The Story of Limpi Kisar

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1 (Gul Naasreen) [ǰaa   piyaaruwe kʰole han   ke

                1SG   GEN Piar   ERG here one.[-h, I] COMP

dạɣurušay   ]

ḍ   1SG   ask.IPFV   3MSG

'My Piar is asking me here for one more story.'

2 [gul naasriin ǰaa ine gane tạ yaar baa]   Gul Naasriin 1SG GEN 3SG.[＋h] GEN for ready
   be.PRES.1SG [＋h]

'I, Gul Nasreen, I am ready for him.'

3 [mama iware]   mother 3MSG around

'Bless you.'.

4 (Bibi Nimo) henum   akʰenum   ešar   ]

            know   NMLZ NEG   know   NMLZ 3[-h, II]   say.IPFV   DAT

'To tell him the known and the unknown.'

5 [ye besan ke henum akʰenum qadị ime čaɣan DM what COMP know NMLZ NEG know NMLZ
   old GEN talk SG.INDF

aar   etị   sey   bay   ]

1SG   DAT 3[-h, II]   do   2SG say.IPFV be.PRES.3MSG

He is asking for anything known or unknown which I remember from old days.

6 [kʰuultọ eer   ečam   ] today   3MSG DAT 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   1SG

'Today, I will tell it to him.'

7 [limpi kisar nuse bam   ]

   Limpi Kisar PTCP   say be.PAST.3SG[＋h]

'There was (someone) called Limpi Kisar.'

8 [limpi kisare minas aar e , api , senate , Limpi Kisar GEN story 1SG DAT 3[-h, II] do IMP
   grandmother say on

eer   dụ una   baa   ]

3MSG   DAT start   1SG be.PRES.1SG [＋h]

'When he told me, "Tell me the story of Limpi Kisar, Ma'am," I started to tell him.'

9 (PK) [guṭe   guymo   xušiyate   aar   eča   ,

          this[-h, II] 2SG.own happiness   on 1SG   DAT 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   2SG

naa   , mama

tag question   mother

'You are doing this for me willingly, aren't you, Ma'am?'

10 (GN) [but   xušiyate   aɽa   ]   much happiness   on dear\DM

'With great pleasure, sir.'

11 (PK) [amulo ke besan ulṭu mal ooruman ke besan iṭiraaz where COMP what 3PL ear
    3PL.CAUS send 3PL COMP what objection

api   ]

NEG   be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]

'Do you mind if we let other people hear this (recording), Ma'am?'

12 (GN) [be ya eṭa te be iṭiraaz]   no VOC that.[-h, II] on what objection

'No, no objection to you doing that.'

13 (BN) ulṭu mal   eerṣan]

          3PL   ear 3SG.CAUS   send   OPT   PL

They ought to listen.

14 [ulṭu mal   eerčuman   nuse   eča

     3PL   ear 3SG.CAUS   send   IPFV   3PL PTCP   say 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   NEG

baan   naa   , mopi   memise   ]

be.PRES.PL[+h] tag question   3F   grandmother 1PL   grand.child   GEN

'We're doing this so they can listen it, 'grandmother (and) grandchild.'

15 (PK) [sahi mama sahi]   right mother right

'True, ma'am, that's true.'

16 (GN)[limpi kisar ḍi ininin   altiṭu lo   bubuli Limpi Kisar ḍ 3MSG come   3MSG
          PTCP Altit   in Bubuli

mucʰumi   ]

3FSG   marry   3MSG

'Limpi Kisar came and married Bubuli in Altit.'

17 [bubuli numucinin   , gar   bilum , ṭạ maaša

     Bubuli PTCP   3FSG   marry   PTCP   marriage be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]   music

ečam   ]

3[-h, II]   IPFV   3PL

'They had a wedding-feast and made music.'

18 [altị šabaran   ele bućen   bican , ike   yaare

     Altit polo.ground there oriental.plane PL be.PRES.3PL[-h, II] those[-h, II] down nuuro]

PTCP stay

'On the polo-field at Altit there are Oriental planes, they were sitting under those.'

19 [ṭạ maša ečama ke , dụ nya besan braqne beerukuculo music 3[-h, II] IPFV 3PL QM COMP

     world what bright PTCP many.days in

ṭạ maša biluma   ke   ]

music be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]   QM COMP

'They were making music, they had a big, loud celebration for several days.'

20 [guce   ɣoquračuwe   batar   niki , these[-h, I] crow.PL GEN animal.skin   DAT

     PTCP   3MSG put   3SG

iŋucaro   dụ uman   ]

3MSG   maternal.uncle PL ḍ 3PL   come   3PL

'His uncles came dressed in vulutre-skins.'

21 [dụ uninin bućenate   nupoo senuman ḍ 3PL   come   3PL   PTCP   oriental.plane

       PL   on PTCP   3PL   land say   3PL ke , " lane   bubo bom

     ɣalmanim   ɣulpo pʰuṭ

COMP   Lan   GEN Bubo be.PAST.3FSG[+h] Ghalman   from Ghulpo giant.monster

dị inin lin yuurar dụ muysimi , un kʰole bubuli ḍ 3MSG come 3MSG PTCP Lin corner DAT

3FSG.take 3MSG 2SG here Bubuli numucinin   altị raṭụ lo   gorša   baa   ",

PTCP 3FSG marry PTCP Altit plain   in 2SG drunk 2SG be.PRES.2SG [+h]

senasar] say INF   DAT

'They sat up in the trees, saying, "There was Bubo of Lin, the ogre Ghulpo came from Ghalman and carried her off to the corner of a place called Lin. Here you are, having just married Bubuli, drunk in the plains of Altit."

22 (BN) [čun ke   maatị̱ numuco   sen]   Chun COMP Maati PTCP   3FSG   marry
      say

'(You should) say, He married Chun Ke Mati [woman's name].'

23 (GN) [yayee čun ke   maatị̱ ilǰi   bila   , mušate   no   Chun   COMP   Maati
      3MSG   behind be.PRES.3SG[-h, II]   edge   on

bila   ]
be.PRES.3SG[-h, II]

'No, Chun Ke Mati is later, after this part.'

24 (BN) [tʰis   eču   bo   ]
            mistake 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'She is making a mistake.'

25 (GN) [čup e na   tʰis   ayeča   baa   ,
            silent do request mistake NEG   3[-h, II]   IPFV   1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h]

bubuli numucunin   ]
Bubuli PTCP   3FSG   marry   PTCP

'Hush up now, I'm not mistaken. He married Bubuli.'

26 [in atẹ yalimi   , atẹyalum
     3SG.[+h] NEG ḍ 3[-h, II] listen 3MSG NEG ḍ 3[-h, II] listen NMLZ ke bubulimo multụ malar

balimi]
COMP Bubuli   F.GEN 3FSG.GEN   ear   DAT enter   3SG

'He did not listen, and Bubuli heard this.'

27 [bubulimo multụ malar   nupal senumo   ke   , " Bubuli   F.GEN   3FSG.GEN
       ear   DAT PTCP   enter say   3FSG COMP

maxatị̱   uyoŋkuwe   haaw   etị̱   , mariinčin
2PL   mouth PL big PL   ERG loud.voice 3[-h, II]   do   2PL   2PL   hand   PL
uyoŋkuwe   xarc etị̱   , mootin   uyoŋkuwe   dim
big   PL   ERG clap 3[-h, II]   do   3PL   2PL   foot   PL big   PL   ERG beat.sound

eti̱n   osumo   , senasar   ite̱   manuman   ]

3[-h, II]   do   2PL 3PL   say   3FSG   say   INF   DAT that[-h, I] become   3PL

'When Bubuli heard this, she said, "Make a great noise with your mouths, everyone clap really hard, stamp your feet." She told them this, and they did as she said.

28 [numa   ke   da̱ a seniye   , " lane   bubo bom

      PTCP   exist COMP and say   3PL [-h, I]   Lan   GEN Bubo be.PAST.3FSG[+h]

γalmanim   γulpo p^hu̱ț   di̱ inin   lin yuurar

Ghalman from Ghulpo giant.monster ḍ 3MSG come 3SG PTCP Lin corner DAT du̱ muysimi   ,   un

bubuli numu̱cinin alti̱ ratu̱ lo

3FSG.take   3MSG   2SG Bubuli PTCP   3FSG   marry   PTCP Altit plain   in

gorša   baa   "]

2SG   drunk   2SG be.PRES.2SG [+h]

Then the uncles said again, "There was Bubo of L[i]n, an ogre from Ghalman named Ghulpo came and carried her off to the corner of a place called Lin. Here you are, having married Bubuli, drunk on Altit plain."

