, having come there, (the falcon) said:

209 "Atra moc aaw, a zhum-day al'a,"
aˈtra moʨ ˈa-au a ˈʐu-m=daj ˈała
there.DI.SPC man be-P/F.3S.NS 1S.DIR eat-P/F.1S=SPC 3S.DI. ACC

210 ghõi aaw, deshay thi.
ˈghõ-i_ˈa-au ˈdeɕ-ai thi
say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S far away-LOC3 be-CP
"There is a man, I going to eat him," it said from very far away.

211 "Te amaan ki: "aya, tu mo zhu."

te	a-ˈma-an	ki	ˈaja	tu	mo	ʐu
3P.REM.DIR	AU-say-PST.A.3P	CONJ	mother	2S.DIR	PROH	eat.IPV.2S

They said: "Mother, don't eat (him)."

212 "Ogal'a kay samandar jagay har kal'a jiay."

ˈogała	kaj	samanˈdar	dʐaga-i	har	ˈkał-a	dʐiˈa-i
deep downhill	at	ocean	look at-IPV.2S	every	year-LOC1	look at-IPV.2S

"Look at the ocean below, every year, look."

213 "Tu ku'ak kaas-day-e

tu	ˈkuˑak	ˈka-as=daj=e
2S.DIR	child	do-P/F.2S=SPC=as

214 te nong zhu-day onjo to nashaaw ."

te	noŋ	ʐ-u=daj	ˈoɲdʐ=o	to	naˈɕa-au
3P.REM.ACC	dragon	eat-P/F.3S=SPC	now=TOP	3S.REM.ACC	kill-PST.A.3S

"When you are giving birth to offsprings, the monster who is eating them, is killed."

215 Ghõi amaan-e, se bo koshan hawaw.

ˈghõi	a-ˈma-au=e	se	bo	koˈɕan	ˈhaw-au
QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S=as	3S.REM.DIR	very	happy	become.PST.A-3S

As they said this, it (: the falcon) became very happy.

216 Koshan thi tara ita amaaw ki

koˈɕan	thi	taˈra	ˈi-ta	a-ˈma-au	ki
happy	become.CP	there.REM.SPC	come-CP	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

217 "Ey, kia kesmat" aghõaw-la.

ej	ˈkia	kesˈmat	a-ˈghõ-au=la
hey	what	service	AU-say-PST.A.3S=ENDEAR[290]

Being happy, coming there, it said: "Hey, what service (can I do for you)," it said.

218 "Hic kia kesmat ne, a mic caker ita ays."

hic ˈkia	kesˈmat	ne	a	mic	ʈɕaˈker	ˈi-ta_ˈa-is
nothing at all	service	not	1S.DIR	only	travelling	come-PST.PF_AUX-P/F.3S

"No service at all," "I have only come by while travelling around" (, the boy said).

219 "Parim-day caker parim-day," aghõ-le.

paˈr- im=daj	ʈɕaˈker	paˈr- im=daj	a-ˈghõ-au=la
go-P/F.1S=SPC	travelling	go-P/F.1S=SPC	AU-say-PST.A.3S=ENDEAR

"I going, I going for travelling," he (the boy) said.

[290]The endearment suffix *-la* has a downtoning effect when used to address someone. When used on the inquit verb as here, the narrator constructs the falcon's line as being downtoned.

220 Ek ku'ak tasa day-o amaaw ki:
ek ˈku˽ak ˈtasa ˈda-i=o a-ˈma-au ki
one child 3S.REM.DIR give-CP=TOP AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

221 "May ku'ak tay hatya kia kesmat kariu."
maj ˈku˽ak taj ˈhatja ˈkia kesˈmat ˈkar-iu
1S.OBL chlid 2S.OBL for what service do-P/F.3S.NS
Giving him one son, he (: the falcon) said: "My child will do whatever service for you."

222 To asta gri paraw, se.
to ˈasta gri paˈr- au se
3S.REM.ACC along with go-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.DIR
(Then) he (: the boy) left with it (the child of the falcon), he.[291]

223 Pay ek awata paraw-e,
ˈpa-i ek aˈwat-a paˈr-au=e
go-CP a place-LOC1 go-PST.A.3S=as

224 sher aaw sher mut'una s'at'i aaw.
ɛer ˈa-au ɛer ˈmuʈ-una ˈʂaʈ-i_ˈa-au
lion be-P/F.3S.NS lion tree-LOC2 attach-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Going, as he came to a place, a lion was there, caught by a (fallen) tree.

225 Tara s'at'i khuruna tasa mas gri shiu.
taˈra ˈʂaʈ-i ˈkhur-una ˈtasa mas_gr-i_ˈɛ-iu[292]
there.REM.SPC attach-CP leg-LOC2 3S.REM.OBL be attach-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Being caught there, its leg was attached (to the tree).

226 Mas gri mut'una s'at'i asta,
mas_gr-i ˈmuʈ-una ˈʂaʈ-i_ˈasta
be attach-CP tree-LOC2 attach-PF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S

227 se kasik ne bhaaw.
se ˈkas-ik ne ˈbha-au
3S.REM.DIR walk-INFTV not be able to-P/F.3S.NS
Being attached, caught to the tree, it cannot move.

228 Taa du ku'ak aan.
ˈta.a du ˈku˽ak ˈa-an
3S.REM.OBL two child be-P/F.3P.ns
He (: the lion) has two offsprings,

[291]The narrator clearly repeats the thematic structure of the narrative: After solving a complex situation, our hero goes on to meet and solve another complex situation.
[292]The conjunct verb *mas griik* 'be attached' implies that the two attached entities have grown together.

229 Te adrakay pay tasa hatya ki

te	aˈdrak-ai	ˈpa-i	ˈtasa	ˈhatja	ki
3P.REM.DIR	wild forest-LOC3	go-CP	3S.REM.OBL	for	CONJ

230 asta gri oni tasa den-day

ˈasta gri	ˈon-i	ˈtasa	d-en=daj
along with	bring-CP	3S.REM.OBL	give-P/F.3P=SPC

They were going to the wild forest for him, bringing (food) and giving (it) to him.

231 Se zhuiman tara aaw hul'a

se	ˈʐu-iman	taˈra	ˈa-au	ˈhuła[293]
3S.REM.DIR	eat-IMPF.PTC.I.3S	there.REM.SPC	be-P/F.3S	it seems

He was eating (it), (because) he was stuck there.

232 Se tasa kay khondiaw ki: "Ey juhan," aghõaw ki:

se	ˈtasa	kaj	khondi-ˈau	ki	ej	dʑuˈhan	a-ˈghõ-au		ki
3S.REM.DIR	3S.REM.OBL	to	call-PST.A.3S	CONJ	hey	young	AU-say-PST.A.3S		CONJ

233 "May shandei khalas karik."

maj	ɕ-anˈd-ei	khaˈlas	ˈkar-ik
1S.OBL	EMPH=here.NE.NONSPC-ABL1	free	do-INFTV[294]

It (the lion) called on him (the boy): "Hey, young one," he said, "release me from here."

234 "Kia kesmat haw a tay hatya karim," aghõaw-la.

ˈkia	kesˈmat	haw	a	taj	ˈhatja	ˈkar-im	a-ˈghõ-au=la	
what	service	SUBJ	1S.DIR	2S.OBL	for	do-P/F.1S.NS	AU-say-PST.A.3S=ENDEAR	

"Whatever service you need, I will do for you," it said.

235 Se taa kay amaaw:

se	ˈta.a	kaj	a-ˈma-au
3S.REM.DIR	3S.REM.OBL	to	AU-say-PST.A.3S

236 "tu may zhus," aghõaw-le.

tu	maj	ˈʐu-s	a-ˈghõ-au=la
2S.DIR	1S.OBL	eat-P/F.2S.NS	AU-say-PST.A.3S=ENDEAR

He (the boy) said to him, "you will eat me," he said.

237 "Ne zhum," aghõaw, toa se paraw.

ne	ʐu-m	a-ˈghõ-au	ˈtoa	se	paˈr- au
not	eat-P/F.1S.NS	AU-say-PST.A.3S	then	3S.REM.DIR	go-PST.A.3S

"I will not eat (you)," it said, and then he (the boy) went there (: to the lion).

[293]The inferential hearsay *hul'a*, used with a verb in a non-past tense, may indicate that the situation with the lion attached to a tree is annoying or regrettable (see Bashir 1988a, 73–74).

[294]The infinitive is here used as an imperative.

238 Tara pay ek l'undur chini tasa ruaw ahistaw.
taˈra ˈpa-i ek ˈɫundur ˈtɕhin-i ˈtasa ˈruaw a-ˈhist-au
there.REM.SPC go-CP one timber cut-CP 3S.REM.OBL in front of AU-throw-PST.A.3S
Having gone there, he cut a piece of timber, and threw it in front of him (the lion).

239 Ruaw histi amaaw ki:
ˈruaw ˈhist-i a-ˈma-au ki
in front of throw-CP AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

240 "tay bo pe asa khur trupaaw haw
taj bo pe ˈasa khur truˈp-a-au haw
2S.OBL very if 3S.DI.DIR leg hurt-CS1-P/F.3S.NS when

241 tu atra don c'hãc'i,
tu aˈtra don_ˈtʂhanʈʂ-i
2S.DIR there.DI.SPC hold with teeth-IPV.2S

242 mic-o may zhus, tu."
ˈmitɕ=o maj ʑu-s tu
otherwise=TOP 2S.OBL eat.P/F.2S.NS 2S.DIR
Having put it in front of (the lion), he said: "When the leg will pain you a lot, you bit (the timber) there, otherwise you will eat me."

243 "Daraja hik ne bhaas."
daraˈdʑa_h-ik ne ˈbha-as
be fastened_become-INFTV not be able to-P/F.2S.NS
You cannot tolerate it (to be held in that place)."

244 "Asa khur atra thi s'at'i shiu," aghõ.
ˈasa khur aˈtra thi ˈʂaʈ-i_ˈɕ-iu a-ˈghõ-au
3S.DI.DIR leg there.DI.SPC become.CP attach-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S.NS AU-say-PST.A.3S
"That leg has been attached with there (the timber)," he said.<

245 Ek l'undur tara histi to chalaaw.
ek ˈɫundur taˈra ˈhist-i to tɕhaˈɫa-au
one timber there.REM.SPC throw-CP 3S.REM.ACC pull out-PST.A.3S
Having put (another) piece of timber (in front of him), he pulled it (the lion) out, (brought it free).

246 Tal'ei chalaaw-e,
taˈɫ-ei tɕhaˈɫa-au=e
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 pull out-PST.A.3S=as

247 to l'undur asta brundi khulaaw, se sher.
to ɫundur ˈasta ˈbrund-i khuˈl-a-au se ɕer
3S.REM.ACC timber also chew-CP finish-CS1.PST.A.3S 3S.REM.DIR lion
As (he) pulled (it) out, he broke the timber by biting it, that lion.

248 Toa du ku'akasi on.
ˈtoa du ˈkuˑak-asi on
then two offspring-3S.PSR.PL.PSD come.PST.A.3P
Then its two offsprings came.

249 Tara ita, "zhuk-day," ghõian.
ta'ra 'i-ta ʑu-k=daj 'ghõi-an
there.REM.SPC come-CP eat-P/F.1P=SPC say-P/F.3P
Having come there, "we are going to eat (him)," they say

250 Se amaaw ki: "Mo zhua."
se a-'ma-au ki mo 'ʑu-a
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ PROH eat-IPV.2P
He (the lion) said: "Don't eat (him)."

251 "Ay may shehe kay dariman aili,
'a.i maj ɕe'he 'ka-i da'r-iman_a-ili
2P.DIR 1S.OBL like this do-CP look after-IMPF.PTC_AUX-P/F.2P

252 bo gudas himan aili onja,
bo gu'das 'h-iman_'a-ili 'oɲdʑa
much trouble become-IMPF.PTC_AUX-P/F.2P now

253 andei khalas hawis," aghõ aaw-e,
an'd-ei kha'las 'haw-is a-'ghõ-au=e
here.NE.NONSPC-ABL1 free become.PST.A-2S AU-say-PST.A.3S=as

254 te bo koshan hawan.
te bo ko'ɕan 'haw-an
3P.REM.DIR very happy become.PST.A-3P
As (he, the lion) said: "You were looking after me like that, you were having much trouble, now I am free from here," they became very happy.

255 Ek ku'akaso se taa praw.
ek 'kuˑak-as=o se 'ta.a 'pr-au
one child-3S.PSR.SG.PSD=TOP 3S.REM.DIR 3S.REM.OBL give-PST.A.3S
He (the lion) gave one off-spring to him (the boy).

