

A.3 Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

Šāhay Bač

recounted by Zahra Samsanian

KS.f:1

<i>ye</i>	<i>'šāhe</i>	<i>boda</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>'jane</i>
ye	šāh=e	bod-a=∅		ya	jan=e
one	king=IND	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	one	wife=IND	

<i>boda</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'bačče</i>
bod-a=∅	=o	ya	bačč=e
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	one	son=IND

There was a king; he had a wife and a son. (lit. a wife and a son was to him)

KS.f:2

<i>'jane</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>'godde</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>mo'date</i>	<i>ma'rīz</i>
jan=e	=am	godd=e	ya	modat=e	marīz
wife=PC.3SG	=ADD	after=EZ	one	time=IND	ill

<i>abīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ame'rīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>'šāh</i>
a=b-īd	=o	a=mer-īd	=o	xolāsa	šāh
VCL=become.NPST-3SG	=and	VCL=die.NPST-3SG	=and	in short	king

<i>am</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>'jane</i>	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>am</i>
=am	ar=raf-t	=o	ye	jan=e	deya	=am
=ADD	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	=and	one	wife=EZ	other	=ADD

a'gī
a=g-ī
VCL=take.NPST-3SG

After a while, his wife became sick and died, so the king went and took another woman.

KS.f:3

<i>ē</i>	<i>'šāh</i>	<i>'jane</i>	<i>do'womī</i>	<i>'xaylī</i>	<i>ā'dame</i>	<i>'xūbī</i>
ē	šāh	jan=e	do-wom=ī	xaylī	ādam=e	xūb=ī
PROX	king	wife=EZ	two-ORD=PC.3SG	very	human being=EZ	good=IND

<i>'nabodagen</i>	<i>bo'kānī</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>ya</i>
na-bod-ag=en	bokān=ī	bod-a	ya
NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	want.NPST=PC.3SG	become.PST-PP	one

A. Text Corpus

<i>'kāre</i>	<i>'kan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>awa'līn</i>	<i>'bačī</i>
kār=e	∅-kan-∅	ke	šāh-ay	awal-īn	bač=ī
work=IND	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	CLM	king-GEN	first-ATTR	son=PC.3SG

<i>'bemerīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>hamā...</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>am'wāl</i>	<i>o</i>
be-mer-īd	=o	ham=ā	=o	šāh-ay	amwāl	=o
SBJV-die.NPST-3SG	=and	EMPH=DIST	=and	king-GEN	riches	=and

<i>ser'watī</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>'berasī</i>
serwat=ī	ba	wad=ī	be-ras-ī
wealth=PC.3SG	to	REFL=PC.3SG	SBJV-arrive.NPST-3SG

This king's second wife was not a very good person; she wanted to do something so that the king's first son would die and... and all the king's riches and wealth would be hers.

KS.f:4

<i>be xā'tere</i>	<i>hamī'sī</i>	<i>masa'lan</i>	<i>gēšte'rō</i>	<i>'say</i>
bexāter=e	ham=ī'sī	masalan	gēš-ter-ō	say
for=EZ	EMPH=PROX.OBL	for example	more-CMP-DEF	try

<i>makanā</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>joġa'loka</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>pā're</i>
ma-kan-ā	bod-a	joġal-ok-a	gō	ya	pāre
IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP	boy-DEF-OBL	with	one	piece

<i>kāro'bārā</i>	<i>'bekošīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē'sān...</i>	<i>joġalok</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ya</i>
kār-obār-ā	be-koš-īd	=o	ēšān	joġal-ok	ham	ya
work-PL-OBL	SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG	=and	like this	boy-DEF	ADD	one

<i>'aspe</i>	<i>bodagī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>as'pok</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>'sāl</i>
asp=e	bod-ag=ī	ke	ē	asp-ok	har	sāl
horse=IND	become.PST-PP=PC.3SG	CLM	PROX	horse-DEF	each	year

<i>ke</i>	<i>kor'ragē</i>	<i>maba'rā</i>	<i>boda...</i>
ke	korrag=ē	ma-bar-ā	bod-a
CLM	foal=PC.3SG	IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP

<i>bo'kānī</i>	<i>'bezzay</i>	<i>maba'rā</i>
bokān=ī	bez-zay-∅	ma-bar-ā
want.NPST=PC.3SG	SBJV-give birth.NPST-3SG	IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG

<i>boda</i>	<i>maprē'nā</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>dar'yāhā</i>
bod-a	ma-prēn-ā	bod-a	mā	daryā-hā
become.PST-PP	IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP	into	sea-OBL

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>'asp</i>	<i>kor'ragay</i>	<i>mako'sā</i>		<i>boda</i>
asp	korrag=ay	ma-koš-ā		bod-a
horse	foal=PC.3SG	IMP-kill.NPST-BACKG.3SG		become.PST-PP

For this reason, you know, she was trying her best to kill the boy with some plans [she invented] and things like that... well, the boy, had a horse (lit. a horse was for the boy) which, every time this horse wanted to take... to give birth to her foal, she used to take it [and] throw it into the sea; the horse used to kill her foal.

KS.f:5

<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>'bač</i>	<i>a'zay</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>ba 'če</i>
šāh-ay	bač	az=ay	a=š-ī	ke	xob	ta	ba če
king-GEN	son	to=PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	well	PN.2SG	why

<i>kor'raget</i>	<i>mako'sagay</i>		<i>'nabāhāt</i>	<i>en</i>
korrag=et	ma-koš-ag=ay		na-bāhāt	=en
foal=PC.2SG	IMP-kill.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG		NEG-must	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'bekošay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'manī</i>
be-koš-ay	=o	ēšān	a=š-ī	ke	man-ī
SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG	=and	like this	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	PN.1SG-GEN

<i>kor'ragā</i>	<i>'hīčka</i>	<i>a'natānt</i>		<i>'gott</i>	<i>kant</i>
korrag-ā	hīčka	a=na-tān-t		gott	∅-kan-t
foal-OBL	nobody	VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-3SG		big	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

The king's son said to her /that/, “Well, why do you kill your foal?; you should not kill it, you know.”; It said /that/, “No one can raise my foal.”

KS.f:6

<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>'bač</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'gotte</i>
šāh-ay	bač	a=š-ī	ke	na	man	gott=e
king-GEN	son	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	no	PN.1SG	big=PC.3SG

<i>aka'nān</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'xarj...</i>	<i>as'pok</i>
a=kan-ān	=o	ešān	a=š-ī	xarj	asp-ok
VCL=do.NPST-1SG	=and	like this	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	expense	horse-DEF

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'xarje</i>	<i>'xaylī</i>	<i>zī'yād</i>	<i>en</i>
a=š-ī	ke	xarj=e	xaylī	zīyād	=en
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	expense=PC.3SG	very	much	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>a'natānay</i>	<i>'saxt</i>	<i>en</i>
a=na-tān-ay	saxt	=en
VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-2SG	difficult	=COP.NPST.3SG

The king's son said /that/, “No [that is not true], I will raise it, you know.”; the

A. Text Corpus

horse said /that/, “It costs a lot; you cannot; it is difficult.”

KS.f:7

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'bega</i>	<i>č'e'tar</i>	<i>'gottī</i>
a=š-ī	na	ta	be-ga-∅	četar	gott=ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.2SG	IMPV=say.NPST-2SG	how	big=PC.3SG

<i>ka'nān</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'wadam</i>	<i>as'pokā</i>	<i>'gott</i>
∅-kan-ān	man	wad=om	asp-ok-ā	gott
SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG	REFL=PC.1SG	horse-DEF-OBL	big

akanān

a=kan-ān

VCL=do.NPST-1SG

He said, “No, let me know how to raise it; I myself will raise the horse.”

KS.f:8

<i>xolā'se</i>	<i>as'pok</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>bo'kānī</i>	<i>boda</i>
xolāse	asp-ok	ā	sāl	bokān=ī	bod-a
in short	horse-DEF	DIST	year	want.NPST=PC.3SG	become.PST-PP

<i>kor'raga</i>	<i>'byārīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>kor'rage</i>
korrag-a	by-ār-īd	=o	ešān	joḡal-ok	korrag=e
foal-OBL	SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG	=and	like this	boy-DEF	foal=PC.3SG

<i>a'gīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'wadam</i>	<i>'gotte</i>
a=g-īt	=o	a=š-ī	wad=om	gott=e
VCL=take.NPST-3SG	=and	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	REFL=PC.1SG	big=PC.3SG

aka'nān

a=kan-ān

VCL=do.NPST-1SG

In short, that year, [when] the horse wanted to give birth to her foal, you know, the boy took the foal and said, “I myself will raise it.”

KS.f:9

<i>as'pok</i>	<i>bah'ray</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ta</i>
asp-ok	bahr=ay	a=š-ī	ke	ta
horse-DEF	to=PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	PN.2SG

<i>bā'hāt en</i>	<i>haftēī</i>	<i>'haftā</i>	<i>'mēšā</i>	<i>'bokošay</i>
bāhāt=en	hafta-ī	haf-tā	mēš-ā	bo-koš-ay
must=COP.NPST.3SG	week-ADVZ	seven-CL	sheep-OBL	SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>o</i>	<i>lā'say</i>	<i>'beday</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>korra'gok</i>
=o	lāsay	be-d-ay	ē	korrag-ok
=and	carcass.OBL.PC.3SG	SBJV-give.NPST-2SG	PROX	foal-DEF

<i>'bwārt</i>	<i>'har</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'šīre</i>	<i>sī...</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'mēše</i>
b-wār-t	har	rōč	ham	ya	šīr=e	sī	ya	mēš=e
SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG	each	day	ADD	one	milk=EZ	FRAG	one	sheep=EZ

<i>sī'yāhe</i>	<i>'begeray</i>	<i>'šīray</i>	<i>'bodōšay</i>	<i>'ē</i>
sīyāh=e	be-ger-ay	šīr=ay	bo-dōš-ay	ē
black=IND	SBJV-take.NPST-2SG	milk=PC.3SG	SBJV-milk.NPST-2SG	PROX

<i>'mēše</i>	<i>sīyā'oke</i>	<i>'šīrā</i>	<i>'beday</i>	<i>'ta</i>
mēš=e	sīyā-ok-e	šīr-ā	be-d-ay	ta
sheep=EZ	black-DEF-GEN	milk-OBL	SBJV-give.NPST-2SG	till

<i>'bwārt</i>	<i>'hatā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'xāle</i>	<i>es'pēde</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>mē'sok</i>
b-wār-t	hatā	ya	xāl=e	espēd=e	ham	ē	mēš-ok
SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG	even	one	spot=EZ	white=IND	ADD	PROX	sheep-DEF

<i>'nabahāt</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'bebīde</i>
na-bāhāt	=en	be-b-īd=e
NEG-must	=COP.NPST.3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

The horse said to him /that/, “You must kill seven goats every week and give their meat (lit. body) to the foal to eat; every day you should take milk... take a black goat and milk it, [and] give the milk of this black goat to this foal to drink; there should not be even a single white spot on this goat.

KS.f:10

<i>'bad</i>	<i>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'bebī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>
bad	joḡal-ok	a=š-ī	be-b-ī	ke	šāh-ay
then	boy-DEF	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	CLM	king-GEN

<i>'bač</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'bebī</i>	<i>'wadom</i>	<i>'gotte</i>
bač	a=š-ī	be-b-ī	wad=om	gott=e
son	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	REFL=PC.1SG	big=PC.3SG

aka'nān
a=kan-ān
VCL=do.NPST-1SG

Then, the boy said /that/, “Alright.”; the king’s son said, “Alright, I will raise it myself.”

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:11

<i>a'bārt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>kāro'bārā</i>	<i>a'kant</i>
a=bār-t	=o	ham=ī	kār-obār-ā	a=kan-t
VCL=take.NPST-3SG	=and	EMPH=PROX	work-PL-OBL	VCL=do.NPST-3SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>as'pok</i>	<i>gaš'tay</i>	<i>boda</i>
ke	asp-ok	gašt-ay	bod-a
CLM	horse-DEF	say.PST-PP.PC.3SG	become.PST-PP

He took it and did all (lit. this job) that the horse had told him.

KS.f:12

<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>a'dād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>	<i>korra'gok</i>	<i>'gott</i>
xolāsa	a=dā-d	=o	ēšān	korrag-ok	gott
in short	VCL=give.NPST-3SG	=and	like this	foal-DEF	big

<i>abī</i>
a=b-ī
VCL=become.NPST-3SG

In brief, he gave [the foal all this]; you know, the foal grew up.

KS.f:13

<i>agza'rīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>mo'date</i>	<i>abīd</i>	<i>o</i>
a=gzar-īd	=o	ya	modat=e	a=b-īd	=o
VCL=pass.NPST-3SG	=and	one	time=IND	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	=and

<i>'ē</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>'jan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>bo'kānī</i>	<i>boda</i>
ē	šāh-ay	jan	ke	bokān=ī	bod-a
PROX	king-GEN	wife	CLM	want.NPST=PC.3SG	become.PST-PP

<i>joḡa'lokā</i>	<i>'bokošī</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>joḡa'lokay</i>	<i>xo'rākā</i>
joḡal-ok-ā	bo-koš-ī	ya	rōč	mā	joḡal-ok-ay	xorāk-ā
boy-DEF-OBL	SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG	one	day	into	boy-DEF-GEN	food-OBL

<i>zah'rā</i>	<i>arē'čī</i>
zahr-ā	a=rēč-ī
poison-OBL	VCL=pour.NPST-3SG

[Time] passed, and it took a while and this king's wife who wanted to kill this boy one day poured poison into the boy's food.

KS.f:14

<i>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>madra'sā</i>
joḡal-ok	ke	ā	rōč	ke	as	madrasā
boy-DEF	CLM	DIST	day	CLM	from	school.OBL

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

a'kay *šāh...* *as'pok* *bah'ray*
a=k-ay-∅ *šāh* asp-ok bahr=ay
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG king horse-DEF for=PC.3SG

a'šī *'hamī* *'wadī* *kor'ragay*
a=š-ī ham=ī wad-ī korrag=ay
VCL=say.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX REFL-GEN foal=PC.3SG

a'šī *ke* *ma'rō* *'raftay* *lō'gā* *xo'rākā*
a=š-ī ke marō raft-ay lōg-ā xorāk-ā
VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM today go.PST-2SG house-OBL food-OBL

a'nawaray *xo'rāke* *ke* *bah'rat* *'ēr*
a=na-war-ay xorāk=e ke bahr=at ēr
VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-2SG food=IND CLM for=PC.2SG PREV

maka'nagen *'zahre* *'rekka* *'māne*
ma-kan-ag=en zahr=e rekk-a mān=e
IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG poison=PC.3SG pour.PST-PP into=PC.3SG

zabā'bāt *xorā'kok* *mas'mūm* *en*
zabābā=t xorāk-ok masmūm =en
stepmother=PC.2SG food-DEF poisoned =COP.NPST.3SG

That day, when the boy was coming back from school, the king... the foal said to him, this his own foal said to him /that/, "Today, when you go home, do not eat the food; the food which they serve you; she poured poison into it, your stepmother; the food is poisoned."