29 [senasar ilu̱ malar balimi , čup eti̱na čup say INF DAT 3MSG ear DAT enter 3SG silent 3[-h,
    II] do 2PL QM silent

eti̱na   senimi   ]

3[-h, II]   do   2PL   QM say   3MSG

'When he heard these words, he (Limpi Kisar) spoke: "Hush, hush," he said.'

30 [senasar   , čup manila] say INF   DAT   silent become   PRES.3SG[-h, II]

'When he said this, it became silent.'

31 [čup manaasar da̱ a seniye ak^hi zaate̱ , " bubuli silent become INF DAT and say 3PL [-h, I]
    such like Bubuli

numuco   alti̱ ratu̱ lo   gorša   baa   , line

PTCP 3FSG marry Altit plain in 2SG drunk 2SG be.PRES.2SG [+h] Lin GEN bubo bom γalmanim

γulpo p^hu̱ț

Bubo be.PAST.3FSG[+h] Ghalman   from Ghulpo giant.monster

di̱ inin   lin yuurar   du̱ muysimi   "]

ḍ   3MSG   come   3SG   PTCP Lin corner   DAT 3FSG.take   3MSG

When it was silent, they said it again, like this: "You married Bubuli drunk in the plains of Altit; there was Bubo of Lin, taken off to a corner of Lin by the ogre Ghulpo from Ghalman.'

32 [senasar   ye bas nuse   pʰaṭ numo   hičuti baṭ   , say INF   DAT DM just PTCP
       say leave PTCP   F.GEN some.amount millet

han   qarqaamucan   ]
one.[-h, I] rooster   SG.INDF

'Then he said, "That's enough," and left (his wife) with a few millet seeds and a rooster.'

33 [bubulimo   tin   nuse   muu yate bi   ]
      Bubuli   F.GEN raised.place PTCP   say now above be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]

'It's called Bubuli's Peak now, up there (in Hunza).'

34 [yate   hoonulo   yate   bi aletṳ lo , bulale on Hoon in above   sey
       be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] there in stream   LOC say.IPFV

baan   iṭe   muu]
be.PRES.PL[＋h] that[-h, I] now

'It's up there in Hohn, they call it Bulale [at stremside] now.'

35 [ṭe ele yate ise tinatar tʰaan numo there above that.[-h,   ǰaṣ manimi
    I] raised.place on DAT shove PTCP   F.GEN left become   3MSG
]

'Having pushed [?] her up to that peak, he set off.

36 (BN) han   qarqaamuce   kaa] one.[-h, I]
     rooster   GEN with

'With one rooster.'

37 (GN) [han qarqaamuce kaa pʰaṭ numo , hičuti baṭe one.[-h, I] rooster GEN with
              leave PTCP F.GEN some.amount millet   GEN

kaa]   with

'He left her with one rooster and some millet.'

38 (BN)[aaxere   waxṭ ḍi imar   ɣariči   sey
             at.last   GEN time come   NMLZ DAT speak   3SG   IPFV   3SG say.IPFV
bam   ]

be.PAST.3PL[+h]

'They used to say that when at last the Time (of Judgment) arrives, (the rooster) will speak.'

39 (GN) [tẹ elum , nimi nimi   nimi   nimi   aaxer

             there   from   go   3MSG go   3MSG go   3MSG go

3MSG at.last niyase   kaa] go   INF   GEN with

'From there he walked and walked, and finally he arrived.'

40 [yaare ine berice iik besan bilum naa down that [+h] black.smith GEN 3MSG name what
    be.PAST.3SG[-h, II] tag question se aċo]

VOC 1SG   sibling

'What was the name of the musician down there, sister?'

41 (BN) [garma halmaas] Garma Halmaas

'(His name was) Garma Halmas.'

42 [garma halmaas , garma halmaase yaaniki ine ɣalmanum ɣulpo Garma Halmaas Garma
    Halmaas GEN for.instance that [+h] Ghalman from Ghulpo

pʰutẹ   dak etạ s   beric   bam]

giant.monster   GEN lead 3[-h, II]   do   INF black.smith

'This Garma Halmas was a blacksmith, he worked with lead for Ghulpo, the ogre from Ghalman.

43 [dak etạ s beric bam , har uyoon besan uyoon lead 3[-h, II] do INF black.smith
    be.PAST.3PL[+h] every 3PL all what 3PL all ečam , dạ a ɣenişe dụ ro ke ečam , dạ a

3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   3MSG   and gold   GEN work COMP 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   3MSG   and

buriye   dụ ro ke   ečam   ]

silver   GEN work COMP 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   3MSG

He was a leadsmith, but he could do anything and everything; he worked with gold and silver as well.'

44 [tẹ ele niinin   yaani pʰuṭ bilasan   numa   there go.3MSG.PTCP PTCP
    for.instance giant.monster witch   SG.INDF PTCP   become

nimi   , imuš   tọ tọ r   ečume   nimi   ]

go   3MSG   3MSG   running.nose running.noise.voice 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV.PROG go   3MSG

'When he went there, he went (dressed up) as an ogre-witch, his nose all running.'

45 [yaani ɣuniqiş ǰuwaanan numa ele niin hurutimi] for.instance bad young SG.INDF PTCP
    become there go.3MSG.PTCP sit 3MSG

'Once he went (disguised) as an ugly young man and stayed (the night).'

46 (BN)[lawmalum   laɣane batar   niki   ]

         Lawmal   from dumb   GEN animal.skin   DAT PTCP   3MSG   put   3SG

'He went in the guise of some yokel from Laumal.'

47 (GN) [awa lawmalum   laɣane batar

         yes Lawmal   from dumb   GEN animal.skin   DAT

nikin   niinin   , " le   ǰe   gudigaari

PTCP 3MSG put 3MSG PTCP go.3MSG.PTCP PTCP VOC 1SG 2SG around akʰole hurušam , ǰe
akʰole goor dụ rowan

here GEN stay.IPFV 1SG 1SG here GEN 2SG DAT work SG.INDF ečam , akʰole awro
"]

3[-h, II]   IPFV   1SG   here   GEN 1SG   stay

'Yes, he went in the guise of a yokel from Laumal and said, "Hey, I'll be staying here with you! I'll do some work for you here if you let me stay."'

48 [" but xušiye kaa ẓu " , nuse newrutin ke] much happiness GEN with come PTCP say PTCP
    stay 3SG PTCP COMP

' "By all means, come," they said, and invited him to stay.'

49 [ey   uyum manu   bom   , čun ke   maatị]
     3MSG   daugther big   become   3FSG be.PAST.3FSG[+h]   Chun COMP Maati

'His (blacksmith) daughter had grown up; (her name was) Chun Ke Mati.'

50 [čun ke   maatị numo epači , ewrutinin   ke   ]   Chun COMP Maati go.3F.PTCP
     3MSG   with   3MSG stay   PTCP COMP

'Chun Ke Mati made him stay there.'

51 [" le   eyi   ise   lane bubo mur   ɣalmanum   ɣulpo
      VOC 3MSG   son that.[-h, I] Lan   GEN Bubo 3FSG   DAT Ghalman   from Ghulpo

pʰutẹ   ton   čama e ", sey   bay   ] giant.monster   GEN   design.name
brooch do   say.IPFV be.PRES.3MSG

'Son, that ogre Ghulpo from Ghalman told me to make a Ton brooch for Bubo of L[i]n.'

52 [" xa   pʰalaana dị šar   nukoonin   , han buċ   bila   "
      down such   place   DAT go.2SG.PTCP   one.[-h, I] oriental.plane be.PRES.3SG[-h, II]

]

' "Go down to such-and-such place, where there's an Oriental plane.'

53 [" iṭe̱   paadš̥ aa buċ   bila   "]

    that[-h, I] king   oriental.plane be.PRES.3SG[-h, II]

'This oriental plant belongs to the king.'