256 "Ia tay hatya kia kesmat kaaw," ghõi.
'ia taj 'hatja 'kia kes'mat 'ka-au 'ghõi
3S.NE.DIR 2S.OBL for what service do-P/F.3S.NS QUOT
"He will do whatever service for you," he (the lion) said.

257 Te asta gri paraw.
te 'asta gri pa'r- au
3P.REM.ACC along with go-PST.A.3S
He left with them.[295]

[295]We again see a repetition of the thematic structure: The hero solves a complex situation, gets a reward, and sets osut on another adventure.

258 Kanduri beabanuna paraw,
kanˈduri[296] beaˈban-una paˈr- au
much wilderness-LOC2 go-PST.A.3S

259 ek shehe ki t'ek jaygauna.
ek ɕeˈhe ki ʈek ʤajˈga-una
one like this CONJ mountain range place-LOC2
He went through a lot of wilderness, to such a high place in the mountains.

260 Misali ogal'a shatra shahar jhonaaw
miˈsali ˈogała ɕ=aˈtra ɕaˈhar ʤhoˈn-a-au
for example deep downhill EMPH= there.DI.SPC town become aware-CS1-PST.A.3S
For example, a city there below appeared to him.

261 Shehe hutala jagayuna[297] se aaw.
ɕeˈhe ˈhutała ʤaˈgaj-una se ˈa-au
like this high place-LOC2 3S.REM.DIR be-P/F.3S.NS
In such a high place he was.

262 Se tara-mi nisaw.
se tara=ˈmi niˈs-au
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC=EMPH sit down-PST.A.3S

263 tara bhangut dyay nisi.
taˈra ˈbhangut_ˈdja-i niˈs-i
there.REM.SPC hiding_put-CP sit down-CP
He sat right there, hiding there.

264 Se zãgu us'i-o
se ˈzaŋgu uˈʂ-i=o
3S.REM.DIR hammock hang up-CP=TOP

265 zãgu hiu-day hul'a tara.
ˈzaŋgu_ˈh-iu=daj ˈhuła[298] taˈra
hammock_become-P/F.3S=SPC it seems there.REM.SPC
He hung up a hammock and started swinging (in it), there.

266 Tasa hãsh asta aaw, tara.
ˈtasa hãɕ ˈasta ˈa-au taˈra
3S.REM.OBL horse also be-P/F.3S.NS there.REM.SPC
He had a horse too with him there.

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[296] *Kanduri* is a Khowar word.
[297] *Jagayuna* is a variant form of *jaygauna*.
[298] The inferential *hul'a* is used to mark as new and unexpected that the hero hangs up a hammock and lies in it (Bashir 1988a, 73).

267 Sher asta aaw, sonukur aaw.
ɕer ˈasta ˈa-au sonuˈkur ˈa-au
lion also be-P/F.3S.NS falcon be-P/F.3S.NS
The lion was also there, and the falcon was there.[299]

268 Ek bacaas tre chu asta.
ek baˈtɕa-as tre tɕhu ˈasta
one king-OBL.SG three daughter be.PST.I.3P
A king had three daughters.[300]

269 Te ja ne day asta.
te dʑa_ne_ˈda-i ˈasta
3P.REM.ACC wife_not_give-CP be.PST.I.3S
He had not given them away in marriage.[301]

270 Adua-ta tal'ay se kasi hul'a,
ˈadu-a=ta taˈɫ-ai se ˈkas-i ˈhuła
day-LOC1=CTR there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 3S.REM.DIR walk-CP it seems
271 rat-o tromish-o tara ita basiu hul'a.[302]
ˈrat=o ˈtromiʑ=o taˈra ˈi-ta ˈbas-iu ˈhuła
night=TOP evening=TOP there.REM.SPC come-CP stay overnight-P/F.3S.NS it seems
During the day he (: the hero of the story) was walking around there, at night, in the evening, he was sleeping there.[303]

272 Ek adua tal'ey paraw-e,
ek ˈadu-a taˈɫ-ei paˈr-au=e
one day-LOC1 there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 go-PST.A.3S=as
273 bacaas chul'asi ja den-day.
baˈtɕa-as ˈtɕhuł-as-i dʑa_d-en=daj
king-OBL.SG daughter-3S.PSR.PL.PSD wife_give-P/F.3P=SPC
One day as he left from there, the king's daughters were getting married.

[299]That is, the lion kid and the falcon kid that he had been given.
[300]This is clearly another story that the narrator weaves into the current one. As will become evident below, the narrator does so elegantly by taking up the situation with the central figure, our hero, in his watching position from the hammock.
[301]That is, they are (still) unmarried.
[302]The *-ta ... -o* construction has a contrastive meaning: In the daytime he is engaged in one activity, in the night time another.
[303]The narrator now describes the (idle) activity of the central figure, the hero of the story. The inferential *hul'a*, with the non-past tense, indicates new information (Bashir 1988a, 73–74).

274 Baca chul'asi kay may aaw ki:
ba'ʨa 'ʨhuł-asi kaj 'ma-i_'a-au ki
king daughter-3S.PSR.PL.PSD to say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

275 "A mimi muc'a gamburi dem,
a 'mimi 'muʈʂ-a gam'buri d-em
1S.DIR 2P.OBL hand-LOC1 flower give-P/F.1S.NS

276 el'i gamburi gri abi kas tyat haw,
'eɬi gam'buri gri 'abi k-as tj-at haw
3P.DI.DIR flower with 2P.DIR who.OBL hit-P/F.2P.NS SUBJ

277 shate mimi beru," ghõi amaaw, tasi kay.
ɕa='te 'mimi be'ru 'ghõi a-'ma-au 'tasi 'kaj
EMPH=3P.REM.DIR 2P.OBL husband QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S 3S.REM.OBL to
The king said to his daughters: "I will hand you over flowers, whoever you hit with these flowers, they will be your husbands," (he, the king) said to them.

278 Shehe may, "Prus't'," ghõi chul'asi amaan.
ɕe'he 'ma-i pruʂʈ 'ghõi 'ʨhuł-asi a-'ma-an
like this say-CP good QUOT daughter-3S.PSR.PL.PSD AU-say-P/F.3P.NS
Saying like this, "OK," his daughters said.

279 Se chutyak chul'as
se 'ʨhutjak 'ʨhuł-as
3S.REM.DIR small daughter-3S.PSR.SG.PSD

280 al'a zangu hikwew,
'ała 'zaŋgu_ h-ik='wew
3S.DI.ACC hammock_ become-INFTV=during

280 shato suda pashi asta
ɕa='to 'suda 'paɕ-i_'asta
EMPH=3S.REM.ACC boy see-PF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S
The youngest daughter, she had seen that boy while he was playing (: doing nothing) in the hammock.

281 Se bazaray parikwew-o,
se ba'zar-ai par-ik='wew=o
3S.REM.DIR bazar-LOC3 go-INFTV=during=TOP

282 ek l'andraos sambi bazaray pariu-day hul'a.
ek łandra'os sam'b- i ba'zar-ai par'r-iu=daj 'huła[304]
a sick skin[305] wear-CP bazar-LOC3 go-P/F.3S=SPC become.PST.I.3S
While he (the boy) was going to the bazar, he was going to the bazar, wearing the one sick skin.

[304]The inferential *hul'a* is again used with non-past tense in order to give the sense of new and surprising information.
[305]*L'andraos* is a compound consisting of *l'andra* 'skin disease that attacks animal' and *os* a combinatorial allomorph of *post* 'skin' (see Trail and Cooper 1999). It can be translated 'sick skin dress'. Our hero takes on this skin as a dress to hide himself when he goes away from his hiding place (with the hammock), but when in his hiding place, he takes it off (see the following line). As the youngest daughter has seen him in the hammock, she knows that he uses the skin dress to hide himself, that the skin is fake and is not his real skin. The narrator refers to the man with *l'handra* or *l'handra moc*.

283 Te sambiaw, niji thel hul'a, te-o.
te[306] samˈbi-au ˈnidʑ-i th-el ˈhuɬa ˈte=o
3P.REM.ACC wear-PST.A.3S undon-CP place-P/F.3S.NS it seems 3P.REM.ACC=TOP
He wore it, and he took it off, putting it in place (at his hiding place).

284 Toa himiti ek ghona maydanuna sariaan, sari,
ˈtoa hiˈmiti ek ˈghona majˈdan-una saˈr-i_ˈa-an saˈr-i
then all of them a big ground-LOC2 gather-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P gather-CP

285 saw mocbi tara sariay baca sariay aaw.
saw motɕˈbi taˈra sari-ˈa-i baˈtɕa sari-ˈa-i_ˈa-au
all crowd there.REM.SPC gather-CS1-CP king gather-CS1-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then they all gathered in one big ground, gathering, a crowd being gathered there, the king called them together.

286 "May chu ja dem," ghõi,
maj tɕhu dʑa_d-em ˈghõi
1S.OBL daughter wife_give-P/F.1S.NS QUOT

287 tara-o gamburi tasi mut's'a day aaw-e,
taˈra=o gamˈburi ˈtasi ˈmutʂ-a ˈda-i_ˈa-au=e
there.REM.SPC=TOP flower 3P.REM.OBL hand-LOC1 give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

288 chul'asi kuro kas kay tyay aan,
ˈtɕhuł-asi ˈkur=o kas kaj ˈtja-i_ˈa-an
daughter-3S.PSR.PL.PSD who=TOP who.OBL to hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P

289 "kura kas bo shishoyak juhanan kay tyay aan."
ˈkura kas bo ɕiˈɕojak dʑuhaˈn-an kaj ˈtja-i_ˈa-an
who who.OBL very handsome young man-COLL to hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
"I'm going to give my daughter away as a wife," he said, to whoever there who the daughters have hit (with the flowers), that he has handed them (the daughters), "to whoever very handsome young man they have hit."[307]

290 Se-o shatasa l'handra mocas kay
ˈse=o ɕa=ˈtasa ˈɬhandra ˈmotɕ-as kaj
3S.REM.DIR=TOP EMPH=3S.REM.OBL skin-sick man-OBL.SG to

291 tyay aaw ki: "May beru shasa," ghõi.
ˈtja-i_ˈa-au ki maj beˈru ˈɕ=asa ˈghõi
hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ 1S.OBL husband EMPH=3S.DI.DIR QUOT
She (the younger daughter) hit exactly the skin-sick man, "That is my husband," she said.

292 Toa baca kahari hawaw ki:
ˈtoa baˈtɕa kahaˈri ˈhaw-au ki
then king angry become.PST.A-3S CONJ
Then the king became angry:

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[306] *L'andraos* 'sick skin' is here treated as a plural word, indicating that it consists of several pieces.
[307] The meaning being that the king gives his daughters free hands to marry whoever they will or rather to marry the one man who receives the thrown flowers.

293 "Tu l'handraas kay gamburi gri pa'."

tu	ɬhanˈdra-as	kaj	gamˈburi	gri	pa-
2S.DIR	skin-sick-OBL.SG	to	flower	with	hit.PST.A.3S

"You hit a skin-sick man with the flowers."

294 "A beyizat hawis, a bo ghona moc."

a	bejiˈzat	ˈhaw-is	a	bo	ˈghona	motɕ
1S.DIR	dishonoured	become.PST.A-1S	1S.DIR	very	big	man

"I have been dishonoured, I am big man."

295 "Sawin pi[308] shishoyak tu chu ay may."

ˈsaw-in	pi	ɕiˈɕojak	tu	tɕhu	ˈa-i	maj
all-OBL	from	beautiful	2S.DIR	daughter	be-P/F.2S.NS	1S.OBL

"You are the most beautiful of my daughters."

296 "Tu bo shum beru ari."

tu	bo	ɕum	beˈru_ˈar-i
2S.DIR	very	bad	husband_do.PST.A-2S

"You have chosen a very bad husband."

297 Toa te shehe araw ki:

ˈtoa	te	ɕeˈhe	ˈar-au	ki
then	3P.REM.DIR	like this	do.PST.A-3S	CONJ

298 nii ek gakgos't'ay praw.

ˈni-i	ek	gak.ˈgoʂʈ-ai	ˈpr-au	
take-CP	a	cattle.house-LOC3	put.PST.A-3S	

Then he did with them like this, taking them (he) placed them in a cattlehouse.

299 Te du jamol'asi nii angut'iay nisaaw.

te	du	dʑamoˈɬ-asi	ˈni-i	anguˈʈi-ai	niˈs-a-au	
3P.REM.DIR	two	son-in-law-3S.PSR.PL.PSD	take-CP	guesthouse-LOC3	sit-CS1-PST.A.3S	

Taking the two (other) sons-in-law (and their wives) he placed in a guesthouse.