KS.f:15

joġa'lok *ham* *'gōš* *agī* *'waxte* *az* *madra'sa*
joġal-ok ham gōš a=g-ī waxte az madrasa
boy-DEF ADD ear VCL=take.NPST-3SG when from school

ar'raf *lō'gā* *a'nawārt* *xorā'kokā*
ar=raf-∅ lōg-ā a=na-wār-t xorāk-ok-ā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG house-OBL VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-3SG food-DEF-OBL

a'nawā
a=na-wā-∅
VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-3SG

So the boy obeyed (lit. listened); when he went home from school, he didn't eat; he didn't eat the food.

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:16

<i>agza'ri</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>dobā'ra</i>	<i>sō'bēnē</i>		<i>joḡa'lok</i>
a=gzar-ī	=o	dobāra	sōb-ēn=ē		joḡal-ok
VCL=pass.NPST-3SG	=and	again	morning-ATTR=PC.3SG		boy-DEF
<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>madra'sā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>	<i>dāza'nok</i>	<i>yak 'čāhī</i>
ar=raf-t	madrasā	=o	ēšān	dāzan-ok	yak čāh=ī
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	school.OBL	=and	like this	woman-DEF	one well=IND
<i>'war</i>	<i>akārīd</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>tō'xay</i>	<i>am 'por as</i>
war	a=k-ār-īd		=o	tōx=ay	=am por as
PREV	VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG		=and	in=PC.3SG	=ADD full from
<i>šam'sīr</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>nay'za</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>ya ḡā'li</i>	<i>am</i>
šamšīr	=o	nayza	a=kan-t	ya ḡālī	=am
sword	=and	spear	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	one	carpet =ADD
<i>aprē'nī</i>	<i>rū</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>čā'hokay</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>ke joḡa'lok</i>
a=prēn-ī	rū	ē	čāh-ok-ay	sarā	ke joḡal-ok
VCL=throw.NPST-3SG	on	PROX	well-DEF-GEN	on	CLM boy-DEF
<i>'nagennīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'beay</i>	
na-genn-īd	=o	ā	ke	be-ay-∅	
NEG.SBJV-see.NPST-3SG	=and	DIST	CLM	SBJV-come.NPST-3SG	
<i>'benennī</i>	<i>edāna'kō</i>	<i>na'hāray</i>		<i>'bwā</i>	
be-nenn-ī	edānakō	nahāray		b-wā-∅	
SBJV-sit down.NPST-3SG	right here	lunch.OBL.PC.3SG		SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG	
<i>'bekafī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>čā'hā</i>			
be-kaf-ī	mā	čāh-ā			
SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG	into	well-OBL			

[That day] passed, and again [the next] morning, when the boy went to school, you know, the woman dug a well and filled it with swords and spears [and] she spread a carpet on this well, for the boy not to see [it], so that when he came [home], he would sit down there (lit. here) to eat his lunch, and fall into the well.

KS.f:17

<i>'waxte</i>	<i>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>madra'sā</i>	<i>a'kayt</i>	<i>a'wal</i>
waxte	joḡal-ok	a	madrasā	a=k-ay-t	awal
when	boy-DEF	from	school.OBL	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	first
<i>am</i>	<i>mara'wā</i>		<i>boda</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>as'pay</i>
=am	ma-raw-ā		bod-a	had=e	aspay
=ADD	IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG		become.PST-PP	by=EZ	horse.OBL.PC.3SG

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

as'pay *a'sī* *ke* *ma'rō* *ham* *'raftay* *'ōdān*
 asp=ay a=š-ī ke marō ham raft-ay ōdān
 horse=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM today ADD go.PST-2SG there

ke *gā'lī* *prēn'ta* *zanbā'bāt* *'ōdān*
 ke gālī prēnt-a zanbābā=t ōdān
 CLM carpet throw.PST-PP stepmother=PC.2SG there

a'nanennay *ar'ray* *ya* *'jāhe* *de'ya*
 a=na-nenn-ay ar=r-ay ya jāh=e deya
 VCL=NEG.SBJV-sit down.NPST-2SG VCL=go.NPST-2SG one place=IND other

'odān *'čāhe* *'war...* *'war* *āorta* *aka'fay* *'mā*
 odān čāh=e war war āort-a a=kaf-ay mā
 there well=IND PREV PREV bring.PST-PP VCL=fall.NPST-2SG into

čā'hā
 čāh-ā
 well-OBL

When the boy came back from school, he used to go to his horse first of all; his horse said /that/, “Today when you go to the place (lit. there) where she has spread the carpet, your stepmother, don’t sit down there; go [and] sit down in another place; she has dug... dug a well there; you will fall into the well.”

KS.f:18

joḡa'lok *ham* *ḡa'būl* *akant* *o* *xolā'sa* *dāza'nok*
 joḡal-ok ham ḡabūl a=kan-t =o xolāsa dāzan-ok
 boy-DEF ADD accepting VCL=do.NPST-3SG =and in short woman-DEF

'har *kāre* *maka'nā* *boda* *ke*
 har kār=e ma-kan-ā bod-a ke
 each work=IND IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP CLM

joḡa'loka *'bokošī* *namatā'nā*
 joḡal-ok-a bo-koš-ī na-ma-tān-ā
 boy-DEF-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG NEG-IMP-be able.NPST-BACKG.3SG

bodagen *as'pok* *xa'barī*
 bod-ag=en asp-ok xabar=ī
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG horse-DEF news=PC.3SG

maka'nā *boda*
 ma-kan-ā bod-a
 IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

So the boy obeyed, and you know, whatever the woman did to kill the boy she was

A. Text Corpus

not able [to do so]; the horse informed him [about it].

KS.f:19

<i>šā...</i>	<i>dāza'nok</i>	<i>ar'ra</i>		<i>'hade</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>na'farā</i>
šā	dāzan-ok	ar=r-a		had=e	ye	nafar-ā
FRGM	woman-DEF	VCL=go.NPST-3SG		to=EZ	one	person-OBL

<i>a'šī</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>če'taw</i>	<i>kanān</i>		<i>ke</i>
a=š-ī		ke	man	četaw	∅-kan-ān		ke
VCL=say.NPST-3SG		CLM	PN.1SG	how	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG		CLM

<i>'betānān</i>		<i>'ē</i>	<i>joġa'lokā</i>		<i>'bokošān</i>
be-tān-ān		ē	joġal-ok-ā		bo-koš-ān
SBJV-be able.NPST-1SG		PROX	boy-DEF-OBL		SBJV-kill.NPST-1SG

Kin... the woman went to a person [and] said /that/, “What should I do to be able to kill this boy?”

KS.f:20

<i>a'šī</i>		<i>ta</i>	<i>ba'hāt</i>	<i>en</i>		<i>a'wal</i>
a=š-ī		ta	bāhāt	=en		awal
VCL=say.NPST-3SG		PN.2SG	must	=COP.NPST.3SG		first

<i>as'pay</i>		<i>'bokošay</i>		<i>čon</i>	<i>'tā</i>	<i>as'pay</i>
aspay		bo-koš-ay		čon	tā	aspay
horse.OBL.PC.3SG		SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG		because	till	horse.OBL.PC.3SG

<i>'nakošay</i>		<i>joġa'loka</i>		<i>a'natānay</i>
na-koš-ay		joġal-ok-a		a=na-tān-ay
NEG.SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG		boy-DEF-OBL		VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-2SG

<i>'bokošay</i>	<i>as'pok</i>	<i>bah'ray</i>	<i>maga'sagen</i>
bo-koš-ay	asp-ok	bahr=ay	ma-gaš-ag=en
SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG	horse-DEF	for=PC.3SG	IMP-say.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “First you must kill his horse, because, unless you kill his horse, you will not be able to kill the boy; his horse is telling him [everything].”

KS.f:21

<i>a'šī</i>		<i>'xo</i>	<i>če'taw</i>	<i>kanān</i>		<i>ke</i>
a=š-ī		xo	četaw	∅-kan-ān		ke
VCL=say.NPST-3SG		well	how	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG		CLM

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>'betānān</i>	<i>as'pokā</i>	<i>'bokošān</i>
be-tān-ān	asp-ok-ā	bo-koš-ān
SBJV-be able.NPST-1SG	horse-DEF-OBL	SBJV-kill.NPST-1SG

She said, “Well, what should I do to be able to kill the horse?”

KS.f:22

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ar'ray</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'wadet</i>
a=š-ī	ar=r-ay	ke	wad=et
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	VCL=go.NPST-2SG	CLM	REFL=PC.2SG

<i>aĵa'nay</i>	<i>marī'zīyā</i>
a=jan-ay	marīzī-yā
VCL=hit.NPST-2SG	illness-OBL

He said /that/, “Go and pretend that you are ill.”

KS.f:23

<i>ya</i>	<i>āšdarmā'nī</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>a'gīt</i>	<i>a'zay</i>	<i>o</i>
ya	āšdarmānī	=am	a=g-īt	az=ay	=o
one	turmeric	=ADD	VCL=take.NPST-3SG	from=PC.3SG	=and

<i>aĵant</i>	<i>ba'danay</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ta</i>
a=jan-t	badanay	a=š-ī	ke	ta
VCL=hit.NPST-3SG	body.OBL.PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	PN.2SG

<i>'ē</i>	<i>āšdarmānī'okā</i>	<i>'beĵan</i>	<i>'god</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>šā'hā</i>
ē	āšdarmānī-ok-ā	be-jan-∅	god	ba	šāh-ā
PROX	turmeric-DEF-OBL	IMPV-hit.NPST-2SG	after	to	king-OBL

<i>'bega</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>zar'dīem</i>	<i>gefta</i>	<i>fo'lān</i>
be-ga-∅	ke	zardī=em	geft-a	folān
SBJV-say.NPST-2SG	CLM	jaundice=PC.1SG	take.PST-PP	so and so

<i>as'pay</i>	<i>'hōn</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>bah'ram</i>	<i>dar'mān</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>tā</i>
asp-ay	hōn	=am	bahr=am	darmān	=en	tā
horse-GEN	blood	=ADD	for=PC.1SG	cure	=COP.NPST.3SG	so that

<i>'šāh</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>maj'būr</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>as'pokā</i>
šāh	ham	majbūr	∅-b-ī	asp-ok-ā
king	ADD	forced	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	horse-DEF-OBL

<i>'bokošī</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'bebī</i>
bo-koš-ī	a=š-ī	be-b-ī
SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

So she got some turmeric from him and rubbed [it] on her body; he said /that/, “Rub

A. Text Corpus

this turmeric [on your body] and tell the king, I have got jaundice, like this, and horse-blood is the remedy for me, so that the king will have to kill the horse.”; she said, “Alright.”

KS.f:24

<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>kāro'bārī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ā</i>
ar=raf-t	=o	xolāsa	ham=ī	kār-obār=ī	ke	ā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	=and	in short	EMPH=PROX	work-PL=IND	CLM	DIST

<i>dokto'rok</i>	<i>gaš'tay</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>bāmar'dok</i>
doktor-ok	gašt-ay	bod-a	hālā	bāmar-dok
doctor-DEF	say.PST-PP.PC.3SG	become.PST-PP	now	man-DEF

<i>gaš'tay</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>a'kant</i>
gašt-ay	bod-a	a=kan-t
say.PST-PP.PC.3SG	become.PST-PP	VCL=do.NPST-3SG

She went and, you know, did just what (lit. this very job that) the doctor told [her], you know (lit. now) that man told [her].

KS.f:25

<i>ya</i>	<i>āšdarmā'nī</i>	<i>a'gīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a'jant</i>	<i>a</i>
ya	āšdarmānī	a=g-īt	=o	a=jan-t	a
one	turmeric	VCL=take.NPST-3SG	=and	VCL=hit.NPST-3SG	on

<i>ba'danay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'čan</i>	<i>'rō</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>ma'rīz</i>
badanay	=o	ya	čan	rō	=am	marīz
body.OBL.PC.3SG	=and	one	some	day	=ADD	ill

<i>abīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'šāh</i>
a=b-īd	=o	a=š-ī	a=š-ī	šāh
VCL=become.NPST-3SG	=and	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	king

<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'čōn</i>	<i>enet</i>	<i>a'šī</i>
a=š-ī	čōn	=en=et	a=š-ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	how	=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>'man</i>	<i>ma'rīz</i>	<i>bodagon</i>	<i>zar'dīom</i>
man	marīz	bod-ag=on	zardī=om
PN.1SG	ill	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG	jaundice=PC.1SG

<i>āor'ta</i>	<i>'gašteš</i>	<i>fo'lān</i>	<i>kor'ragay</i>	<i>'hōn</i>	<i>am</i>
āort-a	gašt=eš	folān	korrag-ay	hōn	=am
bring.PST-PP	say.PST=PC.3PL	so and so	foal-GEN	blood	=ADD

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

bah'rat 'xob en
 bahr=at xob =en
 for=PC.2SG well =COP.NPST.3SG

She took [some] turmeric and rubbed [it] on her body, and for a few days she got sick as well, and he said, he said, the king said, “What happened to you?”; she said, “I have fallen ill; I have got jaundice; I have been told (lit. they said), the blood of the foal so-and-so is good for me (lit. you).”

KS.f:26

'šāh ġa'būl akant ke as'pokā 'bokošan
 šāh ġabūl a=kan-t ke asp-ok-ā bo-koš-an
 king accepting VCL=do.NPST-3SG CLM horse-DEF-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

The king agreed /that/ to kill the horse.

KS.f:27

xolā'sa ar'raft o as'pok ba joġa'loka
 xolāsa ar=raf-t =o asp-ok ba joġal-ok-a
 in short VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and horse-DEF to boy-DEF-OBL

a'sī ke 'ta age ma'rō 'berray madra'sa
 a=š-ī ke ta age marō ber-r-ay madrasa
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.2SG if today SBJV-go.NPST-2SG school

bo'kāneš 'manā 'bokošant
 bokān=eš man-ā bo-koš-ant
 want.NPST= PC.3PL PN.1SG-OBJ SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

You know, he went and the horse said to the boy /that/, “If you go to school today, they will want to kill me.”

KS.f:28

joġa'lok 'čan 'bār bo'wāay bah'ray gaš'ta
 joġal-ok čan bār bowā=ay bahr=ay gašt-a
 boy-DEF some time father=PC.3SG to=PC.3SG say.PST-PP

boda as'pokā bā'hāt en
 bod-a=Ø asp-ok-ā bāhāt=en
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG horse-DEF-OBL must=COP.NPST.3SG

'bokošen rā'zī 'namabayā
 bo-koš-en rāzī na-ma-bay-ā
 SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL satisfied NEG-IMP-become.NPST-BACKG.3SG

A. Text Corpus

bodagen *o* *ē'shān* *rezā'yat*
 bod-ag=en =o ēšān rezāyat
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and like this approval

'namadīyā *boda* *xolā'sī* *ya* *'rōč*
 na-ma-dī-yā bod-a xolā'sī ya rōč
 NEG-IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP in short one day

abīd *o* *a'sant* *ke...* *nax'sā*
 a=b-īd =o a=š-ant ke naxšā
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and VCL=say.NPST-3PL CLM plan

arē'čant *dozza'kī* *as'poka* *ā* *rō'čā* *bo'kā*
 a=rēč-ant dozzakī asp-ok-a ā rōč-ā bokā
 VCL=pour.NPST-3PL in secret horse-DEF-OBL DIST day-OBL want.NPST

'bokošant *ke* *'waxte* *joġa'lok* *madra'sa* *en* *'tā*
 bo-koš-ant ke waxte joġal-ok madrasa =en tā
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL CLM when boy-DEF school =COP.NPST.3SG till

as *madra'sa* *'nayāka* *as'pokā*
 as madrasa nay-āk-a=∅ asp-ok-ā
 from school NEG-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG horse-DEF-OBL

'bokošen
 bo-koš-en
 SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL

The boy's father had told him several times, "We must kill the horse" but he was not happy (lit. satisfied), you know; he did not consent. Well, one day, (lit. it was one day) they said /that/..., they made a plan in secret to kill the horse, that day when the boy was at school; they would (lit. we will) kill the horse before he returns from school.