54 [" ine   paadš̥ a buċ   eedi̱ lum   da̱ a beeruman

    3SG.[+h]   GEN king   oriental.plane NEG   cut   NMLZ   and

how.many de̱ lǰaa   ke   iṭe̱   ǰaŋgal "]

cut   IPFV   2SG   QM COMP that[-h, I] jungle

' "As long as you don't cut down the one that belongs to the king, you can cut down any number from that jungle.'

55 [" da̱ a iṭe̱ er šaan e naa "]   and that[-h, I] DAT careful do please

'And watch out for that one, eh?'

56 [" ise   yaare man   bi   ṭe̱ ele niin   hurušay

    that.[-h, I] down raised.edge be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] there go.3MSG.PTCP stay.IPFV   3MSG

čakarar   niinin   "]

excursion   DAT go.3MSG.PTCP   PTCP

'Under the tree there's a raised area where the king rests on his excursions.'

57 [" ṭe̱ ele hurušaan   olṭa̱ lik   lane   bubo olṭa̱ lik   "] there stay.IPFV   3PL   3PL

    both Lan   GEN Bubo 3PL   both

'There they stayed, both he and Bubo of L[i]n.'

58 [" lane bubo olṭa̱ lik ṭe̱ ele ukʰare hurušaan , iṭe̱ Lan GEN Bubo 3PL both there 3PL self GEN stay.IPFV 3PL that[-h, I]

ǰaŋgalulo "] jungle in

'The two of them stayed by themselves there in that jungle.'

59 [iṭe̱ ǰaŋgale mušar nukoonin , hanǰilik that[-h, I] jungle GEN edge DAT go.2SG.PTCP charcol PL.INDF du̱ co " esimi]

ḓ 3PL   see.IPFV   2SG   3MSG   say   3MSG

'When you get to the edge of that jungle, fetch some charcoal," he told him.'

60 [niinin   ikʰaranimi   ] go.3MSG.PTCP   PTCP 3MSG   late   3MSG

'He became late having gone there.'

61 [šaam   tạ yaar manaasar   , " ye barena   eyi   evening ready become INF

      DAT   DM watch   2SG 3MSG   son

dị ya   une   ǰamaaṭ xas meeyme   be   in   kʰolar

3MSG.come   QM 2SG   GEN spouse drag become.IPFV.PROG what 3SG.[+h] here   DAT

żuċiya   ye barena   "] come.IMPER   3SG   QM   DM

watch   QM

'When evening came, (the blacksmith told his daughter) "O daughter, will you look if your husband is coming? He will come so late dragging his feet (the lazy person)" '

62 [dụ usin   hole   čun ke   maatịye   barenasar   , come.out   PTCP outside

   Chun COMP Maati ERG watch   INF   DAT

dụ nyaatạ natar   baldạ n   , pʰutụ   bilašuwe   bes

world SG.INDF   on   DAT load   SG.INDF   giant.monster PL witch   GEN

something ke   niya

COMP PTCP   bring

'Chun Ke Mati went out to look. Ogres and witches were carrying loads of all manner of things all over the place.'

63 (BN) [utancate] camel   PL   on

On camles-back.

64 (GN) utancate   ǰaş maniye   , tʰ a utancate   ǰaş

         camel PL   on left become   3PL [-h, I]   hundred camel   PL   on left

maniye   , ǰaş maniye   hanǰil nuya   , ǰaş

become   3PL [-h, I]   left become   3PL [-h, I] charcol PTCP   take   PTCP   left

maniye   ]

become   3PL [-h, I]

'On the backs of a hundred camels, carrying charcoal.'

65 [uyar   şiqam haɣurate   şiqam kaṭ netạ n   ǰuwaanan

   3PL   before green horse   on green dress PTCP   do   SG.INDF young   SG.INDF

yeešu   bo   ]

3MSG   see.IPFV   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'She sees a young man wearing green on a green horse leading them.'

66 [" baba baba " senu bo ulo numoon , " besan father father say 3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h] in
   go.3F.PTCP what

senasar "]   say   INF

DAT

Having gone inside, she said, "father, father" . On saying what happened?

67 [" aǰiiboɣariib ǰuwaanan yaarum di̱ i bay ṣiqam haɣurate strange young SG.INDF down from
   come be.PRES.3MSG green horse on

asmaance   , beeruman ice   utancate   pʰutu̱ we   bes
sky   COM   how.many those[-h, I] camel   PL   on giant.monster   PL   ERG something

ke   ike   balda̱ nuka   ǰaṣ maniyen   " senu
COMP those[-h, II] load PTCP   carry left become   3PL [-h, I]   say   3FSG

bo   ]
be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

"A strange youth is coming from below on a green horse, and lots of ogres delivering their loads on
camel-back," she said.'

68 [" da̱ s   uyum da̱ s   bilum " senasar   ] barren.land big   barren.land
   be.PAST.3SG[-h, II]   say   INF   DAT

'She said, "it was an immense wasteland." '

69 [paršat manaasar ine xuwas meeyme ilǰi appear become INF DAT that [+h] drag
   become.IPFV.PROG 3MSG behind

balda̱ an   ganum   ǰuwan eeɣanay   ]
load   SG.INDF carry   NMLZ like   3MSG   appear   3MSG

'When he stepped out (Garma Halmas) only saw that man dragging his feet, like he was carrying a
load.'

70 [" ya le guu hoo manuum żu xat ine ɣuniqiṣ guuyar No VOC 2SG father die become NMLZ
   come there that [+h] ugly 2SG husband

bay   " nuse   ulo ni bay   ]
be.PRES.3MSG   PTCP   say in go be.PRES.3MSG

' "No, no, cry when your father dies, that's just your ugly husband," he said, and went inside.'

71 [ulo ni bay dẹ cun čʰot etạ sar han in go be.PRES.3MSG bring PTCP dump 3[-h, II] do INF
DAT one.[-h, I]

dụ nyaatạ n   meey   bila   ]

world   SG.INDF become.IPFV be.PRES.3SG[-h, II]

'He went inside, and when he dropped what he had brought, it was a great big load.'

72 [" kʰot be dụ rowan etạ a le eyi ", this [-h, II] what work SG.INDF 3[-h, II] do 2SG VOC 3MSG
son senasar] say INF DAT

'"What is this that you've done, Son?" he said.'

73 [" dạ a beečam aṭa une dụ co and what do.IPFV 1SG 1SG father 2SG GEN ḍ 3PL [-h, I] see.IPFV
2SG

senam   "   ]   say
2SG

'What should I have done, father, I brought what you told me to.'

74 [yar   muš itẹ   buċ   dẹ lay , ine paadš̌ a buċ   before   edge   that[-h,   I]
oriental.plane cut   3MSG   that [＋h] king oriental.plane

dẹ limi]   cut
3MSG

'First he cut the Oriental plane, the one that belongs to the king.'

75 [" ye żu guu naze , ye muutọ hanǰil but dụ caa , DM come 2SG father DM now charcol much
ḍ 3PL [-h, I] bring 2SG

ton   čama moor   dẹ smayan   ", nuse   ]
design.name brooch 3F   DAT ḍ 3SG[-h, I] TR   make.IPFV   1PL   PTCP   say

' "Come, son, that's a fine amount of charcoal you've brought, let's make that Ton brooch for her," he said.'

76 [ye ine   eer   ṣuu etạ y   ṣuu etạ y   ṣuu
DM that [＋h] 3MSG   DAT blow 3[-h, II]   do   3MSG blow 3[-h, II]   do   3MSG blow

etạ y   , ṣuu ečume   aaxer dẹ manas
3[-h, II]   do   3MSG   blow 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV.PROG at.last ḍ   3MSG   make   INF

tạ yaarulo , " čuunimo čustạ n pʰaw ", senay   ]

ready   in   spill   say   3MSG

'He blew and blew and blew (the bellows) for him, and finally he said the magic words, "Abracadabra, Choonimo Chustan Phaw!" '

77 [senasar baq mani bi , tʰ ar mani say INF DAT scatter become 3SG be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] untied   become 3SG

bi   , pʰaw mani   bi   ]
be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]   spill become   3SG be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]

'When he said that, it scattered, broke and spilled.'