300 Te tal'ay aini-ta.

te	taˈɬ-ai	ˈa-ini=ta
3P.REM.DIR	there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3	be-P/F.3P.NS=CNTR

There they were.

[308]The superlative is formed with the pronoun *saw* 'all', in the oblique case *sawin*, followed by the postposition *pi* 'from, of' and the noun phrase that denotes the person or thing being described.

301 Rat-o tasi maharaman kay amaaw ki:
ˈrat=o ˈtasi mahaˈram-an kaj a-ˈma-au ki
night=TOP 3P.REM.OBL servant-OBL.PL to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

302 "Para, pay kõ' kara
parˈr-a ˈpa-i kõ˜ _ˈkar-a
go-IPV.2P go-CP ear_do-IPV.2P

303 may jamol'ay kia mashkul hin-day."
maj dʑaˈmoɫ-ai[309] ˈkia maɛˈkul_h-in=daj
1S.OBL son-in-law-1P.PSR.PL.PSD what conversation_become-P/F.3P=SPC
Then at night the king said to their servants: "Go! and while going there, listen to what my sons-in-law are talking about."

304 "Te du jamol'asi hũk ne kaan-day
te du dʑamoˈɫ-asi huŋk_ne_ˈka-an=daj
3P.REM.DIR two son-in-law-3S.PSR.PL.PSD sound_not_do-P/F.3P=SPC

305 tan te mashkul hin-day," ghõi may aaw.
tan te maɛˈkul_h-in=daj ˈghõi ma-i_ˈa-au
own 3P.REM.DIR conversation_become-P/F.3P=SPC QUOT say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
The two sons-in-law are not saying anything (interesting), they are only small-talking, the servant said.

306 Se l'handra-ley amaaw ki:
se ˈɫhandra=lej a-ˈma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR skin-deseased=NOMI AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
The skin-sick (: the son-in-law) said:

307 "Copamino pe may ishpashur pe homa mruan hutiu.
ˈtɕopamin=o pe maj iɛˈpaɛur pe ˈhoma ˈmruan ˈhut-iu
tomorrow=TOP if 1S.OBL father-in-law if 1P.OBL hunting send away-P/F.3S.NS
"If my father-in-law will send us for hunting tomorrow (then we will go)."

308 Te du jamol'asi hũk ne kaan-day
te du dʑamoˈɫ-asi huŋk_ne_ˈka-an=daj
3P.REM.DIR two son-in-law-3S.PSR.PL.PSD sound_not_do-P/F.3P=SPC

309 tan te mashkul hin-day," ghõi may aaw.
tan te maɛˈkul_h-in=daj ˈghõi ma-i_ˈa-au
own 3P.REM.DIR conversation_become-P/F.3P=SPC QUOT say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"The two sons-in-law are not saying anything (interesting), they are only small-talking," the servant said.

[309]The narrator uses the plural kinship suffix *-ay*, denoting both son-in-law and the daughter.

310 Toa "Prus't'," aghõaw, se, tasa kay.

ˈtoa	pruʂt̪	a-ˈghõ-au	se	ˈtasa	kaj
then	ok	AU-say-PST.A.3S	3S.REM.DIR	3S.REM.OBL	to

311 "Ko ne hutum-day?."

ko	ne	ˈhut-um=daj
why	not	send away-P/F.1S=SPC

Then, "OK," (he, the king) said, he, to the servant. "Why am I not sending (them) away (for hunting)?."

312 "Hutum, asa l'handra bo mon del," ghõi.

ˈhut-um	ˈasa	ˈɫhandra	bo	mon	d-el	ˈghõi
send_away-P/F.1S.NS	3S.DI.DIR	skin-sick	many	word	give-P/F.3S.NS	QUOT

I will send (them), that skin-sick man talks too much."[310]

313 Copamina te ahutaw, is'kar paron.

ˈtɕopamina	te	a-ˈhut-au	iʂˈkar	parˈr-on
morning	3P.REM.ACC	AU-send away-PST.A.3S	hunting	go-PST.A.3P

In the morning he sent them away, they went hunting.

314 Se tal'ey paraw ala pay, tan jaygauna pay.

se	taˈɫ-ei	paˈr-au	ˈala	ˈpa-i	tan	dʑajˈga-una	ˈpa-i
3S.REM.DIR	there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1	go-PST.A.3S	up	go-CP	own	place-LOC2	go-CP

He (: the skin-sick man) left from there, going up to his own place.

315 To l'andraos niji athaaw.

to	ɫandra.ˈos	ˈnidʑ-i	a-ˈtha-au
3S.REM.ACC	sick-skin	undon-CP	place -PST.A.3S

He took off the sick-skin and put it in place.

316 Toa te saman sambiis.

ˈtoa	te	saˈman	samˈbi-is
then	3P.REM.DIR	cloth	wear-PST.A.3S

Then he dressed himself with (his own) clothes.

[310]Meaning that the king does not expect that his new son-in-law, our hero, is a good hunter.

317 Sambi-o sonukuras zhe sheras kay amaaw ki:
sam'b-i=o so'nukur-as ʑe 'ɕer-as kaj a-'ma-au ki
dress-CP=TOP falcon-OBL.SG and lion-OBL.SG to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

318 "Al'ay pay du uprahu'yãk gri-o
a'ɬ-ai 'pa-i du upra'hu˗jãk 'gr-i=o
there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP two pheasant catch-CP=TOP

319 tagar te-o Gonjikaw dhentuna
ta'gar 'te=o goɲdʑi'kaw 'dhent-una a'ɬ-ai
remaining 3P.REM.DIR=TOP *gonjikaw* mountain-LOC2 there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3

320 al'ay bihot'ay-o eu," ghõi amaaw.
bi'hoʈ-a-i=o 'eu 'ghõi a-'ma-au
cross_mountain-CS1-CP=TOP come.IPV.2P QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
Having dressed himself, he said to the falcon and the lion: "Go there, catch two pheasants, and let the rest cross the Gonjikaw mountain[311] *and come back," he said.*

321 Se tara l'abe' hiu-day hul'a,
se ta'ra ła'be˗_'h-iu=daj 'huła
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC play_become-P/F.3S=SPC it seems

322 te paron.
te par'r-on
3P.REM.DIR go-PST.A.3P
He played there, they went there (for hunting).[312]

323 Tal'ay pay du dana gri onan.
ta'ɬ-ai 'pa-i du da'na gri 'on-an
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP two piece with bring-PST.A.3P
Having gone there, they brought (: caught) two pieces (: pheasants).

324 Tara oni te nit's'uay prus't' tayari kay,
ta'ra 'on-i te niʈʂu-'a-i pruʂʈ taja'ri kaj
there.REM.SPC bring-CP 3P.REM.DIR skin-CS1-CP well ready do-CP

325 thay-o, se l'abe' hiu-day hul'a.
'tha-i=o se ła'be˗_'h-iu=daj 'huła
place-CP=TOP 3S.REM.DIR play_become-P/F.3S=SPC become.PST.I.3S
Having brought (them) there, while they unfeathered them, placed them after having them ready, he was playing.

[311]Meaning 'let them fly away'.
[312]It is unclear who *te* 'they' refer to in this sentence: the falcon and the lion kid or the two other sons-in-law. While the two other sons-in-law go hunting with no success, our hero is simply sitting and waiting, *l'abe' hik* 'play', while his two trophies from the previous actions, the falcon and the lion kid, hunt two pheasants for him and make the rest fly away. As such, he is playing, *l'abe' hik*, with the other two sons-in-law.

326 Toa du jamol'asi thamam jaygauna kasi,

ˈtoa	du	dʑaˈmoɫ-asi	thaˈmam	dʑajˈga-una	ˈkas-i
then	two	son-in-law-3S.PSR.PL.PSD	whole	place-LOC2	walk-CP

327 nasi chal'ay-o.

ˈnasi_tɕhaˈɫa-i=o[313]
look everywhere-CP=TOP
Then the two sons-in-law walked around in the whole forest, but (they) looked in vain (for pheasants to hunt).

328 Tara kay uchundon, tara uchundi-o

taˈra	kaj	utɕhunˈd-on	taˈra	utɕhunˈd-i=o
there.REM.SPC	at	come down-PST.A.3P	there.REM.SPC	come down-CP=TOP

329 amaan ki: "Ai bo gudas hawimi."

a-ˈma-an	ki	ˈa.i	bo	guˈdas_ˈhaw-imi
AU-say-PST.A.3P	CONJ	1P.DIR	much	trouble_become.PST.A-1p

They came down there, having come down there, they said: "We faced a lot of problems."

330 "Homa ek l'handra moc gudas araw."

ˈhoma	ek	ˈɫhandra	motɕ	guˈdas	ˈar-au
1P.OBL	a	skin-sick	man	trouble	do.PST. A-3S

"A skin-sick man tired us out."

331 "Abi ne sapremi," aghõ-le,

ˈabi	ne	saˈpr-emi	a-ˈghõ-an=e
1P.DIR	not	find-PST.A.1P	AU-say-PST.A.3P=as

332 se amaaw ki:

se	a-ˈma-au	ki
3S.REM.DIR	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

333 "A aya safar kay thay aam,

a	aˈja	saˈfar	ˈka-i	ˈtha-i_ˈa-am
1S.DIR	here.NE.SPC	clean	do-CP	place-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S

334 a mimi dem."

a	ˈmimi	d-em
1S.DIR	2P.OBL	give-P/F.1S.NS

As they said "we did not find (the pheasants)," he said: "I have cleaned (them) here, I will give (them) to you."

335 Ek angus't'yar tasa som ashis.

ek	anguʂˈʈjar	ˈtasa	som	aˈɕ-is
a	ring	3S.REM.OBL	with	be-PST.A.3S

He had a ring.

[313]The conjunct verb *nasi chal'ek* (literally 'end' + 'pull out') means 'do something in vain for something'.

336 To angus't'yar l'at's'hia araw l'at's'hia kay,
to anguʂˈtjar łaˈʈʂhia ˈar-au łaˈʈʂhia ˈka-i
3S.REM.ACC ring red do.PST.A-3S red do-CP

337 tasi istek daralit'omay t'hapa s'at'aaw, nis'ani.
ˈtasi iˈstek daraliˈʈom-ai ʈhaˈpa ʂaˈʈ-a-au niʂaˈni
3P.REM.OBL a few buttock-LOC3 stamp attach-CS1-PST.A.3S sign
He made that ring red (: by warming it over a fire), having made it red, he branded some signs on their (: the sons-in-law's) buttocks.

338 S'at'ay-o tasi praw,
ʂaˈʈ-a-i=o ˈtasi ˈpr-au
attach-CS1-CP=TOP 3P.REM.OBL give-PST.A.3S

339 te tasi day-o te ahutaw.
te ˈtasi ˈda-i=o te a-ˈhut-au
3P.REM.DIR 3P.REM.OBL give-CP=TOP 3P.REM.DIR AU-send away-PST.A.3S
Having branded them, having given them (signs on the buttocks), he sent them away.

340 Pis't'aw se paraw te shangurbal'u asta gri.
ˈpiʂʈaw se paˈr-au te ɕaŋgurbaˈłu ˈasta gri
later 3S.REM.DIR go-PST.A.3S 3P.REM.ACC intestines along with
Later he left with the insides (of the pheasants).

341 Tara hay te za aran,
taˈra ˈha-i te za ˈar-an
there.REM.SPC bring-CP 3P.REM.DIR stew do.PST.A-3P

342 za kay chul'as to za asta gri
za ˈka-i ˈʨhuł-as to za ˈasta gri
stew do-CP daughter-3S.PSR.SG.PSD 3S.REM.ACC stew along with

342 dadas hatya paraw.
ˈdad-as ˈhatja paˈr-au
father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD for go-PST.A.3S
Having brought (the intestines) there, they[314] *made stew (of them), having made stew, the daughter went to her father with that stew.*

343 Eg-o tal'ay gagrit's' ahistaw.
ˈeg=o taˈł-ai gag.ˈriʈʂ a-ˈhist-au
one=TOP there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 cowshit AU-throw-PST.A.3S
She threw one piece of cowshit into there.

344 Se zhui zhui akhari-o jagaaw-e
se ˈʑu-i ˈʑu-i[315] akhaˈri=o ʤaˈga-au=e
3S.REM.DIR eat-CP eat-CP finally=TOP look at-PST.A.3S=as
After eating for a long time, (and) as he (the father) finally realised:

[314]That is, the man dressed in the skin-sick clothes and his wife, the king's youngest daughter.
[315]The repetition of *zhui* indicates that the eating activity took place over some time.