KS.f:29

as'pok *xa'bar* *abīd* *ba* *joġa'loka*
 asp-ok xabar a=b-īd ba joġal-ok-a
 horse-DEF news VCL=become.NPST-3SG for boy-DEF-OBL

a'sī *a'sī* *aga* *'ta* *ma'rō*
 a=š-ī a=š-ī aga ta marō
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG if PN.2SG today

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>'berray</i>	<i>madra'sa</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>ako'sant</i>
ber-r-ay	madrasa	man-ā	a=koš-ant
SBJV-go.NPST-2SG	school	PN.1SG-OBJ	VCL=kill.NPST-3PL

The horse found out [and] said to the boy, it said, “If you go to school today, they will kill me.”

KS.f:30

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ar'rān</i>	<i>madra'sā</i>	<i>'wale</i>
a=š-ī	na	man	ar=r-ān	madrasā	wale
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.1SG	VCL=go.NPST-1SG	school.OBL	but

<i>ākā'yān</i>	<i>a'naylān</i>	<i>'tarā</i>
ā=k-ā-yān	a=nay-l-ān	ta-rā
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG	VCL=NEG-let.NPST-1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ

'bokošan
bo-koš-an
SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

He said, “No [they won't], I will go to school but I will come; I won't let them kill you.”

KS.f:31

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>raftay</i>	<i>madra'sa</i>	<i>'saytā</i>	<i>šay'ha</i>
a=š-ī	xob	aga	raft-ay	madrasa	say-tā	šayha
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	well	if	go.PST-2SG	school	three-CL	neighing

<i>'man</i>	<i>aka'sān</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>sewo'mīyā</i>	<i>ra'sāntet</i>
man	a=kaš-ān	aga	se-womī-yā	rasānt=et
PN.1SG	VCL=pull.NPST-1SG	if	three-ORD-OBL	take.PST=PC.2SG

<i>'wadet</i>	<i>ra'sāntet</i>	<i>'narasāntet</i>	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>'manā</i>
wad=et	rasānt=et	na-rasānt=et	deya	man-ā
REFL=PC.2SG	take.PST=PC.2SG	NEG-take.PST=PC.2SG	then	PN.1SG-OBJ

koš'tageš
košt-ag=eš
kill.PST-PP=PC.3PL

It said, “Alright. If you go to school, I will neigh three times; if you come to me (lit. bring yourself) on the third one, yourself, [I will be saved]; if you don't come, they [will] have killed me.”

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:32

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ar'rān</i>		<i>madra'sā</i>	<i>ya</i>
a=š-ī	man	ar=r-ān		madrasā	ya
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	VCL=go.NPST-1SG		school.OBL	one
<i>'jībam</i>	<i>'porre</i>	<i>noḡ'lā</i>	<i>aka'nān</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'jībe</i>
jīb=am	porr=e	noḡl-ā	a=kan-ān	ya	jīb=e
pocket=PC.1SG	full=EZ	sweets-OBL	VCL=do.NPST-1SG	one	pocket=IND
<i>am</i>	<i>'porre</i>	<i>'fād</i>	<i>ar'rān</i>	<i>madra'sā</i>	<i>'ta</i>
=am	porr=e	fād	ar=r-ān	madrasā	ta
=ADD	full=EZ	salt	VCL=go.NPST-1SG	school.OBL	PN.2SG
<i>šay'hat</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'kašt</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'wadam</i>	<i>arasā'nān</i>
šayhat	ke	kašt	man	wad=am	a=rasān-ān
neighing.PC.2SG	CLM	pull.PST	PN.1SG	REFL=PC.1SG	VCL=take.NPST-1SG
<i>xī'yālet</i>	<i>rā'hat</i>				
xīyāl=et	rāhat				
thought=PC.2SG	comfortable				

He said, “I will go to school [and] I will put candy in one of my pockets and in the other one salt and go to school; when you neigh, I myself will come to you; don't worry.”

KS.f:33

<i>de'ya</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>madra'sā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>'mā</i>
deya	ar=raf-t	madrasā	=o	xolāsa	ī	mā
well	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	school.OBL	=and	in short	PROX	in
<i>madra'sā</i>	<i>monta'zer</i>	<i>bodagen</i>				<i>as'pokay</i>
madrasā	montazer	bod-ag=en				asp-ok-ay
school.OBL	waiting	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG				horse-DEF-GEN
<i>šay'hā</i>	<i>'bīaškonī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>awa'līn</i>	<i>šay'hā</i>	
šayhā	bī-aškon-ī	=o	ešān	awal-īn	šayhā	
neighing.OBL	SBJV-hear.NPST-3SG	=and	like this	first-ATTR	neighing.OBL	
<i>aka'sī</i>	<i>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>a'kay</i>				<i>'pād</i>
a=kaš-ī	joḡal-ok	a=k-ay-∅				pād
VCL=pull.NPST-3SG	boy-DEF	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG				foot
<i>ayt</i>	<i>moale'mok</i>	<i>ne'hībē</i>	<i>a'dā</i>			
∅-ay-t	moalem-ok	nehīb=e	a=dā-∅			
SBJV-come.NPST-3SG	teacher-DEF	shout=IND	VCL=give.NPST-3SG			

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

a'sī *'benen*
a=š-ī be-nen-Ø
VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-sit down.NPST-2SG

Well, he went to school and, you know, at school this one was waiting to hear the neighing of the horse, you know; when the foal neighed the first time, the boy was about to stand up; the teacher shouted at him [and] said, “Sit down!

KS.f:34

'ko *'pād* *ma'hāgay*
ko pād mah-ā-g=ay
where foot IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG

Where are you going (lit. standing up)?”

KS.f:35

joḡal'lok *anen'nī* *ya* *čan* *de'ḡa* *a'bī*
joḡal-ok a=nenn-ī ya čan deḡa a=b-ī
boy-DEF VCL=sit down.NPST-3SG one some minute VCL=become.NPST-3SG

dobā'ra *dowo'mīn* *šay'hā* *aka'sī* *joḡal'lok* *de'ya*
dobāra do-wom-īn šayhā a=kaš-ī joḡal-ok deya
again two-ORD-ATTR neighing.OBL VCL=pull.NPST-3SG boy-DEF well

tā'ḡat *a'nakant* *o* *xolā'sa* *a'jer'gī*
tāḡat a=na-kan-t =o xolāsa a=jerḡ-ī
patience VCL=NEG-do.NPST-3SG =and in short VCL=flee.NPST-3SG

The boy sat down; after few minutes, again the foal neighed the second time; the boy could not wait any longer, and you know, he ran away.

KS.f:36

a'kay *a* *das'sā* *'bejergī* *čo'ko'bār*
a=k-ay-Ø a dass-ā be-jerḡ-ī čok-obār
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG from hand-OBL SBJV-flee.NPST-3SG child-PL

arē'čan *rū* *'das...* *rū* *sa'ray*
a=rēč-an rū das rū saray
VCL=pour.NPST-3PL on hand on head.OBL.PC.3SG

age'rante
a=ger-ant=e
VCL=take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

He was about to run away, the children attack... attacked him and caught him.

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:37

'ē	ham	noǵ'lā	agen'nī	'gefteš	'pešk
ē	ham	noǵl-ā	a=genn-ī	geft=eš	pešk
PROX	ADD	sweets-OBL	VCL=see.NPST-3SG	take.PST=PC.3PL	throwing

adā	bā'lād	joǵalo'bār	ar'rant	čoko'bār
a=dā-∅	bālād	joǵal-obār	ar=r-ant	čok-obār
VCL=give.NPST-3SG	up	boy-PL	VCL=go.NPST-3PL	child-PL

noǵ'lā	'gerd	kanant o	e'sān	joǵa'lokā	'wel
noǵl-ā	gerd	∅-kan-ant=o	ešān	joǵal-ok-ā	wel
sweets-OBL	gathered	SBJV-do.NPST-3PL=and	like this	boy-DEF-OBL	loose

adayant	šā'hay	'bač	aǵer'gī
a=da-yant	šāh-ay	bač	a=ǵerg-ī
VCL=give.NPST-3PL	king-GEN	son	VCL=flee.NPST-3SG

This one saw that they were about to catch [him], so he threw up (lit. into the air) the candy from above; the boys went; they (lit. the children) gathered the candy, like this; they left the boy; the king's son ran away.

KS.f:38

dobā'ra	xa'bar	aban	arra'san	a'zī
dobāra	xabar	a=b-an	ar=ras-an	az=ī
again	news	VCL=become.NPST-3PL	VCL=arrive.NPST-3PL	to=PC.3SG

ke	'begerante	dobā'ra	fā'dā	are'čī
ke	be-ger-ant=e	dobāra	fād-ā	a=reč-ī
CLM	SBJV-take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG	again	salt-OBL	VCL=pour.NPST-3SG

Then all of a sudden (lit. again) they realized [what had happened]; they caught up with him to catch him; this time (lit. again) he threw out the salt.

KS.f:39

fā'dā	ke	are'čī	čoko'bār	bā'lād	'say
fād-ā	ke	a=reč-ī	čok-obār	bālād	say
salt-OBL	CLM	VCL=pour.NPST-3SG	child-PL	up	looking

akanant	ke	'mennan	'čī	en	'fād
a=kan-ant	ke	m-enn-an	čī	=en	fād
VCL=do.NPST-3PL	CLM	SBJV-see.NPST-3PL	what	=COP.NPST.3SG	salt

are'čī	'mā	čam'meš
a=reč-ī	mā	čammeš
VCL=pour.NPST-3SG	into	eye.OBL.PC.3PL

When he threw out the salt, the children looked up /that/ to see (lit. let's see) let's

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

see what this is; salt poured into their eyes.

KS.f:40

<i>a'tānt</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>'dasseš...</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>ajer'gīd</i>
a=tān-t	a	dass=eš	xolāsa	a=jerg-īd
VCL=be able.NPST-3SG	from	hand=PC.3PL	in short	VCL=flee.NPST-3SG

<i>o</i>	<i>arra'sī</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>as'pokā</i>
=o	ar=ras-ī	as	asp-ok-ā
=and	VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG	to	horse-DEF-OBL

He was able to... from them; you know, he escaped and got to his horse.

KS.f:41

<i>agen'nī</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'dawray</i>	<i>hal'gaš</i>	<i>jada</i>
a=genn-ī	ta	dawr=ay	halgaš	jad-a
VCL=see.NPST-3SG	MIR	around=COP.NPST.2SG	circle.PC.3PL	hit.PST-PP

<i>bo'kāneš</i>	<i>'bokošante</i>
bokān=eš	bo-koš-ant=e
want.NPST= PC.3PL	SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

He saw that they had surrounded it and they were going to kill it.

KS.f:42

<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>bo'wāay</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
ar=raf-t	had=e	bowāay	a=š-ī
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	by=EZ	father.OBL.PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>'manī</i>	<i>as'pā</i>	<i>'makoš</i>	<i>fo'lān</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
man-ī	asp-ā	ma-koš-∅	folān	a=š-ī
PN.1SG-GEN	horse-OBL	IMP-kill.NPST-2SG	so and so	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>'na</i>	<i>'hōnī</i>	<i>dar'mān</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ba'hāt</i>	<i>en</i>
na	hōn-ī	darmān	=en	bāhāt	=en
no	blood=PC.3SG	cure	=COP.NPST.3SG	must	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'bokošene</i>
bo-koš-en=e
SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG

He went to his father [and] said, “Do not kill my horse, like that.”; he said, “No, its blood is remedy [for your stepmother], we must kill it.”

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:43

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'xo</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>'belet</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'dawr</i>
a=š-ī	xo	pas	b-el-et	ta	man	ya	dawr
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	well	then	IMPV-let.NPST-2PL	till	PN.1SG	one	turn

<i>'gōne</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>mīyā'nokā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'gōne</i>
gōn=e	ē	mīyān-ok-ā	=o	gōn=e
with=PC.3SG	PROX	square-DEF-OBL	=and	with=PC.3SG

<i>'berrān</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'dawr</i>	<i>'gōne</i>	<i>'bejanān</i>
ber-r-ān	ya	dawr	gōn=e	be-ĵan-ān
SBJV-go.NPST-1SG	one	turn	with=PC.3SG	SBJV-hit.NPST-1SG

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>'bebī</i>
a=š-ī	xob	be-b-ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	well	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

He said, “Alright, then let me take a ride around this square on it, ride it, take a ride on it.”; he said, “That’s OK.”

KS.f:44

<i>as'pā</i>	<i>a'dant</i>	<i>a'zay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'gerd</i>
asp-ā	a=dan-t	az=ay	=o	mardom	gerd
horse-OBL	VCL=give.NPST-3SG	to=PC.3SG	=and	people	gathered

<i>akant</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>rū</i>	<i>'harkasay</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>
a=kan-t	a=š-ī	rū	harkas-ay	sar-ā
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	on	whoever-GEN	head-OBL

<i>as'pok</i>	<i>'mottī</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>hamā'sī</i>	<i>ako'sān</i>
asp-ok	mott=ī	ko	ham=āšī	a=koš-ān
horse-DEF	jump=PC.3SG	do.PST	EMPH=DIST.OBL	VCL=kill.NPST-1SG

<i>'nabahāten</i>	<i>'belet</i>	<i>as'pok</i>	<i>fa'rār</i>
na-bāhāt=en	b-el-et	asp-ok	farār
NEG-must=COP.NPST.3SG	SBJV-let.NPST-2PL	horse-DEF	running

kant
 Ø-kan-t
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

He gave the foal to him and gathered the people [and] said, “If it jumps over somebody’s head, I will kill him; you must not let the horse escape.”

KS.f:45

a'sant *'bebī* *xolā'sa* *joḡa'lok* *am* *ya*
 a=š-ant be-b-ī xolāsa joḡal-ok =am ya
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL SBJV-become.NPST-3SG in short boy-DEF =ADD one

'dawre *a'jant* *gō* *as'pā* *o* *az* *rū* *šā'hay*
 dawr=e a=jan-t gō asp-ā =o az rū šāh-ay
 turn=IND VCL=hit.NPST-3SG with horse-OBL =and from on king-GEN

sa'rā *'mott* *akant* *fa'rār* *akant*
 sar-ā mott a=kan-t farār a=kan-t
 head-OBL jump VCL=do.NPST-3SG running VCL=do.NPST-3SG

a'jer'gī
 a=jerg-ī
 VCL=flee.NPST-3SG

They said, “Alright.”; so the boy took a ride on it and jumped over the king’s head; he escaped; he ran away.

