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# Participant Reference in Three Balochi Dialects

Male and Female Narrations of  
Folktales and Biographical Tales

Maryam Nourzaei

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### **Abstract**

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The aim of the present study is to investigate how men and women in three Iranian Balochi dialects, Coastal Balochi, Koroshi Balochi and Sistani Balochi, refer to 3rd person participants in oral narratives of two genres: folktales and biographical tales. The stories that are analysed were recorded during several field trips to Iran and the approach used is that of Levinsohn (1994, 2015).

The first part of the dissertation begins with an overview of the Balochi language and its dialects, including a brief presentation of its phonology, and then reviews previous studies of Balochi, before introducing the case system and types of alignment in the three dialects. Chapter 2 introduces the reader to the status of orality in the three dialects, before giving details about the corpus of texts that were analysed. Of particular note is the fact that each story in the corpus was told by both a man and a woman. Chapter 3 examines different approaches to the analysis of participant reference, before comparing those of Gundel et al. and Levinsohn in greater detail.

The second part of the dissertation applies Levinsohn's approach to texts in each of the three dialects in turn. Chapters 4–6 identify and analyse the different ways in which the participants in the stories are referred to when the subject remains the same and in three specific situations when the subject changes. This enables default encoding values to be established for each of the four situations. Motivations for over-encoding and, in some situations, under-encoding, are then identified. Chapters 7–9 investigate whether the gender of the storyteller (male versus female) and/or the genre of the story (folktale versus biographical tale) influence the way that the participants are referred to. This leads in chapter 10 to a gender- and genre-based comparison of participant reference across the present dialects.

Conclusions are presented in chapter 11. In general, the participant reference strategy used was the same in all three dialects, regardless of the gender or the genre. The main exception involved reported conversations in Koroshi Balochi, where the additive enclitic *ham* was attached to the reference to a subject who responded in line with the contents of the speech reported in the previous sentence. Other variations appeared to depend on the degree to which the storyteller was proficient in his or her art.

The dissertation concludes with four Appendices. Appendix A presents six texts that were interlinearised using the FLEx programme, while Appendix B consists of participant reference charts of the same texts following Levinsohn's approach. Appendix C presents details of the case system and alignment for each of the three dialects. Finally, the chart in Appendix D compares the approaches of Levinsohn and of Gundel et al. to participant reference in a specific text. A CD with audio files of the six texts and some photos taken during fieldwork is also available.

*Keywords:* Balochi, Coastal Balochi, Koroshi Balochi, Sistani Balochi, folktales, biographical tales, participant reference, default and marked encoding, orality

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*To my supervisor  
Carina Jahani,  
ke mnī žandēn jānā napasen*



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# Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
(...)	omission of text from FLEx in a glossed example
[ ]	additional information to the text
...	incomplete sentence
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
/	alternative forms
>	turns into
<	comes from
∅	zero morpheme
(‘-‘)	contributing the meaning of adverbial of time
~	nasalization
A	agent of a transitive verb
AAT	Ariel’s Accessibility Theory
ACC	accusative
acc.	accusative
ACT	activated
ADD	additive particle
ADJ	adjective
ADJZ	adjectivizer
ADVZ	adverbializer
AG	agreement marker
AL	The story of Alamdar
ATTR	attributive
BACKG	backgrounding
biog	biographical tale
biog. tales	biographical tales
BS	The Baloch’s son
C	consonant
Chap.	chapter
CL	classifier
clarif	clarification
CLM	clause linkage marker

CMP	comparative
CoB	Coastal Balochi
COP	copula (present indicative)
DEF	definite
dis.ac	discontinuity of action
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal demonstrative pronoun
DOM	differential object marking
folk	folktale
echo	echo word
EMPH	emphasis
erg.	ergative
EXCL	exclusive pronoun
EZ	eẓāfe
f	female
FAM	familiar
FLEx	FieldWorks Language Explorer
FRAG	fragmentary utterance
FOC	focus
forthc.	forthcoming
GA	Goli and Ahmad
GE	generic subject
GEN	genitive
GH	Givenness Hierarchy
HA	The story of Hawrokān
highlt	highlighting
IF	in focus
IMP	imperfective
IMP.k	imperfective k-
IMPV	imperative
INCL	inclusive pronoun
IND	individuation clitic
INDEF	indefinite subject
INF	infinitive
INTRO	introduction
ITER	iterative
KB	The story of Khanbibī
KD	The King's Daughter
KoB	Koroshi Balochi
KS	The King's son
lit.	literal translation
m	male
MIR	mirative

MNJ	The story of Mullah Neykadar Jan
narr	new narrative unit
NEG	negation
NEG.SBJV	negation of subjunctive
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NPST	non-past
n.them	non-thematic
NUM	numeral
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
P.	Persian
PC	person-marking enclitic (person clitic)
p	plural
PL	plural
PN	personal pronoun
PP	past participle
PREV	preverb
PROH	prohibitive prefix
pron.	pronoun
PROX	proximal demonstrative pronoun
PSBJV	past subjunctive
PST	past
QUEST	question particle
RB	The Story of Rahimbaksh
REF	referential
REFL	reflexive pronoun
S	subject of an intransitive verb
s	singular
Š.	šamsi (year in the Islamic solar calendar)
SA	The story of Sabzo
SBJV	subjunctive
SAP	Speech Act Participant
SD	The Story of Dastan
Sec.	section
SG	singular
SiB	Sistani Balochi
TB	The Three Brothers
them	thematic
TI	type identifiable
TOP	topicalizer
UN	uniquely identifiable

UT	unpublished text
V	vowel
VCL	verb clitic
vd.	voiced
VIP	Very Important Participant
vl.	voiceless
VOC	vocative

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My interest in oral narratives goes back to when I was a little girl in a village in Sistan, close to the border of Afghanistan. I lived with my grandmother, Jan Bibi, who was an accomplished storyteller. I grew up with her colourful stories. Every evening before I went to sleep she told me a story. Some were very long and took a week to finish; others were finished on a single night. My grandmother died when I was in high school; a world of Balochi stories was buried with her.

After obtaining my BA degree, I worked as a teacher in a small village, Sedighzahi, in the Dashtyari region of Sistan and Balochistan Province in Iran. There I came across an old lady called Ameneh, a brilliant storyteller. She opened a new window of oral narration to me. She visited me every evening and told me a story, and I would write it down in Persian. In return, I would read Sa'di's *Golestān* to her. A few years later, I revisited her to record her stories, but sadly she had lost her memory and could no longer recall them.

During my MA studies, I met some people on a bus in Shiraz who spoke a dialect of Balochi called Koroshi, and I started research on this variety. During my field studies in Fars, I met an accomplished Koroshi storyteller called Alamdar. He opened yet another window for me and led me through his colourful world of oral narration. These exciting experiences inspired me to investigate the oral literature in the three Balochi dialects presented in this thesis.

My contact to Europe began in 2008 when I was a master student in Shiraz and my classmates attended a linguistic conference in Tehran. One of them, Bita Boluki, told me that while there, she met a professor named Carina Jahani who spoke Persian fluently and was interested in various Iranian languages. Bita shared Professor Jahani's contact information with me, and, as I had no knowledge of how to use a computer or e-mail at that time, Bita kindly helped me create an e-mail account.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Aim of the study and delimitations of the corpus

The aim of the present study is to investigate how men and women in three Iranian Balochi dialects refer to participants in narratives of two genres.

There are several reasons why I selected the dialects Sistani Balochi, Coastal Balochi of Iran and Koroshi. Sistani Balochi has already been studied extensively, and there is a corpus available, produced from male speakers, published by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010). In addition, I am a native speaker of this dialect, so I could easily carry out fieldwork in the area. For Iranian Coastal Balochi, there are hardly any previous studies. Finally, I chose Koroshi because I wrote my MA thesis on this dialect and already had a transcribed corpus at my disposal. The comparison of these three dialects is also interesting because they lie on a continuum between ergative and accusative alignment (see Sec. 1.4).

The reason why I tried to gather a corpus of parallel texts from male and female speakers rather than, say, from different age groups of the same gender, is that there are already two studies based on extensive Balochi corpora gathered from male speakers (Axenov 2006, Barjasteh Delforooz 2010). As a female researcher, I had the opportunity to gather my corpus from women as well as men, in order to investigate whether there are any gender-related divergences in the structures under study in this work (see Sec. 2.3).

The motivation for choosing narrative texts is that they usually have several participants (as opposed to, say, procedural texts, which often feature only one acting person), and this provides plenty of material for a study of participant reference. At the same time, I chose biographical tales and folktales to study whether there are differences in the way stories from these two genres are told. Folktales belong to memorized oral literature, whereas biographical tales are narrated spontaneously. Utas (2008: 229) points out that “the language of oral and written literature is [...] normalized, conventionalized and consciously shaped to be remembered [...] while the spoken language of social interaction is something unkempt and different.” This could lead to interesting differences between these two genres even though they are still close enough in structure to make a comparison between them possible (see Sec. 2.3.2).

The approach I apply in this work follows Levinsohn's (1994) approach of discourse analysis, in particular the ways of referring to activated participants, which is described in Chapter 3 (see Sec. 3.2.4)

More specifically, I will investigate how, i.e., with which type of linguistic material, subjects are encoded in Balochi, and which encoding is the default for subjects depending on whether or not they were present in the preceding sentences. For encodings other than the default, I will focus on identifying the discourse motivation that could trigger the non-default encoding (see Chaps. 4–6).

## 1.2. The Balochi language and its dialects

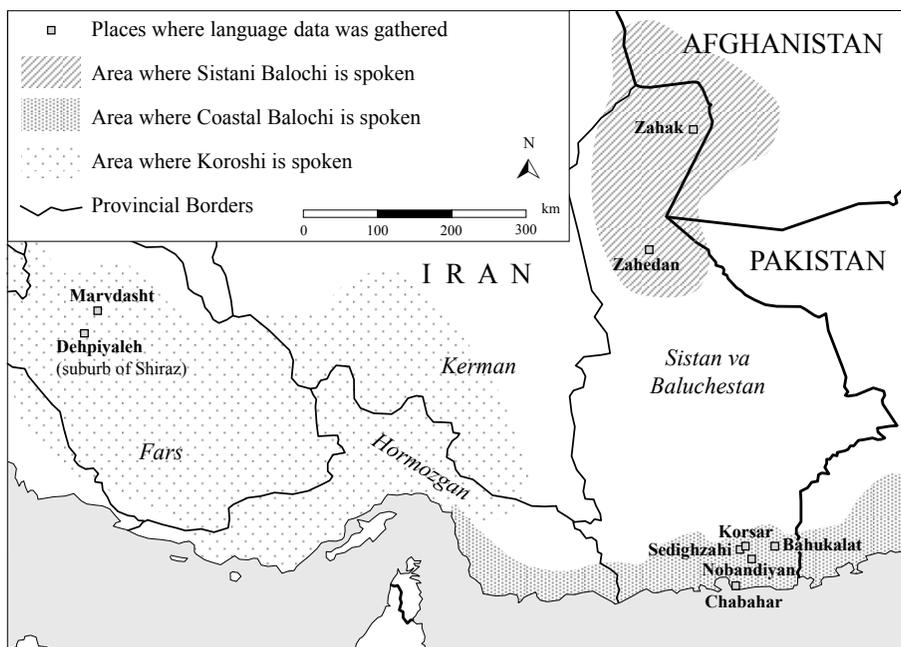
Balochi is an Iranian language belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family.

Balochi consists of many dialects, and there are differences at all levels of the grammar. According to Jahani and Korn (2009: 636–637), Balochi dialects<sup>1</sup> can broadly be divided into Eastern, Western, and Southern, although some dialects, such as Sarawani and Panjguri, do not fit easily into any of these groups.

The Balochi dialects have been influenced by the languages surrounding them some of which are official or languages of education in the various states where the Baloch live (Jahani and Korn 2009: 635). This influence has further increased the diversity of Balochi dialects. Languages belonging to at least five families surround Balochi (Jahani 2013: 156). In Iran, Balochi is in contact with Persian, Sistani (a Persian dialect), Bashkardi, Brahui (a Dravidian language), Jadgali, and Turkic; in Afghanistan with Persian, Dari, and Pashto; in Pakistan with several Indo-Aryan languages (e.g., Urdu, Panjabi, Lahnda, and Sindhi), Pashto, English, and Brahui; in the Gulf States with Arabic (a Semitic language); in East Africa with Bantu languages, such as Swahili; and in Turkmenistan with Turkmen (a Turkic language). In the diaspora, the Baloch are being exposed to new languages, mainly of the Indo-European family. At the present time, none of the Balochi dialects has any standard or official status.

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<sup>1</sup> For previous studies on classification of Balochi dialects, see Geiger (1889), Dames (1891), Grierson (1921) Elfenbein (1966), Barker and Mengal (1969), Carleton and Carleton (1987) and Jahani (1989, 2001, and 2003).



Map 1: Map of the areas where data was gathered.

### 1.2.1. Description of selected dialects

The present study is based on three Balochi dialects spoken in Iran: Sistani, Coastal, and Koroshi. In Sistan and Balochistan Province in south-eastern Iran, the Sistani and Coastal Balochi dialects are spoken, with Sistani occurring in the far north and Coastal in the far south of the province. The Koroshi dialect is spoken in Fars Province in south-western Iran.

The Sistani Balochi dialect can be classified as Western Balochi, while the Coastal Balochi dialect belongs to the Southern dialect group. Moreover, Koroshi can be described as a separate subgroup within the framework of the Balochi language, but would probably be placed under Southern Balochi in a broad dialect division (see also Nourzaei et al. 2015: 22).

Sistani Balochi is spoken in the following places: in Iran, in Sistan and Balochistan Province, in and around Zahak, Zabol, Hamun, and Mohammad-Abad, as well as in Zahedan up to Khash; in Razavi-Khorasan Province, for example in Sarakhs; and, sporadically, in Golestan Province, in Azad Shahr, Gorgan, Gonbad Kavus, and Kalaleh; in Afghanistan (see Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 21–22) in Nimruz, Kang, Chakhansur, Zaranj, Chaharburjak and Rudbar; and in Turkmenistan (see Axenov 2006: 19–20) in the Mari region (see Map 4). The reason for this range is that people from the Sistan area have moved to the north-eastern parts of Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan mainly because of drought, but also for other reasons. For the his-

tory of the Baloch migration to Turkmenistan, see Axenov (2000: 71) and Moshkalo (2000: 97–98).

Coastal Balochi is spoken in Iran in a large area along the coast of the Sea of Oman including the regions of Dashtyari, Chabahar, Konarak, Karevan, and all the way to Jashk, Minab, and Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province; in Oman and the United Arab Emirates; and in Pakistan along the coast and up to the Kech Valley, as well as by a majority of the Baloch in Karachi (see Map 2).

Koroshi Balochi is spoken in a large area of south-western Iran, mainly in Hormozgan, Buhshehr, and Fars Provinces. In general, Korosh communities are found in villages near large towns and in the suburbs of these towns. Of these three areas, the one with the largest number of Korosh is Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province. A second area with a large number of Korosh is found across the southern part of Fars Province. The third concentration of Korosh, which maintains a close association with the Turkic speaking Qaşqā’i (see also Nourzaei et al. 2015: 21), is centred in the north-western part of Fars Province (see Map 3).

## 1.2.2. Phonology and transcription

Not all details about the phonemic system of the various dialects are clear; it is possible that some items in the tables to follow are not separate phonemes.

### 1.2.2.1. Coastal Balochi

The sounds found in Coastal Balochi are presented in Tables (1) and (2). This transcription follows the transcription of oral vowels for Coastal Balochi of Chabahar suggested by Okati (2012: 212). Okati (ibid. 201) also finds that nasalization is more frequent in the dialect of Chabahar than in the other dialects she investigates. In this study, only the close vowels occur without a nasalized counterpart.

