# Baaddil Jamaal[1]

## A story narrated by Laila Khan

1 Speaker Piar Karim ] but šukurya goor ]
but šukurya go- -ar
many thanks 2SG DAT

Many thanks to you.

2 ḍaa ḍalṭas minasan aar eṭase gane ]
ḍaa ḍalṭas minas -an aa -ar eṭ -as -e gane
again beautiful story SG.INDF 1SG.GEN DAT do INF GEN for

Again for telling me a beautiful story.

3 Speaker Laila Khan ] ye minašiŋ ke kaafi eṭa baa piyaar
ye minas -iŋ ke kaafi eṭ -a ba piyaar
DM story PL COMP enough do.PAST 1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h] Piar

kariim ]
kariim
Karim

--I have narrated many stories, Piar Karim.

4 ḍaa besan ḍuwaasila ke goor ečam muu
ḍaa besan ḍ- -u *waas -ila ke go- -ar e- *č -am muu
and what ḍ 3PL remain PRES.3SG[-h, II] COMP 2SG DAT 3[-h, II] 1SG now
]

And, if there still remain some stories, now I will tell you.

5 Speaker L ] xuḍaaye umur gučiş piyaar kariim ]
xuḍaa -ye umur gu- *či -ş piyaar kariim
God ERG age 2SG give OPT Piar Karim

May God give you long life, Piar Karim.

---

[1] It is a story about a fairy whose name was Baadil Jamaal.

6 une amiṭ ḍurowan azbaa kaa ečaa ke

un- -e amiṭ ḍuro -an azbaa kaa e- -čaa ke

2SG ERG work SG.INDF passion with 3[-h, II] do.PRES.PROG.2SG COMP

xuḍaaye ḍaa kaamyaab goṭiş ]

xuḍaa -e ḍaa kaamyaab go- *ṭ -iş

God ERG and succeed 2SG OPT

May God grant you more success in the work which you are doing passionately.

7 Speaker P ] aamiin ]

aamiin

Amen

--Amen.

8 Speaker L ] aale ele kole bilum iṭe minas goor

aa -ale ele kole bilum iṭe minas go- -ar

1-GEN LOC there here be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] that[-h, I] story 2SG DAT

ečam ]

e- *č -am

3[-h, II] 1SG

--The story which is with me from here and there, I will tell you.

9 Speaker P ] but šukurya goor ]

but šukurya go- -ar

much thanks 2SG DAT

--Many thanks to you.

10 Speaker L ] hin paaḍšaan bam ]

hin paaḍša -an bam

one.[+h] king SG.INDF be.PAST.3SG[+h]

--Once there was a king.

11 ine ke ṭalo yuwa bam ]

in -e ke ṭalo yuwa bam

3SG.[+h] GEN COMP seven[+h] his.sons be.PAST.3SG[+h]

He also [referring to the previous recorded story] had seven sons.

12 Speaker P ] sahi ]

sahi

right

--True.

13 Speaker  L  ]  ṭalo        yuwa    bam                    ]
                 ṭalo        yuwa    bam
                 seven[+h]   his.sons   be.PAST.3SG[+h]

--He had seven boys.

14 uyoŋko        noṭanin                              , garkuyanc          umanuman
   uyum  -ko  n-     o-    ṭ           -an  -in  garkuy      -anc u-   man     -uman
   big   PL  PTCP   3PL   SG.INDF          PTCP  marriagable  PL   3PL  become   3PL
yuwa     ]
yuwa
his.sons

Having raised them, his sons became marriageable.

15 garkuyanc          numanin                     yuwa    ḍamši   ooṭimi
   garkuy        -anc n-     u-    man    -in  yuwa    ḍamši   oo-          *ṭ   -imi
   marriagable   PL  PTCP   3PL          PTCP  his.sons  choose  3PL.CAUS         3MSG
ke       , "  amiṭ amiṭ  haatum              maa     ḍamši   ečaan
ke           amiṭ amiṭ  haa   -ate  -um  maa     ḍamši   e-          *čaan
COMP                    home    on   PTCP  2PL.ERG  choose  3[-h, II]   do.PRES.PROG.2PL.Q
ke      ayuwa              mamar            gariŋ       ečam                ", senimi    ]
ke      a-    *yu  -wa mam       -ar   gar     -iŋ e-          *č   -am    sen  -imi
COMP   1SG    son  PL 2PL.OBL   DAT  marriage  PL  3[-h, II]         1SG

The king made them choose and asked them to make a choice: "Whatever house you choose, I will make arrangements for your marriages," he said.

16 ot     ine          iice           gakase  peybuluk bilum                ]
   ot     in    -e   ii-  -ci   gakase                bilum
   small  3SG.[+h]  GEN  3SG  COM  Gakase              be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]

His youngest son's name was Gakase Peibuluk.

17 gakase  peybuluk bilum              ine          iik            , gakase  peybuluk
   gakase            bilum              in    -e   ii-  *ik    gakase
   Gakase            be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]  3SG.[+h]  GEN  3SG   name   Gakase
bilum                ]
bilum
be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]

Gakase Peibuluk was his name, Gakase Peibuluk it was.

18 inee  esimi  ke , ḍuusin  waziirišo ,

in -e e- *s -imi ke ḍuus -in waziir -išo

3SG.[+h] ERG 3[-h, II] say 3MSG COMP come.out PTCP minister PL

ine  kaatum  żaŋguyuwe  kaa ḍuusimi  ]

in -e kaat -um żaŋguy -uwe kaa ḍuus -imi

3SG.[+h] GEN with PTCP minister PL with come.out 3MSG

He said--Having come out--He came out with his ministers.

19 ḍuusin  ine  paaḍšaa yuwa ici

ḍuus -in in -e paaḍšaa yuwa i -ci

come.out PTCP 3SG.[+h] GEN king his.sons 3SG COM

olṭačume   nuun  , amulo haa same  xaa

o- lṭač -um -e ni uu -n amulo haa sam -e xaa

3PL follow.IPFV PTCP GEN go 3PL PTCP where home light.hole GEN upto

uriinum  żame ċap eṭimi  ke , maṭlab iseetar

u- *riin -um żame ċap e- ṭ -imi ke maṭlab ise -et -ar

3PL hand PTCP bow shoot 3[-h, II] 3MSG COMP meaning that.[-h, I] on DAT

amis żame ċap eṭum  ise  pawu amiṭ haatar  nimi

amis żame ċap e- *ṭ -um ise pawu amiṭ ha -at -ar ni -imi

which bow shoot 3[-h, II] PTCP that.[-h, I] arrow home on DAT go 3MSG

ke , iṭe  haalar  ničam  ]

ke iṭe ha -al -ar ni *č -am

COMP that[-h, I] home LOC DAT go 1SG

The king followed his sons. He said he would go (to propose marriage) to whatever house had its chimney hit by the arrow from his son's bow.

20 čupne  ḍasinan  musalgiyar  uyoon  uwan

čup -ne ḍasin -an mu- salgi -ar u- yoon uwan

silent PTCP girl SG.INDF 3FSG propose DAT 3PL all like

niyasan  , yaa ṭele kole ḍasinan  bo  nuse

ni -yas -an yaa ṭele kole ḍasin -an bo nu- sen

go INF SG.INDF or there here girl SG.INDF be.PRES.3FSG[+h] PTCP say

hincar  niyasan  apim  ]

hin -c -ar ni -yas -an a- pim

door COM DAT go INF SG.INDF NEG be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

It was not like everyone went silently hither and thither wherever there was a girl.

21

| uwe | yuwa | ḍamši | nooṭan | | | | | | , " amulo | maa | žame |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| u- -we | yuwa | ḍamši | n- | oo- | *ṭ | -a | -n | | amulo | maa | žame |
| 3PL GEN | his.sons | choose | PTCP | 3PL.CAUS | | 1SG | PTCP | | where | 2PL.ERG | bow |

| ċap | ečaan | | ke | , aa | kine | | waziir | , aa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ċap | e- | *čaan | ke | aa | kin | -e | waziir | aa |
| shoot | 3[-h, II] | do.PRES.PROG.2PL.Q | COMP | 1GEN | this [+h] | GEN | minister | 1GEN |

| kuwe | ayaarum | ašḍayo | , ḍaa | oorčam | | | | ", |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kuw | -e | a- yaar | -um | ašḍan | -yo | ḍaa | oo- | r | *č | -am |
| these | GEN | 1SG down | PTCP | minister | PL | and | 3PL.CAUS | send | | 1SG |

| nusenin | , eekaa | nuyan | | | nimi | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nu- | sen | -in | ee- | kaa | n- | u- | ya | -n | ni | -imi |
| PTCP | | PTCP | 3MSG | with | PTCP | 3PL | take | PTCP | go | 3MSG |

Having given his sons the choice, the king told them, "Wherever you fire an arrow I will send these ministers of mine." He went along with them.

22

| šaḍarišo | sey | bam | , nuya | niin | | | ke | circe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| šaḍar | -išo | sey | bam | nu- | yan | ni | -i | -n | ke | circe |
| minister | PL | say.IPFV | be.PAST.3PL[+h] | PTCP | take | go | 3SG | PTCP | COMP | one.by.one |

| žame | ċap | ečume | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| žame | ċap | e- | *čume |
| bow | shoot | 3[-h, II] | do.IPFV.PROG |

The ministers were called "shadars." Taking them along, they fired their arrows.

23

| žame | ċap | ečume | | , be | waazire | haale | | , be |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| žame | ċap | e- | *čume | be | vaziir | -e | haa | -le | be |
| bow | shoot | 3[-h, II] | do.IPFV.PROG | sometimes | minister | GEN | home | LOC | sometimes |

| paaḍšaane | | haale | , samatar | | | žame | ċap | manum | ċanc |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| paaḍša | -an | -e | haa | -le | sam | -at | -ar | žame | ċap | man | -um | ċanc |
| king | SG.INDF | GEN | home | LOC | light.hole | on | DAT | bow | shoot | | whenever |

| , ye | uwe | eekaatum | | | iimo | ḍoostaro | oorimi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ye | u- | -we | ee- | kaa | -ate | -um | iimo | ḍoost | -aro | oo- | *r | -imi |
| DM | 3PL | GEN | 3MSG | with | on | PTCP | his.own | friend | PL | 3PL.CAUS | send | 3MSG |

| ine | | paaḍšaa | ] |
|---|---|---|---|
| in | -e | paaḍšaa |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | king |

Shooting the arrows, sometimes at the minister's house, sometimes at the king's house, whenever the arrow went down the chimney, the king made his friends go to that house.

| 24 | żaŋuyo | | uyoŋko | | uyoŋko | | uwe | | sis | oorimi | | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | żaŋuyn | -yo | uyum | -ko | uyum | -ko | u- | -e | sis | oo- | | *r | -imi |
| | minister | PL | big | PL | big | | PL | 3PL | GEN | people | 3PL.CAUS | send | 3MSG |

The ministers, the high high officials, were made to go.

| 25 | noorin | | | | ke | aaxri | gakase | peybuluke | ċap | eṭasar | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n- | oo- | *r | -in | ke | aaxri | gakase | peybuluk | -e | ċap | eṭ- | -as | -ar |
| | PTCP | 3PL.CAUS | send | PTCP | COMP | last | Gakase | | | shoot | do | INF | DAT |

, čare ċatanar ine ise żame ays

| | čar | -e | ċat | -an | -ar | in | -e | ise | żame |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | mountain | GEN | mountain.crack | SG.INDF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | that.[-h, I] | bow |

nimi ]

| | ni | -imi |
|---|---|---|
| | go | 3MSG |

Having sent them, when at last Gakase Peibuluk shot the arrow, that arrow went into a mountain crack.

| 26 | niyasar | | | in | rik | manaasar | | , | ine | | paaḓša | senimi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ni | -as | -ar | in | rik | man | -aas | -ar | in | -e | paaḓša | sen | -imi |
| | go | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | about.to | become | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | king | | |

ke , " be guse une żame alaṭ ċap imani bi ,

| | ke | be | guse | un- | -e | żame | alaṭ | ċap | i- | -i | bi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | COMP | no | this[-h, I] | 2SG | GEN | bow | wrong | shoot | 3MSG | 3SG | be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] |

elar ooni , ṭum haananatar haŋke ṭum

| | el | -ar | o- | ni | ṭum | haan | -an | -at | -ar | han | -ke | ṭum |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | there | DAT | NEG | go | other | home | SG.INDF | on | DAT | one.[-h, I] | COM | other |

mulkanar gucučam , ṭeele ċap eṭi ",

| | mulk | -an | -ar | gu- | cu | -am | ṭeele | ċap | e- | *ṭ | -i |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | country | SG.INDF | DAT | 2SG | take | 1SG | there | shoot | 3[-h, II] | | 2SG |

senasar ]

| | sen | -as | -ar |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |

Gakase Peibuluk was about to... The king said, "No, this arrow of yours wasn't shot right. Don't go there. I will take you to a different house in a different country, you can shoot there."