78 [da̤ a gaati   ne   a̤t̤a   lolo   , mama and gather   3SG PTCP   do   1SG
          father mourning.expression   mother

lolo   , nuse   indi̤ lin   nidi̤ l   ]
mourning.expression   PTCP   say 3MSG   chest   PL PTCP   beat

'Then he picked up the pieces, making mournful sounds as he beat his chest.'

79 [da̤ a garma halmaase   da̤ a t̤a yaar et̤a sulo   ]   and Garma Halmaas   ERG   again
        ready 3SG[-h, I]   do   INF   in

'Once again Garma Halmas had almost made it.'

80 [iski heeši t̤e ey et̤a y , " čuunimo čust̤a n pʰaw ", senasar pʰaw three times that 3[-h, II] do
          3MSG spill say INF DAT spill

manica   ]
become   PRES.3PL[-h,II]

'Three times he did this, and when he said the magic words "Choonimo Chustan Pow," it would be spilled.'

81 [da̤ a indi̤ lin nidi̤ l ine garma halmaase , ike again 3MSG chest PL PTCP beat that [+ h]
          Garma Halmaas ERG those[-h, II]

ilaaǰi ne   gaati   ne   ise   de̤ smanas   t̤a yaarulo
care PTCP   do gather 3SG PTCP do that.[-h, I] d̤ 3[-h, II] TR make INF ready in da̤ a   t̤e ey   et̤a y
 ]   and that 3[-h, II] do 3MSG

'Again he beat his chest, that man Garma Halmas, and carefully picked up those (pieces), and we he got it almost ready, he did it again.'

82 besan baa   ke   goor   buyaṭ eča   what be.PRES.1SG [+h] COMP 2SG DAT   request
   3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   1SG baa   ]
be.PRES.1SG [+h]

'I ask you to reveal what you are.'

83 (BN) [" ye muu aar   sarke manaa   "]
                DM now 1SG   DAT visible become   2SG

'Show yourself to me now.'

84 (GN) [" ye muu aar   sarke manaa   , guymo da mane gane] 2SG
                DM now 1SG   DAT visible become   2SG.own lord GEN for

'Now reveal yourself, for your lord's sake.'

85 [guse   de smanas   a   huup ači   this[-h, I] ḍ 3[-h, II]   TR   make
        INF NEG swallow 1SG   do.IPFV   3SG

bi   ǰe ke   un gati   huup   meči
be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] 1SG COMP 2SG together swallow 1PL   do.IPFV   3SG

bi   , ǰe ke   ay   ke   un gati   huup
be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]   1SG COMP 1SG   daugther COMP 2SG together swallow

meči   ", senasar   ]
1PL   do.IPFV 3SG   say   INF   DAT

' "Please let me make this, (or else) he'll eat me up, you and me, and my daughter, he'll swallow us all.'

86 [" ye de sman   " esay   ]
        DM ḍ   3SG[-h, I]   TR   make   3MSG say   3MSG

' "Make it," he told him.'

87 [ayesay   ke   ǰe   limpi kisar baa
     1SG   3MSG   say   3MSG COMP 1SG Limpi Kisar be.PRES.1SG [+h]
ayesay   ]
1SG   3MSG   say   3MSG

'He didn't tell him that he was Limpi Kisar.'

88 [" ye de sman   šuwa ye ", aɽa   senay]
        DM ḍ   3SG[-h, I]   TR   make alright DM   1SG   father say   3MSG

' "OK, make it, Sir," he said.'

89 [dẹ smanin kaa yatpa sakan meey ḍ 3SG[-h, I] TR make PTCP with up.there box SG.INDF
    become.IPFV bim sakate dạ l dẹ y bay be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] box on stand 3SG[-h,I]
    be.PRES.3MSG

'When he made it, he stood it on a box that was up high.'

90 [tẹ erumanar ke hikultọ dụ moon , " le garma that.many SG.INDF DAT COMP one.day
    come.3FSG.PPL PTCP VOC Garma

halmaas , le garma halmaas , ǰaa ton čama Halmaas
VOC Garma Halmaas 1SG GEN design.name brooch atẹ smanaa "
senasar]

1SG ḍ 3SG[-h, I] TR make 2SG say INF DAT

'Then one day she (Bubo of Lin) came, asking, "O Garma Halmas, have you made my Ton brooch?" '

91 [" beeya ǰuu goor dẹ smana baa ",
    NO Sir 2SG DAT ḍ 3SG[-h, I] TR make 1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h] senay] say
3MSG

' "Not so, ma'am, I have made it," he said.

92 [čʰumare yaaniki kʰos ales bim , čʰiṣ bim , " metal GEN for.instance this[-h, I] that
    be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] ladder be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] ye ẓu " senase kaa] DM come say INF GEN
    with

'There were all sorts of metal things, this and that, a ladder, and (he) said "Come in." '

93 [dṛ aŋ , dṛ aŋ , dṛ aŋ , dṛ aŋ nidị l beat.sound beat.sound
        beat.sound beat.sound PTCP beat

dụ moonin]
ḍ 3FSG come 3FSG PTCP

'In she came, her feet pounding bang bang, bang bang.'

94 [" ye ǰoo ", senase kaa] DM 1SG give say INF GEN with

'She said, "Gimme." '

95 [sa tʰ alekuc , sa tʰ alekuc , tʰ ap tʰ alekuc eyay sun seven.days sun
    seven.days night seven.days 3SG[-h, I] sleep.IPFV
bim]

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

'For seven days and seven nights the monster slept.'

'And
he
would
be

96 [da̤ a sa tʰ alekuc tʰ ap tʰ alekuc šaŋ imay and sun   bim   ] become
    seven.days night seven.days awake 3SG[-h,I]   be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

awake for seven days and seven nights.'

97 [iṭe eyanum bimate dṳ moo that[-h, I] 3SG[-h, I] sleep NMLZ be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] on ḍ 3FSG
    come 3FSG bom   ]

be.PAST.3FSG[+h]

'When she came it was asleep.'

98 [dṳ moonin   ke   , sa tʰ alekuc tʰ ap tʰ alekuc   ḍ   3FSG   come   3FSG
        PTCP COMP   sun seven.days night seven.days

eyanumate   dṳ moonin   , " ǰoo   " senas
3SG[-h, I]   sleep   NMLZ   on ḍ   3FSG   come   3FSG   PTCP   1SG   give   say   INF

kaa pʰaṣ ečay   , api   ]
with search 3SG[-h, I]   do.IPFV   3MSG   1SG   be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]

'She came when it had been sleeping seven days and seven nights and said, "Gimme." He looked (for the brooch) but it wasn't there.'

99 [es   moqaṭ yaare mooyanay   ] that[-h] her armpit down 3F.CAUS take   3MSG

'(Limpi Kisar) had put it under her armpit.'

100 (BN) [leel   amootṳ m   ] find.out NEG   3F.CAUS   do   NMLZ

'Unbeknownst to her'

101 [leel   amootṳ m   moqatṳ lo   mooyanay   find.out NEG 3F.CAUS   do
        NMLZ her   armpit in 3F.CAUS   take   3MSG

ise   ton   čama limpi kisare   ]
that.[-h, I] design.name brooch Limpi Kisar   ERG

'Unbeknownst to her, Limpi Kisar had concealed it in her armpit.'

102 [pʰaş etḁ y   aɻa   lolo   akʰole search 3SG[-h, I]   do   3MSG 1SG   father
       mourning.expression here   GEN

bim   be   manimi   ke   ]
be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] what become   3MSG COMP

'He searched for it, (saying) "Oh lord, it was here, what happened to it?"

103 [" le   eyi   une   yeecuma   ", senasar   hiş
        VOC 3MSG   son 2SG   ERG 3MSG   see   NMLZ QM   say   INF   DAT

breath ke   ayetḁ y   , " beeya ǰaa eeyca
COMP NEG   3[-h, II]   do   3MSG NO   1SG   ERG NEG   3SG[-h, I]   see

1SG baa   ", nuse   ]
be.PRES.1SG [＋h]   PTCP   say

'He searched for it, (saying) "Oh lord, it was here, what happened to it?"

104 [yuu   ey   oltḁ like   dụ duŋ
        3MSG   father 3MSG   daugther 3PL.GEN   both   ERG search

etḁ sar   ]
3[-h, II]   do   INF   DAT

'Father and daughter looked for it.'