Table 1. Coastal Balochi vowels

	front		central		back	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
close	$\bar{i}$				$\bar{u}$	
close-mid	$\bar{e}, \tilde{e}$	$e \tilde{e}$			$\bar{o} \tilde{o}$	$o \tilde{o}$
open			$\bar{a}, \tilde{a}$	$a \tilde{a}$		

Table 2. Coastal Balochi consonants

		Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato- alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops/	(vl.)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>k</i>		
Affricates	(vd.)	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ʧ</i>	<i>g</i>		
Fricatives	(vl.)	<i>(f)</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>ʃ</i>		<i>(x)</i>	<i>h</i>
	(vd.)		<i>z</i>		<i>ʒ</i>		<i>(ġ)</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
Lateral			<i>l</i>					
Flaps			<i>r</i>	<i>ɽ</i>				
Approximants		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

### 1.2.2.2. Koroshi Balochi

The sounds found in Koroshi Balochi are presented in Tables (3) and (4). A recent investigation on Koroshi (Nourzaei et al. 2015) found that the Koroshi phoneme inventory has eight vowels: three short ones (*a*, *e*, *o*), and five long ones (*ā*, *ī*, *ē*, *ū*, *ō*), where *ā*, contrary to other Balochi dialects, is a back vowel, as in Persian (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 25–26). The following tables are taken from Nourzaei et al. (2015: 25–26).<sup>2</sup>

Table 3. Koroshi Balochi vowels

	front		central		back	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
close	<i>ī</i>				<i>ū</i>	
close-mid	<i>ē</i>	<i>e</i>			<i>ō</i>	<i>o</i>
open				<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	

<sup>2</sup> Note that one of the Koroshi speakers who provided data for this investigation pronounces /ng/ as in Persian rather than /ŋ/ in words like *laŋ/lang* ‘lame’ and *ġašaŋ/ġašaŋ* ‘beautiful’. She also pronounces other words, e.g. *zendeġi* ‘life’ in a different way from how they were pronounced by the speakers who contributed the corpus in Nourzaei et al. (2015).

Table 4. Koroshi Balochi consonants

		Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato- alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops/	(vl.)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>		(ʔ)
Affricates	(vd.)	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>		
Fricatives	(vl.)	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>ʃ</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
	(vd.)		<i>z</i>		<i>ʒ</i>		<i>ʁ</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>		
Lateral			<i>l</i>					
Flaps			<i>r</i>	( <i>r</i> )				
Approximants		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

### 1.2.2.3. Sistani Balochi

The sounds found in Sistani Balochi are presented in Tables (5) and (6). The present transcription of Sistani Balochi follows that suggested by Okati (2012: 212) for oral vowels in Sistani Balochi, while it differs slightly from the system used by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 27).

Table 5. Sistani Balochi vowels

	front		central		back	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
close	<i>ī</i>	<i>e</i>			<i>ū</i>	<i>o</i>
close-mid	<i>ē</i>				<i>ō</i>	
open			<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>		

Table 6. Sistani Balochi consonants

		Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato- alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops/	(vl.)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>k</i>		
Affricates	(vd.)	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ʧ</i>	<i>g</i>		
Fricatives	(vl.)	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>ʃ</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
	(vd.)		<i>z</i>		<i>ʒ</i>		<i>g̤</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
Lateral			<i>l</i>					
Flaps			<i>r</i>	<i>ɽ</i>				
Approximants		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

### 1.2.3. Previous studies on Balochi

Before reviewing previous studies on the three specific dialects considered in this work, a general review of literature on Balochi will be given. Korn (2005: 21–26, 33–36) gives an exhaustive review of earlier sources and studies on the history of research on Balochi. In the present work I am therefore only going to mention studies which are not covered by Korn. The main sources on Balochi dialects spoken in Iran are works by Ahangar (2007) on the verb system of Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin; Baranzehi (2003) on Sarawani Balochi; Barjasteh Delforooz (2010) on discourse features in Sistani Balochi; Barjasteh Delforooz and Levinsohn (2014) on the 3rd person singular pronominal clitic in Sistani Balochi; Dabir-Moghaddam (2008) on the agent clitic in Balochi dialects spoken in Iran; Jahani (1994, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2013 and 2015) on the use of genitive construction versus *ezāfe*-construction in Iranian Balochi, how to express to “have” in Iranian Balochi, Persian influence on some verbal constructions in Iranian Balochi, the use of Balochi in Sweden, the basic grammatical structure of Balochi, the case system in Iranian Balochi, relative clauses in Iranian Balochi, sociolinguistic aspects of Balochi and other languages spoken in Balochistan, and complex predicates and the issue of transitivity; Levinsohn (2012) on reported speech in Sistani Balochi; Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari (2003) on the tense system in Balochi in comparison with Persian; Nourzaei and Jahani (2013) on the verbal clitic in four Balochi dialects in Iran; Okati (2012) on the vowel system of five Balochi dialects of Iran; Okati et al. (2012) on diphthongization in those same dialects; and Rzehak (2009) on code-copying in Sistani Balochi. There are hardly any previous studies of Coastal Balochi from the areas where field studies for the present work were carried out.

Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 22–23) mentions the main pre-2008 sources on Afghan and Turkmen Balochi. Thereafter, Korn (2008a) published an article on the locative case in Turkmen Balochi. The main sources on Balochi in Pakistan not mentioned by Korn (2005: 21–26, 33–36) are studies by Farrell (2008) on Karachi Balochi and Bashir (2008) on Eastern Balochi.

There are also a number of general studies on Balochi. Barjasteh Delforooz (2003) has studied the structure of present and past stems in Balochi. Jahani and Korn (2009) have given a general description of Balochi. Jahani et al. (2010, 2012) have investigated impersonal constructions and non-canonical subjects in Balochi. Articles by Korn (2003, 2008b, 2008c, 2009, 2014a, 2014b) deal with Balochi and the concept of North-western Iranian, the nominal system, the marking of arguments in ergative and mixed constructions, the ergative system in Balochi from a typological perspective, verbal nouns, and subordinates and their equivalents in Balochi. Paul (2003) has discussed the position of Balochi among Western Iranian languages.

The number of studies dealing with Koroshi Balochi is rather limited. In addition to references made to Koroshi in Jahani et al. (2010, 2012) the following section provides a survey of works on Koroshi. Mahamedi (1979) published a paper titled ‘The Verbal System in Three Iranian Dialects of Fars’, where he recognizes Koroshi as a Balochi dialect. This article gives a brief description of the Koroshi verb system. The second work on Koroshi was done by Gorginpur (1352 Š. [1973/74]) who defended his MA thesis at Shiraz University (see Emadi 1384 Š. [2005/06]: 11), but this work was unfortunately not available to me. Windfuhr (1989: 248, 1992: 29) mentions the Koroshi language and its special plural marker. Salami (1383 Š. [2005]) presents a lexical comparison between Persian, Koroshi, Qašqā’i and Sarawani Balochi and, in his second work (Salami 1385 Š. [2006/07]), he presents linguistic data from several different dialects spoken in Fars including Koroshi. Emadi (1384 Š. [2005/06]) published a book in Persian titled *Guyeš-e Korowš* (The Dialect of the Korosh), which can be regarded as the first description of Koroshi based mainly on questionnaires and elicitation.

A more recent study dedicated to Koroshi Balochi is Nourzaei’s MA thesis titled *Towšif-e zabānšenāxti-ye nezām-e fe’li dar guyeš-e Korowši*, (A Linguistic Description of the Verbal System in the Koroshi Vernacular), based on the corpus published in Nourzaei et al. (2015). One folktale in this dialect was published by Jahani and Nourzaei (2011). Nourzaei et al. (2015) wrote a comprehensive grammatical description of the northern Koroshi dialect, *Koroshi. A Corpus-Based Grammatical Description*, which also formed the basis of an article for Encyclopaedia Iranica by Nourzaei et al. (2016).

### 1.3. Case system and alignment in Balochi

In this chapter, I will first introduce the case system and types of alignment for Balochi in general and then discuss in turn each of the dialects being studied: Coastal, (CoB) Koroshi (KoB), and Sistani Balochi (SiB). The case system and types of alignment are relevant to the present study because there are different strategies of agreement marking in Balochi, which affect the encodings of participants that will be studied in the following chapters.

Alignment in Balochi depends on the verb stem; forms based on the past stem of transitive verbs constitute the ergative alignment, and forms based on the non-past stem of transitive verbs, as well as all forms of intransitive verbs make up the accusative alignment (see Sec.1.3.4).

In dialects such as CoB, which has ergative alignment, the use of the pronominal clitic is restricted to the 3rd person of transitive verbs in the past domain (see Sec. 1.4.1). In dialects that have lost ergative alignment, the use of the pronominal clitic is low. It is only used as the agreement marker in the 3rd person singular of transitive verbs in the past domain (see Sec. 1.4.3). In dialects such as KoB where the ergative alignment is weakened, transitive verbs in the past tense generally have a pronominal clitic as the agreement marker, while intransitive verbs, together with transitive verbs in the non-past tense, have a person-marking suffix as the agreement marker (see Sec. 1.4.2). Balochi dialects show differential object marking (DOM); for more information see Appendix (C).

#### 1.3.1. The case system of nouns

Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two number categories; singular and plural, and five cases: direct, oblique, object, genitive and vocative (Korn 2005: 331). Table (7) gives a summary of the case markers (omitting some dialectal forms, taken from Korn 2005: 332).

Table 7. Case and number system of Balochi

	Direct	Oblique	Object	Genitive	Vocative
Singular	∅	-ā	-ārā	-ai/-ē/-ī/-a/-∅	∅
Plural	∅	-ān, -ānā	-ānā, -ānrā	-ānī	-ān

The direct case is used for marking subjects in the accusative and objects in the ergative alignment. The oblique case is used for agents in the ergative alignment. The oblique case is also used for direct and indirect object with prepositions, and in the locative function. The object cases “may be used instead of the oblique” (ibid. 331–332) to mark direct and indirect objects in the accusative alignment and sometimes also in the ergative alignment. The genitive case is used for possession and with postpositions. Finally, the vocative case is used in direct address (ibid. 332).

## 1.3.2. Case system of pronouns

### 1.3.2.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are found in the singular and plural of 1st and 2nd persons (see Tables 8–9). As in many Iranian languages, including other Balochi dialects, the direct case and oblique case have merged. The 3rd person is expressed by demonstrative pronouns. The following tables, (8) and (9), are taken from Jahani and Korn (2009: 653–654, transcription adapted).

Table 8. Case and number system for 1st and 2nd singular pronouns

		Direct, Oblique	Object	Genitive	Locative	
1S	EBal.	<i>ma, mā, mǎ, mā</i>	<i>manā, manā</i>	<i>maī, maī</i>		
	SBal.	<i>man</i>	<i>manā, manārā</i>	<i>m(a)nī</i>		
	WBal.	Pakistan	<i>man</i>	<i>m(a)nā</i>		<i>mnīā</i>
		Afgh.+Turkm				
	IrBal.	<i>man</i>				
Sarawani	<i>mon</i>	<i>mona</i>				
2S	EBal.	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aw, t<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ar(ā)</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>aī, t<sup>h</sup>ī</i>		
	SBal.	<i>taw, tō</i>	<i>t(a)rā, tarārā</i>	<i>taī</i>		
	WBal.	Pakistan	<i>taw</i>	<i>t(a)rā</i>		<i>tīā</i>
		Afgh.+Turkm	<i>ta</i>		<i>tī</i>	
	IrBal.	<i>taw, ta</i>	<i>tarā, torā</i>	<i>taī, tī</i>		
	Sarawani	<i>ta</i>	<i>tarā</i>			

Table 9. Case and number system for 1st and 2nd plural pronouns

		Direct, Oblique	Object	Genitive	Locative	
1P	EBal.	<i>mā</i>	<i>mār(ā)</i>	<i>māī, maī</i>		
	SBal.	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>maē, mē</i>		
	WBal.	Pakistan	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>may</i>	<i>am(m)ayā</i>
		AfBal.+Tbal.	<i>am(m)ā</i>	<i>am(m)ārā</i>	<i>am(m)ay</i>	
	IrBal.		<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>may</i>	
Sarawani						
2P	EBal.	<i>š(a)wā, šā</i>	<i>š(a)wār, šār</i>	<i>š(a)wāī, šāī</i>		
	SBal.	<i>šomā</i>	<i>šomārā</i>	<i>some</i>		
	WBal.	Pakistan	<i>š(o)mā</i>	<i>š(o)mārā</i>	<i>š(o)may</i>	<i>š(o)mayā</i>
		AfBal.+Tbal.				
	IrBal.				<i>š(o)may</i>	
Sarawani		<i>š(o)mā</i>	<i>š(o)mārā</i>			

### 1.3.2.2. Person-marking clitics

In addition to the independent pronouns, there are person-marking clitics, “which are used in all functions of the oblique case, e.g., agent of ergative constructions [...], direct and indirect objects [...] and as possessive pronouns” (Jahani and Korn 2009: 654). The following table is taken from Jahani and Korn (2009: 654, transcription adapted).

Table 10. Person-marking clitics

	1 <sup>st</sup>			2 <sup>nd</sup>			3 <sup>rd</sup>		
	EBal.	WBal.	IrBal.	EBal.	WBal.	IrBal.	EBal.	SBal.	WBal., IrBal.
S	- <i>ā̃</i> , - <i>ũ̃</i>	- <i>on</i>	- <i>on</i> , - <i>om</i>	- <i>ē̄</i>	- <i>et</i>	- <i>et</i>	- <i>ī̄</i>	- <i>ī̄</i> , - <i>ē̄</i> , - <i>eš̄</i>	- <i>ē̄</i> , - <i>ī̄</i>
P		- <i>en</i>	- <i>en</i>		- <i>ū̄</i>	- <i>ō̄</i> , - <i>eš̄</i>	- <i>eš̄</i>	- <i>eš̄</i> , - <i>ē̄</i>	- <i>eš̄</i> , - <i>ēš̄</i>

### 1.3.2.3. Other pronouns

#### 1.3.2.3.1. Demonstrative determiners and pronouns

Balochi has a two-way deixis (proximal and distal) indicated by demonstratives. Demonstrative determiners are uninflected for number and case. The demonstrative pronouns, which are used as 3rd person pronouns, are inflected for case. Their forms are discussed in sections 1.4.1.2.2, 1.4.2.2.2, and 1.4.3.2.2.

#### 1.3.2.3.2. Reflexive pronouns

There is one reflexive pronoun, *wat*. It is inflected for case. Reflexive pronouns function as objects, possessives and intensifiers. For the purpose of the present study, it is the function as an intensifier that is important (see Chaps. 4–6). The following example illustrates its subject function in KoB.

Ex. 1)

*'wad*=*ī̄*                      =*am*      '*zorr*      *a*=*g-ī̄*                      *lō'g-ā̄*  
 REFL=PC.3SG      =ADD      PREV      VCL=take.NPST-3SG      home-OBL  
 ‘he himself returns home.’ (G.A.f: 9d)

The following example illustrates its intensifier function in CoB.

Ex. 2)

*mol'lā*      '*wat*      '*k-ay-∅*  
 Mullah      REFL      IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG  
 ‘the Mullah himself comes’ (KD.f: 28b)

### 1.3.3. Person marking

Balochi is a pro-drop language with a person-marking verb suffix for each person. Only the 1st and the 3rd person singular suffixes are different in the

non-past and past tense, with a zero ending in the past tense for 3rd person singular. The following table is taken from Jahani and Korn (2009: 660, transcription adapted).

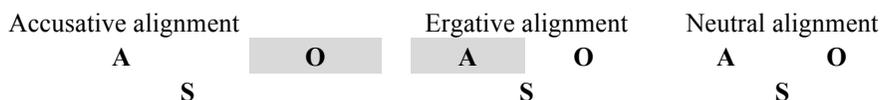
Table 11. Person-markings in Balochi

		EBal.	SBal.	WBal.	Sarawani
1S	ending present	<i>-ān, -ūn</i>	<i>-ān, -on, -ō</i>	<i>-īn, -ān</i>	<i>-ān</i>
	copula			<i>on, ān</i>	
	ending past	<i>-ān</i>		<i>-on</i>	
2S	endings and copula	<i>-ē</i>		<i>-ay</i>	<i>-ay</i>
3S	ending present	<i>-īθ, -t</i>	<i>-īt, -ī, -t</i>		<i>-et, -t</i>
	copula	<i>ē̃</i>		<i>-ent</i>	<i>o</i>
	ending past	<i>-∅</i>			
1P	ending present, copula	<i>-ūn</i>	<i>-ēn, -an, -en</i>	<i>-an, -ēn</i>	<i>-ēn</i>
	ending past				
2P		<i>-ēθ, -ē</i>	<i>-ēt, -ē, -et</i>	<i>-et</i>	<i>-ēt, -ē</i>
3P		<i>-ant, -ā̃</i>		<i>-ant</i>	<i>-ent, -ē</i>

### 1.3.4. Alignment

Comparing the agent and object of a transitive verb with the single argument of an intransitive verb, one can distinguish accusative, ergative and neutral alignment types in languages across the world.