27 " bilkul      be baba   , amiṭ une           haale      niyaṭan                     ne    ,
     bilkul      be baba   amiṭ un-    -e    haa   -ale niyaṭ       -an          ne
     absolutely  no father       2SG   GEN  home  LOC made.mind   SG.INDF  PTCP

alfaazan                ne  , ḍausaa ke      , iṭe      muṭaabiq  aa  čare
alfaaz   -an            ne  ḍausaa  ke        iṭe      muṭaabiq  aa  čar      -e
word     SG.INDF  PTCP            COMP  that[-h, I] according  1GEN mountain  GEN

ċatar              ni bi                    , e    ṭeelar       niyam   ", senimi    ]
ċat       -ar      ni bi                     e    ṭeel   -ar   ni -yam  sen  -imi
mountain.crack  DAT  go  be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]  1SG  there   DAT   go  1SG

"No, father. Before leaving home, you gave me your word. According to that, my arrow went to the crack in the mountain, and that's where I am going."

28 bilkul      be nuse          , yuu           ṭeerum    manimi           ke      ,
   bilkul      be nu-           y-    *u    ṭeerum    man    -imi    ke
   absolutely  no      PTCP  3MSG  father that.many become   3MSG  COMP

oomanum                    , ine              gakase  peybuluk čare
oo-        man    -um  in         -e     gakase             čar     -e
3PL.CAUS  become  PTCP 3SG.[+h]  GEN  Gakase            mountain  GEN

ċatanar                    nimi       , aa        ]
ċat            -an   -ar  ni  -imi   aa
mountain.crack  SG.INDF DAT  go   3MSG  dear\DM

Refusing to listen to his father, Gakase Peibuluk went to the crack in the mountain, Dear.

29 nii         niyase            kaa  ulo , taanum  čian                  bim               ,
   ni    -in  ni  -yas  -e    kaa  ulo  ṭaanum  či       -an         bim
   go   PTCP go   INF   GEN  with in   long/high mountain  SG.INDF  be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

ise       čare              ċatulo            , ise      či      yaare        ,
ise       čar     -e    ċat        ulo   ise      či      yaar   -e
that.[-h, I] mountain  GEN  mountain.crack  in    that.[-h, I] mountain down    GEN

ine              hurutimi      ]
in        -e    hurut  -imi
3SG.[+h]  GEN  sit     3MSG

Having gone there, inside, there was a tall <ladder> at the entrance of that mountain crack. He sat under that ladder.

30 nuurutin , men ulo hole meey baan , men ulo hole

nu- hurut -in men ulo hole meey baan men ulo hole

PTCP stay PTCP who in outside become.IPFV be.PRES.PL[+h] who in outside

omay baan , iṭe test eṭase gane ,

o- may baan iṭe test e- ṭ -as -e gane

3PL be.PRES.PL[+h] that[-h, I] examine 3[-h, II] do INF ERG for

barenase gane , hurutimi ]

baren -as -e gane hurut -imi

watch INF GEN for sit 3MSG

Having sat, he kept an eye on who went in and out. He sat there to watch.

31 nuurutin bama ke , ulum hin kaniizan

nu- hurut -in bam -a ke ulu -um hin kaniiz -an

PTCP stay PTCP be.PAST.1PL[+h] QM COMP in from one.[+h] maid SG.INDF

ḍuusumo ]

ḍuus -umo

come.out 3FSG

When he was sitting there, a maid came out from inside.

32 baaḍil amaalmo kaa inmo nookaran bom , kaniiz ,

baaḍil amaal -mo kaa in -mo nookar -an bom kaniiz

Bâdil Jamâl F.GEN with 3SG.[+h] F.GEN servant SG.INDF be.PAST.3FSG[+h] maid

ine ḍuusumo , inmo muyik kaniiz bilum

in -e ḍuus -umo in -mo mu- *yik kaniiz bilum

3SG.[+h] GEN come.out 3FSG 3SG.[+h] F.GEN 3FSG name maid be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]

]

A maid was there with Bâdil Jamâl, and she came out. Her name was Kanîz ('maid').

33 ḍuusinin yaare ine niicin ṭey senumo ke

ḍuus -in -in yaare in -e n- yeec -in sen -umo ke

come.out PTCP PTCP down 3SG.[+h] GEN PTCP see PTCP say 3FSG COMP

, " mii baaḍil amaale ẓap akočo un menan

mi -i baaḍil amaal -e ẓap a- go- *č -o un men -an

1PL GEN Bâdil Jamâl GEN spare NEG 2SG 3FSG 2SG who SG.INDF

| baa | ke | but | maṭan | ni | , | ḍaruwe | gane | ḍukoowaa | | | ke |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ba | ke | but | maṭan | ni | | ḍaru | -e | gane | ḍ- | ukoo- -waa | ke |
| be.PRES.1SG [+h] | COMP | much | distance | go | | hunting | GEN | for | d | 2M.CAUS 2SG | COMP |

| " esumo | | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|
| e- | *s | -umo | |
| 3[-h, II] | say | 3FSG | |

Having coming out and seeing him, she said, "Our Bâdil Jamâl will not spare you. Whoever you are, go far away, if you have come to hunt."

| 34 senasar | | | ine | | senimi | | ke | , | " e | ḍaruwe | | gane |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sen | -as | -ar | in | -e | sen | -imi | ke | | e | ḍaru | -e | gane |
| say | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | say | 3MSG | COMP | | 1SG | hunting | GEN | for |

| aṭaaya | | baa | | , | aa | maqsaḍan | | cum | kolar | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | ḍaaya | ba | | | aa | maqsaḍ | -an | cum | kol | -ar | |
| 1SG | come.1SG | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | | 1GEN | purpose | SG.INDF | from | here | DAT | |

| ḍaayabaa | | | | | " senimi | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ḍ- | aa- | -ya | ba | | sen | -imi | |
| d | 1SG.CAUS | 1SG | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | say | 3MSG | |

He said, "I have not come to hunt, I have another purpose," he said.

| 35 senasar | | | ine | | esumo | | | ke | , | " be | ni | " ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sen | -as | -ar | in | -e | e- | *s | -umo | ke | | be | ni | |
| say | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | 3[-h, II] | say | 3FSG | COMP | | no | go | |

She told him, "No, go away."

| 36 ine | | | senimi | | ke | , | " ulo | maa | amin | maa | zizimo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | -e | sen | -imi | ke | | | ulo | maa | amin | maa | zizi | -mo |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | say | | COMP | | | in | 2PL.GEN | who | 2PL.GEN | | princess |

| muyik | | besan | bila | | | " senasar | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mu- | *yik | besan | bila | | | sen | -as | -ar |
| 3FSG | name | what | be.PRES.3SG[-h,II] | | | say | INF | DAT |

He said, "What is the name of your princess inside?"

| 37 " mii | | in | | muce | | baaḍil | amaal | bila | | ," senumo | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mi | -i | in | | mu- | -ce | baaḍil | amaal | bila | | sen | -umo | |
| 1PL | GEN | 3SG.[+h] | 3FSG | | COM | Bâdil | Jamâl | be.PRES.3SG[-h, II] | | say | 3FSG | |

"Our (princess's) name is Bâdil Jamâl," she said.

38 senasar , " aa eyik gakase peybuluk bila , e muqarar
sen -as -ar aa e- *yik gakase bila e muqarar
1GEN 1SG name Gakase be.PRES.3SG[-h, II] 1SG forever

akole huruša ba ", senimi ]
a- kole huruš -a ba sen -imi
NEG here stay.IPFV 1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h]

He said, "My name is Gakase Peibuluk, (and) I will stay here."

39 ulo numoonin ine kaniize mosumo ke , " baadil
ulo numoon -in in -e kaniiz -e mo- *s -umo ke baadil
in go.3F.PTCP PTCP 3SG.[+h] GEN maid GEN 3F say 3FSG COMP Bâdil

amaal hole akil but ḍalṭas hasiin uwaanan bay , mi
amaal hole akilne but ḍalṭas hasiin uwaan -an bay mi
Jamâl outside such much beautiful handsome young SG.INDF be.PRES.3MSG 1PL

yatane ḍuusas či yaare nuuro "]
yat -an -e ḍuus -as či yaar -e nu- huru
above SG.INDF GEN come.out INF ladder down GEN PTCP stay

The maidservant went inside and said, "Bâdil Jamâl! There is a beautiful young man sitting under our ladder."

40 amis guse imekuse hune či eča baan
amis guse i- mekus -e hun -e či e- baan
which this[-h, I] 3MSG cleat GEN wooden GEN ladder 3[-h, II] be.PRES.PL[+h]

ke , čare či be čare ċatulo bam ,
ke čar -e či be čar -e ċat ulo bam
COMP mountain GEN mountain no mountain GEN mountain.crack in be.PAST.3SG[+h]

čie yoonḍal bim ]
či -e i- yoonḍal bim
mountain GEN 3MSG above be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

(I.e.) the wooden ladder that we make which has rungs, not "č are č i " (i.e. mountain steps), but "č are ċat" (mountain crack). And that wooden ladder was above him.

41 ise hune či bim ]
ise hun -e či bim
that.[-h, I] wooden GEN ladder be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

It was a wooden ladder.

42 ine baaḏil amaalmo iṭe ṭenuar ničar , ise

   in -e baaḏil amaal -mo iṭe ṭenu -ar ni *č -ar ise

   3SG.[+h] GEN Bâdil Jamâl F.GEN that[-h, I] palace DAT go IPFV DAT that.[-h, I]

yaare bam ]

yaar -e bam

down GEN be.PAST.3SG[+h]

He was under that ladder which was set there for access to Bâdil Jamâl's palace.

43 ise alṭacan imekušuatar ḏuusin ]

   ise alṭac -an i- mekus -šu -at -ar ḏuus -in

   that.[-h, I] two SG.INDF 3MSG cleat PL on DAT come.out PTCP

He climbed two steps of the ladder.

44 ice ayšo uwan iceer han imekus

   ice uwan ice -er han i- mekus

   those[-h, I] like those[-h, I] DAT one.[-h, I] 3MSG cleat

sey baan ]

sey baan

say.IPFV be.PRES.PL[+h]

The stick-like thing is called an "imekus" ('rung').

45 iṭum ise ial ke , kiṭum ise ial hahance

   iṭ -um ise ial ke kiṭ -um ise ial han han -ce

   here from that.[-h, I] rail COMP there from that.[-h, I] rail one.[-h, I] one COM

duwakno či sey bam ]

duwak -no či sey bam

hit PTCP ladder say.IPFV be.PAST.3SG[+h]

You put this rail together with that one and that's called a ladder.

46 ice alṭa imekušuatar ḏuusimi ]

   ice alṭa i- mekus -šu -at -ar ḏuus -imi

   those[-h, I] two [-h,I] 3MSG cleat PL on DAT come.out 3MSG

He stepped onto the two rungs.

47 ḍuusase  kaa ke ulum ine  mur

ḍuus -as -e  kaa ke ulu -um in -e mu- -r

come.out INF GEN with COMP in PTCP 3SG.[+h] GEN 3FSG DAT

mosumo  ke , " in menan hurutay ke mii

mo- *s -umo ke in men -an hurut -ay ke mi -i

3F say 3FSG COMP 3SG.[+h] who SG.INDF sit 3MSG COMP 1PL GEN

hince ooro , amete ca akočam ,

hin -ce o- huru a- *me -te ca a- go- *č -am

door COM NEG sit 1SG teeth on chew NEG 2SG 1SG

eyliŋate hu akočam , waapis mane , eso ni

e- *yl -iŋ -ate hu a- go- *č -am waapis -e e- *s -o ni

3[-h, II] lip PL on touch NEG 2SG 1SG return 3[-h, II] say 2SG go

," nuse kaniiz par moṭumo ]

nu- kaniiz par mo- *ṭ -umo

PTCP maid back 3F 3FSG

(Bâdil Jamâl) told (Kanîz) inside, "Whoever is sitting there at our door, I'll chew him up with my teeth, I won't touch him with [my] lips. Go and tell him to leave." She sent Kanîz back with this message.

48 par moṭase kaa in numoon senasar ]

par mo- ṭ -as -e kaa in numoon sen -as -ar

back 3F INF ERG with 3SG.[+h] go.3F.PTCP

Having sent her back, and having gone, she said to him:

49 " e akolum niyasane gane aṭaayabaa ,

e akole -um ni- -as -an -e gane a- ṭaaya ba

1SG here PTCP go INF SG.INDF GEN for 1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h]

e akole hurušar , aa zinḍagi eerčar ḍaaya

e akole -e huruš -ar aa zinḍagi ee- r č -ar ḍaaya

1SG here ERG stay.IPFV DAT 1GEN life 3SG.CAUS send IPFV DAT come.1SG

baa ," senasar ]

ba sen -as -ar

be.PRES.1SG [+h]

"I did not come here to just leave. I came here to stay. I have come here to spend the rest of my life," he said.

**50**

| ine | | ulo | numoon | senumo | ke | , " | maa | hin | ce | aa | zinḍagi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | -e | ulo | numoon | | -umo | ke | maa | hin | ce | aa | zinḍagi |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | in | go.3F.PTCP | | COMP | | 2PL.GEN | door | PTCP | 1GEN | life |

| eerča | | | | baa | | , e | ničar | | aṭaaya |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ee- | r | č | a | ba | | e | ni | -ar | a- | ḍaaya |
| 3SG.CAUS | send | | IPFV | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | 1SG | go | DAT | 1SG | come.1SG |

| baa | | sey | bay | zizi | ," mosumo | | | numoon | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ba | | sey | bay | zizi | mo- | *s | -umo | ni | -umo | -on |
| be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | say.IPFV | be.PRES.3MSG | mother | 3F | | say | 3FSG | go | 3FSG | PTCP |

She went inside and told her, "He says that he will stay by your door here for the rest of his life and that he's not going to leave, Mylady."