KS.f:46

bad *ke* *a'jer'gī* *ara'sī* *be* *ya*
 bad ke a=jerg-ī a=ras-ī be ya
 after CLM VCL=flee.NPST-3SG VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG to one

'šahreyā *as'pok* *az...* *a'zay* *a'sī* *ke*
 šahr=e-yā asp-ok az az=ay a=š-ī ke
 town=IND-OBL horse-DEF to to=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM

yā'lay *a'dā* *a'zay* *ya* *'mošte*
 yālay a=dā-∅ az=ay ya mošt=e
 mane.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG to=PC.3SG one handful=EZ

yā'lay *a'dā* *'war* *akārī*
 yālay a=dā-∅ war a=k-ār-ī
 mane.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG PREV VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

a'dād *a'zay* *a'sī* *ke* *e'šān* *ne'gah*
 a=dā-d az=ay a=š-ī ke eš-ān negah
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG to=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PROX-PL keeping

dār *har* *'waxt* *ba* *'man* *eh'tī'yājet*
 ∅-dār-∅ har waxt ba man eh'tiyāj=et
 IMPV-hold.NPST-2SG each time for PN.1SG need=PC.2SG

A. Text Corpus

<i>bo</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'tāl</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>mū'dam</i>	<i>'ās</i>
Ø-bo-Ø	ya	tāl	a	mūd=am	ās
SBJV-become.PST-3SG	one	single	from	hair=PC.1SG	fire

<i>day</i>	<i>'wadam</i>	<i>arasā'nān</i>
Ø-day-Ø	wad=am	a=rasān-ān
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	REFL=PC.1SG	VCL=take.NPST-1SG

After he had run away, he arrived in a city; the horse said to him /that/,... it gave its mane to him. It took [it and] gave to him; It said, “Keep these; whenever you need me, burn one of [these] hairs of mine; I will turn up.”

KS.f:47

<i>jōga'lok</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'bebīd</i>	<i>xolā'sī</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>
jōgal-ok	a=š-ī	be-b-īd	xolā'sī	ēšān
boy-DEF	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	in short	like this

<i>as'pokay</i>	<i>yāl'lā</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>a'gī</i>	<i>haday</i>
asp-ok-ay	yāl-ā	=am	a=g-ī	had=ay
horse-DEF-GEN	mane-OBL	=ADD	VCL=take.NPST-3SG	for=EZ

<i>'waday</i>	<i>ne'gah</i>	<i>adā'rīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'hamītaw</i>
wad=ay	negah	a=dār-īd	=o	ham=ītaw
REFL=PC.3SG	keeping	VCL=hold.NPST-3SG	=and	EMPH=this way

<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>arra'sī</i>	<i>čū'bānā</i>
ar=raf-t	ar=ras-ī	čūbān-ā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG	shepherd-OBL

The boy said, “Alright.”; well, you know, he took the the mane of the horse and kept it for himself and he went, like that and arrived at [a place where there was a] shepherd.

KS.f:48

<i>ba</i>	<i>čūbā'noka</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'mēšet</i>
ba	čūbān-ok-a	a=š-ī	ke	ya	mēš=et
to	shepherd-DEF-OBL	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	one	sheep=PC.2SG

<i>'beday</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'bokošān</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>xor'de</i>
be-day-Ø	man	bo-koš-ān	ya	xorde
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	SBJV-kill.NPST-1SG	one	some

<i>gōž'day</i>	<i>azo'rān</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>kā'may</i>	<i>de'ya</i>
gōžday	a=zor-ān	=o	kāmay	deya
meat.OBL.PC.3SG	VCL=take.NPST-1SG	=and	stomach.OBL.PC.3SG	well

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>bā'kī</i>	<i>'harče</i>	<i>'mant</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>'wadet</i>
bākī	harče	mant	ba	wad=et
remaining	whatever	remain.PST	for	REFL=PC.2SG

He said to the shepherd /that/, “Give me a sheep of yours to kill; I will take some of its meat and its rumen; [take] whatever is left for yourself.”

KS.f:49

<i>čūbā'nok</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ga'būl</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>as...</i>	<i>'ē</i>
čūbān-ok	ham	gabūl	a=kan-t	=o	as	ē
shepherd-DEF	ADD	accepting	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	=and	FRGM	PROX

<i>mē'sā</i>	<i>ako'sīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xaso'pose</i>	<i>a'kant</i>
mēš-ā	a=koš-īd	=o	xasopos=e	a=kan-t
sheep-OBL	VCL=kill.NPST-3SG	=and	cutting=PC.3SG	VCL=do.NPST-3SG

<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>'xorde</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>za'ra</i>	<i>a</i>
=o	ešān	xord=e	a=kan-t	ya	zara	a
=and	like this	cutting=PC.3SG	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	one	little	from

<i>gōž'day</i>	<i>apa'čī</i>	<i>a'wārt</i>	<i>o</i>
gōžday	a=pač-ī	a=wār-t	=o
meat.OBL.PC.3SG	VCL=cook.NPST-3SG	VCL=eat.NPST-3SG	=and

<i>kā'may</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ašō'dīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ta'mīs</i>
kāmay	ham	a=šōd-īd	=o	tamīs
stomach.OBL.PC.3SG	ADD	VCL=wash.NPST-3SG	=and	clean

<i>akant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>a'jan</i>	<i>rū</i>	<i>'wadī</i>
a=kan-t	=o	xolāsa	a=jan-t	rū	wad-ī
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	=and	in short	VCL=hit.NPST-3SG	on	REFL-GEN

<i>sa'ray</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'wade</i>	<i>a'kant</i>	<i>ka'čal</i>
saray	=o	wad=e	a=kan-t	kačal
head.OBL.PC.3SG	=and	REFL=PC.3SG	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	bald

So the shepherd agreed and... this one slaughtered the sheep and cut its [meat] up, and you know, he cut it into pieces; he cooked a little of the meat and ate and washed its rumen, and cleaned [it]; and you know, he pulled it over his head and made himself [look] bald.

KS.f:50

<i>'nī</i>	<i>o...</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>mē'say</i>	<i>gōž'day</i>	<i>bā'kī</i>	<i>am</i>
nī	=o	ar=raf-t	mēš-ay	gōžd-ay	bākī	=am
now	=and	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	sheep-GEN	meat-GEN	remaining	=ADD

A. Text Corpus

a'dā *čūbā'nokā*
 a=dā-∅ čūbān-ok-ā
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG shepherd-DEF-OBL

Now and... he went and gave the rest of the sheep's meat to the shepherd.

KS.f:51

ar'raft *o* *xolā'sa* *dobā'ra* *'mā* *ya...* *arra'sī*
 ar=raf-t =o xolāsa dobāra mā ya ar=ras-ī
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and in short again in one VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG

be *bāg'bānā*
 be bāgbān-ā
 to gardener-OBL

He went and, you know, he came (lit. arrived) to a (lit. the) gardener.

KS.f:52

ya *'bāge* *'gotte* *bodagen* *o* *'por* *as*
 ya bāg=e gott=e bod-ag=en =o por as
 one garden=EZ big=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and full from

'gol *o* *ē'sān* *ar'raft* *hade* *čūb...* *'hamī*
 gol =o ēšān ar=raf-t had=e čūb ham=ī
 flower =and like this VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ FRAG EMPH=PROX

pīramar'dokā *a'sī* *ke* *'ta* *ē'dān* *ay*
 pīramard-ok-ā a=š-ī ke ta ēdān =ay
 old man-DEF-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.2SG here =COP.NPST.2SG

bāg'bān *ay* *'man* *akā'yān* *ko'maket*
 bāgbān =ay man a=k-ā-yān komak=et
 gardener =COP.NPST.2SG PN.1SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG help=PC.2SG

'kār *akanān* *'mā* *'ī* *bā'gā*
 kār a=kan-ān mā ī bāg-ā
 work VCL=do.NPST-1SG in PROX garden-OBL

There was a big garden and [it was] full of flowers; you know, he went to this shephe... this old man; he said /that/, “You are a gardener here; I will come and help you; I will work in this garden.

KS.f:53

fā'gat *'ta...* *'man* *ye* *wa'da* *xo'rākom* *bo'kā* *fā'gat*
 fağat ta man ye wada xorāk=om bokā fağat
 only PN.2SG PN.1SG one portion food=PC.1SG want.NPST only

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

xo'rākam 'beday *de'ya* 'mozz *o* 'hečīam
 xorāk=am be-day-Ø deya mozz =o hečī=am
 food=PC.1SG IMPV-give.NPST-2SG well wages =and nothing=PC.1SG

'nabokā a'zat
 na-bokā az=at
 NEG-want.NPST from=PC.2SG

You only... I only want one meal; you give me food; I do not want, you know, wages or anything from you.”

KS.f:54

'ē am ġa'būl a'kant *o* aōš'tī
 ē =am ġabūl a=kan-t =o a=ōšt-ī
 PROX =ADD accepting VCL=do.NPST-3SG =and VCL=stand up.NPST-3SG

hade e'sī *ko'make* *ha'mī* *bāġbā'nī*
 had=e ešī komak=e ham=ī bāġbānī
 with=EZ PROX.OBL help=EZ EMPH=PROX gardening

maka'nā *boda* *o* ē'sān
 ma-kan-ā bod-a =o ēšān
 IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and like this

So this one accepted and [the boy] stayed with him to help him; he worked in the garden (lit. did gardening), and you know.

KS.f:55

ā *bā'ġok* *ham* *ya* 'šāhe *bodagen*
 ā bāġ-ok ham ya šāh-e bod-ag=en
 DIST garden-DEF ADD one king-GEN become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

ke šā'hok *ham* 'haftā *ja'nekī*
 ke šāh-ok ham haf-tā janek=ī
 CLM king-DEF ADD seven-CL daughter=PC.3SG

bodagen *ē* *bā'ġok* *ā'sī*
 bod-ag=en ē bāġ-ok āšī
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX garden-DEF DIST.GEN

boda
 bod-a=Ø
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Well, a king owned that garden; the king had seven daughters (lit. seven daughters were for the king); this garden belonged to him.

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:56

joġa'lok hame'dān pāka'nī maka'nā boda
 joġal-ok ham=edān pākanī ma-kan-ā bod-a
 boy-DEF EMPH=here cleaning IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

o bāġbā'nī maka'nā boda
 =o bāġbānī ma-kan-ā bod-a
 =and gardening IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

As for the boy, he used to dig and clean out [around the trees] and [do other] work in the garden.

KS.f:57

šāh ya 'rōč gō janeko'bāray e'šānī
 šāh ya rōč gō janek-obār=ay eš-ān=ī
 king one day with girl-PL=PC.3SG PROX-PL=PC.3SG

a'kay 'mā 'ē bā'ġā ba taf'rīyā
 a=k-ay-∅ mā ē bāġ-ā ba tafri-yā
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG to PROX garden-OBL to leisure-OBL

One day the king came with his daughters, [and] his people, to this garden to relax.

KS.f:58

xolā'sa joġa'lok ham 'hamedān boda
 xolāsa joġal-ok ham ham=edān bod-a=∅
 in short boy-DEF ADD EMPH=here become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

šā'hay janeko'bār agen'nīdo e'šān
 šāh-ay janek-obār a=genn-īd=o ešān
 king-GEN daughter-PL VCL=see.NPST-3SG=and like this

Well, the boy was there (lit. here) as well; the king's daughters saw him, you know.

KS.f:59

ne... e'šān de'ya janeko'bāre 'har 'rōč
 ne eš-ān deya janek-obār=e har rōč
 FREG PROX-PL well girl-PL=PC.3SG each day

mā'hēn boda 'mā bā'ġā ba
 m-ā-hēn bod-a mā bāġ-ā ba
 IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP to garden-OBL to

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>tafrīyā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē'sān...</i>
tafrī-yā	=o	ēšān
leisure-OBL	=and	like this

Now... these, his daughters used to come to this garden every day to relax, you know.

KS.f:60

<i>de'ya</i>	<i>a'wal</i>	<i>joğa'lok</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>as'pay</i>	<i>mū'day</i>	<i>'ās</i>
deya	awal	joğal-ok	wad-ī	asp-ay	mūday	ās
well	first	boy-DEF	REFL-GEN	horse-GEN	hair.OBL.PC.3SG	fire

<i>adād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'aspay</i>	<i>a'kay</i>
a=dā-d	=o	asp=ay	a=k-ay-Ø
VCL=give.NPST-3SG	=and	horse=PC.3SG	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

<i>'swāre</i>	<i>as'pay</i>	<i>a'bīd</i>	<i>le'bāse</i>
swār=e	aspay	a=b-īd	lebās=e
riding=EZ	horse.OBL.PC.3SG	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	clothes=EZ

<i>šāhzāda'ī</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>a'kant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'dawrī</i>
šāhzāda-ī	=am	a=kan-t	=o	ya	dawr=ī
prince-ADJZ	=ADD	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	=and	one	turn=IND

<i>'hamīlaw</i>	<i>bahre</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'ī</i>	<i>bā'gokā</i>
ham=īlaw	bahr=e	wad=ī	mā	ī	bāğ-ok-ā
EMPH=this way	for=EZ	REFL=PC.3SG	in	PROX	garden-DEF-OBL

<i>magar'dā</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>
ma-gard-ā	bod-a	=o	ešān
IMP-go around.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP	=and	like this

Well, at the beginning, the boy burnt a hair from his horse and his horse came, he mounted his horse and put on royal attire and he was riding around this garden by himself, you know.

KS.f:61

<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>kassāno'ēn</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>hafto'mīn</i>
šāh-ay	kassān-o-ēn	janek	ke	ham=ā	haft-om-īn
king-GEN	small-DIM-ATTR	daughter	CLM	EMPH=DIST	seven-ORD-ATTR

<i>ja'neke</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>a'kay</i>
janek=e	bod-a=Ø	a=k-ay-Ø
daughter=PC.3SG	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

'mā bā'gā o 'say akant agen'nī ta
 mā bāg-ā =o say a=kan-t a=genn-ī ta
 to garden-OBL =and looking VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=sec.NPST-3SG MIR

'ye na'far xo'dāyā 'swāre 'ē 'asp en 'mā
 ye nafar xodā-yā swār=e ē asp =en mā
 one person God-VOC riding=EZ PROX horse =COP.NPST.3SG in

ī bā'gā 'magarda xay'lī jōga'lae
 ī bāg-ā ma-gard-a xaylī jōgala=e
 PROX garden-OBL IMPV-go around.NPST-3SG very boy=EZ

ga'sangī en o en'gār ke fereš'te
 gašang=ī =en =o engār ke ferešte
 handsome=IND =COP.NPST.3SG =and assumption CLM angel

en 'mā ī bā'gā en
 =en mā ī bāg-ā =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG in PROX garden-OBL =COP.NPST.3SG

The king's youngest daughter, who was that seventh daughter, came to the garden and looked [and] saw that, oh God, one person had mounted this horse [and] was riding around this garden; he was a very handsome boy and [it was] as if it was an angel who was [there] in that (lit. this) garden.