Table 12. Types of alignment cross-linguistically (Comrie 1989)



The marked category is coloured.

Accusative alignment: A is treated like S, and O is treated differently.

Ergative alignment: O is treated like S, and A is treated differently.

Neutral alignment: A and O are both treated like S.

Cross linguistically, these syntactic functions can be indicated by flagging the arguments themselves (e.g., by use of case marking and adpositions), by indexing (e.g., by use of agreement markers on the verb), by word order, or by more than one of these strategies simultaneously (see Haspelmath 2005: 1–8 and Malchukov et al. 2007: 6–7).

With respect to alignment, the types given in Table (13) below are attested in Balochi. Generally, in Balochi these syntactic functions are demon-

strated by flagging arguments (e.g., case marking) and by indexing (e.g., agreement markers on the verb).

Table 13. Alignment systems in Balochi

Accusative		Ergative		Double oblique <sup>3</sup>		Tripartite		Neutral	
A	O	A	O	A	O	A	O	A	O
S		S		S		S		S	

The marked category is shaded.

In accusative alignment, the agent appears in the direct case and the object in the oblique or object case (the latter only in the case of 1st and 2nd person pronouns), but due to the principles of DOM (differential object marking), a direct object that is generic/indefinite, non-specific and inanimate also appears in the direct case (see Jahani and Korn 2009: 669–670). The verb agrees with the agent in person and number.<sup>4</sup>

Balochi shows tense- and person-split ergativity, in the sense that agents and objects of transitive verbs display ergative alignment in the past tense domain, while all subjects of intransitive verbs, and agents and objects of transitive verbs not based on the past stem, display accusative alignment. In canonical ergative alignment, the agent is in the oblique case and the object in the direct case, while in accusative alignment the agent appears in direct case and the object either in oblique or object case. Person-split ergativity means that in the past domain only the 3rd person shows ergative alignment. The 1st and 2nd person pronouns, called Speech Act Participants (SAP) (see Haig 2008: 74), demonstrate accusative alignment, and there is no agreement with the verb. In this case the verb always appears in the 3rd person singular by default, as in the following example:

Ex. 3) with SAP as an object

<i>mā</i>	<i>'ta-rā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>ǰā'gā=ē</i>	<i>dī't-a</i>
PN.1PL.OBL	PN.2SG-OBJ	one	place=IND	see.PST-PP

‘we have seen you in a certain place’ (RB.m: 29)

With 3rd person pronouns, the verb agrees with the object in person and number. This results in the following paradigm for object verb agreement. Among the dialects in this study, this paradigm is only found in CoB, while SiB has lost all ergativity, and KoB has a totally different system.

<sup>3</sup> Comrie (2016: 39) refers to double oblique alignment as “horizontal” in his general description of alignment types in Iranian languages.

<sup>4</sup> See Korn (2008c and 2009) for ergative and mixed constructions in Balochi.

Table 14. Object agreement: past perfective, present perfect, past perfect in CoB

	<i>dāt-</i> ‘gave’	<i>dāt-</i> ‘has/have given’	<i>dāt-</i> ‘had given’
1SG	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dāta</i>	<i>dātagat</i>
2SG	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dāta</i>	<i>dātagat</i>
3SG	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dāta</i>	<i>dātagat</i>
1PL	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dāta</i>	<i>dātagat</i>
2PL	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dāta</i>	<i>dātagat</i>
3PL	<i>dāt/ā</i>	<i>dāta/ag ā</i>	<i>dātagat/ā</i>

In double oblique alignment, the agent and the object are both treated in the same way, while the subject is marked differently. Korn (2008c: 259–260) reports a double oblique construction for Balochi, which means that the agent and object are both in the oblique case in the past domain as opposed to the subject, which is found in the direct case. In this type of construction the verb may agree with the object.

In tripartite constructions, the agent, object and subject are treated in three different ways. For Kechi and Omani Balochi, Korn (ibid. 261–262) discusses constructions, which may be called tripartite. If the object is human and definite, then it can take the object case. Thus, the agent appears in oblique case, the object in object case and the subject of the intransitive verb in direct case.

In neutral alignment, the agent and the object are treated like the subject. For Iranian Balochi, Korn (ibid. 255–256) finds neutral constructions, which mean that the agent, object and subject are all in the direct case in the past domain. In this type of construction the verb mainly occurs in the 3rd person singular. The plurality of the object may still be encoded on the verb.

Complex predicates represent a problematic case for the analysis of alignment. The transitivity of complex predicates is determined either by the complex predicate as a whole or by the finite verb alone. Haig (2008: 11–12) claims that not only in Balochi, but also in other Iranian languages such as Northern Kurdish and Vafsi, semantically intransitive complex predicates can trigger ergative case marking. He continues his discussion of Iranian languages by raising two important issues, namely that. “there are examples of etymologically transitive verbs shifting class under semantic pressure” and “there are interesting interactions between main verbs and auxiliaries”.

Jahani (2015: 93) points out that in Southern Balochi the syntactic transitivity of the light verb in the complex predicate, rather than the semantic transitivity of the complex predicate, is the crucial factor in determining the transitivity of the complex predicate. She refers to some other constructions besides complex predicates with the intransitive copula as the finite verb, such as continuous forms. For these constructions, Korn (2009: 65–66) mentions that “the transitivity or intransitivity of the periphrastic verbal constructions is determined by the respective properties of the finite verb, not by

those of the main verb.” Thus, continuous forms, constructed with the copula as the finite verb do not display ergative alignment.

## 1.4. Case system and alignment of the dialects being studied

### 1.4.1. Coastal Balochi

#### 1.4.1.1. Case system of nouns in CoB

There are five cases: direct, vocative, oblique, genitive, and locative. Table (15) presents the case and number system for nouns in CoB, using *čok* ‘child’ (except the locative, only attested with human names) as an example.

Table 15. Case and number system for nouns in CoB

	Direct	Vocative	Oblique	Genitive	Locative
Singular	<i>čok-∅</i>	<i>čok-∅</i>	<i>čok-ā/-a</i>	<i>čok-e/-ā/-∅</i>	<i>hawrok-ayā</i>
Plural	<i>čok-∅</i>	<i>čok-ān</i>	<i>čok-ān</i>	<i>čok-ānī</i>	

This case system is similar to the case and number system for nouns in Pakistani Balochi described by Jahani and Korn (2009: 652) (for more information see Appendix C). However, there is an additional locative case.

In the present data there are a few examples of an unmarked genitive (-∅), see example (4). The oblique singular form -ā is attested twice in genitive function as well; see examples (4–5). Note that Elfenbein (1990: I: VIII–XVII) reports all these genitive endings in Balochi.

Ex. 4)

*sa'rū-ā*      'mard-∅      'nām      bī't-a=∅  
 Saru-GEN      husband-GEN      name      become.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG

*jalā'ī*

Jalai

‘Saru’s husband was called Jalai’ (UT)<sup>5</sup>

Ex. 5)

*na'ser-ā*      'lōg      Karā'čī-ā      bī't-a=∅  
 Naser-GEN      house      Karachī-OBL      become.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG

‘Naser’s home was in Karachi’ (UT)

<sup>5</sup> UT=unpublished texts.

There are a few examples in my texts where an oblique ending is added to a person's name in the genitive case to express location. This locative case is a common feature in, for instance, Afghan, Turkmen and Sistani Balochi (Buddruss 1988: 48, Axenov 2006: 80–82, Korn 2008a, Barjasteh Delforooz 2010 (see also Sec. 1.4.3.1). It is possible that this form has recently found its way into CoB because the speakers do not use it frequently.<sup>6</sup>

Ex. 6)

'edā      'k-ay-∅                      **hawro'k-ayā**  
 here      IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG      Hawrok-LOC  
 'she comes there (lit. here) to Hawrok's [place]' (UT)

Ex. 7)

'šot-∅                      **jalā'ī-ayā**  
 go.PST-3SG      jalāī-LOC  
 'she went to Jalai's [place]'(UT)

### 1.4.1.2. Case system of pronouns in CoB

#### 1.4.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

Table 16. Case and number system for personal pronouns in CoB

		Direct-Oblique	Object	Genitive <sup>7</sup>
Sg.	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>mā/man</i>	<i>manā/mnā</i>	<i>manī/mnī</i>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>taw/to/ta</i>	<i>tarā/trā</i>	<i>tī/taī</i>
Pl.	1 <sup>st</sup> EXCL	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>me/may</i>
	1 <sup>st</sup> INCL	<i>māšomā</i>	<i>māšomārā</i>	<i>māšome</i>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>šomā</i>	<i>šomārā</i>	<i>šome</i>

The system is similar to the case and number system for personal pronouns in Pakistani Balochi noted by Jahani and Korn (2009, see Sec. 1.3.2.1). The inclusive 1st plural has been reported for other Balochi dialects such as Turkmen Balochi by Axenov (2006) and for Afghan and Sistani Balochi (see

<sup>6</sup> There are other example where the suffix *-tā* appears to be the combination of an individuation clitic *=i/=ē* plus the oblique ending *-ā*, as in:

Ex. 1)

'to                      'ē                      ja'nen-ā                      'zīr-e                      'r-ay  
 PN.2SG      PROX                      woman-OBL                      take.NPST-2SG                      go.NPST-2SG  
 'dega                      'mol<sup>k</sup>=ī-ā  
 another                      land=IND-OBL  
 'you take (lit. take and go) this girl to another place (lit. land)' (RB.m)

Barjasteh Delforooz's published texts (2010) and Sec. 1.4.3.2), but not yet for CoB.

Ex. 8)

*go'š-ī*                      *'by-ā*                      *e'dā*    *'dēm*    *pa*    *'dēm-ā*  
 say.NPST-3SG    IMPV-come.NPST-2SG    here    face    to    face-OBL  
***māšo'mā-rā***    *'nay-l-ā*                      *raw-a'g-ā*  
 1PL.INCL-OBJ    NEG-allow.NPST-3PL    go.NPST-INF-OBL

'she says, "Look, they [the Baloch] do not let us go openly here (...)'  
 (HA.m: 4c)

The form that is called direct-oblique case can be used for direct and oblique functions, and the form that is called object case can be used for oblique and object functions. Thus, for oblique functions the speaker can use two different forms. The functional distribution of the direct-oblique and object case is presented in the following table, with the 1st person singular personal pronoun as an example.

Table 17. Functional distribution of the direct-oblique and object cases

Direct	Oblique	Object
<i>man</i>		<i>manā</i>

In contrast to other Balochi dialects being studied, CoB exhibits pro-adjectives such as *manīng* 'mine', *otīg* 'yours', *šōmayg* 'yours'.

Ex. 9)

*ṭ*            *'čok*    ***ma'nīng=en***  
 PROX    child    mine=COP.NPST.3SG

'this child is mine '(RB.m: 4)

#### 1.4.1.2.2. Demonstrative determiners and pronouns

Demonstrative determiners have the following forms: *ī/e/ē* (proximal deixis) and *ā* (distal deixis).

Ex. 10)

*gō*            ***ṭ***            *kessāčī'n-ā*  
 with    PROX    storyteller-OBL.PL

'with these storytellers'(RB.m: 4)

Ex. 11)

***'ē***            *ba'čak*    *'šo-Ø*  
 PROX    boy            go.PST-3SG

'this boy went' (UT)

Ex. 12)

*'e rama'gī kaš'š-ī*  
 PROX shepherd pull.NPST-3SG  
 'this shepherd pulls [her] up' (KD.f: 174)

Ex. 13)

*'ā balōč'māt ke 'šot-Ø*  
 DIST Baloch mother CLM go.PST-3SG  
 'when that [son of the] Baloch mother went' (UT)

Table 18 presents the case and number system for 3rd person singular and plural pronouns in CoB.

Table 18. Demonstrative pronouns in CoB

		Direct	Oblique	Genitive
Proximal	sg.	<i>ē/e/ēš/eš/īš</i>	<i>ēšī/ēšīā/ešīā</i>	<i>ēšī/ēšīe/ešī/ešīe</i>
	pl.	<i>ē/e/ēš/eš/īš</i>	<i>ēšān/ēšā̃/īšā̃</i>	<i>ēšānī</i>
Distal	sg.	<i>ā</i>	<i>āīā/āī</i>	<i>āī/āhī/āīe</i>
	pl.	<i>ā</i>	<i>āhā̃/āhān</i>	<i>āhānī</i>

For the proximal pronouns there are two forms: *ē/e* and *ēš/eš/īš* with phonological variants. For the oblique singular, there are two forms: (1) a short form, *ēšī* and *āī*, which is the oblique and genitive case of these pronouns in other Balochi varieties; and (2) an extended form, *ēšīā* and *āīā*. The extended oblique form is built with the suffix *-ā* on the short form *ēšī*. It seems obvious that *ēšīā/āīā* is built on *ēšī/āī*, which leads to the conclusion that *ēšī/āī* could be the older oblique forms.

Ex. 14)

*ā'īā čō'bī ha'm=ē 'hōš ke bor'ret*  
 DIST.OBL you know EMPH=PROX cluster CLM cut.PST  
 'when, you know, that one cut off this cluster' (UT)

Ex. 15)

*ma'yār=o pa 'āī 'nest=ē*  
 honour=FOC for DIST.OBL NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG  
 'there is no honour for that one' (UT)

Ex. 16)

*e'šīā 'go*  
 PROX.OBL say.PST  
 'this one said (...)' (RB.m: 39)

Ex. 17)

**'ešī**            *sa'bak*    *'dā-∅*  
PROX.OBL    lesson    give.NPST-3SG

‘he teaches this one’ (UT)

The genitive singular form also appears as either (1) a short form *ēšī* and *āī/āhī*, which are the genitive and oblique forms of these pronouns in other Balochi dialects, or (2) an extended form *ēšīe* and *āīe*. The forms *ēšīe* and *āīe* are only used for the genitive case, while the forms *ēšī* and *āī* apply to both the genitive and the oblique case. Since the forms *ēšī* and *āī* are used in both functions, the speakers tend to disambiguate them by adding the suffix *-e* for genitive case and *-ā* for oblique case.<sup>8</sup>

Ex. 18)

**e'šī**            *'del*        *'sotk-∅*  
PROX.GEN    heart        burn.PST-3SG

‘her chest (lit. heart) burnt’ (UT)

Ex. 19)

**e'šīe**            *'lāp-ā*  
PROX.GEN    stomach-OBL

‘her stomach’ (KD.f: 41)

Ex. 20)

*ke*        **ā'ī**            *'nām=a-∅*            *rahīm'bakš*  
CLM    DIST.GEN    name=COP.PST-3SG    Rahimbaksh

‘who was called (lit. that his name was) Rahimbaksh’ (RB.m: 1)

Ex. 21)

*'ē*        *ha'bar=o*    **'āīe**            *wās'tā*            *'ayb*  
PROX    word=FOC    DIST.GEN    for the sake of    defect

*bī't-a=∅*

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘this word caused (lit. was) a bad reputation for him’ (KD.f: 124)

---

<sup>8</sup> This phenomenon has been noted for Western Balochi dialects, see Korn (2008b: 182) “[F]or the nom.sg., there are two forms *ā* (which is the direct case of this pronoun in other dialects) and *āī* (obl. in other dialects). Both forms seem to be found in all relevant functions, e.g., *āī* and *ā* as a subject of an intransitive verb and *āī* after a preposition” (with examples following).

### 1.4.1.2.3. Reflexive pronouns

Only one example of this pronoun in the object case is attested in the present data.

Ex. 22) *wat* in direct case

*'wat*    *'raw-∅*            *lap'p-ī*  
 REFL    go.NPST-3SG    hide.NPST-3SG  
 'he himself goes [and] hides' (KD.f: 46)

Ex. 23)

*ma'sa*            *'wat-rā*            *'yanī*            *'bāz*    *hōr ta hōr*  
 for example    REFL-OBJ    you know    good    mixing  
*kan-ā*  
 do.NPST-3PL

'you know, they make a good relationship (lit. they mix **themselves**) [with Baloch]' (UT)

Ex. 24) *wat* in genitive case

*wa't-ī*            *'māt=o*            *pe't-ānī*            *gwa'ra*    *'ham=ēdā*  
 REFL-GEN    mother=and    father-GEN.PL    to            EMPH=here  
*'nešt-∅*  
 sit.PST-3SG

'he settled down there (lit. here) by his own mother and father ('s place)' (UT)

Ex. 25) *wat* in oblique case

*'wat-ā*            *'gošt*  
 REFL-OBL    say.PST  
 'she herself said (...)' (UT)

### 1.4.1.3. Alignment in CoB

In contrast to the other two Balochi dialects being studied, my data from CoB shows three main types of alignment: accusative, ergative and tripartite alignment. The following table displays the alignment systems in CoB.