345 "Bo dzaw shial'a,
bo dzaw ɕi-ˈała
very delicious be-PST.I.3S

346 "Bo dzaw shial'a isa l'handraas jaas dzaw," ghõi.
ˈisa łhanˈdra-as ˈʥa-as dzaw ˈghõi
3S.NE.OBL skin-sick-OBL.SG wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD delicious QUOT
"It was very delicious, the stew of that skin-sick's wife was delicious,," (he said).

347 Prus't' asa gagrit's' tasa ashuna hawaw-e,
pruʂt ˈasa gag.ˈriʈʂ ˈtasa ˈaɕ-una ˈhaw-au=e
well 3S.DI.DIR cowshit 3S.REM.OBL mouth-LOC2 become.PST.A-3S=as

348 asa gakrit's' al'ay histi oni aaw,
ˈasa gak.ˈriʈʂ aˈł-ai ˈhist-i_ˈon-i_ˈa-au[316]
3S.DI.ACC cowshit there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 throw-CP_bring-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

349 asa kiaw ghõi.
ˈasa kiˈ-au ˈghõi
3S.DI.ACC condemn-PST.A.3S QUOT
As he had eaten that cowshit all up,[317]*after having put the cowshit into there (: having eaten it), he condemned it.*[318]

350 Tasa hatya bo khaca mon praw.
ˈtasa ˈhatja bo ˈkhatɕa mon_ˈpr-au
3S.REM.OBL to very bad word_give.PST.A-3S
He spoke very angrily to her.

351 Se amaaw ki: "Khẽ kaam, dada,
se a-ˈma-au ki khẽ ˈka-am ˈdada
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ how do-P/F.1S.NS father

352 tu may nii gakgos't'ay dyay ays."
tu maj ˈni-i gak.ˈgoʂt-ai ˈdja-i_ˈa-is
2S.DIR 1S.OBL take-CP cowhouse-LOC3 put-PST.PTC_AUX.PST.A.3S
She said, "What shall I do, father, you took me and placed me in(to) a cattlehouse."

353 "Al'ay kaway pal'i shian," ghõi
aˈł-ai kaˈw-ai ˈpał-i_ˈɕi-an ˈghõi
there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 where-LOC3 fall-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P QUOT

354 se tasa kay amaaw.
se ˈtasa kaj a-ˈma-au
3S.REM.DIR 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S
"Maybe it (the cowshit) has fallen (into the stew) from somewhere (in the cattlehouse)," she said to him.

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[316]The construction *histi oni aaw* shows that *onik* 'bring' can occur as a vector verb in a compound verb construction: a two-action reading of the construction seems strange (see Bashir 1988a, 225–233) with an element of completeness and intensity involved in the expression (Bashir 1988a, 242–243).

[317]*Asa gagric' tasa ashuna hawaw* literally means 'the cowshit have become in his mouth', meaning that his mouth has become full of the cowshit food.

[318]Consequently, the king must have realised by this time that he had eaten cowshit.

355 Toa ni ek gardokgos't'ay te praw.
ˈtoa n-i ek gardok.ˈgoʂʈ-ai te ˈpr-au
then take-CP a donkey stable-LOC3 3P.REM.ACC give.PST.A-3S
Then he (the king) took her and placed them in a donkey's stable.

356 Tal'ey tromizh-o gheri ahutaw.
taˈɫ-ei ˈtromiz-o ˈgheri a-ˈhut-au
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 evening=TOP again AU-send away-PST.A.3S
In the evening he sent (his servant) from there again.

357 "Pari, kõ' kari may jamol'ay
par-i kõ˜ _ˈkar-i maj ʤaˈmoɫ-ai
go-IPV.2S ear_do-IPV.2S 1S.OBL son-in-law-1.PSR.PL.PSD
358 kia mashkul hin-day ghõi
kia maɕˈkul ˈh-in=daj ˈghõi
what conversation become-P/F.3P=SPC QUOT
"Go!,listen to what my sons-in-law are talking about," (he said).

359 Se tara paraw-e, se amaaw ki:
se taˈra paˈr-au=e se a-ˈma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC go-PST.A.3S=as 3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
360 "Copamino pe homa mruan hutiu haw,"
ˈtɕopamin-o pe ˈhoma ˈmruan ˈhut-iu haw
tomorrow=TOP if 1P.OBL hunting send away-P/F.3S.NS SUBJ
361 ghõi amaaw.
ˈghõi a-ˈma-au=e
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S=as
362 "Prus't'", ghõi, geri ahutaw, te
pruʂʈ ˈghõi ˈgeri a-ˈhut-au te
OK QUOT again AU-send away-PST.A.3S 3P.REM.ACC
As he (the watchman) went there, and as he (the skin-sick man) said "(I wonder) if (our father in-law) again sends us for hunting tomorrow," "OK," he (: the father) said, (and) sent them away again.

363 Ahutaw-e, gheri tal'ay paron.
a-ˈhut-au=e ˈgheri taˈɫ-ai parˈr-on
send away-PST.A.3S=as again there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 go-PST.A.3P
As he sent them, they went there again.

364 Tal'ay pay shase moc hala pay gheri,
taˈɫ-ai ˈpa-i ɕ=aˈse motɕ ˈhala ˈpa-i ˈgheri
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP EMPH=3S.REM.DIR man up go-CP again
365 taa sheras zhe sonukuras kay amaaw ki:
ˈta.a ˈɕer-as ʑe soˈnukur-as kaj a-ˈma-au ki
3S.REM.OBL lion-OBL.SG and falcon-OBL.SG to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
Having gone there, the (skin-sick) man having gone up there again, said to the lion and the falcon:

366 "Al'ay pay, du shara grii-o
a'ɬ-ai 'pa-i du 'ɕara 'gri-i=o
there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP two markhor catch-CP=TOP

367 tagar te-o khonjigaw dhentuna al'ay
ta'gar 'te=o khondʑi'gaw 'dhent-una a'ɬ-ai
remaining 3P.REM.ACC=TOP *Khonjigaw* mountain-LOC2 there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3

368 bihot'ay eu," aghõ.
bi'hoʈ-a-i 'eu a-'ghõ-au
cross-mountain-CS1-CP come.IPV.2P AU-say-PST.A.3S
"Having gone there, having caught two markhor (and) sent the rest of them away across the Khonjigaw mountain, come (back here)," he said.

369 Shate du jamol'asi
ɕa='te du dʑa'moɬ-asi
EMPH-3P.REM.DIR two son-in-law-3S.PSR.PL.PSD

370 gheri tara kay uchundon, bo gudas thi-o,
'gheri ta'ra kaj utɕhun'd-on bo gu'das 'thi=o
again there.REM.SPC at go down-PST.A.3P very tired become.CP=TOP

371 tasi kirmec asta khul thi shian.
'tasi kir'metɕ 'asta khul thi_'ɕi-an
3P.REM.OBL shoe also finished become.PF.PTC_AUX-PST.A.3P
Those two sons-in-law came down there again (empty-handed), very tired, and their shoes had became broken.[319]

372 Was'was' thi tara uchundi maan
waʂ'waʂ thi ta'ra utɕhun'd-i 'ma-an
ragged become.CP there.REM.SPC come down-CP say-P/F.3P.ns

373 "Shatasa mocas hatya troik-day, abi."
ɕa='tasa 'motɕ-as 'hatja 'tro-ik=daj 'abi
EMPH=3S.REM.OBL man-OBL.SG for cry-P/F.1P=SPC 1P.DIR
Having become ragged, going down there, they say: "We are crying because of that man, we."

374 "Ajo du adua al'ay pay
'adʑo du 'adu-a a'ɬ-ai 'pa-i
now two day-LOC1 there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP

375 gudas thi, ne saprek-day," aghõan-e
gu'das_thi ne sa'pr-ek=daj a'ghõ-an=e
tired_become.CP not find-P/F.1P=SPC AU-say-PST.A.3P=as

376 se amaaw ki:
se a-'ma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

377 "Aya shian, a mimi dem."
a'ja 'ɕi-an a 'mimi d-em
here.NE.SPC be-P/F.3P.ns 1S.DIR 2P.OBL give-P/F.1S.NS
As they said "Now we have been away for two days and being tired out we don't find anything," he (skin-sick man) said: "They (the markhors) are here, I give (them) to you."

[319] Since the events are repeated in this part of the story, the narrator is less explicit in her description.

378 Gheri to angus't'yar l'at's'hia kay
ˈgheri to anguʂˈʈjar ɬaˈʈʂhia ˈka-i
again 3S.REM.ACC ring red do-CP

379 istek t'haralit'omay tay t'hapa s'at'aaw.
iˈstek ʈharaliˈʈom-ai ˈta.i ʈhaˈpa ʂaˈʈ-a-au
one by one buttock-LOC3 3P.REM.OBLBL stamp attach-CS1-PST.A.3S
Then again he made the ring (burning) red and marked signs on them on their buttocks.

380 T'hapa s'at'ay gheri tasi praw.
ʈhaˈpa ʂaˈʈ-a-i ˈgheri ˈtasi ˈpr-au
stamp attach-CS1-CP again 3P.REM.OBL give.PST.A-3S
The marks being attached, again (he) gave them (the caught markhors).

381 Toa te asta gri paron, pay zama kay
ˈtoa te ˈasta gri parˈr-on ˈpa-i za=ˈma ˈka-i
then 3P.REM.ACC along with go-PST.A.3P go-CP stew=RDPL[320] do-CP

382 gheri ayran tromizh-o.
ˈgheri ajˈr-an ˈtromiʐ=o
again carry-PST.A.3P evening=TOP
Then they left with them (: the meat from the dead markhor), having left, they made zama*, and again they carried (it, the zama) (to the king) in the evening.*

383 Toa ni ek chutyak angut'iay te nisaaw.
ˈtoa ˈni-i ekˈʨhutjak anguˈʈi-ai te niˈs-a-au
then take away-CP a small guesthouse-LOC3 3P.REM.DIR sit down-CS1-PST.A.3S
Then (he, king) took them and placed them (: the daughters and his sons-in-law) in a small guest room.

384 Tal'ay-o gheri huti aaw:
taˈɬ-ai=o ˈgheri ˈhut-i_ˈa-au
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3=TOP again send away-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Again he sent (his servant) there:

385 "Pay kõ' kari kia maan-day," ghõi.
ˈpa-i kõˑ ˈkar-i kia ˈma-an=daj ˈghõi
go-CP ear do-IPV.2S what say-P/F.3P=SPC QUOT
"When you have gone (there), listen to what they are saying," (he said).

[320]The *m*-reduplication indicates here the indefinite moreness of an entity.

386 Toa se gheri may aaw ki:
ˈtoa se ˈgheri ˈma-i_ˈa-au ki
then 3S.REM.DIR again say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

387 "Copamino pe homa hãshgal' karawaaw,"
ˈtɕopamin=o pe ˈhoma hãɕ.ˈgał[321] kar-aˈw-a-au
tomorrow=TOP if 1P.OBL polo make-CS2-CS1-PST.A.3S

388 ghõi amaaw.
ˈghõi a-ˈma-au
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
Then again he (the skin-sick man) said, "I wonder if (he) tomorrow makes us play polo," he said.

389 "Prus't'," ghõi, se.
pruʂt̪ ˈghõi se
OK QUOT 3S.REM.DIR
"OK," said he (the king).

390 "Asa l'handra har chat kia asta maaw-day,
ˈasa ˈɫhandra har tɕhat kia ˈasta ˈma-au=daj
3S.DI.DIR skin-sick every time whatever say-P/F.3S=SPC

391 karawaam hãshgal'."
kar-aˈw-a-am hãɕˈgał
do-CS2-CS1-P/F.1S.NS polo
"That skin-sick man is always talking about whatever, I make him play polo."

392 Copamino maydanuna sariini.
ˈtɕopamin = o maj ˈdan-una saˈri-ini
morning = TOP ground-LOC2 gather-PST.A.3P
In the morning they gathered on a big (polo)ground.

393 Se jaas kay amaaw ki:
se ˈdʑa-as kaj a-ˈma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

394 "A hala parim
a ˈhala parˈr-im
1S.DIR up go-P/F.1S.NS

395 al'ay pay may hãsh halim."
aˈɫ-ai ˈpa-i maj hãɕ haˈl-im
there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 go-CP 1S.OBL horse bring-P/F.1S.NS
He (the skin-sick man) said to his wife: "I will go up,[322] when I have gone there, I will bring my horse."

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[321] *Gal* is a traditional hockey-like game, played by the Kalasha on a large plain field during winter. *Hãshgal* is then, of course, polo, a popular sport in the northern regions of Pakistan.
[322] That is, up to his hiding place with the hammock.