**51**

| senasar | | | ine | | ye | kuulṭo | e | aṭuušam | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sen | -as | -ar | in | -e | ye | kuulṭo | e | a- | ṭuuš | -am |
| say | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | DM | today | 1SG | 1SG | | 1SG |

She said, "Well, I'm not stepping out today.

**52**

| corḍimo | in | biher | bamate | | | | e | hole | ḍuušam | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| corḍimo | in | biher | bam | | | -ate | e | hole | ḍuuš | -am |
| in.morning | 3SG.[+h] | not.awake | be.PAST.3MSG[+h] | | | on | 1SG | outside | come.out | 1SG |

| nuse | ] |
|---|---|
| nu- | |
| PTCP | |

I will go out in the morning when he is not up," she said.

**53**

| corḍimo | gon | manasar | | | , hole | hincar | | | , muymo | mihelar | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| corḍimo | gon | man | -as | -ar | hole | hin | -c | -ar | muymo | mihel | -ar |
| in.morning | light | become | INF | DAT | outside | door | COM | DAT | her.own | palace | DAT |

| amiṭ | inmo | | ha | bilum | | ke | , makaan | bilum | | | ke |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| amiṭ | in | -mo | ha | bilum | | ke | makaan | bilum | | | ke |
| | 3SG.[+h] | F.GEN | home | be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] | | COMP | building | be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] | | | COMP |

| iṭe | mihel | sey | bam | | aa | uwe | | pariṭine | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| iṭe | mihel | sey | bam | | aa | u- | -e | pari | -ṭin | -e |
| that[-h, I] | palace | say.IPFV | be.PAST.3SG[+h] | | dear\DM | 3PL | GEN | fairy | PL | GEN |

At dawn, on the door of her palace, which was her home--that was a building they called "mihel" ('palace'), Dear, the fairies did.

54 mihele　　　　hincar　　　　　　ḍuusin　　　　oot　　manaasar　　　　　　　, aiib

　mihel　-e　hin　-c　-ar　ḍuus　-in　oot　man　-aas　-ar　aiib

　palace　GEN door　COM　DAT　come.out　PTCP looksee　become　INF　DAT　strange

nuraani　uwaanan　　　　yeecumo　　　　　]

nuraani　uwaan　-an　　-　yeec　-umo

luminous　young　SG.INDF

When she came to the door and looked outside, she saw a strangely luminous young man.

55 ineke　　　　　　muyeecimi　　　　　]

　in　-e　ke　mu-　yeec　-imi

　s/he　GEN　COMP 3FSG　see　3MSG

He saw her as well.

56 gakase　peybuluk　ke　　muyeecimi　　　　　]

　gakase　　　　　　ke　mu-　yeec　-imi

　Gakase　　　　COMP 3FSG　see　3MSG

Gakase Peibuluk also saw her.

57 baaḍil amaal ke　　yeecumo　　　　　　, piyaar karim ]

　baaḍil amaal ke　　　　yeec　-umo　piyaar karim

　Bâdil　Jamâl COMP 3MSG　see　3FSG　Piar　Karim

Bâdil Jamâl saw him too, Piar Karim.

58 niicinin　　　　　　ke　but　aašiq umanuman　　　　　]

　ni-　yeec　-inin　ke　but　aašiq u-　man　-uman

　PTCP　see　PTCP COMP much lover 3PL　become　3PL

Having seen each other, they fell in love.

59 in　　　pari bom　　　　　　, in　　paaḍša uy　　bam　　　　　]

　in　　pari bom　　　　　　in　　paaḍša u-　*iy bam

　3SG.[+h] fairy be.PAST.3FSG[+h]　3SG.[+h] king 3PL　son be.PAST.3SG[+h]

She was a fairy, he was a prince.

60 numa　　　　ke　waapas manumo　]

　nu-　man　ke　waapas man　-umo

　PTCP　become COMP return

Then she returned.

61 yatis      maṯum banḏaane      nasan      ḍiimi      ]

| yatis | maṯum | banḏa | -an | -e | nas | -an | ḍiimi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3MSG | head | black | human | SG.INDF | GEN | smell | SG.INDF | come.PAST.3SG |

There came the smell of a dark human head.

62 kin    żap    ayečam      nuse      ulo numoonin      ,

| kin | żap | ay- | e- | č | -am | nu- | sen | ulo numoon | -in |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this [+h] | spare | NEG | 3[-h, II] | do.IPFV | 1SG | PTCP | say | in go.3F.PTCP | PTCP |

kin    aki    hasiin    uwaanan      kole bay      nuse      ke    ]

| kin | akil | hasiin | uwaan | -an | kole bay | nu- | sen | ke |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this [+h] | such | handsome | young | SG.INDF | here be.PRES.3MSG | PTCP | say | COMP |

"I said I wouldn't spare him," she said and went inside. "He is such beautiful young man," she said.

63 parišaan mumanumo      ]

| parišaan | mu- | man | -umo |
|---|---|---|---|
| worried | 3FSG | become | 3FSG |

She grew worried.

64 parišaan numumanin      ḍubara moorumo      ke    , " besan

| parišaan | nu- | mu- | man | -in | ḍubara | moo- | *r | -umo | ke | besan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| worried | PTCP | 3FSG | become | PTCP | again | 3F.CAUS | send | 3FSG | COMP | what |

maqsaḏ cum ḍukoowaa      ke żu eso      niya

| maqsaḏ | cum | ḍukoowa | -a | ke | żu | e- | *s | -o | ni | -i | -a |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| purpose | from | come.2SG.CAUS.PAST | QM | COMP | come | 3[-h, II] | say | 2SG | go | GEN | 2SG |

" nuse      moorumo      ]

| nu- | moo- | *r | -umo |
|---|---|---|---|
| PTCP | 3F.CAUS | send | 3FSG |

She sent her maidservant again. "Ask him the purpose of his visit, then tell him to come with you," she instructed.

65 ine      mumulṯuranar      gupas ḍelumo    , insaane      nas

| in | -e | mu- | mulṯur | -an | -ar | gupas | ḍel | -umo | insaan | -e | nas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | 3FSG | nostrils | SG.INDF | DAT | cotton | put | 3FSG | human | GEN | smell |

aṯaya      nuse      ]

| a- | ḍay | -i | -a | nu- |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | come | OPT | 1SG | PTCP |

She put cotton in her nostrils so she would not have to bear the human's smell.

66 mumulṭuranar gupas ḍelumo , ulo icumo ]

mu- mulṭur -an -ar gupas ḍel -umo ulo i- cu -umo

3FSG nostrils SG.INDF DAT cotton put 3FSG in 3MSG take 3FSG

She put the cotton in her nostrils and brought him inside.

67 icuyasar in niinin numuycin

i- cu -yas -ar in ni- -in -in nu- mu- yc -i -n

3MSG take INF DAT 3SG.[+h] go PTCP PTCP PTCP 3FSG see 3SG PTCP

xoš nimanin senimi ke , " maa hince aa zinḍagi

xoš ni- man -in sen -imi ke maa hin -ce aa zinḍagi

happy PTCP become PTCP COMP 2PL.GEN door COM 1GEN life

eerčar ḍaaya baa , baaḍil amaal ]

ee- r č -ar ḍaaya ba baaḍil amaal

3SG.CAUS send IPFV DAT come.1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h] Bâdil Jamâl

When she brought him in, he caught sight of her and felt elated, saying, "I have come to spend the rest of my life at your door, Bâdil Jamâl.

68 aa auwe ṭalo eċukoon baan , aa

aa a- *u -e ṭalo e- *ċo -koon baan aa

1GEN 1SG father GEN seven[+h] 3[-h, II] sibling PL be.PRES.PL[+h] 1GEN

au paaḍša bay , alṭolum paaḍiša bay , aa au ,

a- *u paaḍša bay alṭolum paaḍiša bay aa a- *u

1SG father king be.PRES.3MSG second king be.PRES.3MSG 1GEN 1SG father

paaḍšaahaanṭinatum alṭolum paaḍšaa bay " ]

paaḍšaa haanṭin- -at -um alṭolum paaḍšaa bay

king PL on PTCP second king be.PRES.3MSG

"My father has seven sons. My father is a king, the second-ranking king.

69 " ine żamemuc ċapno , aa żame akolar , nikah

in -e żame -muc ċap -no aa żame a- kol -ar nikah

3SG.[+h] GEN bow PL shoot PTCP 1GEN bow 1SG here DAT marriage

żame čare ċatar ċap imanibim ,

żame čar -e ċat -ar ċap i- man -i bim

bow mountain GEN mountain.crack DAT shoot 3MSG 3SG be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

ṭeylate e żame iciyate ḍaanin baa ]

ṭeylate e żame i- ciyate ḍaan -in ba

thats.why 1SG bow 3MSG after 1SG.come PTCP be.PRES.1SG [+h]

"He bade us shoot arrows, and mine flew here... My marriage-arrow was shot to the crack of this mountain. I came here following my arrow.

70 " aa  amayca  bayam  kole , aa  mayeenam

aa  a- ma- yc -a  bayam  kole aa  ma- yeen -am

1GEN  NEG  2PL  see  1SG  be.PAST.1MSG[+h]  here  1GEN  2PL  know  1SG

apim  , aar  lel  apim  , aa  żame

a-  pim  aa  -ar  lel  a-  pim  aa  żame

NEG  be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]  1SG.GEN  DAT  know  NEG  be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]  1GEN  bow

ḍacibi  " ]

ḍ-  -a  *c  -i  bi

d  1SG  bring  3SG  be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]

"I did not know you were here, I did not know you, I did not know. My bow led me here."

71 iriinum  iṭe  ṭarmuk  moolṭirimi  ]

i-  *riin  -um  iṭe  ṭarmuk  moo- lṭir -imi

3MSG  hand  PTCP  that[-h, I]  bow  3F.CAUS  show  3MSG

He showed the bow in his hand.

72 ṭarmukate  ċap  eṭam  nuse  moorṭirasar  ine

ṭarmuk  -ate ċap eṭ  -am nu-  moo- lṭir -as -ar in  -e

bow  on shoot do.PAST  1SG  PTCP 3F  show  INF  DAT 3SG.[+h]  GEN

senumo  ke  ]

sen  -umo ke

say  3FSG COMP

"I shot it with (this) bow," he told her, and she replied:

73 " e  pariṭine  oy  baa  , aa  eyik  baaḍil amaal

e  pari -ṭin -e  o- *y  ba  aa  e-  *yik baaḍil amaal

1SG  fairy  PL  GEN 3PL  daugther  be.PRES.1SG [+h]  1GEN 1SG  name  Bâdil Jamâl

bila  , aa  kaa  un  żap  akumayma  paaḍša uiy  ,

bila  aa  kaa  un  żap  a-  ku-  may  -ma paaḍša u-  *iy

be.PRES.3SG[-h,II]  1GEN  with  2SG  spare  NEG  2SG  be.FUT  2SG king  3PL  son

| guymo | iṭe | hasiine | | kaa | ḍalṭaskue | | | kaa | waapis | mane | , | gakase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| guymo | iṭe | hasiin | -e | kaa | ḍalṭas | -ku | -e | kaa | waapis | -e | | gakase |
| 2SG.own | that[-h, I] | handsome | GEN | with | beautiful | NOM | GEN | with | return | | | Gakase |

| peybuluk | , | aa | hince | | ooro | | " senasar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | aa | hin | -ce | o- | huru | sen -as -ar |
| | | 1GEN | door | COM | NEG | sit | |

"I am a daughter of fairies, my name is Bâdil Jamâl. I cannot spare you, prince, you take your beauty away from here, Gakase Peibuluk, you can't stay at my door."

| 74 ine | | senimi | ke | , " akolum | une | | nasqan | | xa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | -e | -imi | ke | akole -um | un- | -e | n- a- sqan | | xa |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | | COMP | here PTCP | 2SG | GEN | PTCP 1SG kill | | down |

| awaščaa | | | ke | guymo | ray | , | maziiḍ | e | waapis |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | waš | -čaa | ke | guymo | ray | | maziiḍ | e | waapis |
| 1SG | insert | do.PRES.PROG.2SG | COMP | 2SG.own | wish | | more | 1SG | return |

| oomayabaa | | | | , | ḍaa | un | cum | baeer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o- | may | -a | ba | | ḍaa | un | cum | baeer |
| NEG | be.FUT | QM | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | and | 2SG | from | without |

| asqaybaa | | | kuli | une | | ray | , | aa | nikah | żame |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | sqay | ba | kuli | un- | -e | ray | | aa | nikah | żame |
| 1SG | kill.IPFV | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | even | 2SG | GEN | wish | | 1GEN | marriage | bow |

| akolar | | ċap | manila | | | " senimi | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | kol | -ar | ċap | man | -ila | sen -imi | |
| 1SG | here | DAT | shoot | become | | PRES.3SG[-h, II] say | 3MSG |

He said, "You may kill me, you can throw me down from here if you wish; I am not returning without you. You can kill me if you wish, my marriage- arrow landed here."

| 75 senasar | | | in | parišaan | numuma | | , " un | żap |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sen | -as | -ar | in | parišaan | nu- mu- man | | un | żap |
| say | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | worried | PTCP 3FSG become | | 2SG | spare |

| akočuman | | | | , | aa | awe | | ke | żap | akoči | | | , |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | ko- | *č | -uman | aa | a- | *u | -e | ke | żap | a- | ko- | *č | -i |
| NEG | 2SG | | 3PL | 1GEN | 1SG | father | GEN | COMP | spare | NEG | 2SG | | 3SG |

| na | aa | xaanaḍaane | | żap | gočuman | | be | " senasar | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | aa | xaanaḍaan | -e | żap | go | *č | -uman | be | sen -as -ar |
| and | 1GEN | family | ERG | spare | 2SG | | 3PL | no | |

She grew worried, saying, "(My family) will not spare you. My father will not spare you, nor will my family."