Table 19. Alignment systems in CoB

Accusative alignment	Ergative alignment	Tripartite alignment
A            O	A            O	A            O
S	S	S

The marked categories are shaded.

#### 1.4.1.3.1. Accusative alignment

The following examples illustrate accusative alignment<sup>9</sup> for intransitive verbs in the past, and both transitive and intransitive verbs in the non-past domain.

Ex. 26) Treatment of the subject of an intransitive verb in the past domain

*ja'nek* 'na-šo-∅ *wā'n-ag-ā*  
girl NEG-go.PST-3SG read.NPST-INF-OBL  
'the girl did not go school (lit. for the studying)' (UT)

Ex. 27) Treatment of the subject of a transitive verb in the non-past domain

*saj'jê* *mar'dom* 'otī *kessa'w-â* *ja'n-ā*  
all.ATTR people REFL.GEN story-OBL.PL hit.NPST-3PL  
'all the people tell their stories' (KD.f: 112b)

Ex. 28) Treatment of the subject of an intransitive verb in the non-past domain

*mol'lā* 'wat 'k-ay-∅  
Mullah REFL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG  
'the Mullah himself comes' (UT)

#### 1.4.1.3.2. Ergative alignment

In ergative alignment, the following patterns are attested:

- Canonical ergative alignment

Canonical ergative alignment is only visible with the object in the 3rd plural, where the plural object is indicated by an agreement marker.

Ex. 29) With the verb agreeing with a plural object

*'pet-ā* 'ham=*ē* 'čamm=*o* 'hōn *wār't-ant=o*  
father-OBL EMPH=PROX eye=and blood eat.PST-3PL=and  
'nešt-∅  
sit.PST-3SG

'the father ate up (lit. ate and sat) these eyes and [drank] the blood' (UT)

---

<sup>9</sup> In a few examples with accusative alignment, the agent appears in the oblique case even when there is no reason for a non-canonical subject: *māsā jān mānā šodīt=i* 'the mother washes herself (lit. her body)'; *bal'loka 'dārīt=i* 'the grandmother takes care of her'. Since the examples are very limited in the corpus, this use of oblique case with agents in accusative alignment requires more research.

Ex. 30) With a ditransitive verb agreeing with a plural object

'mā      ō'tī      'mačĉ-e      'hōš      de'gar-ā  
PN.1SG    REFL.GEN    date palm-GEN    clusters    other-OBL  
'na-dāt-ag-ā  
NEG-give.PST-PP-3PL

'I have not given my date palm clusters to anyone else' (UT)

With the object in 3rd singular, no explicit agreement marker appears on the verb. If one assumes that zero is the person-marking verbal suffix of the 3rd singular, then one can stipulate object agreement. If not, there is no object agreement as with SAP pronouns.

Ex. 31) 3rd person singular verb

ē'sīā      'ham=ē      zar'd-ē      negē'na      'zort  
PROX.OBL    EMPH=PROX    yellow-ATTR    stone      take.PST

'this one took this yellow stone' (RB.m: 31)

Ex. 32) Agreement with a singular object

e's-ā      ke      rahīm'bakš      'dī  
PROX-OBL.PL    CLM    Rahimbaksh    see.PST

'when these saw Rahimbaksh'(RB.m: 29)

Note that there are some cases with ditransitive verbs where both the direct and the indirect object are plural. In these cases, the verb could be agreeing with either the direct or the indirect object in number, as in the following examples:

Ex. 33) Agreement with an indirect object in number

man'jal=e      'āp=ē      dā't-ag-ā  
pot=EZ      water=PC.3PL    give.PST-PP-3PL

'[they] gave (lit. have given) them a pot of water' (UT)

Ex. 34) Agreement with either an indirect or direct object in number

kam'm-ok=ē      'nā=ē      dā't-ag-ā  
little-DIM=IND    date=PC.3PL    give.PST-PP-3PL

'[he] gave (lit. has given) them some dates' (UT)

In both examples, since both the direct and indirect objects are plural, it is not clear which of them the verb agrees with.

The absence of an overt agent in the ergative alignment is also attested in the present data (see Chap. 4).

Ex. 35) The absence of an overt agent

'ā wā'dī 'say ha'zār to'mō šo'wāz ko 'sī  
 DIST time three thousand toman collect do.PST thirty  
 mes'xāl te'lā 'zo  
 meskal gold buy.PST

'At that time he collected three thousand *toman*, [and] he bought thirty *meskal* of gold' (RB.m: 20a–20b)

Ex. 36) The absence of an overt agent

ē'sīā 'ham=ē zar'd-ē negē'na 'zort=o  
 PROX.OBL EMPH=PROX yellow-ATTR stone take.PST=and  
 'ārt o'tī jan'ēn-ā 'dāt  
 bring-PST REFL.GEN wife-OBL take.PST

'This one took this yellow stone, brought [it] and gave [it] to his wife'  
 (RB.m: 31d–f)

- Agent in the direct case

In a few instances, the agent in the ergative alignment appears in the direct case. Consider the following example:

Ex. 37) Agent in the direct case

mol'lā<sup>10</sup> 'go 'šarr=en 'šarr=en  
 Mullah say.PST fine=COP.NPST.3SG fine=COP.NPST.3SG  
 'wāja  
 Sir

'the Mullah said, "Alright, alright, Sir"' (UT)

---

<sup>10</sup> The following examples with oblique case *mollāyā* indicate that the *mollā* is not the output of *mollā* plus oblique suffix *-ā*.

Ex. 2)

mol'lā-yā kaš'se 'zām=o aw'lī 'čok ē'sīā  
 Mullah-OBL draw.PST sword=and first child PROX.OBL  
 'košt  
 kill.PST

'the Mullah drew the sword and he (lit. this one) killed the first child'(UT)

Ex. 3)

mol'lā-yā saǰ'jē sa'bak dā't-ag-ā 'ē  
 Mullah-OBL all.ATTR lesson give.PST-PP-3PL PROX  
 sa'bak 'na-dāt-ag=ī  
 lesson NEG-give.PST-PP=PC.3SG

'the Mullah taught (lit. has taught) all [the students], [but] he did not (lit. has not taught) teach this one'(KD.f: 118)

#### 1.4.1.3.3. Tripartite alignment

In the example below, the agent is in the oblique case, the pronominal object is in the object case, and the verb appears in the 3rd person singular form. If we regard *manā* as the object form, it is a tripartite alignment.<sup>11</sup> Note that Dabir-Moghaddam (1392 Š. [2013/14]: 283) also mentions this type of alignment for other Balochi dialects spoken in Iran.

Ex. 38)

<i>'man-ā</i>	<i>kašš't-a</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>ča</i>	<i>'čāt-ā</i>
PN.1SG-OBJ	pull.PST-PP	PROX.OBL	from	well-OBL

‘this one pulled me up from the well’ (UT)

#### 1.4.1.4. Person marking

##### 1.4.1.4.1. Person-marking verb suffixes

The basic set of person-marking verb suffixes and the copula in CoB are similar to the forms in Southern Balochi given by Jahani and Korn (2009: 660). In contrast to KoB and SiB, where the person-marking verb suffixes indicate only the agents and subjects of clauses (see Appendix C), the person-marking verb suffixes in CoB indicate not only subjects in accusative alignment, but also direct objects and indirect objects in ergative alignment. In the following example, the plural ending *-ā* on the verb (*dā't-ag-ā*) indicates that the indirect object is plural, even though there is no overt reference to ‘them’ in the clause.

Ex. 39) Person-marking verb suffix refers to an indirect object

<i>man'jal=e</i>	<i>'āp=ē</i>	<i>dā't-ag-ā</i>
pot=EZ	water=PC.3PL	give.PST-PP-3PL

‘[they] have given a pot of the water to them’ (UT)

In the next example, since dates are normally plural in Balochi (as in English), it is not clear whether the plural verb suffix refers to the direct object (dates) or to the plural indirect object (them).

Ex. 40) Person-marking verb suffix refers to either a direct or indirect object

<i>kam'm-ok=ē</i>	<i>'nā=ē</i>	<i>dā't-ag-ā</i>
little-DIM=IND	date=PC.3PL	give.PST-PP-3PL

‘[he] has given them some dates’ (UT)

---

<sup>11</sup> See Korn (2008c: 262) for more information on these constructions in Balochi.

In the following example, the referent of the 3rd plural verb suffix is a non-overt object.

Ex. 41) Person-marking verb suffix refers to an object

*bale 'ham 'sāl čō'bī de'ga 'yak=e-yā*  
 but every year you know another one=IND-OBL

*borre't-ā bor't-ag-ā*  
 cut.PST-3PL take.PST-PP-3PL

‘but every year, someone else cut [them] off [and] took [them]’ (BS.f 3–4)

#### 1.4.1.4.2. Person-marking clitics

The person-marking clitics in CoB are similar to those described by Jahani and Korn (2009: 654). Unlike KoB (see Sec. 1.4.2.4.2), which frequently uses person-marking clitics for all persons, CoB only uses them frequently for the 3rd person singular/plural (=ī/=e/=ē/=ay). In fact, the 1st person plural =en and the alternative 3rd person plural =eš are only attested once each in my entire corpus. For information about the function and distribution of person-marking clitics, see Appendix (C).

#### 1.4.1.4.3. Steps of PC toward an agreement marker

The present data from CoB show that the agent as a noun in the oblique case and the PC both appear in the same clause, as in the following examples (note that the PCs in these examples do not function as indirect objects):

Ex. 42) Noun in OBL+PC

*ka'hīr-ā 'gošt=ī*  
 kahir-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG

‘Kahir said (...) (UT)

Ex. 43) Noun in OBL+PC

*'pet-ā=o 'mat-ā 'gošt=ī*  
 father-OBL=and mother-OBL say.PST=PC.3PL

‘the father and mother said, (...)’ (RB.m)

The oblique case marking of the agents in examples (42–43) seems to contradict the suggested interpretation of the PC as an agreement marker. If the PC is an agreement marker, the agent would agree with the verb like the subject of an intransitive verb, and this would mean that the agent, syntactically and morphologically speaking is the subject. If this analysis is correct, examples (42–43) cannot be understood as ergative alignments. However, then there is no reason for the oblique case of the agent. One could assume that the oblique case of these nouns is the remnant of the earlier stage of the ergative alignment and the original construction could be as in the following example:

Ex. 44) Original construction

*'kahīr-ā gošt*  
kahir-OBL say.PST

'Kahir said, (...)' (UT)

In example (42) Kahir is the topic. Thus, the agent seems to be doubled as '*Kahir*, he said' with the noun left in dislocation. In contrast to KoB and SiB, CoB does not show hanging topic constructions with a noun unmarked for case. The topicalized constituent is resumed by a pronoun inside the clause. In the absence of an agreement marker on the verb in the ergative alignment (vs. the presence of agreement on the verb in the accusative alignment) the relation of the PC and the dislocated noun, which one can consider topic agreement (see also Jügel 2015: 265), could be reanalysed as verbal agreement, because the PC is the only element in the clause that can indicate agreement. In other words, when there is no overt agreement of the verb with O, the PC occupies its empty slot. Thus in this dialect PCs tends to function as agreement markers, but they have not been yet fully grammaticalized as in KoB (see Sec. 1.4.2.3). In the KoB dialect, a PC is always present on the verbs. Unlike KoB (see Sec.1.4.2.3) where there is one set of endings for transitive verbs in the past domain, i.e., person-marking clitics, CoB presents both default ( $\emptyset$ ) and PC as similar to agreement markers for transitive verbs in the past domain (see Chap. 4).

It seems that CoB follows the same pathway as KoB where the PCs function as agreement markers for agents (see Sec.1.4.2.3) This would mean that CoB represents a more archaic system than KoB. The existence of the PC 3rd person singular in SiB is evidence that CoB follows the same pathway as SiB, which seems to have taken a step further than KoB; the PC disappeared from the language except for the 3rd person singular in the past domain. The PC has been adopted as a facultative person-marking verb suffix of intransitive verbs alternating with the original zero ending of the 3rd person singular (see Sec. 1.4.3.4.2)

The motivation for SiB is that all persons have an ending except for the 3rd person singular so the PC can fill this empty slot. In CoB this is not the case, because except for the 3rd person plural, no persons show any ending (see Table 29) so there is no reason to have one in the 3rd person singular.

## 1.4.2. Koroshi Balochi

Compared to SiB and CoB, the case system of KoB is a reduced one. Conversely it has a full set of person-marking clitics.

### 1.4.2.1. Case system of nouns in KoB

There are three cases for the nouns: direct, oblique and genitive. Table (20) presents the case and number system for nouns in KoB using *janek* ‘girl’ as an example. The following table is taken from Nourzaei et al. (2015: 28).

Table 20. Case and number system for nouns in KoB

	Direct <sup>12</sup>	Oblique	Genitive
Singular	<i>janek-∅</i>	<i>janek-ā</i>	<i>janek-ay</i>
Plural	<i>janek-obār</i>	<i>janek-obār-ā</i>	<i>janek-obār-ay</i>

This case system is somewhat similar to case and number system for nouns noted for Lashari Balochi by Korn (2008b: 183). As in SiB, the genitive suffix is different for nouns and pronouns. Both dialects mostly use the suffix *-ay* for nouns and the suffix *-ī* for pronouns (see Table 20).<sup>13</sup> In contrast to SiB and CoB, which have an ending *-ān/-ā* (plural oblique) as a plural marker, KoB uses the suffix *-obār* as a plural marker, which is specific to this dialect (see Appendix C).

### 1.4.2.2. Case system of pronouns in KoB

#### 1.4.2.2.1. Personal pronouns

KoB has three cases for personal pronouns: direct-oblique, object and genitive case (see Appendix C). Table (21) presents the case and number system for them.<sup>14</sup> This system is somewhat similar that for pronouns in Lashari Balochi noted by Korn (2008b: 183). The following table is taken from Nourzaei et al. (2015: 46).

Table 21. Case and number system for KoB personal pronouns

		Direct-Oblique	Object	Genitive
Sg.	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>man</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>manī</i>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tarā</i>	<i>taī</i>
Pl.	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>māī</i>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>šomā</i>	<i>šomārā</i>	<i>šomāī/šomay</i>

<sup>12</sup> Nourzaei et al. (2015: 28) used the term “nominative” instead of “direct”. For the sake of a unified terminology with other Balochi dialects, I have decided to adopt “direct case” for KoB as well. This does not imply a different meaning.

<sup>13</sup> For examples of the genitive case with suffix *-i* see Nourzaei et al. (2015: 37–38).

<sup>14</sup> In contrast to the CoB and SiB dialects, inclusive and exclusive pronouns for 1st person plural are not attested in this dialect.

As in the other Balochi dialects being studied, the object case is built with the suffix *-ā* for the 1st person pronoun only, and with *-rā* for the rest. There are two genitive forms for the pronoun of the 2nd person plural, *šomāī/šomay*. They do not differ in function.

The functional distribution of the case forms is the same as with nouns. Since postpositions are very rare in KoB, there are no examples of them with pronouns as their objects in the corpus. In fact, most postpositions are replaced by prepositions with the *ežāfe* construction.<sup>15</sup>

#### 1.4.2.2.2. Demonstrative determiners and pronouns

Table (22) presents the demonstratives of KoB Balochi (is taken from Nourzaei et al. 2015: 50).