396 "May te samam sambi im".
maj te saˈmam samˈb- i i-m
1S.OBL 3P.REM.ACC clothes wear-CP come-P/F.1S.NS
"I will come wearing my own clothes there."

397 "Atra ita hawel'o plinas tyeme ita,
aˈtra ˈi-ta haˈweɫ=o ˈplin-as ˈtj-em=e ˈi-ta
there.DI.SPC come-CP first=TOP ball-OBL.SG hit-P/F.1S.NS=when come-CP
398 "tay gad'ara babaaw gulina tyel."
taj gaˈɖara baˈba-au guˈlin-a tj-el
2S.OBL elder sister-2S.PSR.SG.PSD lap-LOC1 hit-P/F.3S.NS
"Coming (back) there (: to the polo ground), as I hit the first poloball it will fall into your elder sister's lap."

399 "Se al'a oni may prelel."
se ˈała ˈon-i
3S.REM.DIR 3S.DI.ACC bring-CP
400 "Se oni al'a oni may prelel."
maj preˈl-el ˈgheri=o ˈtj-em=e
1S.OBL take in one's hand-P/F.3S.NS again=TOP hit-P/F.1S.NS=as
"Bringing it she will hand it over to me, when I hit it again."

401 "Tay mochumara babaaw gulina tyel."
taj motɕuˈmara baˈba-au gulˈin-a tj-el
2S.OBL middle sister-2S.PSR.SG.PSD lap-LOC1 hit-P/F.3S.NS
"The ball will fall into the younger of your elder sisters' lap."

402 "Se oni may dem-day," ghõi.
se ˈon-i maj ˈd-em=daj ˈghõi
3S.REM.DIR bring-CP 1S.OBL give-P/F.1S=SPC QUOT
"Bringing it, she will give it to me," (he said).

403 "Gheri-o pe pa'u tay gulina tyel."
ˈgheri=o pe ˈpa˗-u taj guˈlin-a tj-el
again=TOP if hit.PST.A-3S 2S.OBL lap-LOC1 hit-P/F.3S.NS
404 "Tu-o bihot'ay histi."
ˈtu=o biˈhoʈa-i ˈhist-i
2S.DIR=TOP cross-mountain-CP throw-IPV.2S
"If I hit (the ball) again (for the third time), (it) will fall into your lap." "You throw it away."[323]

405 Shehe may-o se pay aaw.
ɕeˈhe ˈmaj=o se ˈpa-i_ˈa-au
like this 1S.OBL=TOP 3S.REM.DIR go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Saying like this, he went away.

[323]In a non-literal sense, *bihot'i* can mean 'being thrown away, in a curve', as if one walks up to a mountain pass, across it, and down on the other side.

406 Tara pay te sambii-o.
taˈra ˈpa-i te samˈbi-i=o
there.REM.SPC go-CP 3P.REM.DIR dress-CP=TOP
Having gone there (he) dressed in them (: his own clothes).

407 Copamina ita aaw.
ˈtɕopamina ˈi-ta_ˈa-au
morning come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
He came in the morning.

408 Bo moc-bi sari aan tal'ey, bacahiani.
bo motɕˈbi saˈri-i_ˈa-an taˈɫ-ei batɕaˈhi-ani
many crowd gather-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 kingdom-ABL2
Many people have already gathered, from that kingdom.

409 Toa hawel'-o pl'inas tyay aaw-e,
ˈtoa haˈweɫ=o ˈpɫin-as ˈtʃja-i_ˈa-au=e
then first=TOP polo ball-OBL.SG. hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

410 tasa gad'ara baba-as gulina tyay shiu.
ˈtasa gaˈɖara baˈba-as guˈlin-a ˈtʃja-i_ˈɕ-iu
3S.REM.OBL older sister-3S.PSR.SG.PSD lap-LOC1 hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then, as he then hit the ball the first time, it (the ball) hit into his elder sister's lap,

411 Se tara hay taa prelay aaw.
se taˈra ˈha-i ˈta.a preˈla-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC bring-CP 3S.REM.OBL hand over-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Bringing it there, she handed it over to him.

412 Te jhonin-o ne day ki: "Asa homa jamow," ghõi.
te ne ˈdʑhon-in=o ki ˈasa ˈhoma ˈdʑamow ˈghõi
3P.REM.DIR not know-P/F.3P.NS=TOP CONJ 3S.DI.DIR 1P.OBL brother-in-law QUOT
They did not know that: "He is our own brother-in-law."

413 Se bo shishoyak moc.
se bo ɕiˈɕojak motɕ
3S.REM.DIR very handsome man
He is a very handsome man.

414 Te samam sambi ita aaw.
te saˈmam samˈb- i ˈi-ta_ˈa-au
3P.REM.DIR cloth wear-CP come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
He is wearing those (fine) dresses .

415 To hic kura ne jhonin aan ki asa beru.
to hitɕ ˈkura ne ˈdʑhon-i_ˈa-an ki ˈasa beˈru
3S.REM.ACC nobody know-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P.NS CONJ 3S.DI.OBL husband
Nobody at all recognized that he was her husband.

416 Gheri tyay aaw-e,
ˈgheri ˈtja-i_ˈa-au=e
again hit-PF.PTC_AUX.A-3S=when

417 tasa ek babas gulina tyay shiu.
ˈtasa ek ˈbab-as guˈlin-a ˈtja-i_ˈɕ-iu
3S.REM.OBL a sister-OBL.SG lap-LOC1 hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
When he again hit (the ball),it was hit into her sister's lap.

418 Se tara hay tasa prelay aaw.
se taˈra ˈha-i ˈtasa preˈla-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC bring-CP 3S.REM.OBL hand over-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Bringing it there, she handed it over to him.

419 Te du jamol'asi-o shate t'hapa ki
te du ʤaˈmoł-asi=o ɕa=ˈte ʈhaˈpa ki
3P.REM.DIR two brother-in-law-3S.PSR.PL.PSD=TOP EMPH=3P.REM.DIR stamp CONJ

420 tay s'at'ay aan, shate tasi trupay
ˈta.i ʂaˈʈa-i_ˈa-an ɕa=ˈte ˈtasi truˈpa-i
3P.REM.OBL attach-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S EMPH=3P.REM.DIR 3P.REM.OBL hurt-CP

421 gal' karik ne bhaan-day.
gał ˈkar-ik ne ˈbha-an=daj
polo do-INFTV not be able-P/F.3P=SPC
The two brothers-in-law, because of those marks which was burned onto them and giving them pain, they can not play polo.

422 Hãshthara nisik ne bhaan-day.
hãɕ.ˈthar-a niˈs-ik ne ˈbha-an=daj
horse.upon-LOC1 sit-INFTV not be able-P/F.3P=SPC
They cannot sit on the horse.

423 Ek gehen hin-day te trupen-day,
ek geˈhen ˈh-in=daj te truˈp-en=daj
a side become-P/F.3P=SPC 3P.REM.DIR hurt-P/F.3P=SPC
In every side they turn, they have pains.

424 Ek gehen hiu-day ek gehenaw trupel-lay.
ek geˈhen ˈh-iu=daj ek geˈhen-aw truˈp-el=laj
a side become-P/F.3S=SPC a side-ABL3 hurt-P/F.3S=SPC
They turn on one side, (and) from the other side it is hurting.

425 Akhari-o tyay aaw-e, taa chutyak babas,
akhari=o ˈtja-i_ˈa-au=e ˈta.a ˈʧhutjak ˈbab-as
at last=TOP hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as 3S.REM.OBL small sister-3S.PSR.SG.PSD

426 se-o bihot'ay histi aaw tasa kay.
ˈse=o biˈhoʈa-i hist-i_ˈa-au ˈtasa kaj
3S.REM.DIR=TOP cross-mountain-CP throw-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.OBL to
At last, as he hit (the ball) to the youngest sister (who is his own wife), she threw it away to him.

427 Histi aaw-e, toa joni aan ki-o
ˈhist-i_ˈa-au=e ˈtoa ˈdʑon-i_ˈa-an ˈki=o
throw-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as then know-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ=TOP

428 asa beru hula.
ˈasa beˈru ˈhuɬa[324]
3S.DI.DIR husband become-PST.I.3S
As she threw (the ball), then they knew that he was the husband (of the youngest daughter).

429 Toa tasi pi bes'ay aaw, se.
ˈtoa ˈtasi pi beˈʂa-i_ˈa-au se
then 3P.REM.OBL from[325] win-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR
Then (he) beat them in the match, he.

430 Te-o ek hal' asta chal'ek ne bhay aan.
ˈte=o ek hał ˈasta tɕhaˈɬ-ek ne ˈbha-i_ˈa-an
3P.REM.DIR=TOP a goal even pull_out-INFTV not be able-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
They could not even make one single goal.[326]

431 Tal'ay-o bo koshan thi
taˈɬ-ai=o bo koˈɕan thi
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3=TOP very happy become.CP

432 baca te uchundaaw.
baˈtɕa te utɕhunˈd-a-au
king 3P.REM.DIR go_down-CS1-PST.A.3S
There, being very happy, the king brought them down.

433 Tal'ay dura nii,
taˈɬ-ai ˈdur-a ˈni-i
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 house-LOC1 bring-CP

434 gheri z'eri araw, tasi hatya.
ˈgheri ˈʑeri ˈar-au ˈtasi ˈhatja
again celebration do.PST.A-3S 3P.REM.OBL for
Having taken them to the house, he made celebrations again, for them.

435 Z'eri kay te-ta mic shum kamraay nisaaw.
ˈʑeri ˈka-i ˈte=ta mitɕ ɕum kamˈra-ai niˈs-a-au
celebration do-CP 3P.REM.ACC=CTR simply bad room-LOC3 sit down-CS1-PST.A.3S
Having made celebrations for them, he simply placed them in a bad room.[327]

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[324]The inferential *hul'a* here indicates that the information had just occurred to the people.
[325]The person being beaten in a game is always marked with the postposition *pi* 'from'.
[326]Meaning that they had no success at all.
[327]The two unfortunate sons-in-law, along with their wives. It is not quite clear why they should be placed in a 'bad room': Perhaps the narrator wishes to underline the difference in how the king treats our hero, who has appeared as a handsome man, and the two other sons-in-law, who have not been as good sons-in-law.

436 To-o ni
ˈto=o ˈni-i
3P.REM.ACC=TOP take-CP

437 sahi shishoyak angut'iay nisay aan-o.
saˈhi ɕiˈɕojak anguˈʈi-ai niˈs-a-i_ˈa-an=o
very beautiful guestroom-LOC3 sit down-CS1-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=TOP
Taking them (: the other two), in a very beautiful guest room, (they) were placed.

438 "Ia may jamow hul'a."
ˈia maj ʤaˈmow ˈhuła
3S.NE.DIR 1S.OBL son-in-law it seems
"Now this is my true son-in-law."

439 "A ama ne jhoni ays ia hawel',
a ˈama ne ˈʤhon-i_ˈa-is ˈia haˈweł
1S.DIR 3S.NE.ACC not know-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.NE.DIR first

440 l'handra ays," ghõi.
ˈłhandra ˈa-is ˈghõi
skin-sick be-PST.A.3S QUOT
"I didn't know him at first (because) he was skin-sick," (he said).

441 Tal'ay du bas aini ek bas aini.
taˈł-ai du bas ˈa-ini ek bas ˈa-ini
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 two day be-PST.A.3P a day be-PST.A.3P
They were there for two or one days.

442 Shehe ek pis't'aw day ek t'ana kamra shial'a.
ɕeˈhe ek ˈpiʂʈaw daj ek ʈaˈna kamˈra ɕi-ˈała
like this a behind from a separated room be-PST.I.3S
It was like this, to the back of (the king's house) there was another room.

443 Tal'el'a day pay ek hinduistrizha asta.
taˈłeł-a daj ˈpa-i ek hindu.iˈstriʤa ˈasta
there.REM.ACR-LOC1 from go-CP a hindu woman be.PST.I.3sp
Having gone from there, there was a hindu-woman.[328]

444 Se-o idrõ'[329] muzhi te bat kariman asta.
ˈse=o iˈdrõ- ˈmuʤ-i te bat kaˈr-iman_ˈasta
3S.REM.DIR=TOP fivestones play-CP 3P.REM.DIR stone do-IMPF.PTC_AUX.PST.I.3S
When they were playing fivestones, she was turning them (: the losers) into stones.

[328]*Hinduistrizha* 'Hindu woman' is a term used for a woman who has magical powers. She is later referred to as *jaduistrizha* 'magic woman'.
[329]*Idrõ*' is a game resembling fivestones.