105 [" ya le   aɻa   , une   besan čaɣan ečaa   ,
        No VOC 1SG   father   2SG   ERG what talk   3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   2SG   QM

kʰos   kʰatḁ amaa   moqaṭ   yaarar   dẹ lu
this[-h, I] wrteched.woman   ERG 3F.GEN   armpit down   DAT ḍ   3SG[-h, I]   put   3FSG

bo   bare ", senasar   ]
be.PRES.3FSG[＋h] look   say   INF   DAT

' "Hey, sir, what are you talking about? This wretched woman has stuck it under her armpit, look!" he
said.'

106 [" dạ a leel   ameetụ m   moqaṭ yaare
       and find.out NEG   IPL.CAUS   do   NMLZ 3F.GEN   armpit down

nidị l   mi leel   ameetụ m   "]
PTCP   ḍ 3SG[-h,I]   put 1PL find.out NEG   IPL.CAUS   do   NMLZ

'And she did it so we didn't know, without our knowledge she stuck it under her armpit.'

107 [" kʰos   kʰaṭa amaa   moqaṭ yaare dẹ lu

       this[-h, I] wrteched.woman ERG 3F.GEN armpit down ḍ 3SG[-h, I] put 3FSG bo   bare "

]

be.PRES.3FSG[+h] look

'This wretched woman has put it under her armpit, look!"

108 [senasar , " une limpi kisar dị caa ", nuse   say INF DAT 2SG GEN Limpi Kisar ḍ 3MSG

     bring 2SG PTCP say

harṭ numa   iile dạ l manu   bo   ]

stand PTCP become there stand become 3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h] 'He said,

"You have brought (me,) Limpi Kisar." Then she got up and ran away.

109 (BN) " ǰe   kʰoṭ   paadǰ̌ aar   ešam   "]

              1SG this [-h, II] king   DAT 3MSG   say.IPFV   1SG

'I will tell this to the king.'

110 [" ǰe   kʰoṭ   paadǰ̌ aar   ešam   huup   goči

       1SG this [-h, II] king   DAT 3MSG   say.IPFV   1SG swallow 2SG   do.IPFV   3MSG

", nuse   iile dạ l paršat manaasar   ]

   PTCP   say there stand appear become   INF   DAT

"I'm going to tell this to the king, he will swallow you!" she said, and she ?disappeared.'

111 [tịl mooskarcimi yate niṣ xaa]   forgetfulness 3F.CAUS cut 3MSG on go OPT until

'He made her forget everything until she went back.'

112 [muumusulo   gili ċuk numo   tịl   mooskarcimi

      3FSG.GEN   tongue   in bolt stich PTCP   F.GEN forgetfulness 3F.CAUS   cut   3MSG

]

'He made her forget everything by stiching a nail in her tongue (a magical device).'

113 [yate dụ usin numoon tịl moolumo biɣam hurutumo on come.out PTCP go.3F.PTCP

      forgetfulness 3F forget 3FSG care.free stay 3FSG

]

'She went out and forgot everything, so she acted normal.'

114 [muyiyan dị manam   muyiyan

3FSG.GEN   son   SG.INDF ḍ   3MSG   become   3MSG 3FSG.GEN   son   SG.INDF

ḍị manam   ine   kaa mašɣuul bom   ]

ḍ   3MSG   become   3MSG 3SG.[+h]   GEN with busy   be.PAST.3FSG[+h]

'She had a baby boy, and she was busy with him.'

115 [in   eyay   bam xor ne   eyay   bam]

        3SG.[+h] 3MSG   sleep.IPFV   snore PTCP   do 3MSG   sleep.IPFV

'He (the ogre) was sleeping, snoring while he slept.'

116 (BN) " eyay   bim   " sen]

                3MSG   sleep.IPFV be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]   say

'You should say "It--it was sleeping," (not "He").'

117 [xor ne eyay bama ke muuyar bam snore PTCP 3MSG sleep.IPFV be.PAST.PL[+h] QM

    COMP 3FSG husband

xor ne   eyay   bam naa   , eyay   bim   ]

snore PTCP 3MSG   sleep.IPFV   tag question   3MSG   sleep.IPFV be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

'If you say he was snoring in his sleep, (that means) her husband, was he the one who was snoring in his sleep? It (the ogre) was sleeping.'

118 [tẹ erumanar paršat manuway xanǰar nuka]   that.many SG.INDF DAT appear become 3[-h,II]

    3MSG dagger PTCP carry

'Meanwhile he (Limpi Kisar) appeared, carrying a dagger.'

119 [paršat numa hin ċeen etạ sar]   appear PTCP exist door open.slowly 3[-h, II] do INF DAT

'When he arrived he slowly opened the door.'

120 [" waa laa limpi kisar " nuse zal etụ VOC VOC Limpi Kisar PTCP say shaking 3SG[-h, I] do

    3FSG

bo   ]

be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

' "Hey, Limpi Kisar!" she said, shaking him.'

121 [pʰuṭ   zal   etạ se   kaa harṭ numa   ]

        giant.monster shaking 3SG[-h, I]   do   INF   GEN with stand PTCP   exist

'When she shook the ogre it got up.'

122 [ine   giriyu huču   bim   ine   buut

3SG.[+h]   GEN ibex   leather.wrappers be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] 3SG.[+h] GEN boot

bim   ]

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

'He had slippers of ibex leather, it had on boots.'

123 [limpi kisare   giriyu huču   bim   , ɣalmanum   ɣulpo

Limpi Kisar GEN ibex leather.wrappers be.PAST.3SG[-h,I] Ghalman NMLZ Ghulpo pʰuțe buut

bim]

giant.monster   GEN boot be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]

'(That is,) Limpi Kisar had ibex slippers, and the ogre Ghulpo from Ghalman had boots.'

124 [țe erumanar   hihin nidi li hihin   that.many   SG.INDF   DAT

one.another PTCP beat   PTCP one.another nidi li   iwašiyas   ța yaarulo]

PTCP   beat   PTCP 3MSG   insert   3MSG   INF ready   in

'Then they hit each other and hit each other, _.'

125 [" bukak tʰ aar o se kanǰaar ", senay , senase kaa baɻ tʰ aar peas scatter do VOC

bad.woman say 3MSG say INF 3SG with millet scatter

etu   bo   ]

3[-h, II]   do   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

' "Scatter some peas, woman," he said, and she scattered some millet.'

126 [waščar wašiyase gane limpi kisar]   put.IPFV DAT insert 3MSG INF GEN for Limpi

Kisar

'This was to make Limpi Kisar fall down.'

127 (PK) [baɻ besan manimi]   millet what become 3MSG

'What is "barw" ?'

128 (GN) [baɻ   hikum bican şiɣişuminik   ]

millet one[-h,II]   NMLZ be.PRES.3PL[-h, II] soft   PL   PL.INDF

Millet is something so slippery.

129 (FB)[raboŋ]   beans

'Beans.'

130 (GN)[beeya cʰilumin baɻ bica , cʰilumin baɻ bica]   NO thin PL millet be.PRES.3PL[-
h, II] thin PL millet be.PRES.3PL[-h, II]

'No, it's finer than that.'

131 [mii   ele ke   ečaan   muu]
1PL   GEN there COMP 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   3PL now

'We (grow) it there at our place now too.'

132 [senasar   baɻ   tʰ aar etạ se say   INF   kaa , yaare waši
DAT millet scatter 3[-h, II]   do   INF   GEN with   down insert   3MSG

bay   pʰutẹ   ]
be.PRES.3MSG giant.monster   ERG

'When she scattered the millet the ogre fell down.'

133 [limpi kisar walimi misaali]   Limpi Kisar
fall 3MSG for.example

'Limpi Kisar fell down as well.'

134 [yaarum xanǰarate zarap etạ se kaa]   down from dagger on stab 3[-h, II] do INF GEN with

'He stabbed him from below with his dagger.'

135 [pʰutẹ ise bisulo čap imanimi]   giant.monster GEN that.[-h, I] fat in hide 3MSG become
3MSG

'He disappeared in the ogre's fat.'

136 [ɣarq nima čap imanimi , pʰuṭ covered PTCP 3MSG become hide 3MSG become 3MSG
giant.monster

iirimi   ]
3MSG   die   3MSG

'He was covered, hidden, and the ogre died.'