76 bilkul aa nikah żame kolar ċap manila nuse in laŋ

bilkul aa nikah żame kol -ar ċap -ila nu- in laŋ

absolutely 1GEN marriage bow here DAT shoot PTCP 3SG.[+h] move

oomanasar ]

o- man -as -ar

NEG INF DAT

"This is where my marriage-arrow fell," he said, and did not move.

77 ine numoon , in muucum ḍuarus , ḍumoon

in -e ni- mo- -on in mu- *u -cum ḍuarus ḍumoo -n

3SG.[+h] GEN go 3F PTCP 3SG.[+h] 3FSG father from ask come.3F PTCP

ine kaa nikah ne gakase peybuluk kaa ]

in -e kaa nikah ne gakase peybuluk kaa

3SG.[+h] GEN with marriage PTCP Gakase with

She went and asked her father's permission. When she returned she married Gakase Peibuluk.

78 yaare yuu imi šuṭin paresin umanuman ]

yaare y- *u i- *mi šuṭin paresin u- man -uman

down 3MSG father 3MSG mother dejected miserable 3PL become 3PL

His parents were dejected and miserable down there.

79 but oyarum uy bam , ot uy bam

but o- *yar -um u- *iy bam ot u- *iy bam

much 3PL dear PTCP 3PL son be.PAST.3SG[+h] small 3PL son be.PAST.3SG[+h]

gakase peybuluk ]

gakase

Gakase

He was their most beloved son, and their youngest, Gakase Peibuluk.

80 ot uy bam šuṭin paresin numanin , šiice

ot u- *iy bam šuṭin paresin nu- man -in šii -ce

small 3PL son be.PAST.3SG[+h] dejected miserable PTCP PTCP hearth COM

ḍuwasuman ]

ḍ- u- *was -uman

ḍ 3PL left.behind 3PL

His absence made them miserable

81 ine          beeruman  saaliŋ      nimi        ]

   in      -e  beeruman  saal  -iŋ  ni  -imi

   3SG.[+h]  GEN  how.many  year  PL  go  3MSG

Many years passed.

82 inar              aqanimi              ke  berum      ta      ḓeniŋ

   in      -ar  a-   *qan  -imi  ke  berum  ṭa    ḓen  -iŋ

   3SG.[+h]  DAT  NEG  see  3MSG  COMP  how.many  hundred  year  PL

nibican              ,  besan  manicana          eer      lel    oomanimi          ]

ni-  bican              besan  i-  -can  -a  e  -er  lel  o-    man  -imi

go  be.PRES.3PL[-h, II]  what          do  DAT  know  NEG        3MSG

He didn't feel the passing centuries, and he had no knowledge of what happened (in the outside world).

83 yuu          ke  imi          yaare  ta      ḓeniŋ      nimi        , gakase

   y-      *u  ke  i-      *mi  yaare  ṭa    ḓen  -iŋ  ni  -imi  gakase

   3MSG  father  COMP  3MSG  mother  down  hundred  year  PL  go  3MSG  Gakase

peybuluk  eycumate              ]

          e-   yc   -um   -ate

          NEG  see  PTCP  on

It had been a hundred years since they had seen their son Gakase Peibuluk.

84 waxṭan          cum  senimi    ke      , iimo    amaaṭ  mo  kaa

   waxṭ  -an      cum  sen  -imi  ke      iimo    amaaṭ  mo  kaa

   time  SG.INDF  from          COMP    his.own  spouse  from  with

nuurutiniŋ              ine          nikah  eṭu          bom              ]

nu-   urut  -in  -iŋ  in  -e  nikah  eṭ      -u  bom

PTCP  stay  PTCP  PL  3SG.[+h]  GEN  marriage  do.PAST  3SG  be.PAST.3FSG[+h]

After some time, he said to his wife, "He's still with his spouse, the one who married him."

85 ine          muucum              ḓuarusumo      aki  aki  hasiinan

   in      -e  mu-   *u    -cum  ḓuarus  -umo  akil  akil  hasiin      -an

   3SG.[+h]  GEN  3FSG  father  from  ask          3FSG  such  such  handsome  SG.INDF

bay          nuse      noolṭirin              nikah  ne  ]

bay          nu-   n-  o-   lṭir  -in  nikah  ne

be.PRES.3MSG      PTCP  PTCP  3PL  show  PTCP  marriage  PTCP

She asked her parents, saying "he's such a handsome man!" She showed him to them and married him.

86 ḍubaara esumo ke , " une aa mama but pikarulo
ḍubaara e- *s -umo ke un- -e aa mama but
again 3[-h, II] say 3FSG COMP 2SG GEN father mother much

baan , e elar soki ayaamaya
baan e el -ar sok -i ay- aa- may -a
be.PRES.PL[+h] 1SG there DAT come.down OPT NEG 1SG.CAUS 1SG

baa un uwe kaa mulaaqaaṭ neṭan , paaḍša ke
ba un u- -we kaa mulaaqaaṭ n- eṭ -an paaḍša ke
be.PRES.1SG [+h] 2SG 3PL GEN with meet PTCP do.PAST SG.INDF king COMP

raani mo kaa mulaaqaaṭ neṭan żu , aa ayakal cum
raani mo kaa mulaaqaaṭ n- eṭ -an żu aa a- yakal cum
queen 3F with meet PTCP do.PAST SG.INDF come 1GEN 1SG side from

goor iaazaṭ " esumo ]
goo- -ar iaazaṭ e- *s -umo
2SG DAT permission 3[-h, II] say 3FSG

She asked him again, "Your parent are really worried about you, (but) We cannot leave. You go meet the King and the Queen and come back. You have Our permission," she said.

87 senas ke , " un cum baeyra aa axakin aalṭiri
-as ke un cum baeyra aa a- *xakin aa- lṭir -i
COMP 2SG from without 1GEN 1SG daughter in law 1SG.CAUS show 3SG

nuse , aa aa mama heruman ke , aale mumkin
nu- sen aa aa mama her -uman ke a -ale mumkin
PTCP say 1GEN father mother cry 3PL COMP 1.OBL LOC possible

api , hikulṭuwe gane niča baana ,
a- pi hikulṭu -we gane ni *č -a baan -a
NEG be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] one.day GEN for go IPFV 1PL be.PRES.PL[+h] QM

alṭule gane niča baana , hisa gane niča
alṭul -e gane ni *č -a baan -a hisa gane ni *č -a
two.days GEN for go 1PL be.PRES.PL[+h] QM month for go 1PL

baana , e ke un gati niča baan , aa
baan -a e ke un gati ni *č -a baan aa
be.PRES.PL[+h] QM 1SG COMP 2SG together go IPFV 1PL be.PRES.PL[+h] father

niicinin , aake mihel bila , aa au paaḍša
ni- yeec -inin aa -ke mihel bila aa a- *u paaḍša
PTCP see PTCP 1-GEN also palace be.PRES.3SG[-h, II] 1GEN 1SG father king

| bay | | , mihel | lo | hurušan | | ," senate | | " ele | ooruša |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bay | | mihel | lo | huruš | -an | sen | -ate | ele | o- *ru *š -a |
| be.PRES.3MSG | | palace | in | stay.IPFV | 1PL | say | on | there 3PL | stay do.IPFV 1PL |
| baan | | " nuse | | ] | | | | | |
| baan | | nu- | sen | | | | | | |
| be.PRES.PL[+h] | | PTCP | say | | | | | | |

He replied, "Without you, they will say, 'Show us our daughter-in-law!' They'll cry. I can't do it, it doesn't matter if it is for one day, two days, a month, we must go together. We will meet them. My father is a king and we have a palace. We will stay in the palace," he said, "we won't stay there (forever)."

| 88 ine | | baadil | amaal | ke | eka | | dumoomo | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | -e | baadil | amaal | ke | e- | ka | d- umoo- | -mo | |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | Bâdil | Jamâl | COMP | 3[-h, II] | COM | d | 3F.CAUS | |

Bâdil Jamâl went with him.

| 89 dumoonin | | yaare | žuċumana | | | ke | yuu | | ke | , |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| d- umoo- | -nin | yaare | žuċ | -uman | -a | ke | y- | *u | ke | |
| d 3F.CAUS | nin | down | come.IPFV | 3PL | QM | COMP | 3MSG | father | COMP | |
| imi | | šutin | paresin | umanam | | ] | | | | |
| i- | *mi | šutin | paresin | u- | man | -am | | | | |
| 3MSG | mother | dejected | miserable | 3PL | | 3PL | | | | |

When they arrived they found his father and mother dejected and miserable.

| 90 baadil | amaal | mo | muriinum | | | burum | laqpis | bilum | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| baadil | amaal | mo | mu- | *riin | -um | burum | laqpis | bilum | | |
| Bâdil | Jamâl | from | 3FSG | hand | PTCP | white | handkerchief | be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] | | |

Bâdil Jamâl had a white handkerchief in her hand.

| 91 imi | | mo | muskil | | aaap | mootasar | | | | muymo | amit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i- | *mi | mo | mu- | *skil | aaap | moo- | t | -as | -ar | muymo | amit |
| 3MSG | mother | from | 3FSG | face | wipe | 3F.CAUS | INF | | DAT | her.own | |
| umurate | | žame | ċap | ine | | | gakase | peybuluke | etam | | ke |
| umur | -ate | žame | ċap | in | | -e | gakase | peybuluk | -e et | -am | ke |
| age | on | bow | shoot | 3SG.[+h] | | GEN | Gakase | | do.PAST | 3MSG | COMP |
| ite | | umuratar | | imi | | nimo | ] | | | | |
| ite | | umur | -at | -ar | i- | *mi | ni | -mo | | | |
| that[-h, I] | age | | on | DAT | 3MSG | mother | go | | | | |

She wiped his mother's face, she was restored to her age--the age she had been when their son left them.

92 inalum burum laqpisate yuu paaḍišaa iskil aaap

in -al -um burum laqpis -ate y- *u paaḍišaa i- *skil aaap

s/he LOC PTCP white handkerchief on 3MSG father king 3MSG face wipe

eeṯasar ine amiṯ umur bilum ke iṯe

ee- ṯ -as -ar in -e amiṯ umur bilum ke iṯe

3SG.CAUS do INF DAT 3SG.[+h] GEN age be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] COMP that[-h, I]

umur ine ḍiimi ]

umur in -e ḍiimi

age 3SG.[+h] ERG come.PAST.3SG

She wiped his father's face with her white handkerchief, he (too) was restored to his (proper) age.

93 ḍiin ṯele uy bukar niwaši ]

ḍii -n ṯele u- *iy buk -ar ni- waši

come PTCP there 3PL son throat DAT PTCP put

They embraced their son.

94 u uy uwaayu umanas eṯe xuši ]

u- u- -y uwaan -yu u- man -as eṯ -e xuši

3PL 3PL GEN young PL 3PL become INF that.[-h, II] GEN happiness

They were so happy to be young again.

95 ixakin pari ḍumucas eṯe xuši ]

i- *xakin pari ḍ- -u mu- *c -as eṯ -e xuši

3MSG daughter in law fairy ḍ 3SG 3FSG bring INF that.[-h, II] 3SG happiness

Having brought them a fairy daughter-in-law, they were so happy.

96 uy niicinin uwe but xuši eṯuman ]

u- *iy ni- yeec -inin u- -we but xuši eṯ -uman

3PL son PTCP see PTCP 3PL GEN much happiness do.PAST 3PL

They celeberated greatly to see their son again.

97 ḍaa e šečume miime ḍaayam piyaar kariim ]

ḍaa e šeč -um -e mii -m -e ḍaayam piyaar kariim

and 1SG eat.IPFV PTCP 3SG drink.IPFV PTCP 3SG come.1SG Piar Karim

I came back drinking and eating, Piar Karim.

# hb]Baaddil Jamaal

## Story_Bâdil Jamâl

### Laila Khan

It is a story about a fairy whose name was Baadil Jamaal.

1 Speaker Piar Karim ] but šukurya goor ]

| but | šukurya | goor | |
|-----|---------|------|----|
| | | go- | -ar |
| many | thanks | 2SG | DAT |

Many thanks to you.

2 ḍaa ḍalṭas minasan aar eṭase gane ]

| ḍaa | ḍalṭas | minas | -an | aa | -ar | eṭ | -as | -e | gane |
|------|--------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| again | beautiful | story | SG.INDF | 1SG.GEN | DAT | do | INF | GEN | for |

Again for telling me a beautiful story.

3 Speaker Laila Khan ] ye minašiŋ ke kaafi eṭa baa piyaar

| ye | minas | -iŋ | ke | kaafi | eṭ | -a | ba | piyaar |
|-----|-------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| DM | story | PL | COMP | enough | do.PAST | 1SG | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | Piar |

kariim ]

kariim

Karim

--I have narrated many stories, Piar Karim.