445 Se suda pay tara duruna pay aaw-e
se ˈsuda ˈpa-i taˈra ˈdur-una ˈpa-i_ˈa-au=e
3S.REM.DIR boy go-CP there.REM.SPC door-LOC2 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

446 se jaas may aaw ki:
se ˈdʑa-as ˈma-i_ˈa-au ki
3S.REM.DIR wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

447 "Tu al'ay mo pari."
tu aˈɫ-ai mo parˈr-i
2S.DIR there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 PROH go-IPV.2S
The boy having gone, as he went to the door, his wife said: "Don't go there"

448 "Al'ay pe paraw khatra," ghõi may aaw-e,
aˈɫ-ai pe paˈr-au ˈkhatra ˈghõi ˈma-i_ˈa-au=e
there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 if go-PST.A.3S dangerous QUOT say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

449 se kabul ne kay aaw
se kaˈbul_ne_ˈka-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.DIR accepting_not__do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"If you go there, it will be dangerous for you," as she said that, he did not accept (it).

450 Tal'ay pay aaw-e,
taˈɫ-ai ˈpa-i_ˈa-au=e
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

451 se jaduistrizha taa som jadugeri kay
se dʑadu.iˈstriʑa ˈta.a som dʑaduˈgeri kaj
3S.REM.DIR woman magician 3S.REM.OBL with magic do-CP

452 to bat kay aaw.
to bat ˈka-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.ACC stone do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
As he went there, the magic woman, turned him into a stone, as she was performing magic to him.

453 Bat kay aaw-e,
bat ˈka-i_ˈa-au=e
stone do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

454 jaas phato nisi troi aaw
ˈdʑa-as ˈphato niˈs-i ˈtro-i_ˈa-au
wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD then sit down-CP cry-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
As (she) made (him) a stone, then his wife sat down and cried.

455 Toa bayas jagay aaw-e, dadas
ˈtoa ˈbaj-as ˈdʑaga-i_ˈa-au=e ˈdad-as
then brother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD look at-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as father-3S.PSR-SG.PSD

456 dura bayas niranguna l'ui khas'i shiu.
ˈdur-a ˈbaj-as niˈraŋg-una ˈɬui ˈkhaʂ-i_ˈɕ-iu
house-LOC1 brother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD sword-LOC2 blood rub on-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then as his (younger) brother, who was in his father's house, looked at brother's sword, blood has smeared out (on it).[330]

457 Toa se chutyak bayas citi aaw ki:
ˈtoa se ˈtɕhutjak ˈbaj-as ˈtɕit-i_ˈa-au ki
then 3S.REM.DIR young brother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

458 "May baya khẽ hawaw haw?."
maj baˈja khẽ ˈhaw-au haw
1S.OBL brother how become-PST.A-3a SUBJ
Then the younger brother thought: "My brother, what could have happened to him?."

459 Tasa is'kuna ek hãsh asta gri se ita aaw.
ˈtasa ˈiʂk-una ek hãɕ ˈasta gri se ˈi-ta_ˈa-au
3S.REM.OBL love-LOC2 a horse along with 3S.REM.DIR come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
In his love he came with (on) a horse.

460 Ita shatara gad'a istrizhaasuna z'al'i aaw.
ˈi-ta ɕa=taˈra ˈgaɖaistriˈʑa-as-una[331] ˈʐał-i_ˈa-au
come-CP EMPH=there.REM.SPC old woman-OBL.SG-LOC2 arrive-PF.PTC_AUX.A-3S
Having come there, he arrived to the old woman.

461 Se gad'a istrizha to jhoni aaw.
se ˈgaɖa iˈstriʑa to ˈdʑhon-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.DIR old woman 3S.REM.ACC know-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
(The old woman), she recognized him, (because he looked like his brother).

462 "Jhoni may aaw ki: "Ey juhan,
ˈdʑhon-i ˈma-i_ˈa-au ki ej dʑuˈhan
know=CP say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ hey young man

463 tu shonjami im," ghõi "pay aay."
tu ɕ=ondʑa=ˈmi i-m ˈghõi ˈpa-i_ˈai
2S.DIR EMPH=now=EMPH come-P/F.1S.NS QUOT go-PF.PTC_AUX.PST.A.2S
Having recognized him, she said, "Hey, young man, you went from here, saying "I will come soon.""

[330]With this sudden change in location, back to the hero's childhood house, the narrator connects the present situation with our hero's instruction (Lines 50–52) to his little brother that he shall take notice if blood appears on his sword.
[331]Suffixation with Loc2-*una* to a case-suffixed noun (and here even an animate noun) is peculiar. It occurs only once in the data and is not normally accepted by informants.

464 "Tu kawa pay-o a,
tu ka'w-a 'pa-i=o a
2S.DIR where.SPC-LOC1 go=CP=TOP go.PST.A.2S

465 shã shohon wat malal hawi," ghõi may aaw.
ɕã ɕo'hon wat ma'lal_'haw-i 'ghõi 'ma-i_'a-au
such a long time late_become.PST.A-2S QUOT say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"Where have you been, for such a long time you were late," she said."[332]

466 Shehe may aaw-e se citi aaw ki:
ɕe'he 'ma-i_'a-au=e se 'tɕit-i_'a-au ki
like this say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as 3S.REM.DIR think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

467 "May baya shaya ita aaw hul'a," ghõi.
maj ba'ja ɕ=a'ja 'i-ta_'a-au 'huła 'ghõi
1S.OBL brother EMPH=here.NE.SPC come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S become-PST.I.3S QUOT
As she has said that, he thought: "My brother has been here," he thought.

468 Se tal'ey nasen dras'ni phato pay aaw.
se ta'ɫ-ei na'sen_draʂ'ɳ-i[333] 'phato 'pa-i_'a-au
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 pass by=CP then go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
He passed by closely from there, then he left (not paying attention, to the old woman any longer).

469 Sonukur-as tada zhal'i aaw.
so'nukur-as 'tad-a 'ʑał-i_'a-au
falcon-OBL.SG near-LOC1 arrive-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
He came to the falcon.

470 Sonukur may aaw ki: "Ey juan, may ku'ak
so'nukur 'ma-i_'a-au ki ej dʑu'an maj 'ku˗ak
falcon say-PF.PTC_AUX.A-3S CONJ hey young man 1S.OBL kid

471 tay hatya kia kesmat ne araw-e."
taj 'hatja 'kia kes'mat ne 'ar-au=e
2S.OBL for what service not do.PST.A-3S=INTERR
The falcon said: "Hey young man, didn't my offspring do a service for you," it said.

472 "Ne," ghõi may aaw.
ne 'ghõi 'ma-i_'a-au
no quot say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"No," (he) said.

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[332]A literal translation would be something like 'You came, having gone where? – such a long time you have been late', meaning, 'You have come back after just going away, for such a long time you were away'.
[333]The phrase *nasen dras'nek* (literally 'side' + 'come out') means 'leave something without taking further notice of it'.

473 Ek ku'ak gheri taa day aaw.
ek ˈkuˑak ˈgheri ˈta.a ˈda-i_ˈa-au
one kid again 3S.REM.OBL give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Again it gave an offspring to him.

474 To asta gri pay aaw.
to ˈasta gri ˈpa-i_ˈa-au
3S.REM.ACC along with go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then he left with it.

475 Gheri pay sheras tada zhali aaw-e,
ˈgheri ˈpa-i ˈɕer-as ˈtad-a ˈʑal-i_ˈa-au=e
again go=CP lion-OBL.SG near-LOC1 arrive-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

476 sher tasa kay may aaw ki: "Ey juan,
ɕer ˈtasa kaj ˈma-i_ˈa-au ki ej dʑuˈan
lion 3S.REM.OBL to say-PF.PTC_AUX.A-3S CONJ hey young man

477 may ku'ak tay hatya kia kesmat ne araw?"
maj ˈkuˑak taj ˈhatja kia kesˈmat ne ˈar-au
1S.OBL kid 2S.OBL for what service not do.PST.A-3S
As he again came to the lion, the lion said to him: "Hey, young man!, didn't my offspring do a service for you?"

478 "Ne araw."
ne ˈar-au
not do.PST.A-3S
"No, he didn't" (the young man said).

479 Eg-o gheri se day aaw.
ˈeg=o ˈgheri se ˈda-i_ˈa-au
one=TOP again 3S.REM.DIR give-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Also he (the lion) gave him one more again.

480 Te asta gri pay
te ˈasta gri ˈpa-i
3P.REM.ACC along with go-CP

481 shatara zangu hiu-day, shatara jaygauna
ɕa=taˈra ˈzaŋgu ˈh-iu=daj ɕa=taˈra dʑajˈga-una
EMPH=there.REM.SPC swing become-P/F.3S=SPC EMPH=there.REM.SPC place-LOC2

482 us't'i te jhoni aaw ki:
ˈuʂʈ-i te ˈdʑhon-i_ˈa-au ki
get up-CP 3P.REM.DIR know-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ
Having gone there with them (the animal offsprings), to that place where he (his elder brother) was lying in the hammock, getting up (there), he knew that:

483 "May baya shaya ita aaw," ghõi.
maj baˈja ɕ=aˈja ˈi-ta_ˈa-au ˈghõi
1S.OBL brother EMPH=he.NE.SPC come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S QUOT
"My brother has been here."

484 Tal'ey pay aaw
ta'ɬ-ei 'pa-i_'a-au
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S

485 se pay shaharay pay sida pay
se 'pa-i ɕa'har-ai 'pa-i 'sida 'pa-i
3S.REM.DIR go=CP town-LOC3 go=CP straight go=CP

486 taa jaas dura ati aaw.
'ta.a 'ʤa-as 'dur-a 'at-i_'a-au
3S.REM.OBL wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD house-LOC1 enter-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Going from there, leaving, leaving straight for the town, he entered his (brother's) wife's house.

487 Jaas dura ati aaw-e, jaas
'ʤa-as 'dur-a 'at-i_'a-au=e 'ʤa-as
wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD house-LOC1 enter-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD

488 shatra to jagay bhalauna pali aaw.
ɕ=a'tra to ʤa'ga-i bha'la-una 'pal-i_'a-au
EMPH=there.DI.SPC 3S.REM.ACC look at=CP thought-LOC2 fall-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
As he has entered his (brother's) wife's house, the wife there, looking at him, fell into wonder.

489 Ne taa kay mon dek bhay, ne-ta kia.
ne 'ta.a kaj mon d-ek 'bha-i 'ne=ta 'kia
not 3S.REM.OBL to word give-INFTV be able=CP not=CNTR what
Not being able to say anything to him at all.[334]

490 Toa se mic pakti kay aaw.
'toa se mitɕ pak'ti 'ka-i_'a-au
then 3S.REM.DIR just rice do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Then she just made rice as usual.[335]

491 Pakti kay ruaw thay aaw.
pak'ti 'ka-i 'ruaw 'tha-i_'a-au
rice do=CP in front place-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Having made rice, (she) placed if before (him).

492 Thay aaw mocuna khangar histi aaw.
'tha-i_'a-au 'motɕ-una khaŋ'gar 'hist-i_'a-au[336]
place-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S middle-LOC2 sword throw-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
(She) put (the rice, and) he placed the sword in the middle (of the rice).

[334]Because she wondered whether he was her husband or not.
[335]Pretending that nothing had happened as a means of finding out whether he was her husband.
[336]*Histik* 'throw', used with the meanings 'put' or 'place', connotes forceful activity.

493 "Shandey andayhak
ɕ=anˈd-ei and-ai=ˈhak
EMPH=here.NE.NONSPC-ABL1 here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3=DIM
494 pe tay baza aaw haw tay nashes."
pe taj baˈza ˈa-au haw taj naˈɕ-es
if 2S.OBL arm be-P/F.3S.NS SUBJ 2S.OBL kill-P/F.1S.NS
"If your hand is here, (: crosses the line from here, i.e. the line indicated by the sword), I will kill you."

495 To pakti zhui aan, du gehenaw day.
to pakˈti ˈʐu-i_ˈa-an du geˈhen-aw ˈdai
then rice eat-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P two side-ABL3 from
Then they ate rice from two sides.

496 To ek shen shial'a.
to ek ɕen ɕi-ˈała
then a bed be-PST.I.3S
Then there was a bed.

497 Tal'ay d'ud'i aan-e,
taˈɬ-ai ˈɖuɖ-i_ˈa-an=e
there.REM.NONSPC-LOC3 sleep-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P=as
498 mocay khangar histi aaw.
ˈmoʦ-ai khaŋˈgar ˈhist-i_ˈa-au
middle-LOC3 sword throw-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
As they slept there, he threw the sword into the middle of it (the bed).