Table 22. Demonstratives in KoB

		Direct	Oblique	Genitive	Object
Proximal	sg.	<i>ī/ē/ēš</i>	<i>ēšī/īšī/ešī</i>		
	pl.	<i>ēšān/īšān/ešān/šān</i>		<i>ēšānī/īšānī/ešānī</i>	<i>ēšānā</i>
Distal	sg.	<i>ā</i>	<i>āhī/āī/āšī</i>		
	pl.	<i>āšān</i>		<i>āšānī</i>	<i>āšānā</i>

As in other Balochi dialects, the plural ending for 3rd person pronouns is the suffix *-ān*. Unlike for the nouns, the oblique and genitive cases of the 3rd person pronouns are identical. The oblique and genitive cases are formed with the suffix *-ī* on the direct case. A distinct form for the object case is only attested in the plural. It is formed with the suffix *-ā* attached to the direct/oblique plural form.

Note that the object marker has spread from the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons to the 3rd person plural. This is in contrast to CoB, where the object marker only appears with 1st and 2nd person pronouns. The functional distribution is the same as with the nouns.<sup>16</sup>

#### 1.4.2.2.3. Reflexive pronoun

There is only one reflexive pronoun, *wad*, in KoB, and it is only inflected in the genitive case. It may have an oblique case inflection as well, but none is attested in the present corpus. It is often combined with a clitic that specifies the person. (For examples, see Nourzaei et al. 58–59). See chapter 5 for discussion of the function of the reflexive pronoun as an intensifier.

<sup>15</sup> For more details, see Nourzaei et al. (2015: 45). From a dialectological point of view, KoB is more similar to Southern Balochi than to SiB (see *ibid.* 25). This suggests that at an earlier stage of KoB postpositions were predominant rather than prepositions, and that prepositions are a later development in KoB (see *ibid.* 43–46; for the *ežāfe* construction, see *ibid.* 39–40). My data from CoB indicate that postpositions have a higher frequency than prepositions. Furthermore, the *ežāfe* construction is not attested in CoB.

<sup>16</sup> For examples regarding genitives, see Nourzaei et al. (2015: 50–53).

### 1.4.2.3. Alignment in KoB

Table 23. Alignment in KoB

Accusative alignment

A                      O

S

The marked category is shaded.

Accusative alignment: A is treated like S; O is treated differently.

In contrast to CoB, which has distinct alignments for the past and present domains (see Sec. 1.4.1.3), KoB does not show a change in the case marking and agreement of the subject with the verb, and hence no alignment change (see Table 23). The alignment with transitive and intransitive verbs in both non-past and past tenses is accusative, as will be illustrated below. In the following three sections, I discuss in turn alignment for intransitive verbs, transitive verbs in the non-past domain, and transitive verbs in the past domains.

#### 1.4.2.3.1. Alignment for intransitive verbs

All intransitive verbs agree with the subject in person and number by means of a person-marking suffix on the verb stem. Examples (45–46) show the treatment of the subject of intransitive verb in both non-past and past domains.

Ex. 45) Treatment of the subject of the intransitive verb in the non-past domain

*joḡa'l-ok*    *ke*    *'ā*    *'rōč*    *ke*    *as*    *madra'sā*  
boy-DEF    CLM    DIST    day    CLM    from    school.OBL

*a='k-ay-∅*

VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

‘when the boy is coming back from school’ (KS.m)

Ex. 46) Treatment of the subject of the intransitive verb in the past domain

*'mā*    *'raft-en*    *dī'dan=ī*  
PN.1PL    go.PST-1PL    visit=PC.3SG

‘we went to visit him’ (UT)

#### 1.4.2.3.2. Alignment for transitive verbs in the non-past domain

The subject and agent are in the direct case, and the object is in the oblique or (for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural pronouns) object case. The verb agrees with the subject and agent in person and number. The following examples present accusative alignment for transitive verbs in the non-past domain.

Ex. 47) Treatment of the subject of the transitive verb in the non-past domain

'šām-ī            'ē            aždāhā'-ok    a=pē'č-ī  
super-ADVZ    PROX    dragon-DEF    VCL=twist.NPST-3SG

'dawr=e    šā'h-ay    ja'nek-ay    gar'den-ā  
around=EZ    king-GEN    daughter-GEN    neck-OBL

'in the evening this dragon wraps itself around the neck of the king's daughter' (UT)

Ex. 48) Treatment of the subject of the transitive verb in the non-past domain

'ta-rā            'mā            ā'dam            he'sāb  
PN.2SG-OBJ    PN.1PL    human being    count

a='na-kan-en

VCL=NEG.do.NPST-1PL

'we don't regard you as a person' (DA.m: 21a)

Ex. 49) Treatment of the agent of the transitive verb in the non-past domain

šā'h-ay            'bač    a='š-ī  
king-GEN    son    VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'the king's son says' (KS.f: 6a)

#### 1.4.2.3.3. Alignment for transitive verbs in the past domain

As mention in section 1.4.2, KoB displays person-marking clitics for all persons. These forms are still analysed as clitics rather than suffixes, because their position is not stable in the sentence, and they may attach to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, reflexive pronouns, interrogative/indefinite pronouns, numerals, verbs, preverbs, the non-verbal element of a complex predicate or prepositions.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, in environments where they cross-reference an agent or the subject of a possessive construction, they are typically attached to an element in the verb phrase rather than to the noun phrase of an agent, and they behave like suffixes.

The same phenomenon of person-marking clitics with an agent function in the past domain has been reported for other Balochi dialects such as Lashari, Iranshahri, Sarawani, Khashi and Zahedani by Dabir-Moghaddam (2008: 85–92). He (ibid. 98) finds that there is a strong tendency for agent person-marking clitics to cross-reference the agent of transitive verbs in the past domain in these Balochi dialects, and that these clitics are attached to the “verb phrase initial domain”. The crucial difference between KoB and the above-mentioned dialects is that in KoB the person-marking clitics normally appear on the verb itself (see Table 24) or the non-verbal part of a complex predicate (see example 53).

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<sup>17</sup> For examples see Nourzaei et al. (2015: 54–55).

Table 24. Agent agreement: past perfective, present perfect, past perfect in KoB

	<i>dāt-</i> ‘gave’	<i>dāt-</i> ‘has/have given’	<i>dāt-</i> ‘had given’
1SG	<i>dāt=om</i>	<i>dātag=om</i>	<i>dātagad=om</i>
2SG	<i>dāt=et</i>	<i>dātag=et</i>	<i>dātagad=et</i>
3SG	<i>dāt=ī</i>	<i>dātag=ī</i>	<i>dātagad=ī</i>
1PL	<i>dāt=en</i>	<i>dātag=en</i>	<i>dātagad=en</i>
2PL	<i>dāt=ū</i>	<i>dātag=ū</i>	<i>dātagad=ū</i>
3PL	<i>dāt=eš</i>	<i>dātag=eš</i>	<i>dātagad=eš</i>

Transitive constructions in the past domain have the agent in direct case and the object in oblique or (for 1st and 2nd person pronouns and 3rd person plural) object case. In this instance the verb does not agree in number or person with the object. Rather, it agrees with the agent in person and number by means of person-marking clitics. In the possessive construction, the possessor appears in the direct case and is cross-referenced by the person-marking clitic, which tends to appear on the verb.

Ex. 50) Possessor cross-referenced by the person-marking clitic

41a *'šāh ham 'haft ja'nek=ī 'ass=en*  
king ADD seven daughter=PC.3SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG  
‘the king has seven daughters’ (KS.f)

The language still has person-marking clitics, which agree with the agent for transitive verbs. Consider the following example, where the agent is represented by the noun phrase *alam'dār* ‘Alamdar’.

Ex. 51)

*alam'dār 'gašt=ī*  
Alamdar say.PST=PC.3SG  
‘Alamdar said (...)’ (UT)

In this example, in addition to the noun denoting the agent, the person-marking clitic =*ī* is required. The same goes for a personal pronoun and person-marking clitic in the following examples:

Ex. 52)

*'mā 'gašt=en*  
PN.1PL say.PST=PC.1PL  
‘we said (...)’ (UT)

Ex. 53)

'*ta*            '*gōš=et*        *ke-∅*  
PN.2SG   ear=PC.2SG   do.PST-3SG

'you listened' (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 128)

In fact, the person-marking clitics obligatorily cross-reference the agent appearing as a noun or pronoun, if present (as in the examples above). This observation leads to the following conclusion: the agent clitics should be regarded as agreement markers in KoB. When agent clitics become agreement markers, the language does not exhibit ergative alignment.

From a historical point of view, this type of agreement (person-marking clitics) is a remnant of an earlier stage of ergative alignment in this dialect.<sup>18</sup> It is noteworthy that, morphologically, these person-marking clitics look like an agent in the ergative alignment, but functionally behave as agreement markers.

Since the verb agrees with the agent by means of person-marking clitics, and the verb agrees with the subject by means of person-marking suffixes, but the verb does not agree with the object, one can claim that transitive verbs in the past domain in this dialect demonstrate an accusative alignment.

Note that when a person-marking clitic attaches to the object of a transitive verb, whether in past or in non-past domains, the object is not marked for case. This means that A=O=S in such sentences. The verb still agrees in person and number with the agent (see Nourzaei et al. 2015: 83).

In sum, transitive verbs in the past tense do not exhibit ergative alignment in this dialect. So, there are two sets of agreement markers in the past domain; one set consists of person-marking suffixes that come with intransitive verbs and transitive verbs in the non-past domain, and the second set consists of person-marking clitics that function as agreement markers only for transitive verbs in the past domain. Since the person-marking clitics, as agreement markers and person-marking suffixes, cover the same function, they will be treated in the same way in the analysis of participant reference (see Chap. 5).

#### 1.4.2.4. Person marking

##### 1.4.2.4.1. *Person-marking verb suffixes*

The basic set of person-marking verb suffixes and the copula in KoB are similar to the forms in Western Balochi (see Jahani and Korn 2009: 660). For more information on person-marking suffixes see Appendix (C).

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<sup>18</sup> The same has been reported for other Iranian languages such as Sorani Kurdish by Haig (2008) and Jügel (2009).

#### 1.4.2.4.2. *Person-marking clitics*

Person-marking clitics in KoB are similar to those in Western and Iranian Balochi noted by Jahani and Korn (2009: 654). KoB uses the person-marking clitics for all persons. Interestingly, the 1st person plural forms (=ēn/=en) in this dialect are the same as their corresponding person-marking verb suffixes. For information about the function and distribution of person-marking clitics see Appendix (C).

### 1.4.3. Sistani Balochi

SiB has quite a rich case system in comparison to the other Balochi dialects under discussion in this work, particularly KoB, and include a locative and an object case.

#### 1.4.3.1. Case system of nouns in SiB

There are six cases: direct, vocative, oblique, object, genitive, and locative. Table (25) presents the case and number system for nouns in SiB, using *pes* ‘father’ as an example.

Table 25. Case and number system of SiB nouns

	Direct	Vocative	Oblique	Object	Genitive <sup>19</sup>	Locative
sg	<i>pes-∅</i>	<i>pes-∅</i>	<i>pes-ā</i>	<i>pes-ārā</i>	<i>pes-ay</i>	<i>pes-ayā</i>
pl	<i>pes-∅</i>	<i>pes-ān</i>	<i>pes-ān</i>	<i>pes-ānā</i>	<i>pes-ānī</i>	<i>pes-ānā</i>

This case system is similar to that for nouns in Afghan and Turkmen Balochi described by Jahani and Korn (2009: 652). However, there is an additional object marker *-ārā*, which has not previously been reported for SiB.

Ex. 54) Direct object for nouns

*ha'm=ē*      *ra'hīm*    *'wat-ī*      ***pe's-ārā***    *'dīst-∅*  
 EMPH=PROX    Rahim    REFL-GEN    father-OBJ    see.PST-3SG  
 ‘this Rahim talked to (lit. saw) his father’ (UT)

Unlike KoB (see Sec. 1.4.2.2), in SiB, the suffix *-rā*, as an object marker in the singular, has spread to the entire pronoun system (including 3rd person pronouns) and also to kinship terms. Farrell (1995: 213) also finds this suffix *-ārā* in Karachi Balochi and reports that *-ārā* is a marker of specificity in this dialect. Axenov (2006: 75) reports for Turkmen Balochi that the combination of the suffixes *-ē+ -rā* marks specific singular nouns in this dialect. The exact function of *-rā* is not clear from the current data for SiB. More data is

<sup>19</sup> Proper names take the genitive suffix *-ī*, e.g., *kajīrī mās* ‘Kajir’s mother’

needed to determine exactly what its function is. For information about the function and distribution of person-marking clitics see Appendix (C).

#### 1.4.3.2. Case system of pronouns in SiB

##### 1.4.3.2.1. Personal pronouns

Table (26) presents the case and number system for the personal pronouns of SiB.

Table 26. Case and number system in SiB for personal pronouns.

	Direct/Oblique	Object	Genitive	Locative	
Sg	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>man</i>	<i>mnā</i>	<i>mnī</i>	<i>mnīā</i>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>ta</i>	<i>trā/tarā</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>tīā</i>
Pl	1 <sup>st</sup> . EXCL	<i>hammā</i>	<i>hammārā</i>	<i>hammay/hammay</i>	<i>hammayā</i>
	1 <sup>st</sup> . INCL	<i>mašmā/mešmā</i> <i>/mošmā</i>	<i>mašmārā/mošmārā</i>	<i>mašmay/mošmay</i>	<i>mašmyā</i> <i>/mošmayā</i>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>šmā</i>	<i>šmārā</i>	<i>šmay</i>	<i>šomayā</i>

This case system is similar to that for personal pronouns in Afghan and Turkmen Balochi noted by Jahani and Korn (2009: 653–654).

##### 1.4.3.2.2. Demonstrative determiners and pronouns

Table (27) presents the demonstratives of SiB.

Table 27. Demonstrative pronouns in SiB

	Direct	Object	Oblique	Genitive	Locative
Proximal	Sg. <i>e/ē/eš/eš</i>	<i>ēšā/ēšerā/ešerā</i>	<i>ēšī</i>		<i>ēšīā</i>
	Pl. <i>e/ē/eš/eš</i>	<i>ēšānā/ešānā</i>	<i>ēšān/ešān</i>	<i>ēšānī/ešānī</i>	<i>ēšānīā/ešānīā</i>
Distal	Sg. <i>ā</i>	<i>āerā/ārā</i> <sup>20</sup>	<i>āī</i>	<i>āī</i>	<i>āīā</i>
	Pl. <i>ā</i>	<i>āwānā</i>	<i>āwān</i>	<i>āwānī</i>	<i>āwānīā</i>

In contrast to KoB, the object marker in SiB has spread from the plural personal pronouns to the singular personal pronouns. Interestingly, the object case for singular pronouns is built with the suffix *-erā* on the singular direct case. Note that there are two forms in the object case, *-erā* and *-rā*, for the distal demonstrative pronoun *ā*. In contrast to CoB, but similar to KoB, the genitive and oblique case forms in the singular are the same. The plural genitive case is formed with the suffix *-ī* on the plural oblique form. The functional distribution of the demonstrative 3rd person pronouns is the same as with the nouns. For more information see Appendix (C).

<sup>20</sup> The object case is used for indirect objects, as well.

### 1.4.3.2.3. Reflexive pronoun

There is one reflexive pronoun in SiB: *wat* ‘oneself’.

Ex. 55) Reflexive pronouns in direct case

*'wat*     *'āt-∅*             *ge's-ā*  
REFL     come.PST-3SG     house-OBL  
‘he himself came home’ (UT)

Ex. 56) Reflexive pronouns in direct case

*a'lām*     *'wat*     *'āt-∅*  
Alam     REFL     come.PST-3SG  
‘Alam himself came back’ (UT)

Ex. 57) Reflexive pronouns in genitive case

*'wtī*             *pe's-ā*             *'gošt-∅*  
REFL.GEN     father-OBL     say.PST-3SG  
‘he said to his father’ (UT)

Ex. 58) Reflexive pronouns in object case

*'ē*             *'wat-rā*     *mas't-ēn*     *'lēra=ē=a*             *'kan-t*  
PROX     REFL-OBJ     crazy-ATTR     camel=IND=VCL     do.NPST-3SG  
‘this one made himself into a crazy camel.’(MNJ.m: 52c–52d)

### 1.4.3.3. Alignment in SiB

The following table displays the alignment system in SiB.

Table 28. Alignment in SiB

Accusative alignment

A                             O  
                           S

The marked category is shaded.

Accusative alignment: A is treated like S; O is treated differently.

As has been reported by Axenov (2006: 176), Jahani and Korn (2009: 664), and Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 255),<sup>21</sup> SiB exhibits accusative alignment with all verb forms. The subject is canonically in the direct case and the object in the object case (in some cases oblique for the nouns). The verb agrees with the subject, both in number and person.