4 ḍaa besan ḍuwaasila ke goor ečam muu

| ḍaa | besan | ḍ- | -u | *waas | -ila | ke | go- | -ar | e- | *č | -am | muu |
|------|-------|-----|-----|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| and | what | ḍ | 3PL | remain | PRES.3SG[-h, II] | COMP | 2SG | DAT | 3[-h, II] | | 1SG | now |

]

And, if there still remain some stories, now I will tell you.

5 Speaker L ] xuḍaaye umur gučiş piyaar kariim ]

| xuḍaa | -ye | umur | gu- | *či | -ş | piyaar | kariim |
|--------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|--------|--------|
| God | ERG | age | 2SG | give | OPT | Piar | Karim |

May God give you long life, Piar Karim.

6 une amiṭ ḍurowan azbaa kaa ečaa ke

un- -e amiṭ ḍuro -an azbaa kaa e- -čaa ke

2SG ERG work SG.INDF passion with 3[-h, II] do.PRES.PROG.2SG COMP

xuḍaaye ḍaa kaamyaab goṭiṣ ]

xuḍaa -e ḍaa kaamyaab go- *ṭ -iṣ

God ERG and succeed 2SG OPT

May God grant you more success in the work which you are doing passionately.

7 Speaker P ] aamiin ]

aamiin

Amen

--Amen.

8 Speaker L ] aale ele kole bilum iṭe minas goor

aa -ale ele kole bilum iṭe minas go- -ar

1-GEN LOC there here be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] that[-h, I] story 2SG DAT

ečam ]

e- *č -am

3[-h, II] 1SG

--The story which is with me from here and there, I will tell you.

9 Speaker P ] but šukurya goor ]

but šukurya go- -ar

much thanks 2SG DAT

--Many thanks to you.

10 Speaker L ] hin paaḍšaan bam ]

hin paaḍša -an bam

one.[+h] king SG.INDF be.PAST.3SG[+h]

--Once there was a king.

11 ine ke ṭalo yuwa bam ]

in -e ke ṭalo yuwa bam

3SG.[+h] GEN COMP seven[+h] his.sons be.PAST.3SG[+h]

He also [referring to the previous recorded story] had seven sons.

12 Speaker P ] sahi ]

sahi

right

--True.

13 Speaker  L  ]  ṭalo        yuwa      bam                    ]

                    ṭalo        yuwa      bam

                    seven[+h]  his.sons  be.PAST.3SG[+h]

--He had seven boys.

14 uyoŋko        noṭanin                                    ,  garkuyanc          umanuman

  uyum   -ko  n-     o-     ṭ            -an  -in   garkuy      -anc  u-   man      -uman

  big    PL   PTCP   3PL    SG.INDF          PTCP  marriagable  PL    3PL  become   3PL

yuwa     ]

yuwa

his.sons

Having raised them, his sons became marriageable.

15 garkuyanc          numanin                      yuwa     ḍamši  ooṭimi

  garkuy          -anc  n-    u-    man  -in   yuwa     ḍamši  oo-            *ṭ   -imi

  marriagable  PL   PTCP   3PL           PTCP  his.sons  choose  3PL.CAUS        3MSG

ke      ,  " amiṭ amiṭ haatum           maa        ḍamši  ečaan

ke          amiṭ amiṭ haa    -ate  -um  maa        ḍamši  e-      *čaan

COMP                  home     on   PTCP  2PL.ERG   choose  3[-h, II]  do.PRES.PROG.2PL.Q

ke      ayuwa             mamar         gariŋ         ečam                ", senimi     ]

ke      a-    *yu  -wa mam       -ar   gar      -iŋ  e-      *č   -am    sen   -imi

COMP    1SG   son   PL  2PL.OBL   DAT  marriage  PL  3[-h, II]        1SG

The king made them choose and asked them to make a choice: "Whatever house you choose, I will make arrangements for your marriages," he said.

16 ot     ine           iice           gakase  peybuluk  bilum                ]

  ot     in    -e  ii-   -ci  gakase                bilum

  small  3SG.[+h]  GEN  3SG   COM  Gakase                be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]

His youngest son's name was Gakase Peibuluk.

17 gakase  peybuluk bilum                 ine           iik             , gakase  peybuluk

  gakase           bilum                 in    -e  ii-   *ik   gakase

  Gakase           be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]  3SG.[+h]  GEN  3SG   name  Gakase

bilum               ]

bilum

be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]

Gakase Peibuluk was his name, Gakase Peibuluk it was.

18 inee esimi ke , ḍuusin waziirišo ,

in -e e- *s -imi ke ḍuus -in waziir -išo
3SG.[+h] ERG 3[-h, II] say 3MSG COMP come.out PTCP minister PL

ine kaatum żaŋguyuwe kaa ḍuusimi ]

in -e kaat -um żaŋguy -uwe kaa ḍuus -imi
3SG.[+h] GEN with PTCP minister PL with come.out 3MSG

He said--Having come out--He came out with his ministers.

19 ḍuusin ine paaḍšaa yuwa ici

ḍuus -in in -e paaḍšaa yuwa i -ci
come.out PTCP 3SG.[+h] GEN king his.sons 3SG COM

olṭačume nuun , amulo haa same xaa

o- lṭač -um -e ni uu -n amulo haa sam -e xaa
3PL follow.IPFV PTCP GEN go 3PL PTCP where home light.hole GEN upto

uriinum żame ċap eṭimi ke , maṭlab iseetar

u- *riin -um żame ċap e- ṭ -imi ke maṭlab ise -et -ar
3PL hand PTCP bow shoot 3[-h, II] 3MSG COMP meaning that.[-h, I] on DAT

amis żame ċap eṭum ise pawu amiṭ haatar nimi

amis żame ċap e- *ṭ -um ise pawu amiṭ ha -at -ar ni -imi
which bow shoot 3[-h, II] PTCP that.[-h, I] arrow home on DAT go 3MSG

ke , iṭe haalar ničam ]

ke iṭe ha -al -ar ni *č -am
COMP that[-h, I] home LOC DAT go 1SG

The king followed his sons. He said he would go (to propose marriage) to whatever house had its chimney hit by the arrow from his son's bow.

20 čupne ḍasinan musalgiyar uyoon uwan

čup -ne ḍasin -an mu- salgi -ar u- yoon uwan
silent PTCP girl SG.INDF 3FSG propose DAT 3PL all like

niyasan , yaa ṭele kole ḍasinan bo nuse

ni -yas -an yaa ṭele kole ḍasin -an bo nu- sen
go INF SG.INDF or there here girl SG.INDF be.PRES.3FSG[+h] PTCP say

hincar niyasan apim ]

hin -c -ar ni -yas -an a- pim
door COM DAT go INF SG.INDF NEG be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

It was not like everyone went silently hither and thither wherever there was a girl.

21 uwe yuwa ḍamši nooṭan , " amulo maa żame
u- -we yuwa ḍamši n- oo- *ṭ -a -n amulo maa żame
3PL GEN his.sons choose PTCP 3PL.CAUS 1SG PTCP where 2PL.ERG bow

ċap ečaan ke , aa kine waziir , aa
ċap e- *čaan ke aa kin -e waziir aa
shoot 3[-h, II] do.PRES.PROG.2PL.Q COMP 1GEN this [+h] GEN minister 1GEN

kuwe ayaarum ašḍayo , ḍaa oorčam ",
kuw -e a- yaar -um ašḍan -yo ḍaa oo- r *č -am
these GEN 1SG down PTCP minister PL and 3PL.CAUS send 1SG

nusenin , eekaa nuyan nimi ]
nu- sen -in ee- kaa n- u- ya -n ni -imi
PTCP PTCP 3MSG with PTCP 3PL take PTCP go 3MSG

Having given his sons the choice, the king told them, "Wherever you fire an arrow I will send these ministers of mine." He went along with them.

22 şaḍarišo sey bam , nuya niin ke circe
şaḍar -išo sey bam nu- yan ni -i -n ke circe
minister PL say.IPFV be.PAST.3PL[+h] PTCP take go 3SG PTCP COMP one.by.one

żame ċap ečume ]
żame ċap e- *čume
bow shoot 3[-h, II] do.IPFV.PROG

The ministers were called "shadars." Taking them along, they fired their arrows.

23 żame ċap ečume , be waazire haale , be
żame ċap e- *čume be vaziir -e haa -le be
bow shoot 3[-h, II] do.IPFV.PROG sometimes minister GEN home LOC sometimes

paaḍšaane haale , samatar żame ċap manum ċanc
paaḍša -an -e haa -le sam -at -ar żame ċap man -um ċanc
king SG.INDF GEN home LOC light.hole on DAT bow shoot whenever

, ye uwe eekaatum iimo ḍoostaro oorimi
ye u- -we ee- kaa -ate -um iimo ḍoost -aro oo- *r -imi
DM 3PL GEN 3MSG with on PTCP his.own friend PL 3PL.CAUS send 3MSG

ine paaḍšaa ]
in -e paaḍšaa
3SG.[+h] GEN king

Shooting the arrows, sometimes at the minister's house, sometimes at the king's house, whenever the arrow went down the chimney, the king made his friends go to that house.

24 żaŋuyo uyoŋko uyoŋko uwe sis oorimi ]

| żaŋuyn | -yo | uyum | -ko | uyum | -ko | u- | -e | sis | oo- | *r | -imi |
|--------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|------|
| minister | PL | big | PL | big | PL | 3PL | GEN | people | 3PL.CAUS | send | 3MSG |

The ministers, the high high officials, were made to go.

25 noorin ke aaxri gakase peybuluke ċap eṭasar

| n- | oo- | *r | -in | ke | aaxri | gakase | peybuluk | -e | ċap | eṭ- | -as | -ar |
|-----|------|-----|-----|------|-------|--------|----------|-----|------|------|------|------|
| PTCP | 3PL.CAUS | send | PTCP | COMP | last | Gakase | peybuluk | | shoot | do | INF | DAT |

, čare ċatanar ine ise żame ays

| čar | -e | ċat | -an | -ar | in | -e | ise | żame | |
|------|-----|------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|---|
| mountain | GEN | mountain.crack | SG.INDF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | that.[-h, I] | bow | |

nimi ]

| ni | -imi |
|----|------|
| go | 3MSG |

Having sent them, when at last Gakase Peibuluk shot the arrow, that arrow went into a mountain crack.

26 niyasar in rik manaasar , ine paaḍša senimi

| ni | -as | -ar | in | rik | man | -aas | -ar | in | -e | paaḍša | sen | -imi |
|----|-----|-----|------|-------|------|------|------|-----|-----|--------|-----|------|
| go | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | about.to | become | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | king | | |

ke , " be guse une żame alaṭ ċap imani bi ,

| ke | | be | guse | un- | -e | żame | alaṭ | ċap | i- | -i | bi |
|----|---|-----|------|------|-----|------|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| COMP | | no | this[-h, I] | 2SG | GEN | bow | wrong | shoot | 3MSG | 3SG | be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] |

elar ooni , ṭum haananatar haŋke ṭum

| el | -ar | o- | ni | ṭum | haan | -an | -at | -ar | han | -ke | ṭum |
|-------|------|-----|-----|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| there | DAT | NEG | go | other | home | SG.INDF | on | DAT | one.[-h, I] | COM | other |

mulkanar gucučam , ṭeele ċap eṭi ",

| mulk | -an | -ar | gu- | cu | -am | ṭeele | ċap | e- | *ṭ | -i |
|---------|------|------|-----|-----|------|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| country | SG.INDF | DAT | 2SG | take | 1SG | there | shoot | 3[-h, II] | | 2SG |

senasar ]

| sen | -as | -ar |
|-----|-----|-----|

Gakase Peibuluk was about to... The king said, "No, this arrow of yours wasn't shot right. Don't go there. I will take you to a different house in a different country, you can shoot there."

27 " bilkul be baba , amiṭ une haale niyaṭan ne ,
bilkul be baba amiṭ un- -e haa -ale niyaṭ -an ne
absolutely no father 2SG GEN home LOC made.mind SG.INDF PTCP

alfaazan ne , ḍausaa ke , iṭe muṭaabiq aa čare
alfaaz -an ne ḍausaa ke iṭe muṭaabiq aa čar -e
word SG.INDF PTCP COMP that[-h, I] according 1GEN mountain GEN

ċatar ni bi , e ṭeelar niyam ", senimi ]
ċat -ar ni bi e ṭeel -ar ni -yam sen -imi
mountain.crack DAT go be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] 1SG there DAT go 1SG

"No, father. Before leaving home, you gave me your word. According to that, my arrow went to the crack in the mountain, and that's where I am going."

28 bilkul be nuse , yuu ṭeerum manimi ke ,
bilkul be nu- y- *u ṭeerum man -imi ke
absolutely no PTCP 3MSG father that.many become 3MSG COMP

oomanum , ine gakase peybuluk čare
oo- man -um in -e gakase čar -e
3PL.CAUS become PTCP 3SG.[+h] GEN Gakase mountain GEN

ċatanar nimi , aa ]
ċat -an -ar ni -imi aa
mountain.crack SG.INDF DAT go 3MSG dear\DM

Refusing to listen to his father, Gakase Peibuluk went to the crack in the mountain, Dear.