137 [ɣarq imanasar bas itẹ tạ liş nuka şatụ r covered 3MSG become INF DAT just that[-h, I]
pamper PTCP carry walk.around

manu   bo   , şatụ r   manu   bo   ]
become   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[＋h]   walk.around become   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[＋h]

'When he was covered she took the ?diaper and walked around and around.'

138 (BN) batar   nuki   ,

animal.skin   DAT PTCP   3[-h,II]   put   3MSG

iŋucaruwe   ɣar etạ an   ]

3MSG   maternal.uncle   PL   ERG sing 3[-h, II]   ḍ   3PL

'Disguised as (vultures), his uncles began singing.'

139 (GN) ye čup e naa]   DM silent do tag question

'Hush now.'

140 (BN) huhu netạ nin   , be   gumana   nuse

song PTCP   3[-h, II]   do   PL   PTCP   what 2SG   become   QM PTCP   say

'They were singing "What happened to you?" '

141 [ye čup e na   , bila aċo   asate   ,

DM silent do Neg.   be.PRES.3SG[-h, II] 1SG   sibling 1SG   heart   on

iŋucaro   dụ unin   tẹ šatum   yaarne " be

3MSG   maternal.uncle   PL come   PTCP roof   on   from down   what

gumana   ke   bare gorša   baa   , ɣalmanim

2SG   become   QM COMP look 2SG   drunk   2SG be.PRES.2SG [＋h]   Ghalman

from ɣulpo   pʰutẹ   bisulo gorša   baa   naa   ,

Ghulpo giant.monster   GEN fat   in 2SG   drunk   2SG be.PRES.1SG [＋h] tag question

ise   bis dị cunin   guŋgimo   gumece   xanǰarate   ǰuuk e ,

that.[-h, I] fat bring   PTCP 2SG   front   GEN 2SG   teeth   COM dagger   on touch do

tʰ raq numa   hole   guwalǰuma   " esiye

burst PTCP   exist outside 2SG   fall.IPFV   2SG   3MSG   say   3PL [-h, I]

iŋucaruwe   ]

3MSG   maternal.uncle   PL   ERG

'Hush, _, his uncles came and sang down from the rooftop, "What happened to you? Look, you are drunk, drunk in the fat of the ogre Ghulpo from Ghalman. Touch your dagger to your front teeth and you will be freed from the fat," his uncles said.'

142 [senase kaa itẹ etạ se kaa altọ pʰatạ ri say INF 3SG with that[-h, I] 3SG[-h, I] do

INF GEN with two burst numa hole walimi]

PTCP   exist outside fall   3MSG

'He did so and (the fat) burst into two pieces and he was freed.'

143 [hole   niwalin   ise   muyi čap etu̱   outside PTCP fall
      PTCP that.[-h, I] 3FSG son hide 3[-h, II]   do   3FSG

bo   , muyi   čap ne   du̱ usu   bo   ]
be.PRES.3FSG[+h]   3FSG   son hide PTCP come.out   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'Then she hid her son (from him) and came out.'

144 [" gon se kaanǰaar , ayar mane " senay] come VOC bad.woman 1SG before
      become say 3MSG

' "Come on, you wicked woman, you go ahead," he said.'

145 [awa ise kʰat yaare tʰaaŋ eta̱ sar , " gon se kaanǰaar yes that.[-h, I] bed down
      shove 3[-h, II] do INF DAT come VOC bad.woman

du̱ u " mosay] leave 3F say 3MSG

'Right, she hid him under the bed and he told her to come out.'

146 [yar   manu bo   , yar numoon   but   matʰ an   before become
      3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]   before go.3F.PTCP much distance di̱ šanar

numoon   ] place   SG.INDF   DAT go.3F.PTCP

'She went ahead of him, to a place very far away.'

147 [" aaǰoo ǰaa   ɣeniṣe pʰurukus pʰaṯ eta̱ m " senu
      Oh   1SG   GEN gold   GEN spindle   leave 3SG[-h, I]   do   1SG   say   3FSG

bo   ]
be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

' "Oh, I've left behind my golden spindle!" she said.'

148 [" ni nukoon di̱ co " senasar] go go.2SG.PTCP ḏ 3SG[-h,I] bring 2SG say INF
      DAT

' "Go, go and fetch it," he said.'

149 [pʰar numa ni bo] back PTCP exist go be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'She returned.'

150 [numoon čuṣ čuṣ eečume , " guuwe maar go.3F.PTCP suck suck 3SG.CAUS
      do.IPFV.PROG 2SG father GEN revenge

gami   naa   ", senu   bo   ]
take   2SG tag question   say   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'Suckling her child she wondered, "Will you take your father's revenge"

151 [senasar , " wa ẓu ẓu ", mosay]   say INF DAT VOC come come 3F.GEN say
    3MSG

' "Hey, come on!" he told her (from outside).'

152 [mosasar tʰaan netạ n   dụ usu

        3F   say   INF   DAT shove PTCP   3MSG do   PTCP   come.out

3FSG bo   , ḍaa itẹ   dị šar numoon   , " ǰaa   ɣenişe

be.PRES.3FSG[+h]   and that[-h, I] place   DAT go.3F.PTCP   1SG   GEN gold   GEN

ganċ   pʰaṭ etạ m   " senu   bo   ]

threading.tool leave 3SG[-h, I]   do   1SG   say   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'She shoved him (back under the bed) and come out, and when they got to that place, she said, "I've forgotten my golden threading tool." '

153 [" ni ni su ", mosay , senase kaa dạ a ni go go bring 3F.SG say 3MSG say INF
    3SG with and go

bo   ]
be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

' "Go, go and fetch it," he told her, and away she went once more.'

154 [numon čuş čuş ne dạ a senu bo ke " go 3FSG PTCP suck suck PTCP and say 3FSG
    be.PRES.3FSG[+h] COMP

guuwe   maar gami   naa   " senu   bo   ]
2SG   father   GEN revenge take   3SG tag question   say   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'Away she went, and suckling her child, again she said, "Will your father kill you for his honor?" ', 'Will you take your father's revenge?' She said.

155 [senasar hince dimdam ne ẓu mosay]   say INF DAT door COM beat.sound~RED
    PTCP come 3F.SG say 3MSG

On saying that. He knocked on the door and told her to come.

156 [senase kaa , dạ a tʰaan ne ni bo]   say INF 3SG with and shove PTCP go
    be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'Again she shoved him (under the bed) and went.'

157 [dạ a itẹ dị šar numoon]   and that[-h, I] place DAT go.3F.PTCP

'Again she went to that place.'

158 [" aaǰoo   ǰaa   ɣeniʂe pʰamuncal pʰaṭ etạ m   ", senu
        Oh   1SG   GEN gold   GEN spindle.box leave 3SG[-h, I]   do   1SG   say   3FSG
bo   ]
be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

' "Oh dear, I've forgotten my golden spindle box," she said.'

159 [senasar , " ni dị co " mosay]   say INF DAT go 3SG.bring 3F.GEN
     say 3MSG

' "Go and fetch it!" he told her.'

160 [dạ a pʰar numa numoon   čuʂ čuʂ neetạ n and back PTCP   "
        exist go.3F.PTCP suck suck PTCP   3MSG do guuwe   maar   PTCP
        gamicuma naa   "]
2SG   father   GEN revenge take   QM tag question
'Again she returned, and suckling her child (said), 'Will you take your father's revenge"?

161 [senasar hin siqaa ne , " besan bi ", senay]   say INF DAT one.[+h] open PTCP what
     be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] say 3MSG

'Then the door opened nd he said, "What's there?" '

162 [senase   kaa čup etụ   bo   ] say INF   GEN with silent 3[-h, II]   do
        3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

'She kept still.'

163 [yakal nupara , " olaaṭ bay dị co " senay]   towards PTCP watch baby be.PRES.3MSG ḍ
     3MSG bring.IMP say 3MSG

'He looked and said, "It's a baby, bring it out!" '

164 [senase kaa mušakate niya dụ moomo]   say INF GEN with 3FSG.GEN arm on PTCP bring
     ḍ 3FSG come 3FSG

'She came out carrying him on her arm.'