<sup>21</sup> Barjasteh Delforooz (2010:256) also notes the existence of ergative alignment in this dialect.

Table 29. Agent agreement: past perfective, present perfect, past perfect in SiB

	<i>dāt-</i> ‘gave’	<i>dāt-</i> ‘have/has given’	<i>dāt-</i> ‘had given’
1SG	<i>dāt-on</i>	<i>dātag-on</i>	<i>dātagat-on</i>
2SG	<i>dāt-ay</i>	<i>dātag-ay</i>	<i>dātagat-ay</i>
3SG	<i>dāt=ī/-∅</i>	<i>dāta</i>	<i>dātag-at</i>
1PL	<i>dāt-an</i>	<i>dātag-an</i>	<i>dātagat-an</i>
2PL	<i>dāt-et</i>	<i>dātag-et</i>	<i>dātagat-et</i>
3PL	<i>dāt-ant</i>	<i>dātag-ant</i>	<i>dātagat-ant</i>

Although SiB has entirely switched to accusative alignment, sometimes speakers produce ergative-like sentences alongside the regular accusative ones. This type of construction is mainly limited to certain verbs such as *korten* ‘to do’ and *gošten* ‘to say’ that pattern pseudo-ergatively.<sup>22</sup>

The following examples display accusative alignment for transitive and intransitive verbs in the present and past domain.

Ex. 59) Treatment of the subject of an intransitive verb in the non-past domain

**jenēn'zāg** *ke ē'serā gen'd-ī*  
 girl CLM PROX.OBJ see.NPST-3SG  
 ‘when the girl sees him’ (MNJ.m: 44a)

Ex. 60) Treatment of the subject of an intransitive verb in the non-past domain

**ěš** *pīra'mard šamē'dā 'ber=a gard-īt*  
 PROX old man from.EMPH.DEM PREV=VCL turn.NPST-3SG  
 ‘this one, the old man, came back from there (lit. here)’ (MNJ.m: 22a)

Ex. 61) Treatment of the subject of a transitive verb in the past domain

**xo'dā** *e'serā a'lā-ay ra'zā ba'čak=ē 'dāt-∅*  
 God PROX.OBJ God-GEN will son=IND give.PST-3SG  
 ‘by the will of God, God gave him a boy’ (MNJ.m: 5c)

Ex. 62) Treatment of the subject of the transitive verb in the past domain

**yak** *'rōč=ē je'nek=o wa't-ī poč'č-ān-ā*  
 one day=IND girl=FOC REFL-GEN dress-OBL.PL-OBJ  
*'kaššt-∅*  
 pull.PST-3SG  
 ‘one day, the girl took off her dress’ (UT)

<sup>22</sup> In my SiB data, the agent is attested just once in the oblique case: *pe'sā* ‘gošt’ ‘the father said’.

Ex. 63) Treatment of the subject of an intransitive verb in the past domain

šwā'nag      šot-Ø  
shepherd    go.PST-3SG

'the shepherd went' (MNJ.m: 11a)

#### 1.4.3.4. Person marking

##### 1.4.3.4.1. Person-marking verb suffixes

The basic set of person-marking verb suffixes and the copula are similar to the forms in Western Balochi (see Jahani and Korn 2009: 660). For more information see Appendix (C).

##### 1.4.3.4.2. Person-marking clitics

Person-marking clitics in SiB are similar to the forms in Western Balochi noted by Jahani and Korn (ibid. 654). For information about the function and distribution of person-marking clitics, see Appendix (C). As noted by Axenov (2006: 107) for Turkmen Balochi,<sup>23</sup> and by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 255), person-marking clitics only exist of the 3rd person in SiB. The frequency of 3rd person singular is much higher than for 3rd person plural. This is similar to the situation in CoB, while KoB shows person-marking clitics for all persons. Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 255–258) distinguishes two forms in the 3rd person singular, =ē and =ī, and one form in the 3rd person plural, =eš, and my corpus confirms their existence.

Axenov (2006: 107–110) states that person-marking clitics can be hosted by nouns, postpositions, preverbs, nominal components of compound verbs, “personal” forms of verbs and even by the copula. Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 255–258) reports that person-marking clitics can be hosted by verbs, prepositions, interrogative pronouns and nouns.

According to my interpretation of the data, the person-marking clitics do not have agent function in the ergative alignment, even though Axenov describes them as marking the subject in the ergative alignment, and Barjasteh Delforooz describes them as marking the agent in the ergative alignment. Rather, it seems that they have become agreement markers.

In my data, and also in Barjasteh Delforooz's (2010) work, 3rd person singular transitive verbs whose form is derived from the past stem can appear in three patterns: either together with an agent noun plus PC (ex. 66), or with a PC (ex. 67), or with an agent noun and a verb without PC (ex. 64–65).

The person-marking clitic for the 3rd person singular is normally absent in this dialect as in the following examples (ex. 64–65). This would speak in favour of a pronominal interpretation (because pronouns are not obligatory and can be dropped, while agreement markers are obligatory).

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<sup>23</sup> Turkmen Balochi and SiB are very closely related Western dialects of Balochi.

Ex. 64)

*xodānezar'xān* 'gošt  
Khodanezar Khan say.PST  
'Khodanezar Khan said, (...)'

Ex. 65)

*gošt*  
say.PST  
'he said (...)'

However, example 66 shows that, unlike CoB (see Sec. 1.4.1.4.3), the agent, as a noun in the direct case, and the PC both appear in the same clause. Thus the agent seems to be doubled. One could consider the noun a hanging topic, and the PC could be the actual agent inside the clause;<sup>24</sup> i.e., the relation of noun and PC can be regarded as topic agreement. The topicalized constituent is resumed by a pronoun inside the clause (i.e., 'Khodanezar Khan, **he** said').

Ex. 66)

*xodānezar'xān* 'gošt=ī  
Khodanezar Khan say.PST=PC.3SG  
'Khodanezar Khan said, (...)'

So it looks as if for the 3rd person, speakers have one more option to express a logical subject than for other persons: by a noun, a free pronoun, by zero (i.e., pro-drop), and by a person-marking clitic. However, the person-marking clitics sporadically appear with certain verbs only (e.g., 'to say', 'to give', and 'to do', see Axenov 2006: 108 and Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 255–258). They are not freely available to speakers. Since SiB does not show ergative alignment elsewhere, it is unlikely that the use of these PCs with certain verbs can be interpreted as remnants of ergative alignment in SiB. On the contrary, it is more probable that they are relics of an earlier agreement system such as is represented by KoB.

There is an alternative interpretation for PCs in such examples; namely one can regard them as markers of verbal agreement rather than markers of topic agreement. The reason for calling them agreement marker in example (66) is as follows. The intonation characterizes the whole phrase *xodānezar'xān goštī* as one single unit. This is in contrast to a hanging topic construction, where the hanging topic would constitute its own prosodic unit. Thus, the prosodical pattern strongly suggests considering *xodānezar'xān* the

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<sup>24</sup> This analysis seems to be favoured by Axenov (2006: 108) and Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 255, 267), who both claim that the person-marking clitic functions as agent (or subject of the sentence, in their terminology). According to them, this is the only remaining indication of the ergative alignment in these dialects.

subject of *goštī*; i.e., both noun and PC appear in the same clause. This observation leads to the conclusion that the PC does not function as a prototypical agent in this dialect, but as an agreement marker.

The main reason why SiB speakers still retain the person-marking clitic for the 3rd person could be that there is no ending for the 3rd person singular in the past domain and that its place is empty. This is similar to the situation for New Persian, where the zero ending is replaced by the 3rd person singular PC in both transitive and intransitive verbs in colloquial speech and in dialects.

The following example presents only a PC on the verb without an agent NP. This example indicates that the PC is an agreement marker, and the agent is dropped. So PC could be viewed diachronically as a pronoun in this dialect, but from a synchronic point of view, it functions as an agreement marker.

Ex. 67)

*gošt=ī*

say.PST=PC.3SG

‘he said (...)’

So SiB exhibits two markers for the 3rd person singular of certain transitive verbs in the past tense, which seem to have the same function:  $-\emptyset$  and  $=\bar{i}/=e$ . This situation could be explained if we assume that SiB once had a system of agreement marking similar to that of KoB (see Sec. 1.4.2.3.3). Unlike KoB, SiB has gone a step further and lost the use of PCs as agreement markers by copying the intransitive person-marking suffixes except for the 3rd person singular.

Table 30. The pathway of development of PC in SiB

*V.tr. ergative	NP substitution	NP following V.intr.	V.intr.
*= <i>om gošt / gošt=om</i>	* <i>gošt=om</i>	<i>gošt-on</i>	<i>šot-on</i>
*= <i>et gošt / gošt=et</i>	* <i>gošt=et</i>	<i>gošt-ay</i>	<i>šot-ay</i>
*= <i>ī gošt / gošt=ī</i>	<i>gošt=ī</i>	<i>gošt-∅</i>	<i>šot-∅</i>
*= <i>en gošt / gošt=en</i>	* <i>gošt=en</i>	<i>gošt-an</i>	<i>šot-an</i>
*= <i>ū gošt / gošt=ō</i>	* <i>gošt=ō</i>	<i>gošt-et</i>	<i>šot-et</i>
*= <i>eš gošt / gošt=eš</i>	* <i>gošt=eš</i>	<i>gošt-ant</i>	<i>šot-ant</i>

Table (30) shows that, during its development from ergative to accusative SiB lost all its agreement markers except for the 3rd person singular in the past domain. This is in contrast to KoB. The PC has been adopted as a facultative person-marking verb suffix of transitive verbs alternating with the zero ending of the 3rd person singular, which has been taken from intransitive verbs. It seems that the zero ending of intransitive verbs was not considered an optimal substitution of the transitive form, in contrast to the other person-marking suffixes. That is why in the 3rd person singular the old transitive

paradigm could continue alongside the intransitive one. So Sistani speakers have two choices: either they choose an explicit person-marking suffix which precisely marks the 3rd person singular, or they follow the intransitive pattern.

Concerning the presence and absence of the 3rd person-marking clitic, Barjasteh Delforooz and Levinsohn (2014: 217–218) argue that the 3rd person singular pronominal clitic with the two realizations = $\bar{i}$  or = $\bar{e}$ <sup>25</sup> in Sistani represents from a historical point of view the reflection of the ergative alignments at an earlier stage of this dialect. They further hold that the presence of the clitic demonstrates “referent continuity” and its absence in the environments “where the potential referents are active and in their expected roles suggests a certain lack of cohesion in the discourse.”

According to my interpretation of the data, both the presence and absence of PCs demonstrate topic continuity in this dialect. It seems that there is competition among these forms, which can be ascribed to two competing strategies: the strategy of explicit person marking vs. the regularization of the transitive and intransitive paradigms. Comparing SiB with New Persian gives further evidence for the explanation that SiB is in an intermediate phase. In colloquial New Persian, the PC has filled the gap for both transitive and intransitive verbs (e.g., *rafteš* ‘he/she went’, *kardeš* ‘he/she did’) and functions as a normal person-marking suffix.

Since the person-marking clitic as agreement markers and person-marking suffixes cover the same function, they will be treated in the same way in the analysis of participant reference (in Chap. 6).

## 1.5. Introduction of basic concepts and definitions.

This section presents definitions of some technical terms used in the present work. They are classified in two subcategories, “General terms” and “Terms specific to participant reference”.

### 1.5.1. General terms

**Accusative alignment:** the alignment where the morphosyntactic properties of the agent of a transitive clause are identical to those of the subject of an intransitive clause, while those of the patient of a transitive clause are different from those of the agent and the subject (Haig 2008: 7).

**Action verb:** a verb describing a situation that occurs over a limited period of time, which has a beginning and an end (Aarts et al. 2014: 7).

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<sup>25</sup> Barjasteh Delforooz and Levinsohn find various phonological and morphological conditions for either realization.

**Agent:** here the subject of a transitive verb both in the ergative and accusative alignments.<sup>26</sup>

**Agreement:** “a formal relationship between ELEMENTS, whereby a FORM of one WORD requires a corresponding form of another (i.e., the forms agree)” (Crystal 2009: 18).

**Agreement marker:** a person-marking verb suffix or clitic, an enclitic pronoun which has lost its pronominal function and agrees with the agent of the sentence (see the term *cross reference* in Haig (2008: 14)).

**Auxiliary verb:** a member of “the set of verbs, subordinate to the main LEXICAL verb, which help to make distinctions in MOOD, ASPECT, VOICE, etc.” (Crystal 2009: 46).

**Canonical:** referring “to a linguistic FORM cited as a NORM or standard for purposes of comparison” (ibid. 65)

**Case:** a term “to identify the SYNTACTIC relationship between words in a sentence, through such contrasts as NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, etc.” (ibid. 67).

**Clause:** a “UNIT of grammatical organization smaller than the SENTENCE, but larger than PHRASES, WORDS or MORPHEMES” (ibid. 78).

**Clitic:** “a form which resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as a normal UTTERANCE, being PHONOLOGICALLY dependent upon a neighbouring word (its host) in a CONSTRUCTION” (ibid. 81).

**Coherent:** characteristic of a text if the reader “is able to fit its different elements into a single overall mental representation” (Levinsohn 2000: 293).

**Cohesion:** “use of linguistic means such as articles, pronouns and conjunctions to signal coherence” (ibid. 293).

**Context:** “specific parts of an UTTERANCE (or TEXT) near or adjacent to a UNIT which is the focus of attention” (Crystal 2009: 109).

**Domain:** “the realm of application of any linguistic construct, e.g., the ‘domain’ of a RULE in a GRAMMAR would refer to the range of STRUCTURES to which that rule was applicable” (ibid. 155).

**Ergative alignment:** the morphosyntactic properties which when associated with the patient of a transitive clause are identical to those associated with the subject of an intransitive clause, while those associated with the agent of a transitive clause are distinct from those of the patient and subject (Haig 2008: 7).

**Focus:** “the element that needs to be identified in the presupposed proposition” (Levinsohn 2015: 24).

**Generic:** referring “to a whole CLASS of entities rather than to individual members” (Crystal 2009: 209).

**Grammatical subject:** a subject defined traditionally, as a specific argument of a verb that is defined by grammatical categories, as opposed to a logical subject or psychological subject (Matthews 2014: 34).

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<sup>26</sup> Dixon (1994: 6) restricts its use to the ergative alignment.

**Habitual:** referring “to a situation in which an action is viewed as lasting for an extended period of time” (Crystal 2009: 223).

**Intonation:** “the distinctive use of patterns of PITCH, or melody” (ibid. 252).

**Indefinite:** referring “to an entity (or class of entities) which is not capable of specific identification” (ibid. 241).

**Iterative:** referring “to an event which takes place repeatedly” (ibid. 257).

**Logical subject:** defined by semantic categories (e.g., more agent-like) and referring to “an element seen as a ‘subject’ in that, like the subject in many sentences, it identifies who or what is responsible for an action or process” (Matthews 2014: 231).

**Non-canonical subject:** a subject marked with, for example the dative, genitive or locative case and normally playing the role of an experiencer rather than an agent (see Jahani et al. 2012: 196; Van Valin 2006: 684).

**Noun phrase:** “the CONSTRUCTION into which nouns most commonly enter, and of which they are the HEAD word” (Crystal 2009: 333).

**Overt:** referring “to the relationships between linguistic FORMS which are observable in the SURFACE STRUCTURE of a SENTENCE” (ibid. 346).

**Patient:** an object of a transitive verb in the ergative alignment (cf. Dixon 1994: 6).

**Perception verb:** a set of verbs denoting the use of one of the physical senses (Aarts et al. 2014: 300).

**Pro-drop languages:** languages which can have subjectless sentences (i.e., drop the pronoun) due to “a rich system of VERB-AGREEMENT” (Crystal 2009: 389).

**Sentence:** a “single independent clause, together with those clauses that are subordinate to it” (Levinsohn 2000: 294). Sentences can also be coordinative, recognized either by the presence of the conjunctions *wa* /,=o ‘and’ or by a rising intonation contour at the end of one of the non-final clauses (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 101).

**Speech verb:** a verb such as ‘say’, ‘ask’, ‘answer’ that expresses speech or introduces a quotation (Matthews 2014: 80).