KS.f:62

az bāg'bānā sō'jā agī a'sī
 az bāgbān-ā sōj-ā a=g--ī a=š-ī
 from gardeningOBL question-OBL VCL=take.NPST3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'ē jōga'lok 'kay en
 ē jōgal-ok kay =en
 PROX boy-DEF who =COP.NPST.3SG

She asked the gardener [and] said, “Who is this boy?”

KS.f:63

a'sī 'wāllā 'ē 'manī 'bač en
 a=š-ī wāllā ē man-ī bač =en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG by.God PROX PN.1SG-GEN son =COP.NPST.3SG

o 'hamīdān 'kār makanagen gō 'man
 =o ham=īdān kār ma-kan-ag=en gō man
 =and EMPH=here work IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG with PN.1SG

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

'hamī bāḡbā'nok en
 ham=ī bāḡbān-ok =en
 EMPH=PROX gardeningDEF =COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “By God, this one is my son and he is working with me here; he is this gardener.”

KS.f:64

'ē de'ya a'zānt ke ma'san 'ē ha'mā
 ē deya a=zān-t ke masan ē ham=ā
 PROX well VCL=know.NPST-3SG CLM for example PROX EMPH=DIST

ḵōga'lok en agen'nī dobā'ra ma'san 'mā
 ḵōgal-ok =en a=genn-ī dobāra masan mā
 boy-DEF =COP.NPST.3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG again for example in

es'taxrā ma'lae kod o 'raft o dobā'ra
 estaxr-ā mala=e kod =o raft-Ø =o dobāra
 pool-OBL swimming=PC.3SG do.PST =and go.PST-3SG =and again

ha'mā koma'okā ḵadī saray o
 ham=ā koma-ok-ā ḵad=ī saray =o
 EMPH=DIST stomach-DEF-OBL hit.PST=PC.3SG head.OBL.PC.3SG =and

bod ha'mā kača'lok
 bod-Ø ham=ā kačal-ok
 become.PST-3SG EMPH=DIST bald-DEF

Well, this one understood that, you know, this one was that boy; once again, she saw [him], for example, [when he] was swimming in the pool and [then] he went and again pulled that rumen over his head and became that bald man.

KS.f:65

de'ya hame'sa 'ē kača'lokay ko'da boda čēr
 deya hameša ē kačal-ok=ay kod-a bod-a čēr
 well always PROX bald-DEF=PC.3SG do.PST-PP become.PST-PP under

'čammī ha'wāse ba 'ē ḵōga'lokā
 čamm=ī hawās=e ba ē ḵōgal-ok-ā
 eye=PC.3SG senses=PC.3SG to PROX boy-DEF-OBL

bodagen
 bod-ag=en
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

You know, from then on she was always keeping her eyes on this bald man; she was paying attention to this boy.

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:66

xolā'se agza'rīd ya mo'datī tā wa'zīr
 xolāse a=gzar-īd ya modat=ī tā wazīr
 in short VCL=pass.NPST-3SG one time=IND till minister

a'kay hade šā'hā o a'šī
 a=k-ay-∅ had=e šāh-ā =o a=š-ī
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG to=EZ king-OBL =and VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'šāh tasa'doġet ta'ī jāneko'bār de'ya 'gott
 šāh tasadoġ=et ta-ī jānek-obār deya gott
 king sacrifice=PC.2SG PN.2SG-GEN girl-PL well big

bodagen 'haftā ja'neket
 bod-ag=en haf-tā jānek=et
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG seven-CL daughter=PC.2SG

'assen de'ya bā'hāt en jāneko'bāret
 ass=en deya bāhāt=en jānek-obār=et
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG well must=COP.NPST.3SG daughter-PL=PC.2SG

'beday 'šūā 'moġeay 'šūeneš
 be-d-ay šū-ā moġe=ay šū=en=eš
 SBJV-give.NPST-2SG husband-OBL time=EZ husband=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3PL

Well, some time passed, then the minister came to the king and said, “King, your majesty, your daughters are grown-up now; you have seven daughters; now you must marry off (lit. give to husband) your daughters; it is time for their marriage (lit. husband).”

KS.f:67

'šāh a'šī 'xob če'taw kanān
 šāh a=š-ī xob četaw ∅-kan-ān
 king VCL=say.NPST-3SG well how SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

The king said, “Well, what should I do?”

KS.f:68

a'šī 'harčī joġa'la 'mā 'ī šah'rā
 a=š-ī harčī joġala mā ī šahr-ā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG whatever boy in PROX town-OBL

'assen serwat'mand o wa'zīr o woza'rāay
 ass=en serwatmand =o wazīr =o wozarā-ay
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG rich =and minister =and minister.PL-GEN

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>'bačč en</i>	<i>'gerd kan</i>	<i>'bīyār</i>
bačč =en	gerd Ø-kan-Ø	bīy-ār-Ø
boy =COP.NPST.3SG	gathered IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

<i>ta</i>	<i>janeko'bārat</i>	<i>a'say</i>	<i>ente'xāb kanant</i>
ta	janek-obār=at	aš=ay	entexāb Ø-kan-ant
in order that	daughter-PL=PC.2SG	from=PC.3SG	choice SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

He said, “Round up all the boys there are in this town, sons of the rich, the ministers’ sons, and bring them for your daughters to choose [one] of them.”

KS.f:69

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'bebīd</i>
a=š-ī	be-b-īd
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

He said, “Alright.”

KS.f:70

<i>wa'zīr am ar'raft o 'arčī ma'san pūl'dārēn</i>
wazīr =am ar=raf-t =o arčī masan pūldār-ēn
minister =ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and whatever for example rich-ATTR

<i>joḡla'bār bodagen o e'sān ādam'bārā</i>
joḡla-bār bod-ag=en =o ešān ādam-bār-ā
boy-PL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and like this human being-PL-OBL

<i>'gerd akant akā'rī a'sī</i>
gerd a=kan-t a=k-ār-ī a=š-ī
gathered VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>šā'hay janeko'bār ente'xāb kanant e'sān</i>
šāh-ay janek-obār entexāb Ø-kan-ant ešān
king-GEN daughter-PL choice SBJV-do.NPST-3PL like this

So the minister went and you know, all the rich boys that there were, like that, he rounded up [these] persons and brought [them] and said, “The king’s daughters should choose, you know.”

KS.f:71

<i>'haftā 'sīb am a'dant janeko'bāray das'sā</i>
haf-tā sīb =am a=dan-t janek-obār-ay dass-ā
seven-CL apple =ADD VCL=give.NPST-3SG girl-PL-GEN hand-OBL

<i>a'sant har ko'dom a šo'mā 'wadō bo'kān</i>
a=š-ant har kodom a šomā wad=ō bokān
VCL=say.NPST-3PL each which from PN.2PL REFL=PC.2PL want.NPST

A. Text Corpus

ente'xāb kan
 entexāb Ø-kan-Ø
 choice IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

So he gave seven apples to the king's daughters; some one (lit. they) said, "Choose whomever you yourselves want."

KS.f:72

xolā'sa 'šīstā ja'nek 'wadī šū'bāreš ente'xāb
 xolāsa šīs-tā janek wad-ī šū-bār=eš entexāb
 in short six-CL girl REFL-GEN husband-PL=PC.3PL choice

akanant 'yekī wa'zīray 'bačč
 a=kan-ant yek=ī wazīr-ay bačč
 VCL=do.NPST-3PL one=IND minister-GEN boy

boda 'yekī... 'ā yake pūl'dāre
 bod-a=Ø yek=ī ā yak=e pūldār=e
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND DIST one=IND rich=IND

hamī'taw ente'xāb akanant 'tā ara'sī be
 hamīyaw entexāb a=kan-ant tā a=ras-ī be
 like this choice VCL=do.NPST-3PL until VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG to

hafto'mīn ja'nekā
 haft-om-īn janek-ā
 seven-ORD-ATTR girl-OBL

You know, the six girls chose their husbands; one was the minister's son, one... another (lit. that) one was rich; they chose like this until it was the seventh girl's turn.

KS.f:73

'haftomīn ja'nek hamī'taw sī'bay
 haft-om-īn janek hamīyaw sībay
 seven-ORD-ATTR girl like this apple.OBL.PC.3SG

maprē'nā bā'lād o maḡā'pā
 ma-prēn-ā bālād =o ma-ḡāp-ā
 IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG up =and IMP-catch.NPST-BACKG.3SG

bodagen ente'xāb 'namakanā
 bod-ag=en entexāb na-ma-kan-ā
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG choice NEG-IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

boda *šū'ay*
 bod-a šūay
 become.PST-PP husband.OBL.PC.3SG

The seventh girl threw her apple up and took it, like this; she did not choose her husband.

KS.f:74

a'šant *'xo* *yekī* *as* *ī'šāna* *ente'xāb*
 a=š-ant xo yek=ī as īš-ān-a entexāb
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL well one=IND from PROX-PL-OBJ choice

kan *'čōn* *enet*
 Ø-kan-Ø čōn =en=et
 IMPV-do.NPST-2SG how =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG

They said, “Well, choose one of them, what is up with you?”

KS.f:75

a'šī *ke* *'na* *'man* *'ā* *ke* *bo'kānom*
 a=š-ī ke na man ā ke bokān=om
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM no PN.1SG DIST CLM want.NPST=PC.1SG

'nayāka
 nay-āk-a=Ø
 NEG-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

She said /that/, “No the one I want has not come.”

KS.f:76

a'šant *'xo* *'kay* *en*
 a=š-ant xo kay =en
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL well who =COP.NPST.3SG

They said, “Ok, who is he?”

KS.f:77

e'šān *a'šant* *ha'san* *ka'čal* *fa'ġat*
 eš-ān a=š-ant hasan kačal faġat
 PROX-PL VCL=say.NPST-3PL Hasan bald only

'nayākagen *'mā* *ē'šān* *a'šant*
 nay-āk-ag=en mā ēš-ān a=š-ant
 NEG-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG with PROX-PL VCL=say.NPST-3PL

A. Text Corpus

'berret a'mā ha'san ka'čalā am
ber-r-et am=ā hasan kačal-ā =am
IMPV-go.NPST-2PL EMPH=DIST Hasan bald-OBL =ADD

'bozoret 'bīyāret
bo-zor-et bīy-ār-et
IMPV-take.NPST-2PL IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

These said, “Only Hasan the Bald has not come along with these.”; they said, “Go and bring that Hasan the Bald as well.”

KS.f:78

ākā'rante jāna'kok ha'mī 'tā
ā=k-ār-ant=e jānak-ok ham=ī tā
VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG girl-DEF EMPH=PROX as soon as

ha'san ka'čalā agen'nī sī'bay
hasan kačal-ā a=genn-ī sībay
Hasan bald-OBL VCL=see.NPST-3SG apple.OBL.PC.3SG

aprē'nī a'jant 'mā ha'san kača'lī sī'nā
a=prēn-ī a=jan-t mā hasan kačal-ī sīnā
VCL=throw.NPST-3SG VCL=hit.NPST-3SG in Hasan bald-GEN chest.OBL

a'jant 'mā ha'mā ka'čalokay sī'nā
a=jan-t mā ham=ā kačal-ok-ay sīnā
VCL=hit.NPST-3SG in EMPH=DIST bald-DEF-GEN chest.OBL

They brought him, [and] as soon as the girl saw Hasan the Bald, she threw her apple [and] hit Hasan the Bald's chest; she hit that bald man's chest.

KS.f:79

xolā'sa 'šāh a'sī 'xob 'na ešte'bāh
xolāsa šāh a=š-ī xob na eštebāh
in short king VCL=say.NPST-3SG well no mistake

bodagen 'ē 'nabāhāt e'sa ente'xāb
bod-ag=en ē na-bāhāt eš-a entexāb
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX NEG-must PROX-OBL choice

kant
Ø-kan-t
SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

In short, the king said, “Well, no, it was a mistake; this one shouldn't choose this one.”

KS.f:80

dobā'ra sī'bokā age'rant o a'dant
 dobāra sīb-ok-ā a=ger-ant =o a=d-ant
 again apple-DEF-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3PL =and VCL=give.NPST-3PL

a'zay dobā'ra aprē'nī ha'mā ha'san ka'čalā
 az=ay dobāra a=prēn-ī ham=ā hasan kačal-ā
 to=PC.3SG again VCL=throw.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST Hasan bald-OBL

a'jant
 a=jan-t
 VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

Again, they took the apple and gave (lit. he gave) [it] to her; again she threw it [and] hit that Hasan the Bald.

KS.f:81

a'šant 'xo hālā ke de'ya 'bahre dowo'mīn 'bār
 a=š-ant xo hālā ke deya bahr=e do-wom-in bār
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL well now CLM well for=EZ two-ORD-ATTR time

am ente'xābī kodagen de'ya 'belet
 =am entexāb=ī kod-ag=en deya b-el-et
 =ADD choice=PC.3SG do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG well IMPV-let.NPST-2PL

ba hamī'šī bī
 ba ham=īšī Ø-b-ī
 for EMPH=PROX.OBL SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

They said, “Well, now that she has chosen him a second time, let her be his.”

KS.f:82

a'šī 'ta de'ya bā'hāten 'berray
 a=š-ī ta deya bāhāt=en ber-r-ay
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG well must=COP.NPST.3SG SBJV-go.NPST-2SG

ya 'jāhe 'mā bīyā'bānā de'ya 'wadet ka'parā
 ya jāh=e mā bīyābān-ā deya wad=et kapar-ā
 one place=IND in desert-OBL well REFL=PC.2SG hut-OBL

'bejanay 'benennay
 be-jan-ay be-nenn-ay
 SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG SBJV-sit down.NPST-2SG

He (i.e the king) said, “You must go to a place in the desert now, set up a hut [there] and settle down.”

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:83

de'ya *ġa'būl* *akant* *gō* *hamī'sī* *hamedāna'kō*
 deya *ġabūl* a=kan-t *gō* ham=īšī hamedānakō
 well accepting VCL=do.NPST-3SG with EMPH=PROX.OBL right here

zende'gī *maka'nā* *boda* 'ē *ha'san* *ka'čal*
 zendegī ma-kan-ā bod-a ē hasan kačal
 life IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP PROX Hasan bald

ham *šā'hay* *ġātero'bār* *o* *aspo'bārā*
 ham šāh-ay ġāter-obār =o asp-obār-ā
 ADD king-GEN donkey-PL =and horse-PL-OBL

mačārē'nā *bodagen* *o*
 ma-čārēn-ā bod-ag=en =o
 IMP-take.grazing.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

maba'rā *boda* *ba* *ča'rā* *o* *e'šān* *ba*
 ma-bar-ā bod-a ba čarā =o ešān ba
 IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP for pasture =and like this for

hamī'sān *kārega'rī* *maka'nā* *boda*
 ham=īš-ān kāregar-ī ma-kan-ā bod-a
 EMPH=PROX-PL worker-NOMZ IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

You know, she accepted [and] she was living there (lit. here) with him [and] this Hasan the Bald was grazing the king's donkeys and horses and took them to the pasture and things like that; he was working for him (i.e. the king) there (lit. here).