499 Andey andayhak pe tay pet'ek aaw haw,
anˈd-ei and-ai=ˈhak pe taj peˈʈek ˈa-au
here.NE.NONSPC-ABL1 here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3=DIM if 2S.OBL veil be-P/F.3S.NS
500 tay nashem," amaaw.
haw taj naˈɕ-em a-ˈma-au
SUBJ2 S.OBL kill-P/F.1S.NS AU-say-PST.A.3S
"If your veil crosses this line (from here), I will kill you," he said.[337]

501 Toa se copamino gheri se bata pay aaw,
ˈtoa se ˈʦopamin=o ˈgheri se ˈbata ˈpa-i_ˈa-au
then 3S.REM.DIR morning=TOP again 3S.REM.DIR CTR go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
502 taa duruna hatya.
ˈta.a ˈdur-una ˈhatja
3S.REM.OBL house-LOC2 to
Then, in the morning he went away again, to that house (of the magic woman).

[337]The introduction of a veil, as if the woman was wearing it, can be seen as a Muslim influence in a Kalasha narrative discourse.

503 Pay aaw-e se may aaw tasa kay:

ˈpa-i_ˈa-au=e	se	ˈma-i_ˈa-au	ˈtasa	kaj
go-PF.PTC_AUX-3S=when	3S.REM.DIR	say-PF.PTC_AUX-3S	3S. REM. OBL	to

As he went there, she (the sister-in-law) said to him:

504 "Tu hawel al'ay pay ay

tu	haˈwel	aˈɫ-ai	ˈpa-i_a-i
2S.DIR	first	there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3	go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.2S.NS

505 kia has zhui ay?"

ˈkia	has	ˈʑu-i_ˈa-i
what	food	eat-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.2S

"First you went there, what did you eat?"[338]

506 "Onjo gheri paris-day,"

ˈoɲʤ-o	ˈgheri	parˈr-is=daj
now-TOP	again	go-P/F.2S=SPC

507 ghõi may aaw, tasa kay.

ˈghõi	ˈma-i_ˈa-au	ˈtasa	kaj
QUOT	say-PF.PTC_AUX-3S	3S.REM.OBL	to

"Now as you are going (away) again (there)," she said to him.

508 Toa se citi aaw ki:

ˈtoa	se	ˈʨit-i_ˈa-au	ki
then	3S.REM.DIR	think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S	CONJ

509 "Oh may baya shanday pay aaw_e

oh	maj	ˈbaja	ɕ=anˈd-ai	ˈpa-i_ˈa-au=e
Oh	1S.OBL	brother	EMPH=here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3	go-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

Then he thought: "Oh, my brother has been here (in this house, with the magic woman)."

510 Se tal'ey durani al'ey atikwew,

se	taˈɫ-ei	ˈdur-ani	aˈɫ-ei
3S.REM.DIR	there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1	house-ABL2	there.DI.NONSPC-ABL1

511 atikwew, ek mizok

at-ik=ˈwew	ek	miˈzok
enter-INFTV=during	a	mouse

512 tasa shanday ati aaw bazuray.

ˈtasa	ɕ=anˈd-ai	ˈat-i_ˈa-au	baˈzur-ai
3S.REM.OBL	EMPH=here.NE.NONSPC-LOC3	enter-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S	sleeve-LOC3

At the time of entering the house from his own house, a mouse entered into his sleeve.

[338] Meaning 'what happened to you?'.

513 Se tara pay jadugeriuna nisi aaw.
se ta'ra 'pa-i dʑadu'ger=i-una ni's-i_'a-au
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC go-CP witchcraft=NOMI-LOC2 sit down-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Going there, he stayed with the witchcraft (: *the magic woman*).

514 Nisi kibaw kay idrõ' muzhi aan
ni's-i ki'baw 'ka-i i'drõ- 'muʐ-i_'a-an
sit down-CP things do-CP fivestones play-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Staying there, doing whatever, they played fivestones.

515 Se istrizha to har karikas kay aaw,
se i'striʐa to har_ka'r-ik-as 'ka-i_'a-au
3S.REM.DIR woman 3S.REM.ACC winning_do-INFTV-OBL.SG do-PF.PTC.A_AUX-3S
516 se mizok anenaw ut'iki
se mi'zok a'nen-aw u'ʈik-i
3S.REM.DIR mouse here.NE.ACR-ABL3 jump=CP
517 tara tyay to istrizha har kay aaw.
ta'ra 'tja-i to i'striʐa har_'ka-i_'a-au
there.REM.SPC hit=CP 3S.REM.ACC woman win_do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
While the woman was winning, a mouse jumped out from here (from his sleeve) and hit the playing board, it (the mouse) beat the woman.

518 Toa se juan tasa kay amaaw ki:
'toa se dʑu'an 'tasa kaj a-'ma-au ki
then 3S.REM.DIR young man 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
519 "Shel'i tu tes inisan kari," ghõi amaaw.
'ɕ=eɬi tu tes ini'san 'kar-i 'ghõi a-'ma-au
EMPH=3P.DI.ACC 2S.DIR quickly human being do-P/F.2S.NS QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
Then the youngster (: the younger brother) said to her, "Quickly, make a good human being"[339]*, he said.*

520 Te bat kay kay
te bat 'ka-i=ka-i[340]
3P.REM.DIR stone do-CP=RDPL
521 shaya puyrak kay aaw hul'a te moc
ɕ=a'ja 'pujrak 'ka-i_'a-au_'huła[341] te motɕ
EMPH=here.NE.SPC full do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S_AUX.PST.I.3S 3P.REM.DIR people
She had made (many people) into stones, made it (the house) full (of stone statues) of those people.

[339]Meaning 'be a good human being by making the people alive again'.
[340]The reduplication of the conjunctive participle *kay* underlines the meaning of the plurality of the stones, that an enormous number of human beings had been turned into stones.
[341]The 'evidential' *hul'a* emphasises the overwhelming and unpleasant information that many people had been turned into stones.

522 Toa se deras'ik gri shehe kay
ˈtoa se deraˈʂik gr-i ɕeˈhe ˈka-i
then 3S.REM.DIR small stones take-CP like this do-CP

523 tyay aal'-e te himiti us't'i aan,
ˈtja-i_ˈa-ał=e te hiˈmiti ˈuʂʈ-i_ˈa-an
hit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as 3P.REM.DIR all of them rise-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Then taking the smaller stones, she threw them (onto the statues) like this, (then) they all stood up.

524 Tara us't'i may aan ki:
taˈra ˈuʂʈ-i ma-i_ˈa-an ki
there.REM.SPC rise-CP say- PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P CONJ

525 "Ey juan, kia kesmat," ghõi aan-e
ej dʑuˈan ˈkia kesˈmat ˈghõ-i_ ˈa-an=e
hey young man what service say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P=as

526 "Hic kia kesmat ne, khodayas namuna para."
hitɕ ˈkia kesˈmat ne khoˈdaj-as ˈnam-una paˈr-a
nothing at all service no God-OBL.SG name.LOC2 go-IPV.2P
Having stood up there, and as they said: "Hey young (man), what service (can we do for you)," (he said): "No service at all, in God's name, go."

527 "May bayaa bati a aya ita ays."
maj baˈja-a baˈti a aˈja ˈi-ta_ˈa-is
1S.OBL brother-1S.PSR.SG.PSD for 1S.DIR here.NE.SPC come-PST.PF_AUX-P/F.3S
"I had come here because of my brother"(, the young man said)

528 Toa tal'ey phato
ˈtoa taˈɫ-ei ˈphato
then there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 then

529 bayas asta thi ita aan.
ˈbaj-as ˈasta thi ˈi-ta_ˈa-an
brother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD also be.CP come-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Then his brother also being there they came from there,

530 Phonday it-o se citi aaw ki:
ˈphond-ai ˈi-t=o se ˈtɕit-i_ˈa-au ki
road-LOC3 come-CP=TOP 3S.REM.DIR think-PF.PTC.A_AUX-3S CONJ

531 "Ia may jaa dura ita."
ia maj ˈdʑa-a ˈdur-a ˈi-ta
3S.NE.DIR 1S.OBL wife-1S.PSR.SG.PSD house-LOC1 come=CP
On the way, he (the boy who had just become alive) thought (to himself), "He (: the other boy) came to my wife's house."

532 "May jaa som bo mashkul thi aaw,"
maj ˈdʑa-a som bo maɕˈkul_thi_ˈa-au ˈghõi
1S.OBL wife-1S.PSR.SG.PSD with much conversation_become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S QUOT

533 ghõi, bayas nashay aaw, se ek bayas.
ˈbaj-as naˈɕa-i_ˈa-au se ek ˈbaj-as
brother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD kill-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S 3S.REM.DIR a brother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD
"He might have talked a lot with my wife," thinking this, he killed his brother, his (younger) brother.[342]

534 To nashay-o se paraw dura hatya.
to naˈɕa-i=o se paˈr-au ˈdur-a ˈhatja
3S.REM.ACC kill-CP=TOP 3S.REM.DIR go-PST.A.3S house-LOC1 to
Having killed him, he went to his house.

535 Dura pay nisi aaw, nisi aaw-e,
ˈdur-a ˈpa-i niˈs-i_ˈa-au niˈs-i_ˈa-au=e
house-LOC1 go=CP sit down-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S sit down-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as

536 jaas balauna pal'i aaw.
ˈdʑa-as baˈla-una ˈpał-i_ˈa-au
wife-3S.PSR.SG.PSD wonder-LOC2 fall-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
He went home, sat down, as he sat down, his wife fell into wonder.

537 Kia maam asa kay
ˈkia ˈma-am ˈasa kaj
what say-P/F.1S.NS 3S.NE.OBL to
"What shall I say to him?" (she thought).

538 "Te al'ay parin-day, al'ay pay
te aˈł-ai parˈr-in=daj aˈł-ai ˈpa-i
3P.REM.DIR there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 go-P/F.3P=SPC there.DI.NONSPC-LOC3 go=CP

539 bat hin onja khẽ thi se aw."
bat h-in ˈɔndʑa khẽ thi se ˈa-u
stone become-P/F.3P.NS now how become.CP 3S.REM.DIR come.PST.A.3S
"They are going there, going there, they are becoming stones, now how can he can he come!" (the wife wondered).

540 To pakti kay zhui aan.
to pakˈti ˈka-i ˈʑu-i_ˈa-an
then rice do=CP eat-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P
Then having made rice, they ate.

[342] *Mashkul* 'conversation' may actually here mean courtship or a sexual relationship, suspected by the brother. This will explain the rather surprising and violent jealous act of killing the brother, who otherwise has saved him.

541 Gheri pakti kay aan e hũk asta ne kay.
ˈgheri pakˈti ˈka-i_ˈa-an=e huŋk ˈasta ne ˈka-i
again rice do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P=as sound also not do-CP
They made rice again, they did not say anything at all.

542 Zhui aaw toa tasa kay may aaw ki:
ˈʑu-i_ˈa-au ˈtoa ˈtasa kai ˈma-i_ˈa-au ki
eat-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S then 3S.REM.OBL to say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

543 "Osi tay hatya kia wakia thi ashis?"
ˈosi taj ˈhatja ˈkia waˈkia thi aˈɕ-is
last night 2S.OBL for what matter become.CP be.PST.A-3S
He ate, then she said: "What happened to you last night?."

544 "A osi pakti tay pra,
a ˈosi pakˈti taj pr-a
1S.DIR last night rice 2S.OBL put.PST.A-1S

545 mocay khangar ahisti," ghõi may aaw.
ˈmotɕ-ai khaŋˈgar a-ˈhist-i ˈghõi ˈma-i_ˈa-au
middle-LOC3 sword AU-throw-PST.A.2S QUOT say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
"Last night I served you rice (and you) put the sword into the middle (of the rice), she said.

546 Huk ne kay aaw pakti zhui aaw.
huk ne ˈka-i_ˈa-au pakˈti ˈʑu-i_ˈa-au
sound not do-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S rice eat-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
(Then) he did not say anymore, (just) ate rice.

547 D'ud'ikwew gheri se may aaw ki:
ɖuɖ-ik=ˈwew ˈgheri se ˈma-i_ˈa-au ki
sleep-INFTV=during again 3S.REM.DIR say-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ

548 "Osi tay hatya kia wakia hawaw?"
ˈosi taj ˈhatja ˈkia waˈkia ˈhaw-au
last night 2S.OBL for what matter become.PST.A-3S
At sleeping time (in bed), she asked again: "What happened to you last night?"