29 nii niyase kaa ulo , taanum čian bim ,
ni -in ni -yas -e kaa ulo ṭaanum či -an bim
go PTCP go INF GEN with in long/high mountain SG.INDF be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

ise čare ċatulo , ise či yaare ,
ise čar -e ċat ulo ise či yaar -e
that.[-h, I] mountain GEN mountain.crack in that.[-h, I] mountain down GEN

ine hurutimi ]
in -e hurut -imi
3SG.[+h] GEN sit 3MSG

Having gone there, inside, there was a tall <ladder> at the entrance of that mountain crack. He sat under that ladder.

30 nuurutin , men ulo hole meey baan , men ulo hole
   nu- hurut -in     men ulo hole meey baan        men ulo hole
   PTCP stay PTCP    who in outside become.IPFV be.PRES.PL[+h]   who in outside

omay baan , iṭe test eṭase gane ,
o- may baan    iṭe  test  e- ṭ -as -e  gane
3PL be.PRES.PL[+h]  that[-h, I] examine 3[-h, II] do INF ERG  for

barenase gane , hurutimi ]
baren -as -e  gane  hurut -imi
watch INF GEN  for  sit 3MSG

Having sat, he kept an eye on who went in and out. He sat there to watch.

31 nuurutin bama ke , ulum hin kaniizan
   nu- hurut -in bam -a ke   ulu -um hin  kaniiz -an
   PTCP stay PTCP be.PAST.1PL[+h] QM COMP  in from one.[+h]  maid SG.INDF

ḍuusumo ]
ḍuus -umo
come.out 3FSG

When he was sitting there, a maid came out from inside.

32 baaḍil amaalmo kaa inmo nookaran bom , kaniiz ,
   baaḍil amaal -mo kaa in -mo nookar -an bom  kaniiz
   Bâdil Jamâl F.GEN with 3SG.[+h] F.GEN servant SG.INDF be.PAST.3FSG[+h]  maid

ine ḍuusumo , inmo muyik kaniiz bilum
in -e ḍuus -umo in -mo mu- *yik kaniiz bilum
3SG.[+h] GEN come.out 3FSG 3SG.[+h] F.GEN 3FSG name maid be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]
]

A maid was there with Bâdil Jamâl, and she came out. Her name was Kanîz ('maid').

33 ḍuusinin yaare ine niicin tey senumo ke
   ḍuus -in -in yaare in -e n- yeec -in sen -umo ke
   come.out PTCP PTCP down 3SG.[+h] GEN PTCP see PTCP say 3FSG COMP

, " mii baaḍil amaale żap akočo un menan
mi -i baaḍil amaal -e żap a- go- *č -o un men -an
1PL GEN Bâdil Jamâl GEN spare NEG 2SG 3FSG 2SG who SG.INDF

| baa | ke | but | maṭan | ni | , | ḍaruwe | gane | ḍukoowaa | | | ke |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ba | ke | but | maṭan | ni | | ḍaru | -e | gane | ḍ- | ukoo- -waa | ke |
| be.PRES.1SG [+h] | COMP | much | distance | go | | hunting | GEN | for | d | 2M.CAUS 2SG | COMP |

| " esumo | | ] |
|---|---|---|
| e- | *s | -umo |
| 3[-h, II] | say | 3FSG |

Having coming out and seeing him, she said, "Our Bâdil Jamâl will not spare you. Whoever you are, go far away, if you have come to hunt."

| 34 senasar | | | ine | | senimi | ke | , " e | ḍaruwe | | gane |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sen | -as | -ar | in | -e | sen -imi | ke | e | ḍaru | -e | gane |
| say | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | say 3MSG | COMP | 1SG | hunting | GEN | for |

| aṭaaya | | baa | | , aa | maqsaḍan | | cum | kolar | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | ḍaaya | ba | | aa | maqsaḍ | -an | cum | kol | -ar |
| 1SG | come.1SG | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | 1GEN | purpose | SG.INDF | from | here | DAT |

| ḍaayabaa | | | | " senimi | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ḍ- | aa- | -ya | ba | sen | -imi |
| d | 1SG.CAUS | 1SG | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | say | 3MSG |

He said, "I have not come to hunt, I have another purpose," he said.

| 35 senasar | | | ine | | esumo | | ke | , " be | ni " | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sen | -as | -ar | in | -e | e- | *s -umo | ke | be | ni | |
| say | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | 3[-h, II] | say 3FSG | COMP | no | go | |

She told him, "No, go away."

| 36 ine | | | senimi | ke | , " ulo | maa | amin | maa | zizimo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | -e | sen | -imi | ke | ulo | maa | amin | maa | zizi | -mo |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | | | COMP | in | 2PL.GEN | who | 2PL.GEN | | princess |

| muyik | | besan | bila | | " senasar | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mu- | *yik | besan | bila | | sen | -as -ar |
| 3FSG | name | what | be.PRES.3SG[-h,II] | | say | |

He said, "What is the name of your princess inside?"

| 37 " mii | | in | muce | | baaḍil | amaal | bila | | ," senumo | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mi | -i | in | mu- | -ce | baaḍil | amaal | bila | | sen | -umo |
| 1PL | GEN | 3SG.[+h] | 3FSG | COM | Bâdil | Jamâl | be.PRES.3SG[-h, II] | | say | 3FSG |

"Our (princess's) name is Bâdil Jamâl," she said.

38 senasar , " aa eyik gakase peybuluk bila , e muqarar

sen -as -ar aa e- *yik gakase bila e muqarar

1GEN 1SG name Gakase be.PRES.3SG[-h, II] 1SG forever

akole huruša ba ", senimi ]

a- kole huruš -a ba sen -imi

NEG here stay.IPFV 1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h]

He said, "My name is Gakase Peibuluk, (and) I will stay here."

39 ulo numoonin ine kaniize mosumo ke , " baadi̱l

ulo numoon -in in -e kaniiz -e mo- *s -umo ke baadi̱l

in go.3F.PTCP PTCP 3SG.[+h] GEN maid GEN 3F say 3FSG COMP Bâdil

amaal hole akil but da̱lṭas hasiin uwaanan bay , mi

amaal hole akilne but da̱lṭas hasiin uwaan -an bay mi

Jamâl outside such much beautiful handsome young SG.INDF be.PRES.3MSG 1PL

yatane d̠uusas či yaare nuuro "]

yat -an -e d̠uus -as či yaar -e nu- huru

above SG.INDF GEN come.out INF ladder down GEN PTCP stay

The maidservant went inside and said, "Bâdil Jamâl! There is a beautiful young man sitting under our ladder."

40 amis guse imekuse hune či eča baan

amis guse i- mekus -e hun -e či e- baan

which this[-h, I] 3MSG cleat GEN wooden GEN ladder 3[-h, II] be.PRES.PL[+h]

ke , čare či be čare ċatulo bam ,

ke čar -e či be čar -e ċat ulo bam

COMP mountain GEN mountain no mountain GEN mountain.crack in be.PAST.3SG[+h]

čie yoond̠al bim ]

či -e i- yoond̠al bim

mountain GEN 3MSG above be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

(I.e.) the wooden ladder that we make which has rungs, not "č are č i " (i.e. mountain steps), but "č are ċat" (mountain crack). And that wooden ladder was above him.

41 ise hune či bim ]

ise hun -e či bim

that.[-h, I] wooden GEN ladder be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

It was a wooden ladder.

42 ine baaḍil amaalmo iṭe ṭenuar ničar , ise

in -e baaḍil amaal -mo iṭe ṭenu -ar ni *č -ar ise

3SG.[+h] GEN Bâdil Jamâl F.GEN that[-h, I] palace DAT go IPFV DAT that.[-h, I]

yaare bam ]

yaar -e bam

down GEN be.PAST.3SG[+h]

He was under that ladder which was set there for access to Bâdil Jamâl's palace.

43 ise alṭacan imekušuatar ḍuusin ]

ise alṭac -an i- mekus -šu -at -ar ḍuus -in

that.[-h, I] two SG.INDF 3MSG cleat PL on DAT come.out PTCP

He climbed two steps of the ladder.

44 ice ayšo uwan iceer han imekus

ice uwan ice -er han i- mekus

those[-h, I] like those[-h, I] DAT one.[-h, I] 3MSG cleat

sey baan ]

sey baan

say.IPFV be.PRES.PL[+h]

The stick-like thing is called an "imekus" ('rung').

45 iṭum ise ial ke , kiṭum ise ial hahance

iṭ -um ise ial ke kiṭ -um ise ial han han -ce

here from that.[-h, I] rail COMP there from that.[-h, I] rail one.[-h, I] one COM

duwakno či sey bam ]

duwak -no či sey bam

hit PTCP ladder say.IPFV be.PAST.3SG[+h]

You put this rail together with that one and that's called a ladder.

46 ice alṭa imekušuatar ḍuusimi ]

ice alṭa i- mekus -šu -at -ar ḍuus -imi

those[-h, I] two [-h,I] 3MSG cleat PL on DAT come.out 3MSG

He stepped onto the two rungs.

47 ḍuusase                kaa   ke     ulum         ine                  mur

| ḍuus | -as | -e | kaa | ke | ulu | -um | in | -e | mu- | -r |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| come.out | INF | GEN | with | COMP | in | PTCP | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | 3FSG | DAT |

mosumo            ke     , " in       menan         hurutay       ke     mii

| mo- | *s | -umo | ke | in | men | -an | hurut | -ay | ke | mi | -i |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3F | say | 3FSG | COMP | 3SG.[+h] | who | SG.INDF | sit | 3MSG | COMP | 1PL | GEN |

hince        ooro       , amete          ca     akočam                ,

| hin | -ce | o- | huru | a- | *me | -te | ca | a- | go- | *č | -am |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| door | COM | NEG | sit | 1SG | teeth | on | chew | NEG | 2SG | | 1SG |

eyliŋate            hu     akočam           , waapis  mane , eso               ni

| e- | *yl | -iŋ | -ate | hu | a- | go- | *č | -am | waapis | -e | e- | *s | -o | ni |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3[-h, II] | lip | PL | on | touch | NEG | 2SG | | 1SG | return | | 3[-h, II] | say | 2SG | go |

," nuse        kaniiz par  motumo            ]

| nu- | | kaniiz | par | mo- | *ṭ | -umo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PTCP | | maid | back | 3F | | 3FSG |

(Bâdil Jamâl) told (Kanîz) inside, "Whoever is sitting there at our door, I'll chew him up with my teeth, I won't touch him with [my] lips. Go and tell him to leave." She sent Kanîz back with this message.

48 par  motase               kaa  in      numoon    senasar     ]

| par | mo- | ṭ | -as | -e | kaa | in | numoon | sen | -as | -ar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| back | 3F | | INF | ERG | with | 3SG.[+h] | go.3F.PTCP | | | |

Having sent her back, and having gone, she said to him:

49 " e   akolum      niyasane                   gane aṭaayabaa                  ,

| e | akole | -um | ni- | -as | -an | -e | gane | a- | ṭaaya | ba |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | here | PTCP | go | INF | SG.INDF | GEN | for | 1SG | | be.PRES.1SG [+h] |

e   akole        hurušar         , aa    zindagi eerčar               ḍaaya

| e | akole | -e | huruš | -ar | aa | zindagi | ee- | r | č | -ar | ḍaaya |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | here | ERG | stay.IPFV | DAT | 1GEN | life | 3SG.CAUS | send | IPFV | DAT | come.1SG |

baa            ," senasar       ]

| ba | | sen | -as | -ar |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | | | |

"I did not come here to just leave. I came here to stay. I have come here to spend the rest of my life," he said.

50

| ine | | ulo | numoon | senumo | ke | , | " | maa | hin | ce | aa | zinḍagi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | -e | ulo | numoon | | -umo | ke | | maa | hin | ce | aa | zinḍagi |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | in | go.3F.PTCP | | COMP | | | 2PL.GEN | door | PTCP | 1GEN | life |

| eerča | | | | baa | | , | e | ničar | | aṭaaya |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ee- | r | č | a | ba | | | e | ni | -ar | a- ḍaaya |
| 3SG.CAUS | send | | IPFV | be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | | 1SG | go | DAT | 1SG come.1SG |

| baa | | sey | bay | zizi | ," | mosumo | | | numoon | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ba | | sey | bay | zizi | | mo- | *s | -umo | ni | -umo | -on |
| be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | say.IPFV | be.PRES.3MSG | mother | | 3F | say | 3FSG | go | 3FSG | PTCP |

She went inside and told her, "He says that he will stay by your door here for the rest of his life and that he's not going to leave, Mylady."

51

| senasar | | | ine | | ye | kuulṭo | e | aṭuušam | | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sen | -as | -ar | in | -e | ye | kuulṭo | e | a- | ṭuuš | -am | |
| say | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | DM | today | 1SG | 1SG | | 1SG | |

She said, "Well, I'm not stepping out today.

52

| corḍimo | in | biher | bamate | | | | e | hole | ḍuušam | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| corḍimo | in | biher | bam | | | -ate | e | hole | ḍuuš | -am |
| in.morning | 3SG.[+h] | not.awake | be.PAST.3MSG[+h] | | | on | 1SG | outside | come.out | 1SG |

| nuse | ] |
|---|---|
| nu- | |
| PTCP | |

I will go out in the morning when he is not up," she said.