**Speech orienter:** a “clause that introduces the content of a reported speech” (Levinsohn 2000: 294).

**State verb:** a verb such as ‘be, have, know’, which is used to describe a state or situation, and contrasts with dynamic verbs (Matthews 2014: 46).

**Subject:** in connection with ergativity, a term for the entity that performs the action of an intransitive verb.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Dixon (1994: 6) used the term subject for both transitive and intransitive verbs in the accusative alignment.

**Syntactic subject:** “a term used in the analysis of GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS to refer to a major CONSTITUENT of SENTENCE or CLAUSE structure, traditionally associated with the ‘doer’ of an action” (Crystal 2009: 529), regardless of its semantic role such as agent or patient, or whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

**Topic:** “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about the referent, i.e., as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent” (Lambrecht 1994: 131).

**Vector verb:** “a semantically bleached” verb that is part of a complex predicate (Bashir 2008: 65).

**Verb phrase:** a phrase which has a verb as its head; it may also contain other elements (like preverbs or adverbs) (see Crystal 2009: 529).

### 1.5.2. Terms specific to participant reference

**Addressee:** “one of the primary PARTICIPANT ROLES, along with speaker, in a linguistic interaction” (Crystal 2009: 10).

**Closed conversation:** “a reported dialogue; i.e., conversation with only two speakers (or groups of speakers). Each new speaker was the previous addressee, and *vice versa*.” (Levinsohn 2015:111).

**Clarification:** a unit of discourse by which the narrator makes a reference less confused and more clearly comprehensible (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**Countering speech:** a speech or act in opposition to the previous speaker’s speech (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**Default encoding:** the most frequent encoding for each context, based on statistical count in a large number of texts (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**Discontinuity:** any kind of change, such as of place, time, participants or action in the narrative (Levinsohn 2015: 29).

**Discontinuity of place:** involves “a discrete change of place [...] when one group of sentences describes events in one place while the next group switches to events in another place” (ibid. 29).

**Discontinuity of time:** involves large forward gaps of time or events being out of order in the narrative (ibid. 30).

**Discontinuity of participants:** involves discrete changes of cast in a narrative unit (ibid. 30).

**Discontinuity of action:** involves “changes in the type of action described or failure to move the narrative forward to the next action in sequence” (ibid. 30).

**Episode:** a “group of events that belong together and are described in one or more paragraphs” (Levinsohn 2000: 294).

**Focal subject:** The subject of a sentence with identificational articulation, which cannot be deleted from the sentence precisely because it is the narrow focus of the sentence (Levinsohn, personal communication, Lambrecht 1994: 288).

**Highlighted:** refers to “material that is marked as being of more importance than other material in the immediate context” (Levinsohn 2000: 294).

**Marked encoding:** a non-default encoding, which means that other means of encoding are used than the statistically most frequent one (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**Narrative:** “material whose overall framework is chronological and which is concerned with actions performed by specific people or groups” (Levinsohn 2000: 294).

**Narrative unit:** a term “for an episode, section, or subsection of a narrative” (Fox 1987: 168).

**Non-thematic:** “used for a referent that is not in the current centre of attention” (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**Over-encoding:** a term which refers to any encoding heavier than the default for that context (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**Participant, major:** a “person or group that is active for a large part of an episode and plays a leading role” in the narration (Levinsohn 2000: 294).

**Participant, minor:** a “person or group that is activated briefly and lapses into deactivation” in the narration (ibid. 294).

**Repetition:** used for “contiguous units that occur more than once in the same way or form and refer to the same event in the story” (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**S1:** a context where “the subject is the same as in the previous clause and sentence” (Levinsohn 2015: 125).

**S1+:** a context where “the subject and other participants in the action of the previous clause are included in a plural subject in the next clause” (ibid. 126).

**S2:** a context where the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (ibid. 125).

**S2+:** a context where “the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence and other active participants are included in a plural subject in the next clause” (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**S3:** a context where “the subject was involved in the last sentence in a non-subject role other than S2” (Levinsohn 2015: 125).

**S3+:** a context where “the non-subject in the previous sentence and other active participants are included in a plural subject in the next clause” (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**S4:** contexts involving “other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3” (Levinsohn 2015: 125). S4 contexts also including instances where the new subject is a sub-group of the previous subject (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**Salient:** refers to “participants such as VIPs that are of particular importance or the centre of attention” (Levinsohn 2000: 294).

**Tail-head linkage:** “the repetition in a subordinate clause, at the beginning (the ‘head’) of a new sentence, of at least the main verb of the previous sentence (‘tail’)” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 16).

**Thematic:** “used for a referent that is or becomes the current centre of attention” (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**Under-encoding:** any encoding that is lighter than the default for that context. For example, when the default is a noun phrase, anything less than a noun phrase is regarded as under-encoding (Levinsohn, personal communication).

**VIP:** (very important participant) denotes a “major participant who is distinguished from the rest” Levinsohn (2000: 295). The VIP may be Global (defined for the text as a whole, sometimes known as the central character) or Local (defined for a particular thematic grouping, sometimes called the thematic referent).

## 1.6. Summary

The three Balochi dialects being studied exhibit three different types of alignment which can be interpreted as comprising a scale. CoB, the most conservative one in the present study, demonstrates canonical ergative alignment for transitive verbs in the past domain and accusative for all other finite verbs. It occupies one end of the scale. KoB is located in the middle, having accusative alignment for both domains along with two different sets of person-marking endings, one for transitive verbs in the past domain (person-marking clitics) and the other for intransitive and transitive verbs in the non-past domain (person-marking suffixes). SiB is found at the other end of the scale, having accusative alignment and basically the same set of agreement markers (person-marking suffixes) in both domains, (although the person-marking clitic sporadically occurs in the 3rd person singular).

This comparison between the dialects sheds light on the course of the change from canonical ergative alignment to accusative alignment in Balochi. Consider the following stages:

Stage 1: canonical ergative alignment > Stage 2: double oblique and tripartite alignments > Stage 3: neutral alignment > Stage 4a: accusative alignment with PC as agreement marker > Stage 4b: accusative alignment with person-marking verb suffix as agreement marker

In Stage 1, agent clitics appear in special topic constructions where they resume a hanging topic. This topic agreement marker is reanalysed as verbal agreement during Stages 2–3 and the agent clitics become agreement markers resulting in accusative alignment (Stage 4a). In the next stage (Stage 4b),

the differing set of agreement markers for transitive and intransitive verbs is regularised by replacing PCs as agreement markers with the respective person-marking verb suffixes for intransitive verbs. The CoB system corresponds to stages 1 and 2, KoB to stage 4a, and SiB to stage 4b.

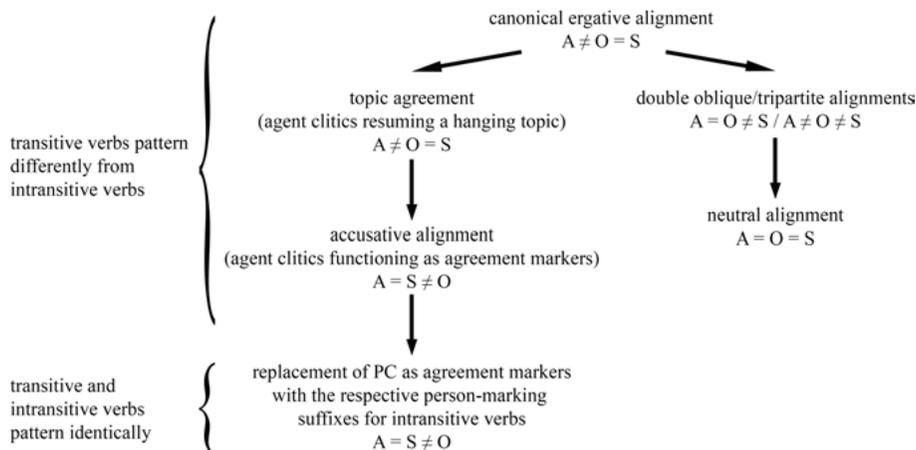


Figure 1. Fading of ergativity in Balochi

In canonical ergative alignment, the agent is in the oblique case, the subject in the direct case and the verb agrees with the object (patient) in number. In the double oblique construction, the agent and the object are in the oblique case. In the tripartite construction, the agent appears in oblique case and the object in object case. The verb may still agree with the object in number. Canonical ergativity and tripartite constructions are attested in CoB.

In the neutral construction, both the agent and object are in the direct case, though plural marking of the object may still be observed on the verb. In stage 4a, the agent is in the direct case, the object is in the oblique or object case, and the verb agrees with the agent in person and number by means of the agent clitics that have become agreement markers. KoB represents this type. Finally, in accusative alignment, the agent agrees with the verb in person and number by the verb ending. This type of alignment is found in SiB. Neither double oblique nor neutral alignments are attested in the present study. One would assume that they are intermediate steps towards accusative alignment (see Windfuhr 1992: 25–37).

## 2. The data and the status of orality in Balochi

*Māgūl o mājān do gwār atan*  
Māgūl and Mājān were two sisters  
*sabzēn jaḍokā swār atan*  
They were on a green camel  
*Māgūl ke maškā āpa ko*  
When Māgūl filled the goatskin with water  
*warnā be paṭṭā čāpa ko.*  
The young boy was dancing in the field.

(Short *līkō* from SiB)

### 2.1. Introduction

Before turning to the description of the data used for this work, some background on the status of storytelling and literature in Balochi seems appropriate, to situate the texts that form the basis of the present study.

Owing to the fact that Balochi is a largely unwritten language, Balochi written literature is rather limited. Conversely, there is a rich body of oral literature of various genres, which will be presented in what follows.

#### 2.1.1. Orality in Balochi

“The literature of Balochi—until quite recently entirely oral and still largely so—consists of a large amount of history and occasional balladry (epic poetry), stories and legends, romantic ballads, and religious and didactic poetry. There is also a large variety of domestic poems i.e., work songs, lullabies, and riddles” (Elfenbein 1989a: 640).

#### 2.1.2. Types of text: oral poetry and oral prose

Balochi oral poetry is rich and diverse. Songs are recited on different occasions in life.

##### 2.1.2.1. Poems

The poetic tradition also includes a large number of stories about heroes such as Mīr Chākar and Mir Gwahrām, and Hammal-i Jiand. People still

remember them with high respect. There are also romantic ballads about the love of couples such as Dōstēn and Shīrēn, Hānī and Sheh Morīd, Shahdād and Mahnāz, Bībarg and Grānāz, Kīyyā and Sado, Ezzat-i Lalla and Mehrok, Sassī and Pūnnū, Hammal and Mahganj, Lāla, and Sāzīn and Mast Taukalī and Sammo. Badalkhan also mentions some stories with Persian and Arabic origin such as Leylā and Majnūn, and Shīrīn and Farhād (see Badalkhan 1999b: 84).

### 2.1.2.2. Songs

Badalkhan (2000: 773–774) states that “the most common Balochi song genres are distinguished by their musical structure, manner of performance, the sex or social position of the performers, or the instrumental accompaniment.” He classifies Balochi songs as follows: *sepat*, ‘prayer and praise songs on the birth of a new born baby’; *hālō* and *lādō*, ‘wedding and circumcision songs’; *nāzēnk*, ‘praise songs for sons, brothers and fathers’; *līlō* ‘cradle songs’; *sawt* and *dāstānag* ‘short love songs’; *zahīrōk*, *līkō* and *dēhī* ‘songs of separation and travel’; *shēr* ‘verse narratives’; and *mōtk* ‘elegies’.

### 2.1.2.3. Stories

The Balochi oral prose tradition is extensive and diverse. It covers narratives, stories, riddles, proverbs and catchphrases. The Baloch have preserved this tradition by memorizing the texts generation by generation (see Badalkhan 1999b: 83).

The contents of Balochi stories are also very rich and varied. The majority are about prophets, supernatural beings, fairies, hidden treasures, animals, wars between kings, and so on. In addition to their main purpose of entertainment Balochi folktales have a moral lesson (ibid.).

Badalkhan (ibid. 84–85) classifies the Balochi folktales into six types. The first type is stories, which are based on old Indo-Iranian and Aryan mythologies. The second type consists of stories about princesses, queens, dragons and so on. The third type recounts the legendary history of the Baloch. The fourth type is about love themes. The fifth type is based on religious themes. The last type of stories is animal fables. All of these types of stories have been attested in my corpus.

## 2.1.3. Setting

### 2.1.3.1. Storytellers

There are no class restrictions for telling stories in Balochi society. However, it is particularly the “*lūḍīs*”<sup>28</sup> who are professional and expert storytellers. A *lūḍī*’s house has traditionally been regarded as a “theatre for the village folk”

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<sup>28</sup> Badalkhan (2000–2001: 163) believes *lūḍīs* to be of Indian origin. They are basically craftsmen in Balochi society, and also do agriculture works.

(ibid. 83). In addition, old persons in every village, particularly old women (*ballok*) who tell stories to the villagers and especially to children are regarded as storytellers. Similarly, anyone with knowledge of storytelling can be a storyteller in domestic settings (see Badalkhan ibid. 83–85). Children memorize and tell stories from their elders and then retell them in gatherings of other children.

One of my storytellers, Rahimbaksh, is an expert storyteller. He is from the *ostā* (*lūdī*) caste. As he told me, his father was a quite famous storyteller in this area. He was interested in telling stories from his childhood even though his father was not happy with him attending the social gatherings where his father told stories, because he did not wish his son to be like himself. Rahimbaksh thus learned his stories by listening to his father.

I met Rahimbaksh, for the first time, together with some other storytellers, in *Negor* in 2010, when he told me a lot of long stories. Rahimbaksh was not only a storyteller but was a perfect actor as well. During his performance, he would take off his turban from his head, throw it on the ground and then tie it again around his head. He ran from one side to the other, cried, laughed, clapped his hands, lay down, sat down, and stood up during his narration. He changed his voice too, imitating the sounds of men, women, children, animals, motorbikes and cars. When he realized that his audience was tired and sleepy, he raised his voice to make them come back to the story. None of my female speakers acted during their narrations.

### **2.1.3.2. Occasions for story telling**

Important occasions for formal storytelling in Balochi society are wedding and circumcision ceremonies, religious festivals, and gatherings of village chiefs during the winter nights.

Storytelling also was a custom “when the women of the village kept the company of a parturient woman for the first six nights after delivery” (Badalkhan 2000–2001: 167). And finally, when a person became seriously ill, people spent most of the night keeping him/her company (ibid.)

There is a gender restriction regarding narrating the stories in public settings: stories in public settings are told only by men, who can be either amateurs or professionals. The old women only tell stories in a family setting in the absence of men (see Badalkhan 1999b: 85).

### **2.1.3.3. Audience**

In Balochi society, the role of the audience is very important. In fact, it is the audience which decides what piece will be told and when. In other words, the role of the audience also determines “the type of the repertoire of single storytellers.” Badalkhan (2000–2001: 169) mentions that factors such as the occasion, the place, and the level of proficiency of the storyteller determine the audience of stories. In villages where the storytellers are aged men and women or the village’s *lūdīs*, the audiences are composed of children, men

and women from the village and its surroundings. If the story is told on a particular occasion or at a religious festival the audience is more general.

#### 2.1.4. Present state of orality in Balochi

The tradition of storytelling is waning very quickly due to radio, audio and video cassette players, satellite television and so on. People are not so interested any more in going to a *lūḍī*'s house or in asking an aged woman to tell them a story. Also, *lūḍīs* who used to rely on storytelling as their only source of income are starting to feel the need to take up other occupations to provide for their families (noted in Badalkhan 1999b: 86).

Balochi oral and musical traditions are under the influence of Islamic fundamentalism (see Badalkhan 2003: 234). During my fieldwork, I noticed in several villages that the tradition of telling fairy tales has been replaced by stories of the life of the Prophets and their companions based on the Koran. People refused to tell me fairy tales, saying they are false. Instead, I was often introduced to their village Mullah or to a teacher at the Islamic school to be told a story about prophets.

Badalkhan (ibid. 232) reports that the oral tradition in Balochistan is now a dying art in spite of the strong attachment to cultural identity among the Baloch both in Iran and Pakistan, the existence of professional singers of verse narratives, and the love for Balochi musical instrument among the educated classes.