549 "Tu mocay khangar ahisti,
tu ˈmotɕ-ai khaŋˈgar a-ˈhist-i
2S.DIR middle-LOC3 sword AU=throw-PST.A.2S

550 "A tay nashem," ghõi," ghõi amaal-e
a taj naˈɕ-em ˈghõ-i ˈghõi a-ˈma-ał=e
1S.DIR 2S.OBL kill-P/F.1S.NS say-CP QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S=as

551 toa se citi aaw ki:
ˈtoa se ˈtɕit-i_ˈa-au ki
then 3S.REM.DIR think-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S CONJ
"You put the sword into the middle (of the bed, you divided it), saying "I will kill you"," as she said this, then he thought:

552 "Oooh may bayaa galti ne shial'a."
oh maj ba'ja-a gal'ti ne ɕi-'ała
oh 1S.OBL brother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD wrong not be-PST.I.3S
"Oh no!, my brother did not do wrong."

553 "May baya mic nashes, a," ghõi.
maj 'baja mitɕ na'ɕ-es a 'ghõi
1S.OBL brother just kill-PST.A.1S 1S.DIR QUOT
"I just killed my brother, I."

554 Pishtyak se us't'i paraw us't'i tara pay,
piɛ'tjak se 'uʂʈ-i pa'r-au 'uʂʈ-i ta'ra 'pa-i
afterwards 3S.REM.DIR rise-CP go-PST.A.3S rise-CP there.REM.SPC go-CP

555 taa junazasena pay, nashi aaw.
'ta.a dʑunaza.'sen-a 'pa-i 'niɛ-i_'a-au
3S.REM.OBL corpse.side-LOC1 go-CP sit-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Afterwards he stood up and left, having stood up and left for there, he went near to the dead body, where he (: his brother) died.

556 Se tara pay se troi aaw.
se ta'ra 'pa-i se 'tro-i_'a-au
3S.REM.DIR there.REM.SPC go-CP 3S.REM.DIR cry-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S
Having gone there, he wept.

557 Troi aaw-e tara ek faker payda hawaw.
'tro-i_'a-au=e ta'ra ek fa'ker paj'da_'haw-au
cry-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S=as there.REM.SPC a beggar appearing_become.PST.A-3S
As he wept, a faker appeared there.

558 Faker payda thi taa kay amaaw ki:
fa'ker paj'da_thi 'ta.a kaj a-'ma-au ki
beggar appearing_become.CP 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

559 "Ey juan, ko trois-day?"
ej dʑu'an ko 'tro-is=daj
hey young man why cry-P/F.2S=SPC
Having appeared, he (the faker) said to him: "Hey young man, why are you weeping?"

560 Se amaaw ki: "May baya a nashay ays."
se a-'ma-au ki maj 'baja a na'ɕ-a-i_'a-is
3S.REM.DIR AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ 1S.OBL brother1S.DIR die-CS1-PF.PTC_AUX-PST.A.3S
He said: "My brother, I have killed (him), I."

561 "Onjo a ita troim-day isa bati,
'ondʑ=o a 'ita 'tro-im=daj 'isa ba'ti
now=TOP 1S.DIR come.CP cry-P/F.1S=SPC 3S.NE.OBL for

562 ko nashes, ama," ghõi.
ko na'ɕ-es 'ama 'ghõi
why kill-PST.A.1S 3S.NE.ACC QUOT
"Now, having come (back), I'm crying for him, why did I kill him," he said.

563 Se amaaw ki: "Tu ne nashay aas,

se	a-ˈma-au	ki	tu	ne	naˈɕ-a-i_ˈa-as
3S.REM.DIR	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ	2S.DIR	not	die-CS1-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.2S

564 isa phal'ik khul aaw ia anashaw, tay mut's'a thi."

ˈisa	phaˈɬik	khul	ˈa-au
3S.NE.OBL	grain	finished	be-P/F.3S.NS

565 ia anashaw, tay mut's'a thi."

ˈia	a-ˈnaɕ-au	taj	ˈmut̪s-a	thi
3S.NE.DIR	AU-die-PST.A.3S	2S.OBL	fist-LOC1	be.CP

He (the faker) said: "You did not kill (him), his grain had finished,[343] *"he (simply) died, in your hands"*

566 Se amaaw ki: "Dõyõ tu jonis-day."

se	a-ˈma-au	ki	ˈdõjõ	tu	ˈdʑon-is=daj
3S.REM.DIR	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ	then	2S.DIR	know-P/F.2S=SPC

He (the faker) said: "Now you know it."

567 "May umbur kimon, may kaw kimon shian?," aghõaw.

maj	ˈumbur	kiˈmon	maj	kaw	kiˈmon	ˈɕi-an	a-ˈghõ-au
1S.OBL	age	how many	1S.OBL	year	how many	be-P/F.3P.NS	AU-say-PST.A.3S

"What is my age, how many are my years," (he, the young man) said.

568 Se taa kay amaaw ki:

se	ˈta.a	kaj	a-ˈma-au	ki
3S.REM.DIR	3S.REM.OBL	to	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

569 "Tay dubishizhedash kaw warek shiu," amaaw.

taj	du.biɕi.ʑe.ˈdaɕ	kaw	waˈrek	ˈɕ-iu	a-ˈma-au
2S.OBL	50	year	another	be-P/F.3S.NS	AU-say-PST.A.3S

He (the faker) said to him, "You have 50 more years," he said.

570 Se amaaw ki: "May zhe isa mocuna phazhi,

se	a-ˈma-au	ki	maj	ʑe	ˈisa	ˈmotɕuna	ˈphaʑ-i
3S.REM.DIR	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ	1S.OBL	and	3S.NE.OBL	between	divide-IPV.2S

571 dubishizheponj-o asa de bishizheponj-o[344] **may de."**

biɕi.ʑe.ˈpondʑ=o	ˈasa	d-e	biɕi.ʑe.ˈpondʑ=o	maj	d-e
25=TOP	3S.DI.OBL	give-IPV.2S	25=TOP	1S.OBL	give-IPV.2S

He said, "divide them between me and him, give 25 to him, and give 25 to me."

[343]One's grain being finished is a metaphor for one's life coming to an end, that it is time to die.

[344]Used as *-o* ... *-o*, the repeated topicaliser *-o* clearly has a contrastive function: 25 years for one brother, 25 for the other.

572 Se tasa phazhi praw-e,[345]
se ˈtasa ˈphaʒ-i_ˈpr-au=e
3S.REM.DIR 3S.REM.OBL divide-CP_give-PST.A.3S=as

573 se us't'aaw chīki.
se uˈʂʈ-a-au ˈʨhiŋk-i
3S.REM.DIR rise-CS1-PST.A.3S sneeze=CP
As he (the faker) divided for him, (the dead brother) got up and sneezed.

574 Us't'aaw-e amaaw ki:
uˈʂʈ-a-au=e a-ˈma-au ki
rise-CS1-PST.A.3S=as AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

575 "A sak d'ud'i ays may ko bujay?"
a sak ɖuˈɖ-i_ˈa-is maj ko buˈʥ-a-i
3S.REM.DIR.S so sleep-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S 1S.OBL why wake up-CS1-PST.A.2S

576 bayas amaaw.
ˈbaj-as a-ˈma-au
brother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD AU-say-PST.A.3S
As he stood up, (he) said, "I slept so well, why did you wake (me)?," his brother said.

577 Se tasa kay amaaw ki:
se ˈtasa kaj a-ˈma-au ki
3S.REM.DIR 3S.REM.OBL to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ

578 tu d'ud'is-o kia day a tay nashay ays
tu ˈɖuɖ-is=o ˈkia ˈda-i a taj naˈɕ-a-i_ˈa-is
2S.DIR sleep-P/F.2S.NS=TOP not that 1S.DIR 2S.OBL die-CS1-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.1S
He said to him: "You were not sleeping, I have killed you."

579 "Onjo gheri tay anga aris,
ˈonʥ=o ˈgheri taj ˈaŋga ˈar-is
now=TOP again 2S.DIR awake do.PST.A-1S

580 may kaw tay som aphazhis."
maj kaw taj som a-ˈphaʒ-is
1S.OBL year 2S.OBL with AU-divide-PST.A.3S
"Now I woke you up again, I divided my years with you."

581 Tal'ey dura paron dura pay,
taˈɬ-ei ˈdur-a parˈr-on ˈdur-a ˈpa-i
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1 house-LOC1 go-P/F.3P.NS house-LOC1 go-CP

582 te bo wat tara hin.
te bo wat taˈra h-in
3P.REM.DIR much time there.REM.SPCbecome-P/F.3P.NS
From there they went to the house, having gone to the house, they were there for a long time.

[345]The compound verb *phazhi dek* ('dividing' + 'give'; see Grammar, Section 6.6.5) adds a sense of completion to the semantics of the sentence: He, the *phaker*, surely divided the 50 years of his life and brought the brother back to life.

583 Tal'ey-o tan bacahiuna hatya
ta'ɫ-ei=o tan batɕa'hi-una 'hatja
there.REM.NONSPC-ABL1=TOP own kingdom-LOC2 to

584 te pishtyak, dadas kay amaaw ki.
te piɕ'tjak 'dad-as kaj a-'ma-au ki
3P.REM.DIR again father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
(He, one of them)[346] *again asked his father-in-law if they could go from there to their own kingdom again.*

585 "Ay parik-day homa aya pashialak hiu-day, homa dada"
ai par'r-ik=daj 'homa 'aja paɕi='alak 'h-iu=daj 'homa 'dada
1P.DIR go-P/F.1P=SPC 1P.OBL mother see=NOMI become-P/F.3S=SPC 1P.OBL father

586 ghõi amaal-e,
'ghõi a-'ma-al=e
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S=as

587 baca tasi hatya bo saman tasi praw.
ba'tɕa 'tasi 'hatja bo sa'man 'tasi 'pr-au
king 3P.REM.OBL to much luggage 3P.REM.OBL give.PST.A-3S
As they said "we are going now, we miss our mother and our father," the king gave them a lot of things (: clothes and stuff) for them.

588 Day te ahutaw sonukur asta gri.
'da-i te a-'hut-au so'nukur 'asta gri
give-CP 3P.REM.DIR AU-send away-PST.A.3S falcon along with
Having given (them this), then (he) sent them away along with the falcon.

589 Te pay shatara jaygauna azhal'an-e
te 'pa-i ɕa-ta'ra dʑaj'ga-una a-'ʑał-an=e
3P.REM.DIR go-CP EMPH=there.REM.SPC place-LOC2 AU-arrive-PST.A.3P=as

590 se istrizha tasi wal' thi aaw ja ne thi.
se i'strizʑa 'tasi wał_thi_'a-au dʑa ne thi
3S.REM.DIR woman 3P.REM.OBL waiting_become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3S wife not become.CP
Having gone, (and) as they came that place (of theirs), the woman waited, had not got married.[347]

591 To istrizh-o tasa ek bayas ja praw.
to i'strizʑ=o 'tasa ek 'baj-as dʑa_'pr-au
3S.REM.ACC woman=TOP 3S.REM.OBL a brother-OBL.SG wife_give.PST.A-3S
That woman married with one of the brothers (the youngest).

[346]The narrator here returns to the previous part of the story where our hero, dressed in sick-skin clothes, won the king's daughter.
[347]The woman is the old woman who turned into a young woman from the beginning of the story.

592 ja day tan dura azhal'an-e

dʑa	ˈda-i	tan	ˈdur-a	a-ˈʑał-an=e
wife	give-CP	own	house-LOC1	AU-arrive-PST.A.3P=as

593 dadas zhe ayas bo akhabir thi aan.

ˈdad-as	ʑe	ˈaj-as	bo	akhaˈbir	thi_ˈa-an
father-3S.PSR.SG.PSD	and	mother-3S.PSR.SG.PSD	very	old	become.PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P

Being married, (and) as they came to their own house, his mother and father had become old

594 Te pashi gheri te murayak hawan.

te	ˈpaɕ-i	ˈgheri	te	muˈrajak	ˈhaw-an
3P.REM.DIR	see-CP	again	3P.REM.DIR	young	become.PST.A-3p

Seeing them again, they became young (: from happiness and joy).

595 Gheri zheri kay zhun-day pin-day nisi aan.

ˈgheri	ʑeˈri	ˈka-i	ʑu-n=daj	p-in=daj	niˈs-i_ˈa-an
again	celebrations	do=CP	eat-P/F.3P=SPC	drink-P/F.1P=SPC	settle-PF.PTC_AUX-P/F.3P

Again while celebrating, they are eating, drinking, staying there.[348]

596 May-o khuta hãsh pron.[349]

ˈmaj=o	ˈkhuta	hãɕ	pr-on
1S.OBL=TOP	lame	horse	give.PST.A-3p

And me they gave a lame horse.

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[348]Meaning that their lives started over again.

[349]This phrase is a conventionalised way of closing a story, as if it degrades the story-teller that she has been given a lame (and useless) horse.

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