KS.f:84

'ya 'rō 'šāh *ba* *dūmādo'bāray* *a'šīt* *ke*
 ya rō šāh ba dūmādobāray a=š-īt ke
 one day king to son in law.PL.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM

'berret *ba* 'man *harko'dūmō* *še'kālā*
 ber-r-et ba man har-kodūm=ō šekāl-ā
 IMPV-go.NPST-2PL for PN.1SG each-which=PC.2PL hunt-OBL

'bejanet *'beyāret*
 be-ĵan-et bey-ār-et
 IMPV-hit.NPST-2PL IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

One day, the king said to his sons-in-law /that/, “Go and hunt a prey each for me [and] bring [it here].”

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

KS.f:85

<i>e'šān</i>	<i>ġa'būl</i>	<i>akanan</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>as'pā</i>	
eš-ān	ġabūl	a=kan-an	=o	xolāsa	asp-ā	
PROX-PL	accepting	VCL=do.NPST-3PL	=and	in short	horse-OBL	
<i>azo'rant</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>to'fangā</i>	<i>azo'rant</i>	<i>ar'ran</i>	
a=zor-ant		=o	tofang-ā	a=zor-ant	ar=r-an	
VCL=take.NPST-3PL		=and	gun-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3PL	VCL=go.NPST-3PL	
<i>ba</i>	<i>še'kālay</i>	<i>ĵana'gā</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'kassānoēn</i>	<i>ĵa'nek</i>	<i>ham</i>
ba	šekāl-ay	ĵan-ag-ā	ē	kassān-o-ēn	ĵanek	ham
for	hunt-GEN	hit.NPST-INF-OBL	PROX	small-DIM-ATTR	daughter	ADD
<i>ayaško'nī</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>gohāro'bāray</i>	<i>šū'ī</i>		
ay=aškon-ī		ke	gohār-obār-ay	šū=ī		
VCL=hear.NPST-3SG		CLM	sister-PL-GEN	husband=PC.3SG		
<i>raftayan</i>		<i>ba</i>	<i>še'kālā</i>	<i>a'kay</i>	<i>ba</i>	
raft-ay=an		ba	šekāl-ā	a=k-ay-∅	ba	
go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL		for	hunt-OBL	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	to	
<i>'wadī</i>	<i>šū'ay</i>		<i>a'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'manī</i>	
wad-ī	šūay		a=š-ī	ke	man-ī	
REFL-GEN	husband.OBL.PC.3SG		VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	PN.1SG-GEN	
<i>gahāro'bāray</i>	<i>'šūom</i>		<i>rafta</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>še'kālā</i>	
gahār-obār-ay	šū=om		raft-a=∅	ba	šekāl-ā	
sister-PL-GEN	husband=PC.1SG		go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	for	hunt-OBL	
<i>aga ta</i>	<i>'narray</i>		<i>ba</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'xob</i>	
aga ta	nar-r-ay		ba	man	xob	
if	PN.2SG	NEG.SBJV-go.NPST-2SG	for	PN.1SG	well	
<i>'nahren</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>bā'hāt en</i>	<i>'berray</i>		
nahren	ta	ham	bāhāt=en	ber-r-ay		
NEG.COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG	ADD	must=COP.NPST.3SG	SBJV-go.NPST-2SG		
<i>čōn</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>dū'mād</i>	<i>ay</i>			
čōn	šāh-ay	dūmād	=ay			
because	king-GEN	groom	=COP.NPST.2SG			

These accepted and, you know; they took the horses and the guns; they went for hunting the prey; well, this youngest daughter heard that her sisters' husbands had gone hunting; she came [and] said to her husband /that/, "My sisters' husbands have gone hunting; I will feel ashamed (lit. it is not good for me) if you do not go; you must go as well, since you are the king's son-in-law."

A. Text Corpus

KS.f:86

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>'bebīd</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>am</i>
a=š-ī	xob	be-b-īd	man	=am
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	well	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	=ADD

ar'rān

ar=r-ān

VCL=go.NPST-1SG

He said, “Alright, I will go too.”

KS.f:87

<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>šā'hā</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ham</i>
ar=raf-t	had=e	šāh-ā	a=š-ī	man	ham
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	to=EZ	king-OBL	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	ADD

<i>bo'kānom</i>	<i>'berrān</i>	<i>še'kālā</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>'ta</i>
bokān=om	ber-r-ān	šekāl-ā	ba	ta
want.NPST=PC.1SG	SBJV-go.NPST-1SG	hunt-OBL	for	PN.2SG

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'xo</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'aspe</i>	<i>'langē</i>	<i>ġa'tere</i>	<i>'langē</i>
a=š-ī	xo	ya	asp=e	lang=ē	ġater=e	lang=ē
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	well	one	horse=EZ	lame=IND	mule=EZ	lame=IND

<i>bodagen</i>	<i>a'sant</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ġa'tere</i>
bod-ag=en	a=š-ant	ē	ġater=e
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3PL	PROX	mule=EZ

<i>lan'gokā</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>aw'kaše</i>	<i>'bedayet</i>	<i>ta</i>
lang-ok-ā	gō	ya	awkaš=e	be-day-et	ta
lame-DEF-OBL	with	one	saddlebag=IND	IMPV-give.NPST-2PL	so that

<i>'ē</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>'berraft</i>
ē	=am	ber-raf-t
PROX	=ADD	SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

He went to the king [and] said, “I want to go hunting for you too.”; he said, “OK.”; there was a lame horse, a lame mule; they said, “Give him this lame mule with a saddle-bag so that this one can go as well.”

KS.f:88

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>xor'jīnā</i>	<i>aprē'nī</i>	<i>rū</i>	<i>ġa'tere</i>
ē	ham	xorjīn-ā	a=prēn-ī	rū	ġater=e
PROX	ADD	saddlebag-OBL	VCL=throw.NPST-3SG	on	mule=EZ

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>'langay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>ko'hā</i>
langay	=o	ar=raf-t	koh-ā
lame.OBL.PC.3SG	=and	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	mountain-OBL

So this one threw the saddle-bag onto his lame mule and went to the mountains.

KS.f:89

<i>kō'hā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>arra'sī</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>'wadī</i>
kōh-ā	ke	ar=ras-ī	ham=ā	wad-ī
mountain-OBL	CLM	VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG	EMPH=DIST	REFL-GEN

<i>as'pay</i>	<i>mū'day</i>	<i>'ās</i>	<i>adā</i>	<i>as'pokay</i>
asp-ay	mūday	ās	a=dā-∅	asp-ok=ay
horse-GEN	hair.OBL.PC.3SG	fire	VCL=give.NPST-3SG	horse-DEF=PC.3SG

<i>a'kay</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>'kāret</i>
a=k-ay-∅	a=š-ī	če	kār=et
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	what	work=PC.2SG

<i>a</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>bo'kānom</i>	<i>ya</i>
=a-∅	a=š-ī	ke	bokān=om	ya
=be.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	want.NPST=PC.1SG	one

<i>šay'hae</i>	<i>'bekašay</i>	<i>'harče</i>	<i>še'kāl</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>maw'jūde</i>
šayha=e	be-kaš-ay	harče	šekāl	=o	mawjūd=e
neighing=IND	SBJV-pull.NPST-2SG	whatever	prey	=and	creature=EZ

<i>zen'da</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'gerd</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>īdāna'ko</i>	<i>'mā</i>
zenda	=en	gerd	∅-b-ī	īdānako	mā
living	=COP.NPST.3SG	gathered	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	right here	on

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'kōhem</i>
ē	kōh=em
PROX	mountain=PC.1SG

When he arrived in the mountains, he burnt (lit. some of) his horse's hair; his horse came [and] said, "What do you want?"; he said /that/, "I want you to neigh once for all the prey and living creatures there are to gather here on this my mountain."

KS.f:90

<i>'ē</i>	<i>šay'hā</i>	<i>aka'sī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'harče</i>	<i>še'kāl</i>
ē	šayhā	a=kaš-ī	=o	harče	šekāl
PROX	neighing.OBL	VCL=pull.NPST-3SG	=and	whatever	prey

<i>boda</i>	<i>'gerd</i>	<i>a'bīd</i>	<i>hade</i>
bod-a=∅	gerd	a=b-īd	had=e
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	gathered	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	by=EZ

A. Text Corpus

<i>'ē</i>	<i>joġa'lā</i>	<i>joġa'la</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>čā'dor</i>	<i>a'jant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>
ē	joġalā	joġala	=am	čādor	a=jan-t	=o	xolāsa
PROX	boy.OBL	boy	=ADD	tent	VCL=hit.NPST-3SG	=and	in short

<i>hamedāna'ko</i>	<i>neš'ta</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>ē</i>
ham=edānako	nešt-a	bod-a=∅	ē
EMPH=right here	sit down.PST-PP	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX

<i>dūmādo'bāray</i>	<i>ākā'yant</i>
dūmād-obār=ay	ā=k-ā-yant
son in law-PL=PC.3SG	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

This one neighed and all the prey there were [to be found], gathered around this boy; so the boy set up a tent and, you know, he was sitting there (lit. here); these [other] sons-in-law came.

KS.f:91

<i>dūmādo'bāray</i>	<i>ākā'yant</i>	<i>'harčī</i>
dūmād-obār=ay	ā=k-ā-yant	harčī
son in law-PL=PC.3SG	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	however much

<i>magar'dēn</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>še'kālā</i>	<i>pe'dā</i>
ma-gard-ēn	bod-a	šekāl-ā	pedā
IMP-go around.NPST-BACKG.3PL	become.PST-PP	prey-OBL	visible

<i>'namakanēn</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'beġanan</i>
na-ma-kan-ēn	bod-a	ke	be-ġan-an
NEG-IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3PL	become.PST-PP	CLM	SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL

<i>še'kāl</i>	<i>'gīreš</i>	<i>'namāhā</i>	<i>boda</i>
šekāl	gīr=eš	na-māh-ā-∅	bod-a
prey	grip=PC.3PL	NEG-IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP

<i>maya'sēn</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'das</i>
ma-yaš-ēn	bod-a	xodā	hālā	mā	das
IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3PL	become.PST-PP	God	now	PN.1PL	hand

<i>xā'lī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>a'nabī</i>	<i>'berren</i>	<i>hade</i>
xālī	ke	a=na-b-ī	ber-r-en	had=e
empty	CLM	VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	to=EZ

<i>šā'hā</i>	<i>'bāhāt</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'begarden</i>	<i>belaxa're</i>	<i>ya</i>
šāh-ā	bāhāt	=en	be-gard-en	belaxare	ya
king-OBL	must	=COP.NPST.3SG	SBJV-go around.NPST-1PL	anyway	one

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

'čī pē'dā kanen
 čī pēdā Ø-kan-en
 thing visible SBJV-do.NPST-1PL

The sons-in-law came, [and] however much they were looking for prey, they were not able to find any prey; they were saying, “Oh God, well, we cannot go to the king empty-handed; we must look around [and] find something anyway.”

KS.f:92

'hamīṭaw magar'dēn boda
 hamīṭaw ma-gard-ēn bod-a
 like this IMP-go around.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP

arra'san ba ha'mā ha'me bā'marde ke hā'lā
 ar=ras-an ba ham=ā ham=e bāmard=e ke hālā
 VCL=arrive.NPST-3PL to EMPH=DIST EMPH=PROX man=IND CLM now

ē'dān čā'dere ja'da boda o šekālo'bār hade
 ēdān čāder=e jad-a bod-a =o šekāl-obār had=e
 here tent=PC.3SG hit.PST-PP become.PST-PP =and prey-PL by=PC.3SG

bodayan ē'sān 'namazānēn
 bod-ay=an ēšān na-ma-zān-ēn
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL like this NEG-IMP-know.NPST-BACKG.3PL

boda ha'mā kača'lok en
 bod-a ham=ā kačal-ok =en
 become.PST-PP EMPH=DIST bald-DEF =COP.NPST.3SG

They were looking around until they came (lit. arrived) to this man who set up a tent there (lit. here), you know; and the prey were at his place; these didn't know that he was that bald man.

KS.f:93

akā'yant ha'day o xolā'sa a'sant
 a=k-ā-yant had=ay =o xolāsa a=š-ant
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL to=PC.3SG =and in short VCL=say.NPST-3PL

ke 'ta 'ē ham'mo še'kālet 'assen
 ke ta ē hammo šekāl=et ass=en
 CLM PN.2SG PROX all prey=PC.2SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

'šīštām 'beday 'mā ta 'mā
 šīš-tā=m be-day-Ø mā ta mā
 six-CL=ADD IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1PL MIR PN.1PL

A. Text Corpus

<i>'bebaren</i>	<i>bah'ray</i>	<i>šā'hā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'das</i>	<i>xā'lī</i>
be-bar-en	bahr=ay	šāh-ā	mā	das	xālī
SBJV-take.NPST-1PL	for=EZ	king-OBL	PN.1PL	hand	empty

'narren
nar-r-en
NEG.SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

They came to him and, you know, they said /that/, “You have so much prey; give six of them to us to bring to the king, so that we don’t come (lit. go) empty-handed.”

KS.f:94

<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'bebīd</i>	<i>fa'gat</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'šarte</i>
a=š-ī	be-b-īd	faḡat	ya	šart=e
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	only	one	condition=IND

<i>'assen</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>en</i>
ass=en	a=š-ī	čī	=en
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	what	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'wadom</i>	<i>'sareš</i>	<i>'boborrān</i>	<i>o</i>
a=š-ī	wad=om	sar=eš	bo-borr-ān	=o
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	REFL=PC.1SG	head=PC.3PL	SBJV-cut.NPST-1SG	=and

<i>har</i>	<i>ko'domam</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>nešā'nae</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>kanān</i>	<i>'mā</i>
har	kodom=am	ya	nešāna=e	ēr	∅-kan-ān	mā
each	which=ADD	one	sign=IND	PREV	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	in

šā'nagō
šānag=ō
shoulder=PC.2PL

He said, “Alright, I have (lit. there is) only one condition.”; he said, “What is it?”; he said, “I myself should slaughter them and also leave a sign on your shoulder.”

KS.f:95

<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'bebīd</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'ē</i>
a=š-ī	be-b-īd	hālā	ta	ē
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	now	PN.2SG	PROX

<i>kā'roket</i>	<i>bo'kā</i>
kār-ok=et	bokā
work-DEF=PC.2SG	want.NPST

[One of them] said, “Ok, now that you want to do this thing.”