53

| corḍimo | gon | manasar | | | , | hole | hincar | | | , | muymo | mihelar | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| corḍimo | gon | man | -as | -ar | | hole | hin | -c | -ar | | muymo | mihel | -ar |
| in.morning | light | become | INF | DAT | | outside | door | COM | DAT | | her.own | palace | DAT |

| amiṭ | inmo | | ha | bilum | | | ke | , | makaan | bilum | | | ke |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| amiṭ | in | -mo | ha | bilum | | | ke | | makaan | bilum | | | ke |
| | 3SG.[+h] | F.GEN | home | be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] | | | COMP | | building | be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] | | | COMP |

| iṭe | mihel | sey | bam | | aa | uwe | | pariṭine | | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| iṭe | mihel | sey | bam | | aa | u- | -e | pari | -ṭin | -e | |
| that[-h, I] | palace | say.IPFV | be.PAST.3SG[+h] | | dear\DM | 3PL | GEN | fairy | PL | GEN | |

At dawn, on the door of her palace, which was her home--that was a building they called "mihel" ('palace'), Dear, the fairies did.

54 mihele hincar ḍuusin oot manaasar , aiib

| mihel | -e | hin | -c | -ar | ḍuus | -in | oot | man | -aas | -ar | aiib |
|-------|----|----|----|----|------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| palace | GEN | door | COM | DAT | come.out | PTCP | looksee | become | INF | DAT | strange |

nuraani uwaanan yeecumo ]

| nuraani | uwaan | -an | - | yeec | -umo |
|---------|-------|-----|---|------|------|
| luminous | young | SG.INDF | | | |

When she came to the door and looked outside, she saw a strangely luminous young man.

55 ineke muyeecimi ]

| in | -e | ke | mu- | yeec | -imi |
|----|----|----|-----|------|------|
| s/he | GEN | COMP | 3FSG | see | 3MSG |

He saw her as well.

56 gakase peybuluk ke muyeecimi ]

| gakase | | ke | mu- | yeec | -imi |
|--------|--|----|-----|------|------|
| Gakase | | COMP | 3FSG | see | 3MSG |

Gakase Peibuluk also saw her.

57 baaḍil amaal ke yeecumo , piyaar karim ]

| baaḍil | amaal | ke | | yeec | -umo | piyaar | karim |
|--------|-------|----|--|------|------|--------|-------|
| Bâdil | Jamâl | COMP | 3MSG | see | 3FSG | Piar | Karim |

Bâdil Jamâl saw him too, Piar Karim.

58 niicinin ke but aašiq umanuman ]

| ni- | yeec | -inin | ke | but | aašiq | u- | man | -uman |
|-----|------|-------|----|-----|-------|----|-----|-------|
| PTCP | see | PTCP | COMP | much | lover | 3PL | become | 3PL |

Having seen each other, they fell in love.

59 in pari bom , in paaḍša uy bam ]

| in | pari | bom | | in | paaḍša | u- | *iy | bam |
|----|------|-----|--|----|--------|----|-----|-----|
| 3SG.[+h] | fairy | be.PAST.3FSG[+h] | | 3SG.[+h] | king | 3PL | son | be.PAST.3SG[+h] |

She was a fairy, he was a prince.

60 numa ke waapas manumo ]

| nu- | man | ke | waapas | man | -umo |
|-----|-----|----|--------|-----|------|
| PTCP | become | COMP | return | | |

Then she returned.

61 yatis	maṭum	banḍaane			nasan		ḍiimi		]

  yatis	maṭum	banḍa	-an	-e	nas	-an	ḍiimi

  3MSG	head	black	human	SG.INDF	GEN	smell	SG.INDF	come.PAST.3SG

There came the smell of a dark human head.

62 kin	żap	ayečam				nuse		ulo numoonin			,

  kin	żap	ay-	e-	č	-am	nu-	sen	ulo numoon	-in

  this [+h]	spare	NEG	3[-h, II]	do.IPFV	1SG	PTCP	say	in	go.3F.PTCP	PTCP

  kin	aki	hasiin	uwaanan		kole bay		nuse		ke	]

  kin	akil	hasiin	uwaan	-an	kole bay		nu-	sen	ke

  this [+h]	such	handsome	young	SG.INDF	here	be.PRES.3MSG	PTCP	say	COMP

"I said I wouldn't spare him," she said and went inside. "He is such beautiful young man," she said.

63 parišaan	mumanumo		]

  parišaan	mu-	man	-umo

  worried	3FSG	become	3FSG

She grew worried.

64 parišaan	numumanin			ḍubara	moorumo			ke	, " besan

  parišaan	nu-	mu-	man	-in	ḍubara	moo-	*r	-umo	ke	besan

  worried	PTCP	3FSG	become	PTCP	again	3F.CAUS	send	3FSG	COMP	what

  maqsaḍ	cum	ḍukoowaa			ke	żu	eso		niya

  maqsaḍ	cum	ḍukoowa		-a	ke	żu	e-	*s	-o	ni	-i	-a

  purpose	from	come.2SG.CAUS.PAST	QM	COMP	come	3[-h, II]	say	2SG	go	GEN	2SG

  " nuse		moorumo			]

  nu-	moo-	*r	-umo

  PTCP	3F.CAUS	send	3FSG

She sent her maidservant again. "Ask him the purpose of his visit, then tell him to come with you," she instructed.

65 ine		mumulṭuranar			gupas	ḍelumo	, insaane		nas

  in	-e	mu-	mulṭur	-an	-ar	gupas	ḍel	-umo	insaan	-e	nas

  3SG.[+h]	GEN	3FSG	nostrils	SG.INDF	DAT	cotton	put	3FSG	human	GEN	smell

  aṭaya			nuse	]

  a-	ḍay	-i	-a	nu-

  1SG	come	OPT	1SG	PTCP

She put cotton in her nostrils so she would not have to bear the human's smell.

66 mumulṭuranar gupas ḓelumo , ulo icumo ]

mu- mulṭur -an -ar gupas ḓel -umo ulo i- cu -umo

3FSG nostrils SG.INDF DAT cotton put 3FSG in 3MSG take 3FSG

She put the cotton in her nostrils and brought him inside.

67 icuyasar in niinin numuycin

i- cu -yas -ar in ni- -in -in nu- mu- yc -i -n

3MSG take INF DAT 3SG.[+h] go PTCP PTCP PTCP 3FSG see 3SG PTCP

xoš nimanin senimi ke , " maa hince aa zinḓagi

xoš ni- man -in sen -imi ke maa hin -ce aa zinḓagi

happy PTCP become PTCP COMP 2PL.GEN door COM 1GEN life

eerčar ḓaaya baa , baaḓil amaal ]

ee- r č -ar ḓaaya ba baaḓil amaal

3SG.CAUS send IPFV DAT come.1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h] Bâdil Jamâl

When she brought him in, he caught sight of her and felt elated, saying, "I have come to spend the rest of my life at your door, Bâdil Jamâl.

68 aa auwe ṭalo eċukoon baan , aa

aa a- *u -e ṭalo e- *ċo -koon baan aa

1GEN 1SG father GEN seven[+h] 3[-h, II] sibling PL be.PRES.PL[+h] 1GEN

au paaḓša bay , alṭolum paaḓiša bay , aa au ,

a- *u paaḓša bay alṭolum paaḓiša bay aa a- *u

1SG father king be.PRES.3MSG second king be.PRES.3MSG 1GEN 1SG father

paaḓšaahaanṭinatum alṭolum paaḓšaa bay " ]

paaḓšaa haanṭin- -at -um alṭolum paaḓšaa bay

king PL on PTCP second king be.PRES.3MSG

"My father has seven sons. My father is a king, the second-ranking king.

69 " ine żamemuc ċapno , aa żame akolar , nikah

in -e żame -muc ċap -no aa żame a- kol -ar nikah

3SG.[+h] GEN bow PL shoot PTCP 1GEN bow 1SG here DAT marriage

żame čare ċatar ċap imanibim ,

żame čar -e ċat -ar ċap i- man -i bim

bow mountain GEN mountain.crack DAT shoot 3MSG 3SG be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

ṭeylate e żame iciyate ḓaanin baa ]

ṭeylate e żame i- ciyate ḓaan -in ba

thats.why 1SG bow 3MSG after 1SG.come PTCP be.PRES.1SG [+h]

"He bade us shoot arrows, and mine flew here... My marriage-arrow was shot to the crack of this mountain. I came here following my arrow.

70 " aa      amayca            bayam           kole , aa      mayeenam
     aa   a- ma- yc -a  bayam              kole aa  ma- yeen -am
     1GEN NEG 2PL see 1SG  be.PAST.1MSG[+h] here 1GEN 2PL know 1SG

apim               , aar        lel apim            , aa   żame
a-   pim            aa     -ar  lel a-   pim          aa   żame
NEG  be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] 1SG.GEN DAT know NEG be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] 1GEN bow

ḍacibi                      " ]
ḍ-  -a  *c  -i  bi
d   1SG bring 3SG be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]

"I did not know you were here, I did not know you, I did not know. My bow led me here."

71 iriinum            iṭe      ṭarmuk mooltirimi           ]
    i-  *riin -um iṭe       ṭarmuk moo-  lṭir -imi
    3MSG hand PTCP that[-h, I] bow   3F.CAUS show 3MSG

He showed the bow in his hand.

72 ṭarmukate    ċap eṭam           nuse      moorṭirasar           ine
    ṭarmuk -ate ċap eṭ   -am  nu-      moo- lṭir -as -ar in   -e
    bow    on shoot do.PAST 1SG PTCP 3F show INF DAT 3SG.[+h] GEN

senumo      ke    ]
sen  -umo ke
say  3FSG COMP

"I shot it with (this) bow," he told her, and she replied:

73 " e   pariṭine        oy       baa          , aa   eyik        baaḍil amaal
     e   pari -ṭin -e  o-  *y  ba                  aa  e-  *yik baaḍil amaal
     1SG fairy PL GEN 3PL daugther be.PRES.1SG [+h] 1GEN 1SG name Bâdil Jamâl

bila           , aa   kaa un żap akumayma              paaḍša uiy      ,
bila              aa   kaa un żap a-  ku- may  -ma paaḍša u-  *iy
be.PRES.3SG[-h,II] 1GEN with 2SG spare NEG 2SG be.FUT 2SG king 3PL son

| guymo | iṭe | hasiine | | kaa | ḍalṭaskue | | | kaa | waapis | mane | , | gakase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| guymo | iṭe | hasiin | -e | kaa | ḍalṭas | -ku | -e | kaa | waapis | -e | | gakase |
| 2SG.own | that[-h, I] | handsome | GEN | with | beautiful | NOM | GEN | with | return | | | Gakase |

| peybuluk | , | aa | hince | ooro | " senasar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | aa | hin -ce | o- huru | sen -as -ar |
| | | 1GEN | door COM | NEG sit | |

"I am a daughter of fairies, my name is Bâdil Jamâl. I cannot spare you, prince, you take your beauty away from here, Gakase Peibuluk, you can't stay at my door."

**74** | ine | senimi | ke | , " | akolum | une | nasqan | xa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in -e | -imi | ke | | akole -um | un- -e | n- a- sqan | xa |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | COMP | | here PTCP | 2SG GEN | PTCP 1SG kill | down |

| awaščaa | | | ke | guymo | ray | , | maziiḍ | e | waapis |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- waš -čaa | | | ke | guymo | ray | | maziiḍ | e | waapis |
| 1SG insert do.PRES.PROG.2SG | | | COMP | 2SG.own | wish | | more | 1SG | return |

| oomayabaa | | | , | ḍaa | un | cum | baeer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o- may -a ba | | | | ḍaa | un | cum | baeer |
| NEG be.FUT QM be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | | | and | 2SG | from | without |

| asqaybaa | | | kuli | une | | ray | , | aa | nikah | żame |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- sqay ba | | | kuli | un- -e | | ray | | aa | nikah | żame |
| 1SG kill.IPFV be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | | even | 2SG GEN | | wish | | 1GEN | marriage | bow |

| akolar | | ċap | manila | | " senimi | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- kol -ar | | ċap | man -ila | | sen -imi | |
| 1SG here DAT | | shoot | become | PRES.3SG[-h, II] | say 3MSG | |

He said, "You may kill me, you can throw me down from here if you wish; I am not returning without you. You can kill me if you wish, my marriage- arrow landed here."