165 [dụ moonin hitʰ aane uyum dạ aryaanate baʂ ḍ 3FSG come 3FSG PTCP one.place GEN big
     river SG.INDF on bridge
bima   xeer]
be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]   QM EVID

'They came to a bridge crossing a big river.'Having come to one place.

166 [ise   baṣ   dụ usasar   čun ke   maatị ke   that.[-h, I] bridge come.out
        INF   DAT Chun COMP Maati COMP

dụ mucimi   , in   ke   oltịk   gucʰarčam   ]
ḍ   3FSG.GEN   bring   3MSG   3SG.[+h] COMP 3PL   both 2SG   walk.IPFV   3PL

'Crossing the bridge he ?grabbed Chun Ke Mati and they walked together.'

167 [tẹ erumanar   ise   baṣatar   that.many   SG.INDF   DAT   that.[-h,   I]
      bridge   on   DAT

dị inin   , " ǰaa   cum baya   bee pʰuṭ
ḍ   3MSG come   3SG   PTCP 1SG   GEN from be.PRES.3MSG   QM or giant.monster
cum bay   " senay   ] from be.PRES.3MSG   say   3MSG

'As they were crossing the bridge, he said, "Is it mine, or is it from the ogre?" '

168 (Mahida Murad) mama guware   ničan   naa   ] mother 2SG   around
      go.IPFV   PL tag question

'Bless you, dear, shall we go?'

169 (GN) ačʰoo naa   minas eer   eča
                    wait tag question story 3[-h, II]   DAT 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   1SG

baa   , barena   besan muyatar   dị co   ,
be.PRES.1SG [+h]   watch   2SG what 3FSG.GEN   above   DAT ḍ   3SG[-h,I]   bring.IMP
besan elum dị cuwa   , elum kamaluwan   ] what there ḍ   3MSG
bring.IMP   2SG   there blanket   SG.INDF

'Wait, I'm telling him a story. Put something on her, bring a blanket from there.'

170 (BN) beeya naa muyate aṭẹ er tọ om dị i bila] NO tag question 3FSG on NEG put sweat
      come be.PRES.3SG[-h, II]

'No, don't put anything on her, she has started sweating.'

171 [tọ o , " ǰaa   cum baya   pʰuṭ   cum bay   "
                    1SG   GEN from be.PRES.3MSG   QM giant.monster from
be.PRES.3MSG senase   kaa] say   INF   3SG with

'So, he said, "Is it mine, or the ogre's?" '

172 [beeya , " un cum bay " senase   kaa]   NO   2SG from be.PRES.3MSG   say
       INF   3SG with

"No, he's yours," she said.'

173 [" be   na   pʰuṭ   cum meeymi " senase   kaa] 3SG
        what Neg. giant.monster from become.IPFV   3SG   say   INF   with

' "No, he must be the ogre's," he said.'

174 [" beeya beeya un cum bay   " senasar   ] NO NO   2SG
     from be.PRES.3MSG   say   INF   DAT

' "No, no, he's yours!" she said.'

175 [akʰine ɣeyl emiṣulo   iṭe   ṭa liṣulo   banulo   ales ne   ]
       like.this little 3MSG   finger   in that[-h, I] pamper   in wrapper   in that PTCP

'He stuck his pinky into the ?diaper, like this.'

176 [akʰi ne yatne lip neṭa n xanǰar kʰiil such PTCP high throw PTCP 3MSG do PTCP dagger
     show

eṭa sar   ṭar   imanay   ]
3[-h, II]   do   INF   DAT separate 3MSG   become   3MSG

'And then he threw it in the air like this, drew his dagger and cut the baby.'

177 [" ye gon ", nuse sindạ baago eṭạ y es ke] DM come PTCP say river throw 3[-h, II] do 3MSG
     that[-h] COMP

' "Come on," he said, and threw the baby into the river.'

178 (BN) yuuwe   maar   ganimi   ]
               3MSG   father   GEN revenge take   3MSG

He took his father's revenge. He said to her.

179 [" yuuwe   maar   ganimi   gon " nuse
        3MSG   father   GEN revenge take   3MSG come   PTCP   say

dụ mucimi   ]
ḍ   3F.SG   bring   3MSG

"He took his father revenge", Limpi Kiser repeated her words. He took her along.

180 [dụ cun tʰ eenuṣulo oorutimi] ḍ 3PL bring 3PL PTCP kingdom in 3PL.CAUS stay 3MSG

'He brought them to his kingdom and made them stay there"

181 [nooro   ke   in   ha   tʰaamar   pʰaṭ

    PTCP   3PL.CAUS   stay COMP 3SG.[＋h] home sweep   DAT leave mot̤imi

, čuṇ ke   maati̤ t̤a xt̤a tar   dṳ muysimi   ] 3F.GEN   do   3MSG

Chun COMP Maati throne   on   DAT 3FSG.take   3MSG

Having kept them, he gave the household chores to Lene Bubo. Cun ke Mati was set on the throne.

182 [inmo   ɣeni̤şe ɣuyan bicum aċo

    3SG.[＋h]   F.GEN gold   GEN hair   be.PAST.3PL[-h, II] 1SG   sibling

inmo   ]

3SG.[＋h]   F.GEN

'Her hair was golden, dear sister.'

183 [bas cʰordi̤ mo di̤ yen uskilar cʰil just in.morning ḍ 3MSG wake PTCP 3PL face DAT water

dḙ skaraṭumo   alek   etṳ mo   ]

ḍ   3[-h, II]   TR   heat   3FSG that[-h,II] 3[-h, II]   do   3FSG

'In the morning she would get up and heat water for (them to wash) their faces, she would do like that.'

184 [in   nimaazar   niinin ẓuş xaaşinar   in

    3SG.[＋h] prayer   DAT go.3MSG.PTCP   PTCP come   OPT uptil   DAT 3SG.[＋h]

di̤ yen   ike   eču   bom   ]

ḍ   3MSG   wake   PTCP those[-h, II] 3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   3FSG be.PAST.3FSG[＋h]

'When he went to do his (morning) prayers until he returned, she would do that.'

185 [hikultọ ǰatkusan ẓuċu   bo ,   one.day old.woman SG.INDF come.IMPER 3FSG

    be.PRES.3FSG[＋h] ǰatkusmo alekičiŋ]

old.woman   F.GEN that[-h,II]   PL

'One day an old woman comes by, doing old women's business.'.

186 [ǰatkusan dṳ moon mošu old.woman SG.INDF come.3FSG.PPL PTCP 3F.SG say.IPFV 3FSG

bo   ke   " ǰamaatḙ   gokaa   bariŋ

be.PRES.3FSG[＋h] COMP   spouse   ERG 2SG   with talk   PL

ečaya   be , esar   baa   be ,

3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   3MSG   QM what   3MSG   heart   DAT be.PRES.1SG [＋h] what

hin   ke   numuya   di̤ i bay   bee " senasar   ]

one.[+h] COMP PTCP   3FSG   take come be.PRES.3MSG or   say   INF   DAT

'The old woman said to her, "Does your husband talk to you? Does he love you? He's come back with another woman, hasn't he?" '

187 [" ya se aɽa api , dạa yarum ǰuwan ǰaar amulo ", " se yaye or VOC dear\DM grandmother and old like 1SG DAT where VOC No

čup e unce   but   es   bi   ", " ǰaa   ǰeymo
silent do 2SG COM much 3MSG heart be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]   1SG GEN my.own ɣalt̨iyate   "   ]
mistake on

'Oh dear lady, how can I make things the way they were?"--"Oh no, hush, he still loves you very much."--"It's my own fault." '

188 [yarum ǰuwan limpi kisare ǰaar barenasan , čun ke old like Limpi Kisar ERG 1SG DAT watch INF SG.INDF Chun COMP

maat̨i numuya   bay   , ǰaa   ha   tʰaam
Maati PTCP   3FSG   take be.PRES.3MSG   1SG   ERG home sweep eča

 baa   senasar   ]
3[-h, II]   do.IPFV   1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h] say   INF   DAT

' "Before Limpi Kisar looked after me, now he's brought Chun Ke Mati and I sweep the house.'