KS.f:96

de'ya 'šīštā še'kālay sa'rā abor'rīd o 'ē ham
 deya šīs-tā šekāl-ay sar-ā a=borr-īd =o ē ham
 well six-CL prey-GEN head-OBL VCL=cut.NPST-3SG =and PROX ADD

har ko'dome 'sareš ke mabor'rā
 har kodom=e sar=eš ke ma-borr-ā
 each which=IND head=PC.3PL CLM IMP-cut.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda mē'sā bodagen
 bod-a mē-š-ā bod-ag=en
 become.PST-PP IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

ke ma'zaš a kal'laš ma'zaš a kal'laš ke
 ke maza=š a kalla=š maza=š a kalla=š ke
 CLM taste=PC.3PL to head=PC.3SG taste=PC.3PL to head=PC.3PL CLM

'hay e'sā mē'sā bodā 'bad
 hay eš-ā mē-š-ā bod-ā bad
 ITER PROX-OBL IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP then

das'say ma'janā boda 'mā 'ē
 dassay ma-ĵan-ā bod-a mā ē
 hand.OBL.PC.3SG IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP in PROX

šekālo'bāre hō'nā o ma'janā boda
 šekāl-obār-e hōn-ā =o ma-ĵan-ā bod-a
 prey-PL-GEN blood-OBL =and IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

'mā 'ē bāmardo'bāre kō'lā 'hamī dūmādo'bārā
 mā ē bāmard-obār-e kōl-ā ham=ī dūmād-obār-ā
 in PROX man-PL-GEN shoulder-OBL EMPH=PROX groom-PL-OBL

Well, he slaughtered these six animals of prey, and when this one was slaughtering each one of them, he was saying [to himself], its taste in its head, its taste in its head; as he was saying this, he kept putting his hand in the animal's blood and kept putting it on these men's shoulders, these sons-in-law.

KS.f:97

xolā'sa e'sān am šekālo'bārā azo'rant o 'ēr
 xolāsa eš-ān =am šekāl-obār-ā a=zor-ant =o ēr
 in short PROX-PL =ADD prey-PL-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3PL =and PREV

akanant 'mā xor'jīneš o ākā'yant
 a=kan-ant mā xorjīn=eš =o ā=k-ā-yant
 VCL=do.NPST-3PL into saddlebag=PC.3PL =and VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

A. Text Corpus

ġas'rā
ġasr-ā
 palace-OBL

So these took the prey and put them into their saddlebags and returned to the palace.

KS.f:98

<i>ē</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>kallapāčao'bārā</i>	<i>'gerd</i>	<i>akan</i>	<i>'ēr</i>
<i>ē</i>	=am	kallapāča-obār-ā	gerd	a=kan-∅	ēr
PROX	=ADD	head and trotters-PL-OBL	gathered	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	PREV

<i>akant</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>xor'jīnay</i>
a=kan-t	mā	ham=ā	wad-ī	xorjīnay
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	into	EMPH=DIST	REFL-GEN	saddlebag.OBL.PC.3SG

<i>gō</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>ġa'tere</i>	<i>'langay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>'zorr</i>
gō	ham=ā	ġater=e	langay	=o	ešān	zorr
with	EMPH=DIST	mule=EZ	lame.OBL.PC.3SG	=and	like this	turning

<i>agī</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>
a=g-ī	lōg-ā
VCL=take.NPST-3SG	house-OBL

[So] this one collected the heads and trotters [and] put [them] into his saddlebag [and] returned home on his limping mule, you know.

KS.f:99

<i>a'kayt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>do...</i>	<i>ġaneko'bār</i>	<i>'šiš'tā</i>
a=k-ay-t	=o	xolāsa	ī	do	ġanek-obār	šiš-tā
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	=and	in short	PROX	two	girl-PL	six-CL

<i>ġa'nek</i>	<i>gōž'dā</i>	<i>apa'čant</i>	<i>aba'rant</i>	<i>ba</i>
ġanek	gōžd-ā	a=pač-ant	a=bar-ant	ba
daughter	meat-OBL	VCL=cook.NPST-3PL	VCL=take.NPST-3PL	for

<i>bo'wāyeš</i>	<i>bo'wāyeš</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>'harčī</i>
bowāyeš	bowā=yeš	=am	harčī
father.OBL.PC.3PL	father=PC.3PL	=ADD	however much

<i>mawa'rā</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>magen'nā</i>
ma-war-ā	bod-a	ma-genn-ā
IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP	IMP-see.NPST-BACKG.3SG

<i>boda</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'eš</i>	<i>a'san</i>	<i>maz'zeī</i>	<i>'ne</i>
bod-a	ta	eš	asan	mazze=ī	ne
become.PST-PP	MIR	PROX	actually	taste=PC.3SG	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>'tāmī</i>	<i>'ne</i>	<i>aš...</i>
tām=ī	ne	aš
taste=PC.3SG	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG	FRAG

He came back and, you know, these two... the daughters, the six daughters, cooked the meat [and] took it to their father; but however much their father was eating, he found that this had no taste at all; it had no taste...

KS.f:100

<i>'ā</i>	<i>'kassānoēn</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>kallapāčā'okā</i>
ā	kassān-o-ēn	janek	=am	kallapāčā-ok-ā
DIST	small-DIM-ATTR	daughter	=ADD	head and trotters-DEF-OBL

<i>apa'čīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>akā'rīd</i>	<i>ba</i>
a=pač-īd	=o	a=k-ār-īd	ba
VCL=cook.NPST-3SG	=and	VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG	for

<i>bo'wāay</i>	<i>dō'īay...</i>	<i>bo'wāay</i>	<i>namawa'rā</i>
bowāay	dōī-ay	bowā=ay	na-ma-war-ā
father.OBL.PC.3SG	mother-GEN	father=PC.3SG	NEG-IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG

<i>bodagen</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ē</i>
bod-ag=en	a=š-ī	na	man	ē
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.1SG	PROX

<i>kallapāčāo'bārā</i>	<i>a'nawarān</i>	<i>dō'īay</i>
kallapāčā-obār-ā	a=na-war-ān	dōī=ay
head and trotters-PL-OBL	VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-1SG	mother=PC.3SG

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>kassāno'ēn</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>
a=š-ī	ke	hālā	kassān-o-ēn	janek
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	now	small-DIM-ATTR	daughter

<i>enet</i>	<i>go'nāhay</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>de'lay</i>
=en=et	gonāh=ay	=a-∅	delay
=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG	sin=PC.3SG	=be.NPST-3SG	heart.OBL.PC.3SG

<i>'mabōrēn</i>	<i>'bōr</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'darfe</i>
ma-bōrēn-∅	b-ōr-∅	ta	ham	ya	darf=e
PROH-break.NPST-2SG	IMPV-eat.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	ADD	one	bowl=IND

<i>az</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>kallapā'čae</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ā'ortayī</i>
az	ē	kallapāčā=e	ke	āort-ay=ī
from	PROX	head and trotters=IND	CLM	bring.PST-PP=PC.3SG

Well, that youngest daughter made a head-and-trotter dish and brought [it] for her father; her mother... her father kept refraining from eating; he said, “No I won’t eat

A. Text Corpus

this head-and-trotter dish.”; her mother said /that/, “Well, she is your youngest daughter; take pity on her; do not break her heart: eat one bowl of this head-and-trotter dish which she has brought.”

KS.f:101

<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>jene'kok</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>a'wārt...</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>šā'hok</i>	<i>am</i>
xolāsa	jenek-ok	=am	a=wār-t	ē	šāh-ok	=am
in short	girl-DEF	=ADD	VCL=eat.NPST-3SG	PROX	king-DEF	=ADD

<i>a'wārt</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>'ī</i>	<i>kallapā'ča</i>	<i>agen'nī</i>	<i>ta</i>
a=wār-t	az	ī	kallapāča	a=genn-ī	ta
VCL=eat.NPST-3SG	from	PROX	head and trotters	VCL=sec.NPST-3SG	MIR

<i>'xaylī</i>	<i>xošma'za</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'berra</i>
xaylī	xošmaza	=en	a=š-ī	ber-ra-∅
very	delicious	=COP.NPST.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

<i>'harčī</i>	<i>pak'kaget</i>	<i>'bozo</i>
harčī	pakk-ag=et	bo-zo-∅
however much	cook.PST-PP=PC.2SG	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

<i>'bīyār</i>	<i>jene'kok</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>
bīy-ār-∅	janek-ok	=am	ar=raf-t
IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG	girl-DEF	=ADD	VCL=go.NPST-3SG

<i>kallapāčao'bārā</i>	<i>'harčī</i>	<i>pak'kēn</i>	<i>boda</i>
kallapāča-obār-ā	harčī	pakk-ēn	bod-a
head and trotters-PL-OBL	however much	cook.PST-BACKG.3PL	become.PST-PP

<i>akā'rī</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bo'wāay</i>
a=k-ār-ī	ba	bowāay
VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG	for	father.OBL.PC.3SG

Well, the girl ate... so this king ate of this head-and-trotter dish [and] found that it was very tasty; he said, “Go and bring all that you have cooked.”; so the girl went [and] brought all of the head-and-trotter dish they had cooked for her father.

KS.f:102

<i>ē'dān</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kallapā'ča</i>	<i>maba'rā</i>	<i>boda</i>
ēdān	ke	kallapāča	ma-bar-ā	bod-a
here	CLM	head and trotters	IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP

<i>gahāro'bāray</i>	<i>hasū'dī</i>	<i>aka'nant</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šāh</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>ī'šī</i>
gahār-obār=ay	hasūdī	a=kan-ant	ke	šāh	az	īšī
sister-PL=PC.3SG	jealous	VCL=do.NPST-3PL	CLM	king	from	PROX.GEN

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

xo' rākā *'fašī* *ā'kagen* *o* *ē'sān*
 xorāk-ā faš=ī āk-ag=en =o ēšān
 food-OBL happy=PC.3SG come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and like this

'badeš *a'kay* *nārā'hat* *abant*
 bad=eš a=k-ay-∅ nārāhat a=b-ant
 bad=PC.3PL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG troubled VCL=become.NPST-3PL

ĵane'kokā *masxa'ra* *aka'nant* *maya'sēn*
 ĵanek-ok-ā masxara a=kan-ant ma-yaš-ēn
 girl-DEF-OBL ridiculing VCL=do.NPST-3PL IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3PL

boda *ā'sī* *o* *ī'sī* *'begen* *ġa'tere*
 bod-a āšī =o īšī be-gen-∅ ġater=e
 become.PST-PP DIST.OBL =and PROX.OBL IMPV-see.NPST-2SG mule=EZ

'langay *'begen* *ā'sī* *o* *ī'sī*
 langay be-gen-∅ āšī =o īšī
 lame.OBL.PC.3SG IMPV-see.NPST-2SG DIST.OBL =and PROX.OBL

'begen *kāl...* *ka'leay* *ka'čalay* *'begen*
 be-gen-∅ kāl kalle=ay kačalay be-gen-∅
 IMPV-see.NPST-2SG FRAG head=EZ bald.OBL.PC.3SG IMPV-see.NPST-2SG

When she had brought the head-and-trotter dish, her sisters became jealous since the king liked her dish, you know; they were upset, they got angry, they made fun of her [and] were saying, “Look at this and that; look at his limping mule, and look at this and that; look at his bald head.”

KS.f:103

mas'xaray *akanant* *ĵane'kok* *nārā'hat*
 masxara=y a=kan-ant ĵanek-ok nārāhat
 ridiculing=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3PL girl-DEF troubled

abī *šā'hay* *hafto'mīn* *ĵa'nek*
 a=b-ī šāh-ay haft-om-īn ĵanek
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG king-GEN seven-ORD-ATTR daughter

a'kay *hade* *šū'ay* *a'sī*
 a=k-ay-∅ had=e šūay a=š-ī
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG to=EZ husband.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

ke *'man* *'tarā* *pa'jāh* *mahārān*
 ke man ta-rā pajāh mah-ār-ān
 CLM PN.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ recognizing IMP-bring.NPST-1SG

A. Text Corpus

<i>mazā'nān</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ka'čal</i>	<i>'nayay</i>		
ma-zān-ān	ta	kačal	nayay		
IMP-know.NPST-1SG	PN.2SG	bald	NEG.COP.NPST.2SG		
<i>mazā'nān</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ē'tawr</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>'ta</i>	
ma-zān-ān	ta	ētawr	=ay	ta	
IMP-know.NPST-1SG	PN.2SG	this way	=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG	
<i>bā'hāt en</i>	<i>'wadet</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>nō'sen</i>	
bāhāt=en	wad=et	be	eš-ān	nōšen	
must=COP.NPST.3SG	REFL=PC.2SG	to	PROX-PL	sign	
<i>day</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ēkka'da</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>mas'xara</i>	
Ø-day-Ø	ta	ēkkada	man-ā	masxara	
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	so that	this much	PN.1SG-OBJ	ridiculing	
<i>'nakanant</i>	<i>a'sī</i>		<i>'bebīd</i>		
na-kan-ant	a=š-ī		be-b-īd		
NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-3PL	VCL=say.NPST-3SG		SBJV-become.NPST-3SG		
<i>šā'mī</i>	<i>a'sāneš</i>		<i>de'ga</i>		
šām-ī	a=š-ān=eš		dega		
super-ADVZ	VCL=say.NPST-1SG=PC.3PL		well		

They made fun of her; the girl became sad, the king's seventh daughter; she came to her husband [and] he said /that/, "I recognize you; I know you are not bald; I know, you are like this; you must reveal yourself to these, so that they won't ridicule me this much."; he said, "All right, I will tell them tonight."

KS.f:104

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'šaf</i>	<i>a'bīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'se</i>	<i>'wadī</i>
ē	ham	šaf	a=b-īd	=o	xolāse	wad-ī
PROX	ADD	night	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	=and	in short	REFL-GEN
<i>as'pay</i>	<i>mū'day</i>	<i>'ās</i>	<i>adā</i>		<i>'aspay</i>	
asp-ay	mūday	ās	a=dā-Ø		asp=ay	
horse-GEN	hair.OBL.PC.3SG	fire	VCL=give.NPST-3SG		horse=PC.3SG	
<i>a'kay</i>		<i>a'sī</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>bo'kānom</i>	
a=k-ay-Ø		a=š-ī		ke	bokān=om	
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		VCL=say.NPST-3SG		CLM	want.NPST=PC.1SG	
<i>ya</i>	<i>'gasre</i>	<i>bah'ram</i>	<i>'bejanay</i>	<i>'haf</i>	<i>taba'ga</i>	<i>az</i>
ya	gasr=e	bahr=am	be-jan-ay	haf	tabağa	az
one	palace=IND	for=PC.1SG	SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG	seven	storey	from

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

'ī	šā'hay	ġas'rā	belan'ter	bī
ī	šāh-ay	ġasr-ā	belan-ter	∅-b-ī
PROX	king-GEN	palace-OBL	high-CMP	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

Well, this became night and, you know, he burnt [some of] his horse's hair; his horse came [and he] said /that/, "I want you to build a palace for me; it should be seven floors higher than this king's palace."

KS.f:105

a'sī	'bebī	'ī	kā'rokā
a=š-ī	be-b-ī	ī	kār-ok-ā
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	PROX	work-DEF-OBL

aka'nān

a=kan-ān

VCL=do.NPST-1SG

It said, "Alright, I will do that this job."