**75** | senasar | | in | parišaan | numuma | | , " | un | żap |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sen -as -ar | | in | parišaan | nu- mu- man | | | un | żap |
| say INF DAT | | 3SG.[+h] | worried | PTCP 3FSG become | | | 2SG | spare |

| akočuman | | , | aa | awe | | ke | żap | akoči | | | , |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- ko- *č -uman | | | aa | a- *u -e | | ke | żap | a- ko- *č -i | | | |
| NEG 2SG 3PL | | | 1GEN | 1SG father GEN | | COMP | spare | NEG 2SG 3SG | | | |

| na | aa | xaanaḍaane | | żap | goċuman | | be | " senasar | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | aa | xaanaḍaan -e | | żap | go *č -uman | | be | sen -as -ar | | |
| and | 1GEN | family | ERG | spare | 2SG 3PL | | no | say INF DAT | | |

She grew worried, saying, "(My family) will not spare you. My father will not spare you, nor will my family."

| 76 bilkul | aa | nikah | żame | kolar | ċap | manila | nuse | in | laŋ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bilkul | aa | nikah | żame | kol -ar | ċap | -ila nu- | | in | laŋ |
| absolutely | 1GEN | marriage | bow | here DAT | shoot | PTCP | | 3SG.[+h] | move |

| oomanasar | ] |
|---|---|
| o- man -as -ar | |
| NEG INF DAT | |

"This is where my marriage-arrow fell," he said, and did not move.

| 77 ine | numoon | , in | muucum | ḍuarus , | ḍumoon |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in -e ni- mo- -on | | in | mu- *u -cum | ḍuarus ask | ḍumoo -n |
| 3SG.[+h] GEN go 3F PTCP | | 3SG.[+h] | 3FSG father from | | come.3F PTCP |

| ine | kaa | nikah | ne | gakase | peybuluk | kaa | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in -e | kaa | nikah | ne | gakase | | kaa | |
| 3SG.[+h] GEN | with | marriage | PTCP | Gakase | | with | |

She went and asked her father's permission. When she returned she married Gakase Peibuluk.

| 78 yaare | yuu | imi | šuṭin | paresin | umanuman | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| yaare | y- *u i- *mi | | šuṭin | paresin | u- man -uman | |
| down | 3MSG father 3MSG mother | | dejected | miserable | 3PL become 3PL | |

His parents were dejected and miserable down there.

| 79 but | oyarum | uy | bam | , ot | uy | bam |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | o- *yar -um | u- *iy | bam | ot | u- *iy | bam |
| much | 3PL dear PTCP | 3PL son | be.PAST.3SG[+h] | small | 3PL son | be.PAST.3SG[+h] |

| gakase | peybuluk | ] |
|---|---|---|
| gakase | | |
| Gakase | | |

He was their most beloved son, and their youngest, Gakase Peibuluk.

| 80 ot | uy | bam | šuṭin | paresin | numanin | , šiice |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ot | u- *iy | bam | šuṭin | paresin | nu- man -in | šii -ce |
| small | 3PL son | be.PAST.3SG[+h] | dejected | miserable | PTCP PTCP | hearth COM |

| ḍuwasuman | ] |
|---|---|
| ḍ- u- *was -uman | |
| ḍ 3PL left.behind 3PL | |

His absence made them miserable

81 ine                   beeruman   saaliŋ      nimi          ]

   in          -e        beeruman   saal  -iŋ   ni   -imi

   3SG.[+h]   GEN    how.many   year   PL   go   3MSG

Many years passed.

82 inar               aqanimi              ke     berum    ta      ḍeniŋ

   in          -ar   a-   *qan   -imi   ke     berum    ṭa      ḍen   -iŋ

   3SG.[+h]   DAT  NEG   see     3MSG   COMP  how.many   hundred   year   PL

nibican                , besan   manicana          eer       lel    oomanimi          ]

ni-   bican               besan   i-  -can  -a   e   -er   lel   o-      man   -imi

go   be.PRES.3PL[-h, II]   what               do   DAT   know   NEG       3MSG

He didn't feel the passing centuries, and he had no knowledge of what happened (in the outside world).

83 yuu           ke      imi          yaare  ta       ḍeniŋ     nimi       , gakase

   y-       *u   ke   i-       *mi   yaare  ṭa      ḍen  -iŋ  ni   -imi   gakase

   3MSG   father  COMP  3MSG   mother  down  hundred   year   PL   go   3MSG   Gakase

peybuluk  eycumate                ]

           e-      yc    -um    -ate

           NEG   see   PTCP   on

It had been a hundred years since they had seen their son Gakase Peibuluk.

84 waxṭan           cum   senimi    ke      , iimo    amaaṭ  mo   kaa

   waxṭ   -an      cum   sen   -imi   ke       iimo    amaaṭ  mo   kaa

   time   SG.INDF  from          COMP    his.own  spouse  from  with

nuurutiniŋ                ine          nikah   eṭu          bom            ]

nu-   urut   -in    -iŋ   in       -e   nikah   eṭ       -u   bom

PTCP   stay   PTCP   PL  3SG.[+h]   GEN   marriage  do.PAST   3SG   be.PAST.3FSG[+h]

After some time, he said to his wife, "He's still with his spouse, the one who married him."

85 ine               muucum          ḍuarusumo     aki   aki   hasiinan

   in          -e     mu-   *u     -cum   ḍuarus  -umo   akil  akil  hasiin   -an

   3SG.[+h]   GEN   3FSG   father  from  ask      3FSG   such  such  handsome  SG.INDF

bay            nuse         noolṭirin               nikah   ne    ]

bay           nu-      n-   o-   lṭir   -in   nikah   ne

be.PRES.3MSG       PTCP  PTCP  3PL   show   PTCP   marriage  PTCP

She asked her parents, saying "he's such a handsome man!" She showed him to them and married him.

**86**

| ḍubaara | esumo | | | ke | , " | une | | aa | mama | but | pikarulo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ḍubaara | e- | *s | -umo | ke | | un- | -e | aa | mama | but | pikarulo |
| again | 3[-h, II] | say | 3FSG | COMP | | 2SG | GEN | father | mother | much |

| baan | | , e | elar | soki | | ayaamaya | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| baan | | e | el -ar | sok -i | | ay- | aa- | may | -a |
| be.PRES.PL[+h] | | 1SG | there DAT | come.down OPT | | NEG | 1SG.CAUS | | 1SG |

| baa | | un | uwe | kaa | mulaaqaaṭ | neṭan | | | , paaḍša | ke |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ba | | un | u- -we | kaa | mulaaqaaṭ | n- | eṭ | -an | paaḍša | ke |
| be.PRES.1SG [+h] | | 2SG | 3PL GEN | with | meet | PTCP | do.PAST | SG.INDF | king | COMP |

| raani | mo | kaa | mulaaqaaṭ | neṭan | | | żu | , aa | ayakal | cum |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| raani | mo | kaa | mulaaqaaṭ | n- | eṭ | -an | żu | aa | a- yakal | cum |
| queen | 3F | with | meet | PTCP | do.PAST | SG.INDF | come | 1GEN | 1SG side | from |

| goor | iaazaṭ | " esumo | | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| goo- -ar | iaazaṭ | e- | *s | -umo | |
| 2SG DAT | permission | 3[-h, II] | say | 3FSG | |

She asked him again, "Your parent are really worried about you, (but) We cannot leave. You go meet the King and the Queen and come back. You have Our permission," she said.

**87**

| senas | ke | , " | un | cum | baeyra | aa | axakin | | aalṭiri | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -as | ke | | un | cum | baeyra | aa | a- | *xakin | aa- | lṭir | -i |
| | COMP | | 2SG | from | without | 1GEN | 1SG | daughter in law | 1SG.CAUS | show | 3SG |

| nuse | | , aa | aa | mama | heruman | ke | , aale | | mumkin | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nu- | sen | aa | aa | mama | her -uman | ke | a | -ale | mumkin | |
| PTCP | say | 1GEN | father | mother | cry 3PL | COMP | 1.OBL | LOC | possible | |

| api | | | , hikulṭuwe | gane | niča | | baana | | , |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | pi | | hikulṭu -we | gane | ni *č -a | | baan | -a | |
| NEG | be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] | | one.day GEN | for | go IPFV 1PL | | be.PRES.PL[+h] | QM | |

| alṭule | | gane | niča | | baana | | , hisa | gane | niča | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| alṭul | -e | gane | ni *č -a | | baan | -a | hisa | gane | ni *č -a | |
| two.days | GEN | for | go | | 1PL | | month | for | go | 1PL |

| baana | | , e | ke | un | gati | niča | | | baan | | , aa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| baan | -a | e | ke | un | gati | ni | *č | -a | baan | | aa |
| be.PRES.PL[+h] | QM | 1SG | COMP | 2SG | together | go | IPFV | 1PL | be.PRES.PL[+h] | | father |

| niicinin | | | , aake | | mihel | bila | | , aa | au | paaḍša |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ni- | yeec | -inin | aa | -ke | mihel | bila | | aa | a- *u | paaḍša |
| PTCP | see | PTCP | 1-GEN | also | palace | be.PRES.3SG[-h, II] | | 1GEN | 1SG father | king |

| bay | | , mihel | lo | hurušan | | ," senate | " ele | ooruša | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bay | | mihel | lo | huruš | -an | sen -ate | ele | o- | *ru | *š | -a |
| be.PRES.3MSG | | palace | in | stay.IPFV | 1PL | say on | there | 3PL | stay | do.IPFV | 1PL |

| baan | | " nuse | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| baan | | nu- | sen | |
| be.PRES.PL[+h] | | PTCP | say | |

He replied, "Without you, they will say, 'Show us our daughter-in-law!' They'll cry. I can't do it, it doesn't matter if it is for one day, two days, a month, we must go together. We will meet them. My father is a king and we have a palace. We will stay in the palace," he said, "we won't stay there (forever)."

| 88 ine | | baaḍil | amaal | ke | eka | | ḍumoomo | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | -e | baaḍil | amaal | ke | e- | ka | ḍ- | umoo- | -mo |
| 3SG.[+h] | GEN | Bâdil | Jamâl | COMP | 3[-h, II] | COM | d | | 3F.CAUS |

Bâdil Jamâl went with him.

| 89 ḍumoonin | | yaare | žuċumana | | ke | yuu | ke | , |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ḍ- | umoo- | -nin | yaare | žuċ | -uman | -a | ke | y- | *u | ke |
| d | 3F.CAUS | nin | down | come.IPFV | 3PL | QM | COMP | 3MSG | father | COMP |

| imi | | šuṭin | paresin | umanam | | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i- | *mi | šuṭin | paresin | u- | man | -am |
| 3MSG | mother | dejected | miserable | 3PL | | 3PL |

When they arrived they found his father and mother dejected and miserable.

| 90 baaḍil | amaal | mo | muriinum | | burum | laqpis | bilum | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| baaḍil | amaal | mo | mu- | *riin | -um | burum | laqpis | bilum |
| Bâdil | Jamâl | from | 3FSG | hand | PTCP | white | handkerchief | be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] |

Bâdil Jamâl had a white handkerchief in her hand.

| 91 imi | | mo | muskil | aaap | mooṭasar | | | muymo | amiṭ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i- | *mi | mo | mu- | *skil | aaap | moo- | ṭ | -as | -ar | muymo | amiṭ |
| 3MSG | mother | from | 3FSG | face | wipe | 3F.CAUS | INF | | DAT | her.own |

| umurate | žame | ċap | ine | | gakase | peybuluke | eṭam | | ke |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| umur | -ate | žame | ċap | in | -e | gakase | peybuluk | -e eṭ | -am | ke |
| age | on | bow | shoot | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | Gakase | | do.PAST | 3MSG | COMP |

| iṭe | | umuratar | | imi | | nimo | ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| iṭe | | umur | -at | -ar | i- | *mi | ni | -mo |
| that[-h, I] | age | on | DAT | 3MSG | mother | | go |

She wiped his mother's face, she was restored to her age--the age she had been when their son left them.

92 inalum burum laqpisate yuu paaḍišaa iskil aaap

| in | -al | -um | burum | laqpis | -ate | y- | *u | paaḍišaa | i- | *skil | aaap |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| s/he | LOC | PTCP | white | handkerchief | on | 3MSG | father | king | 3MSG | face | wipe |

eeṭasar ine amiṭ umur bilum ke iṭe

| ee- | | ṭ | -as | -ar | in | -e | amiṭ | umur | bilum | | ke | iṭe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.CAUS | | do | INF | DAT | 3SG.[+h] | GEN | age | | be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] | | COMP | that[-h, I] |

umur ine ḍiimi ]

| umur | in | -e | ḍiimi | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| age | 3SG.[+h] | ERG | come.PAST.3SG | |

She wiped his father's face with her white handkerchief, he (too) was restored to his (proper) age.

93 ḍiin ṭele uy bukar niwaši ]

| ḍii | -n | ṭele | u- | *iy | buk | -ar | ni- | waši |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| come | PTCP | there | 3PL | son | throat | DAT | PTCP | put |

They embraced their son.

94 u uy uwaayu umanas eṭe xuši ]

| u- | u- | -y | uwaan | -yu | u- | man | -as | eṭ | | -e | xuši |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3PL | 3PL | GEN | young | PL | 3PL | become | INF | that.[-h, II] | | GEN | happiness |

They were so happy to be young again.

95 ixakin pari ḍumucas eṭe xuši ]

| i- | *xakin | pari | ḍ- | -u | mu- | *c | -as | eṭ | | -e | xuši |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3MSG | daughter in law | fairy | d | | 3SG | 3FSG | bring | INF | that.[-h, II] | | 3SG | happiness |

Having brought them a fairy daughter-in-law, they were so happy.

96 uy niicinin uwe but xuši eṭuman ]

| u- | *iy | ni- | yeec | -inin | u- | -we | but | xuši | eṭ | -uman |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3PL | son | PTCP | see | PTCP | 3PL | GEN | much | happiness | do.PAST | 3PL |

They celeberated greatly to see their son again.

97 ḍaa e šečume miime ḍaayam piyaar kariim ]

| ḍaa | e | šeč | -um | -e | mii | -m | -e | ḍaayam | piyaar | kariim |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | 1SG | eat.IPFV | PTCP | 3SG | drink.IPFV | PTCP | 3SG | come.1SG | Piar | Karim |

I came back drinking and eating, Piar Karim.