189 [" ya se żakuun unar   bareyar   t̨e ey got̨a y , cʰord̨i mo No VOC donkey 2SG DAT watch.IPFV   DAT that 2SG do   3MSG in.morning haa tʰam ne   ,   ise
     nimaazulum żuş   xaa ɣenişe   ɣuyan home sweep PTCP   that.[-h,   I]   prayer
     from come   OPT upto gold GEN hair

dẹ šašal   , but   bicum   sey   baan   , ɣenişe
ḍ 3[-h, II]   dishevel   much be.PAST.3PL[-h, II] say.IPFV be.PRES.PL[+h]   gold   GEN
ɣuyan dẹ šašal   cʰarişate   hik ne   gučʰaa   , goyanum
hair   ḍ 3[-h, II]   dishevel threshold   on fill PTCP sleep   QM   2SG
sleep   NMLZ ǰuwan manaa   ] like   become   2SG

' "Oh you silly donkey, he is teaching you a lesson: after you sweep the house in the morning, before he gets back from his prayers, let down your hair"--they say she had a lot--" let down your hair and lie down on the threshold, as if you were asleep there." '

190 [" tʰak tʰak nukoo guwald̨a satar lip nukoo nimi ke , un jolt jolt PTCP 2SG back on DAT throw PTCP go 3MSG COMP 2SG

eyarum	but	baa	, es	bi	, čup ne	yoon
3MSG	dear much	be.PRES.1SG [+h]	3MSG	heart be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]	silent PTCP	over

nukaarc	nimi	ke	es	api	"
PTCP	run go	3MSG COMP 3MSG	heart NEG	be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]	

'If he braids your hair and rolls you onto your back, then you are very dear to him and he loves you; if he steps over you silently, he doesn't care for you.'

191 iṭẹ hikultọ , " šuwa se aɽa api " nuse] that[-h, I] one.day alright VOC dear\DM grandmother
PTCP say

One day, ok oh sweet grandmother, she said.

192 [iṭẹ ha tʰam ne hole nupiša , cʰoor himaṭ ne uskil that[-h, I] home sweep PTCP outside
PTCP throw quickly effort PTCP 3PL face

muskilar	cʰilmil	noo	čun ke	maaṭi mur	]
3FSG face	DAT water~RED PTCP	do Chun COMP	Maati 3FSG	DAT	

'She swept the house and threw out (the sweepings) and she hurried to get water for them and for her, for Chun Ke Mati.'

193 [iṭẹ ulne żuwas cʰarişate ɣuyan ǰal ne moyanum
that[-h, I] inside come INF threshold on hair scatter PTCP 3F sleep NMLZ ǰuwan manaasar
] like become INF DAT

'She came inside and scattered her hair on the threshold, pretending to be asleep.'

194 [iṭụ m kʰiṭụ m xalaat ne dụ sun malaaq ne tʰak tʰak ne] there from here from mix PTCP
bring PTCP fold PTCP jolt jolt PTCP

'He dusted off her hair, folded and braided it.'

195 [ṭịkulo xalat eṭụ bo bare ke ɣenişe ɣuyan sand in mix 3[-h, II] do 3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]
look COMP gold GEN hair
]

'She had messed up her golden hair with sand.'

196 [tʰak tʰak numoo muwaldạ sate čoop ne , mopaṭụ lo şooq jolt jolt go.3FSG.PTCL 3FSG back
on pile PTCP 3F.GEN side in slip

numa	ni bay	]
PTCP	exist go be.PRES.3MSG	

'He braided her hair and set it onto her back, slid her onto her side and went away.'

197 [ye es   biya   xeer nuse   ke   tẹ ey ales
       DM 3MSG   heart be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]   QM EVID PTCP   say COMP that that

manu   bo   ]
become   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

' "He must love me," she said _.'

198 [numa   hikultọ dị in   inmur   mosay
       PTCP   exist one.day come   PTCP 3SG.[+h]   GEN.F DAT 3F.GEN say

3MSG ke   čun ke   maatị mur   , " kʰin   ke   ha   tʰaamar
COMP Chun COMP Maati 3FSG   DAT   this [+h] COMP home sweep   DAT

dị yeču   bo   , dạ a un bes   cʰor   dị yečaa   ,
wake.IPFV   GEN be.PRES.3FSG[+h]   and 2SG something quickly wake.IPFV   2SG   QM

senasar   " ǰaa   ɣuraṣ żuċi   bim   " senu
say   INF   DAT   1SG   GEN shit   come.IMPER   3SG be.PAST.3SG[-h,I]   say   3FSG

bo   ]
be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

Having that happened. One day he asked Chun ke Maati. She wakes up to clean the house. Why you wake up early? She said to him, " I wake up for shitting"

199 [" cʰordị mo cʰor   ǰaa   ɣuraṣ żuċi   bi   "
       in.morning quickly 1SG   GEN shit   come.IMPER   3SG be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]

senu   bo   ]
say   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

' "My bowel movement comes early in the morning," she said.'

200 (BN) " inmur   bes   dị yečaa   ",
              3SG.[+h]   GEN.F   DAT something wake.IPFV   2SG   QM

senasar   besan senu   bo   ]
say   INF   DAT what say   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

He asked (Lene Bobo)"Why do you get up (so early)?" '

201 GN " inmur   bes   dị yečaa   ", senasar
              3SG.[+h]   GEN.F   DAT something wake.IPFV   2SG   QM   say   INF   DAT

," ǰaa   maskilar   cʰil dẹ skaraċar   dị yeča

1SG   GEN 2PL   face   DAT water ḍ   3[-h, II]   TR   heat.IPFV   DAT wake.IPFV   1SG

baa   , ha   tʰaamar   ḍi̱ yeča   baa   , ǰe   ḍaa

be.PRES.1SG [+h]   home sweep   DAT wake.IPFV   1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h]   1SG and

besanar   ḍi̱ yeča   baa   " senu   bo

why   SG.INDF   DAT wake.IPFV   1SG be.PRES.2SG [+h]   say   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]

, senasar   ]   say

         INF   DAT

'When he asked her why she got up, she said, "I get up to heat water for (you to wash) your faces, I get up to sweep the house, that's why I get up." '

202 [inmur   niin   senay bee , " in   ha

      3SG.[+h]   GEN.F   DAT go.3MSG.PTCP say   3MSG or   3SG.[+h] home

tʰaamar   ḍi̱ yeču   bo   , in   kʰok   goor

sweep   DAT wake.IPFV   3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h]   3SG.[+h] these.[-h, II] 2SG   DAT

ḍu̱ rooynar   guskilar   cʰilar   ḍi̱ yeču   bo   ,

work PL DAT 2SG face DAT water DAT wake.IPFV 3FSG be.PRES.3FSG[+h] un bes ḍi̱ yečaa "?

2SG something wake.IPFV   2SG   QM

'He went to her (Chun Ke Mati) and said, "Now, she gets up to sweep the house and to do these chores for you, to get water for (you to wash) your face, what do you get up for?" '

203 [" ǰaa   ɣuraṣ ẓuċi   bi   " senu

      1SG GEN shit come.IMPER 3SG be.PRES.3SG[-h, I] say 3FSG bo , " ye

un guymo ɣuraṣe kaa huruu "]   be.PRES.3FSG[+h] DM 2SG 2SG.own shit GEN

with stay 3FSG

' "To move my bowels," she said.--"Well, you just enjoy your bowel movements." '

204 [ǰe   tʰis   amana baa   , ǰe   tʰis

      1SG mistake 1SG   become   1SG be.PRES.1SG [+h]   1SG mistake

amana   baa   , un , in   ta̱ xte̱   ine

1SG   become   1SG be.PRES.2SG [+h]   2SG   3SG.[+h] throne   GEN that [+h]

bo   nuse   , in   ta̱ xta̱ tar   ḍu̱ muysay   ]

be.PRES.3FSG[+h] PTCP   say   3SG.[+h] throne   on   DAT 3FSG.take   3MSG

' "I made a mistake, I made a mistake, you, she belongs on the throne," he said, and put her (Bubuli) on the throne.'

205 [in   ha   tʰaamar   ]

     3SG.[+h] home sweep   DAT

'She (Chun Ke Mati was made) to sweep the house.'

206 [ǰe   šečume   miime dạ ayam   ]

     1SG eat   IPFV.PROG drink.IPFV   PROG ḍ̣   1SG   come   1SG

I returned drinking and eating on my way back