KS.f:106

<i>xolā'se</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'ġasre</i>	<i>bah'ray</i>	<i>a'ġant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ya</i>
xolāse	ya	ġasr=e	bahr=ay	a=ġan-t	=o	ya
in short	one	palace=IND	for=PC.3SG	VCL=hit.NPST-3SG	=and	one

<i>'ġasre</i>	<i>'gotte</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>sobī'ġāhī</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>ha'mī</i>
ġasr=e	gott=e	=o	ešān	sobīġāhī	šāh-ay	ham=ī
palace=EZ	big=IND	=and	like this	early morning	king-GEN	EMPH=PROX

<i>hā</i>	<i>azān'ġōay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>akā'yant</i>
hā	azāngō=ay	=o	eš-ān	a=k-ā-yant
FRAG	muezzin=PC.3SG	=and	PROX-PL	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

<i>a'zonā</i>	<i>'begašan</i>	<i>yak da'fā</i>	<i>das'say</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ēr</i>
azon-ā	be-ġaš-an	yak dafā	dassay	ke	ēr
prayer-call-OBL	SBJV-say.NPST-3PL	suddenly	hand.OBL.PC.3SG	CLM	PREV

<i>akant</i>	<i>rū</i>	<i>ġō'say</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>a'zonā</i>
a=kan-t	rū	ġōšay	ke	azon-ā
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	on	ear.OBL.PC.3SG	CLM	prayer-call-OBL

<i>'begašī</i>	<i>ġas'rokā</i>	<i>agen'nī</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
be-ġaš-ī	ġasr-ok-ā	a=genn-ī	a=š-ī
SBJV-say.NPST-3SG	palace-DEF-OBL	VCL=see.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

a'lāh o 'haf 'marg
 alāh =o haf marg
 Allah =and seven death

You know, it built a palace for him, a huge palace, like that; early in the morning, the king's muezzin and others came to say the prayer-call; when he put his hand on his ear to say the prayer-call, suddenly he saw the palace; he said, "Allah damn it (lit. and seven deaths)."

KS.f:107

'šāh a'šī 'byāret jah'lād 'mennān
 šāh a=š-ī by-ār-et jah'lād m-enn-ān
 king VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL down SBJV-see.NPST-1SG

'ē 'kay en ke 'ētaw
 ē kay =en ke ētaw
 PROX who =COP.NPST.3SG CLM this way

maya'šagen kof'rā 'mayaša
 ma-yaš-ag=en kofr-ā ma-yaš-a
 IMP-say.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG blasphemy-OBL IMPV-say.NPST-3SG

'byāret sa'ray 'bejanet
 by-ār-et saray be-ĵan-et
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL head.OBL.PC.3SG IMPV-hit.NPST-2PL

The king said, "Bring him down for me to see who it is who is saying like this; he is blaspheming; bring him and kill him (lit. decapitate him)."

KS.f:108

ākā'rantī a'šī 'šāh
 ā=k-ār-ant-ī a=š-ī šāh
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG king

tasa'doġet ya 'ġasre īdānā'kō 'jadeš 'haf taba'ġa
 tasadoġ=et ya ġasr=e īdānākō ĵad=eš haf tabaġa
 sacrifice=PC.2SG one palace=IND right here hit.PST=PC.3PL seven storey

az ta'ī ġas'rā bolan'ter o got'ter agar 'ī
 az ta-ī ġasr-ā bolan-ter =o got-ter agar ī
 from PN.2SG-GEN palace-OBL high-CMP =and big-CMP if PROX

bo'kānī 'bī 'tarā nā'būd
 bokān-ī Ø-b-ī ta-rā nābūd
 want.NPST=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PN.2SG-OBJ annihilated

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>kan</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>dar'jā</i>	<i>nā'būdet</i>
∅-kan-∅	ham=ī	darjā	nābūd=et
SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	immediately	annihilated=PC.2SG

akant
a=kan-t
VCL=do.NPST-3SG

They brought him; he said, “Oh king, your majesty, they have built a palace here, seven floors higher and bigger than your palace; if this one wants to destroy you, he will destroy you immediately.”

KS.f:109

<i>'šāh</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>agen'nī</i>
šāh	ar=raf-t	say	a=kan-t	a=genn-ī
king	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	looking	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=see.NPST-3SG

<i>tā</i>	<i>'wāwaylā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'gasre</i>	<i>ja'dageš</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'šafa</i>
tā	wāwaylā	ya	gasr=e	jad-ag=eš	ya	šaf-a
MIR	woe	one	palace=IND	make.PST-PP=PC.3PL	one	night-ADJZ

<i>edānā'kō</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'gasre</i>	<i>'gott</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ga'saṇe</i>	<i>'haft</i>	<i>taba'ga</i>	<i>am</i>
edānākō	ya	gasr=e	gott	=o	gašaṇ=e	haft	tabağa	=am
right here	one	palace=EZ	big	=and	beautiful=IND	seven	storey	=ADD

<i>as</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>gas'ray</i>	<i>got'ter</i>
as	wad-ī	gasray	got-ter
from	REFL-GEN	castle.OBL.PC.3SG	big-CMP

The king went, looked [and] saw that, woe, they have built a palace there in one night, a huge and beautiful palace, seven floors higher than my palace.

KS.f:110

<i>wazīro'bāray</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sānī</i>	<i>'gerd</i>
wazīr-obār-ay	=o	eš-ān=ī	gerd
minister-PL-OBL.PC.3SG	=FOC	PROX-PL=PC.3SG	gathered

<i>akan</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'berret</i>	<i>e</i>
a=kan-∅	a=š-ī	ber-r-et	e
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2PL	PROX

<i>gas'rokā</i>	<i>'mennān</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ke</i>
gasr-ok-ā	m-enn-ān	ē	kay	=en	ke
palace-DEF-OBL	SBJV-see.NPST-1SG	PROX	who	=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM

A. Text Corpus

īdānā'kō ya 'šaft 'ē taw'rēn 'gasrī
 īdānākō ya šaf-ī ē tawr-ēn ġasr=ī
 right here one night-ADVZ PROX such-ATTR palace=PC.3SG

ja'dagen
 jad-ag=en
 hit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

He gathered his ministers and others [and] said, “Go to this palace [and check]; I want to see who it is who has built such a palace here in one night.”

KS.f:111

wazīro'bārī ar'rant agen'nant ta
 wazīr-obār=ī ar=r-ant a=genn-ant ta
 minister-PL=PC.3SG VCL=go.NPST-3PL VCL=see.NPST-3PL MIR

ha'mī kača'lok en 'nešta
 ham=ī kačal-ok =en nešt-a=∅
 EMPH=PROX bald-DEF =COP.NPST.3SG sit down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'mā ʾī ġas'rā o 'jan enī
 mā ī ġasr-ā =o jan =en=ī
 in PROX palace-OBL =and wife =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

a'sī 'tar ay īdānā'kō
 a=š-ī tar =ay īdānākō
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG =COP.NPST.2SG right here

neš'tagay a'sī 'hā e'dān 'manī
 nešt-ag=ay a=š-ī hā edān man-ī
 sit down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes here PN.1SG-GEN

'lōg en 'ē ġas'rok ma'nī en
 lōg =en ē ġasr-ok man-ī =en
 house =COP.NPST.3SG PROX palace-DEF PN.1SG-GEN =COP.NPST.3SG

His ministers went [and] saw that this bald man was sitting in this palace with his wife (lit. and it is his wife); [one of his ministers] said, “Is that you sitting here?”; he said, “Yes, this (lit. here) is my house; this palace is mine.”

KS.f:112

a'sī 'xo ta 'čīet bo'kān ke
 a=š-ī xo ta čī=et bokān ke
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2SG what=PC.2SG want.NPST CLM

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

masa'lan 'māī šā'hā nā'būd 'nakanay
 masalan mā-ī šāh-ā nābūd na-kan-ay
 for example PN.1PL-GEN king-OBL annihilated NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

'čīet bo'kā a'šī ke 'man 'hīčīom
 čī=et bokā a=š-ī ke man hīčī=om
 what=PC.2SG want.NPST VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG nothing=PC.1SG

'nabokān fa'gat idānā'kō 'šīštā naw'kar o
 na-bokān faḡat idānākō šīš-tā nawkar =o
 NEG-want.NPST only right here six-CL male servant =and

ka'nīzom 'assen ba'hāt en
 kanīz=om ass=en bāhāt =en
 maidservant=PC.1SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG must =COP.NPST.3SG

ā'sānā 'bīyāret 'bedet a'zam
 āšān-ā bīy-ār-et be-d-et az=am
 DIST.PL-OBJ IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL IMPV-give.NPST-2PL to=PC.1SG

a'šī 'xo 'šīštā naw'karet 'kay en
 a=š-ī xo šīš-tā nawkar=et kay =en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well six-CL male servant=PC.2SG who =COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “Well, what do you want, in order, you know, not to destroy our king? What do you want?”; he said /that/, “I don’t want anything; I only have six male and female servants here; you must bring them and give them [back] to me”; he said, “Well, who are your six servants?”

KS.f:113

a'šī 'šīštā alā'matom 'ēr koda rū ka'mareš
 a=š-ī šīš-tā alāmat=om ēr kod-a rū kamar=eš
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG six-CL sign=PC.1SG PREV do.PST-PP on back=PC.3PL

'mohrom 'jada rū ka'mareš rū šā'nageš
 mohr=om jad-a rū kamar=eš rū šānag=eš
 tattoo=PC.1SG hit.PST-PP on back=PC.3PL on shoulder=PC.3PL

a'šī 'xob ar'rant 'begardan
 a=š-ī xob ar=r-ant be-gard-an
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well VCL=go.NPST-3PL SBJV-go around.NPST-3PL

ē'šī nawkaro'bārā pay'dā kanant 'mā šāh'rā
 ēšī nawkar-obār-ā paydā Ø-kan-ant mā šāh-rā
 PROX.GEN male servant-PL-OBL visible SBJV-do.NPST-3PL in city-OBL

A. Text Corpus

'harče *agar'dan* *pay'dāī*
 harče a=gard-an paydā=ī
 however much VCL=go around.NPST-3PL visible=PC.3SG

a'nakanant *ākā'yant* *ha'mī* *šā'hay*
 a=na-kan-ant ā=k-ā-yant ham=ī šāh-ay
 VCL=NEG-do.NPST-3PL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX king-GEN

dawro'barān *'e* *ādamo'bāre* *ke* *'dawre* *šā'hā*
 dawrobar-ān e ādam-obār=e ke dawr=e šāh-ā
 around-PL PROX human being-PL=IND CLM around=EZ king-OBL

boda *e'šānā* *ham*
 bod-a=∅ eš-ān-ā ham
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX-PL-OBJ ADD

agar'dan *agen'nan* *tā* *'hame* *šā'hay*
 a=gard-an a=genn-an tā ham=e šāh-ay
 VCL=go around.NPST-3PL VCL=see.NPST-3PL MIR EMPH=PROX king-GEN

'šīštā *dū'māden* *ke* *'ē* *nešāna'okā*
 šīš-tā dūmād=en ke ē nešāna-ok-ā
 six-CL son in law=COP.NPST.3SG CLM PROX sign-DEF-OBL

'assenī
 ass=en=ī
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

He said, “I have put six marks on their backs; I have made a tattoo on their backs, their shoulders.”; he said, “Ok.”; they went to search [and] find his servants; however much they looked for [them] in the town, they did not find them; they came to [the people] around the king, these people who were at the king’s court (lit. around the king), they looked at these [and] saw that this was the king’s six sons-in-law who had that (lit. this) sign.

KS.f:114

'hīčī *šāh* *a'šī* *šo'mā* *bā'hāt en*
 hīčī šāh a=š-ī šomā bāhāt=en
 nothing king VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2PL must=COP.NPST.3SG

'berret *ba* *ē'šī* *naw'kar* *o* *kanī'zī*
 ber-r-et ba ēšī nawkar =o kanīz-ī
 IMPV-go.NPST-2PL for PROX.OBL male servant =and maidservant-NMLZ

A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

<i>kanet</i>	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>čon</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>gaš'tagī</i>	<i>o</i>
Ø-kan-et	deya	čon	ē	gašt-ag=ī	=o
IMPV-do.NPST-2PL	well	because	PROX	say.PST-PP=PC.3SG	=and

fo'lān
folān
so and so

Well (lit. nothing), the king said, “You must go and be his servants (lit. do male and female servant-job for him), you know, since this one has said like this.”

KS.f:115

<i>joğa'lok</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>ha'san</i>	<i>ka'čal</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>'wadī</i>
joğal-ok	=am	ham=ī	hasan	kačal	=am	wad=ī
boy-DEF	=ADD	EMPH=PROX	Hasan	bald	=ADD	REFL=PC.3SG

<i>moare'fī</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>fo'lān</i>
moarefī	a=kan-t	a=š-ī	man	folān
introducing	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	so and so

<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>'bačč</i>	<i>ān</i>	<i>ēdānā'kō</i>	<i>'ākagān</i>
šāh-ay	bačč	=ān	ēdānākō	āk-ag=ān
king-GEN	boy	=COP.NPST.1SG	right here	come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

<i>ta'ī</i>	<i>ʃan</i>	<i>gefta...</i>	<i>ta'ī</i>	<i>ja'nekā</i>
ta-ī	ʃan	geft-a	ta-ī	janek-ā
PN.2SG-GEN	wife	take.PST-PP	PN.2SG-GEN	daughter-OBL

'geftagom
geft-ag=om
take.PST-PP=PC.1SG

So the boy, this Hasan the Bald, introduced himself [and] said, “I am the son of king so-and-so, I have come here [and] married your wife... I have married your daughter.”

KS.f:116

<i>de'ya</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'šīštā</i>	<i>dū'mād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ʃaneš</i>
deya	ē	šīš-tā	dūmād	=o	ʃan=eš
well	PROX	six-CL	groom	=and	wife=PC.3PL

<i>akā'yant</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ha'mī</i>	<i>kassāno'ēn</i>
a=k-ā-yant	ba	ham=ī	kassān-o-ēn
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	to	EMPH=PROX	small-DIM-ATTR

A. Text Corpus

<i>ga'hāreš</i>	<i>a'bant</i>	<i>ka'nīz</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>naw'kar</i>
gahār=eš	a=b-ant	kanīz	=o	nawkar
sister=PC.3PL	VCL=become.NPST-3PL	maidservant	=and	male servant

You know, these six sons-in-law and their wives came and became servants to this their youngest sister.

KS.f:117

<i>ākā'yant</i>	<i>īdānā'kō</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>'kār</i>
ā=k-ā-yant	īdānākō	ba	ēšī	kār
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	right here	for	PROX.OBL	work

akanant

a=kan-ant

VCL=do.NPST-3PL

They came there (lit. here) [and] worked for her.

KS.f:118

<i>'māī</i>	<i>'dossen</i>	<i>'bebī</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>ha'san</i>
mā-ī	doss=en	be-b-ī	ham=ā	hasan
PN.1PL-GEN	friend=PC.1PL	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	EMPH=DIST	Hasan

<i>ka'čal</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>doš'manen</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'bebīt</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>
kačal	=o	došman=en	ham	be-b-īt	šāh-ay
bald	=and	enemy=PC.1PL	ADD	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	king-GEN

'šīštā *dū'mād*

šīš-tā dūmād

six-CL groom

May our friends be [like] Hasan the Bald and may our enemies be [like] the king's six sons-in-law.