#### 2.1.5. Previous studies on orality in Balochi

Badalkhan and Jahani (forthc.) have surveyed previous studies on orality in Balochi. In what follows I will mention only very important studies. Dames (1891, 1907: I) published a large number of poems and prose narratives based on Eastern Balochi in Pakistan. Elfenbein (1983) published a collection of the tales found in a manuscript belonging to the British library. In his anthology of Balochi literature (Elfenbein 1990: I: 436–453), he devotes a section to each of oral prose and poetry, and stresses their importance to Balochi culture (see also Elfenbein 1989b). He (2010: 168) divides Balochi literature into four periods: the classical, the post-classical, the nineteenth century and the modern period. In the three first periods, literature was mainly oral, although there may be some written records of poems in the nineteenth century. Barker and Mengal (1969: II: 171–196, 263–349) published an oral prose narrative and some samples of oral poetry.

Most scientific works on orality in Balochi are based on the Balochi spoken in Pakistan and written by Badalkhan. He worked extensively on poetry (1994, 2000–2001, 2000–2003, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003c, 2004b and 2006b), prose (1999b, 2000–2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a and 2013), proverbs (2000), music (2000 and 2007), songs (1999a, 2004c, 2006a and 2009), the status of oral

tradition (2003a and 2003b), and the status of storytellers (2005). Jahani (2010) also has discussed the contents of oral narratives in Balochi.

Zarubin (1932, 1949) has published a collection of oral prose narratives based on Balochi in Turkmenistan. In recent years, scholars at Uppsala University have made a good contribution to Balochi oral narration. Corporuses of oral prose narratives have been published in connection with studies of particular Balochi dialects (e.g., Turkmenistan Balochi, Axenov 2006; Sistani Balochi, Barjasteh Delforooz 2010; Koroshi Balochi, Nourzaei et al. 2015). Barjasteh Delforooz (2004) has also written an article on Sistani nostalgic poems (*līkō*). Jahani and Baloch (2016) have published a collection of ten Balochi tales in two suggested Balochi scripts (Arabic and Latin).

Some Iranian researchers have collected Balochi tales and *līkō*, which were later translated and published in Persian. The most scientific of the studies on the tales is by Eftekharzadeh, Ijad and Nourzaei *Afsānehhā-ye Baluči* (Balochi tales). The book is a collection of Balochi tales from SiB and CoB. The authors compare Balochi with Iranian tales, and also analyse them according to the Grimm brothers' classification scheme. Some poetry in Balochi by Iranian Baloch poets has also been published. In addition, there is a study on oral poetry in Afghan Balochi by Rzehak (1998).

## 2.2. The state of orality in Iranian Balochi

The vitality of Balochi orality depends on the region. The tradition of orality is diverse in the dialects being studied. Although a certain amount of collection and publication of Balochi tales has occurred, no one has performed a scientific study of the state of orality in Iranian Balochi. Thus, the following description is based on my own observations during my fieldwork, and to some extent also on my experience as a speaker of SiB. While some of this may appear anecdotal, I hope that it will serve to illustrate some aspects of orality in Balochi.

Concerning the three dialects being studied, CoB preserves much of what has been described as Balochi literature in general by Jahani and Badalkhan (forthc.) which is not the case for the other two dialects.

### 2.2.1. Coastal Balochi

#### 2.2.1.1. Orality in CoB

CoB is rather conservative with respect to preserving oral narration, both prose and poetry.<sup>29</sup> Oral prose consists of fairy tales, stories of the lives of

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<sup>29</sup> The reason why this dialect has preserved orality both in prose and poetry requires further study. It is beyond the scope of the present study.

the prophets and their companions, and other stories told for entertainment and moral edification. The poetic tradition of CoB is somewhat similar to that noted for Balochi by Badalkhan (1999b: 84). There are also romantic ballads in CoB, which are similar to the romantic ballads noted for Balochi by Badalkhan (ibid.).

In fact, orality is a living art in this dialect and is an important part of people's lives from the cradle to the grave. In remote areas, male and female speakers still tell stories to both children and adults. Mothers and grandmothers put their babies to bed by reciting beautiful lullabies (*līlō*). In addition, there are social gatherings where an expert storyteller amuses his/her audience with his/her narrations during the nights.

### 2.2.1.2. Storytellers

There is at least one proficient storyteller, either male or female, in every village. There are no social class restrictions for telling stories in this society, but it is mostly *lūdīs*, old women, and Afro-Baloch who are considered professional and expert storytellers. Owing to the caste system in CoB society, reciting poems on occasions such as births, weddings and circumcisions is performed only by the low class of the society, who are called *golām* or *ḥīng* ("male and female slaves").

I heard from local people that there are occasional nightly meetings where storytellers provide entertainment. They gather in a village to recite long stories, and when the first storyteller gets tired, another one continues. The audience is composed of the villagers, especially adult men.

In addition, young educated people are good at narrating stories. One should also not ignore children as good storytellers. For our Balochi tales translated into Persian (Eftekharzadeh et al. 1388) our storytellers were mainly my high school students, aged 13 to 16.<sup>30</sup>

Due to the high prestige of poetry, every region has a hereditary professional singer known as *pahlawān*<sup>31</sup> (singer of heroic deeds). Unlike *lūdīs*, he belongs to the high class of Baloch society. He could be either a literate or an illiterate person. *Pahlawāns* recite both old and new poems, epic poems, historical poems and drama. They always use a musical instrument called the *dambūrag*, "a long-necked, fretless lute with two to four strings that provides rhythm" Badalkhan (2000: 783). When someone is killed by another Baloch tribe or in fighting an enemy, poets compose new poems about him, and his relatives or friends ask a *pahlawān* to recite poems about him at meetings. The aim of this recitation is to pay respect to the deceased person. Only a *pahlawān* is capable of producing the long and complicated pieces of

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<sup>30</sup> For instance, a student of mine (Nurjan) was an excellent storyteller. She not only told the story but also acted during her narrations.

<sup>31</sup> See Badalkhan 1994 for discussion of the *Pahlawān* tradition in Balochi.

poetry that are recited at wedding ceremonies (while simpler poems are recited at other types of ceremonies by people from the lower castes).

### 2.2.1.3. Occasions for narrating and performing

During wintertime, people make the long nights pass more quickly by listening to stories and music. This also holds for the Islamic festivals (Eid-e Fetr at the end of Ramadan and Eid-e Korban during the pilgrimage) when people in the villages like to spend their night listening to entertaining stories and beautiful songs.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly, oral traditional performances accompany life-cycle activities of this region, for instance on the occasion of a baby's birth (*sepat*), a circumcision ceremony (*hālō* and *lādō*), or a wedding ceremony (*nāzēnk*).

Similarly, mourning poems (*mōtk*) are recited when someone has died. This type of poem is recited only by the old people. Oral tradition is also used when someone misses his or her brother, father or son (*zahīrōk*). This type of poem is also recited when the women are crushing grain with a hand mill. I was told by locals that people in the villages also tell stories for about forty nights after a woman has given birth.<sup>33</sup>

Others occasions for storytelling are peace meetings:<sup>34</sup> when a person of one tribe is killed by another tribe, the tradition is to gather in a big meeting to solve the problem. At such gatherings, the Baloch, especially the elderly, tell stories which contain moral lessons for their audiences and encourage people to make peace and avoid more conflict.

In addition, poems are recited at daily events. During the day, in the fields the farmers recite certain poems together to boost their energy for work. When they are gathering their harvests of the dates they recite poems to celebrate the end of their work.

Time also plays an important role in telling stories. During daytime, people may refuse to tell stories, as tradition has it that storytelling is for the night.

### 2.2.1.4. Audience

The importance of stories for the community manifests itself in the high involvement of the audience. This even caused problems in obtaining clear sound while recording the data; the audience would laugh at amusing passages of the story and would become sad and sometimes even cry during sad passages. Also, the audience uses certain formulaic phrases such as *jī wāja* '(well [said], Sir)', *jī tarā* '(well [said] by you)', *jī hao* '(yes, [you are] right)', *šap kasāno kessaw mazan* '(the night is short and the tale is long)', etc. to encourage the storyteller to tell the story (see Badalkhan 2000–2001:

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<sup>32</sup> Badalkhan has reported the same tradition for Pakistan.

<sup>33</sup> The same tradition used to be common among Baloch people in Sistan.

<sup>34</sup> In this society, during conflicts, or to resolve other issues, Baloch people have a meeting. These meetings are called *sōlay dīwān* (peace meetings).

171–172). I have not heard these encouraging expressions in the other dialects that I have studied.

In addition, storytellers pay great respect to the narrated story as well as their audiences. To honour the occasion, storytellers put on their best clothes and specially groom themselves, and they are very polite to the audience. When they tell stories about animals such as cows and donkeys, they sometimes apologize for mentioning an intellectually inferior being. The same is also true for taboo words.

Orality has high prestige in this society and people are very interested in it, even the younger generation. For instance, when I made my recordings of male storytellers, male adults and children of both genders came to listen. From the low-caste families, women and young girls also came along. In some places women and young girls from the high-class families listened from behind the door. However, in places where people were close relatives I noticed that during my recording of male informants, men, women (though not unmarried girls who had reached the age of marriage) and children came to listen to the stories. But this was very rare. When women were telling a story, children and female adults were present.

#### **2.2.1.5. Tradition of written style**

Besides the rich oral tradition in this area, I have noticed that some educated people are interested in writing novels and short stories in Balochi. I have also discovered that educated men recite their newly written poems and compile them in Balochi. It seems that the tradition of composing stories and poems is not even a very recent development in this area. One of my informants mentioned that his grandfather wrote Balochi poems more than 100 years ago. Nowadays, his uncle writes poems, novels, and short stories and even plays. He has written 150 novels and short stories and also recorded them. In contrast to the other Balochi dialects being studied, people in this area may have adopted the written tradition from the Balochi in Pakistan due to their close contact.

The tradition of written style in this area began with the Mullahs who could read and write the Arabic script, but as time has passed the written tradition has spread from these families to the common people. Nowadays, many Baloch<sup>35</sup> in this area can read and write Balochi, which is a marked contrast to Baloch in Sistan.<sup>36</sup>

Like to the oral tradition, written poetry and prose have high prestige in this community. The importance of new poetry for the community manifests itself both in the arranging of regular meetings and the high involvement of the audience. The audience at such meetings can consist of both highly edu-

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<sup>35</sup> By “many Baloch” I mean over 200 people.

<sup>36</sup> Pasand (personal communication, 2016) a Balochi speaker from Sistan, I myself learnt to read and write Balochi only in 2008 from my colleague Abdol Nāsar Pasand in *Bahukalāt*.

cated and less educated male persons. Like in oral narration, the audience uses different formulaic phrases to encourage the poets, such as *bāz wašš en* ‘very good’ *padī begoš* ‘say it again’ for poets, *šābāš*, ‘very good’ *jī wāja*, ‘well [said], Sir’, *waššet gošt* ‘you spoke well’.

There are monthly Balochi poetry evenings in this area, separate from the storytelling events mentioned above. These meetings include both prose and poetry. In addition, the poetry part forms three sections, (1) reading new poems to each other, (2) poetic contest, *čakāsband* (*mošāera*), and (3) Persian poetry. Famous poets and writers are brought together from villages, towns and nearby cities to recite their new poems for each other. There are only men at these gatherings. They record their works and bring them back home to give their families a chance to listen to them. The first meetings of this type in this region were held about 35 years ago, but at some point they stopped. They have now been resumed, and since 2010, people are holding these meetings on a monthly basis once again (Pasand, personal communication, 2016).

## 2.2.2. Koroshi Balochi

### 2.2.2.1. Orality in KoB

The tradition of orality is not particularly prominent in the Korosh community. During my trips to this community I did not discover traditional Balochi poetry. It seems that the poetry tradition is no longer being preserved in this community.<sup>37</sup> However, the oral prose tradition consists of fairy tales and other stories, which are told for entertainment and moral edification.

### 2.2.2.2. Storytellers

The tradition of telling stories in Koroshi is only preserved by a few elderly people, except for one of my storytellers, a young woman who had learned a few stories from her father and grandmother. During my fieldwork, I also found families who lived far from the city, isolated from other Koroshi speakers. In these families, the oral tradition was restricted to the father or the grandmother occasionally telling stories to their children and grandchildren, while community story nights for adults were no longer arranged.

### 2.2.2.3. Attitude to orality

People are not so interested in oral narration in Koroshi for sociolinguistic reasons. The Korosh in the north hold their own language in low esteem. In the presence of a speaker of Qašqā’i or Persian, the Korosh switch to

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<sup>37</sup> In contrast to the Korosh people in the north of Fars, those in the south of Fars and Hormozgan have preserved the oral tradition. During the narrations, I witnessed an unexpectedly high number of younger and older members of the community and even children who came to listen to the stories.

Qašqā'i or Persian. These languages are preferred for oral narrations and ceremonies such as weddings and funerals among the Korosh. The peculiar status of oral narration in Koroshi can be illustrated by a personal experience during my fieldwork. On one occasion, the son of one of my informants made fun of his father for telling a story in Koroshi. On another occasion, a famous Korosh storyteller pointed out that his children like to listen to his stories in Qašqā'i rather than in Koroshi.<sup>38</sup> However, I found at least one male speaker who recites poems in Koroshi.<sup>39</sup> In contrast to CoB and similarly to SiB, I have not observed any written tradition in Koroshi.

To sum up, the Korosh community has preserved only the prose tradition, and it is mainly limited to old men. Moreover, stories are mostly told to children in family settings. The dominant language for narration is Qašqā'i. The Korosh community has not upheld the oral narration tradition in Koroshi. According to information that I obtained during my fieldwork, this shift happened in the last fifty years. Apart from two villages, there are no Korosh-majority settlements in Fars, with the result that Koroshi-speaking families are scattered in small numbers across various towns and villages, and losing distinct elements of their culture. In contrast, CoB is spoken in a contiguous area where the culture is better preserved.

## 2.2.3. Sistani Balochi

### 2.2.3.1. Orality in SiB

Oral prose in SiB consists of fairy tales, stories of the lives of the prophets and their companions, and other stories told for entertainment and moral edification. The poetic tradition includes a number of heroic stories, somewhat similar to the poetic tradition noted for Balochi by Badalkhan (1999b: 84). There are also ballads, not mentioned by Badalkhan, including the heroic epos about Rostom and Zal, and other epic poems that are peculiar to this region. On the other hand, most of the romantic ballads mentioned by Badalkhan (ibid.) are not told in this region.

### 2.2.3.2. Storytellers

Like in KoB, storytelling is mainly limited to a few elderly people in SiB. To my knowledge, no *pahlawān*<sup>40</sup> remains in Iranian Sistan. The last *pahlawān*,

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<sup>38</sup> One of my speakers mentioned that about 50 years ago, there were social meetings where Korosh people used to perform their stories in Koroshi and play their famous instrument during the winter nights and at other events and activities. Both the men and women enjoyed these events (Samsānīān, personal communication, 2016).

<sup>39</sup> Korosh nomadic families still play the famous Korosh instrument *Nay-e Šāhmīrzā* 'Shahmirza's flute' while grazing their camels.

<sup>40</sup> *Pahlawān* in this dialect conveys the same meaning as *lūđī* in CoB.

whose name was Habibollah Narui, died in 2006.<sup>41</sup> In addition, there are some people who are called *shāer* ‘poet’, such as Zaher Baloch, etc. However, they do not know any Balochi epic poems.

### 2.2.3.3. Attitude to orality

Oral narration, both prose and poetry, among the Baloch people in the Sistan area where I grew up has almost totally been forgotten during recent years among the younger generation. This development is caused by the fact that SiB society has shifted towards being a literate society, where written texts have more prestige than orally transmitted ones. Instead of telling stories, parents put their children to sleep by reading a book to them. In addition, instead of singing Balochi lullabies (*halāhū* in SiB) they play cassettes with Persian lullabies for the babies.

However, among the older generation, the tradition is alive for poetry (more so than for prose). The Baloch in Sistan perform joyful poems (both in Balochi and Sistani)<sup>42</sup> while working on the farm (*līkō*, *āloka*, *dobeytī* and *šēr*), at wedding, engagement and circumcision ceremonies (*hālō-hālō*, praising songs for the brother or the son), and during New Year celebrations or celebrations for a newborn baby. This tradition is slowly disappearing,<sup>43</sup> because it is mainly limited to the older generation, while younger generations prefer Persian and Hindi music.

To some extent, mourning poems (*mōdag*) are still common among the older generation. This tradition is disappearing due to influence of the new Islamic tradition in the region.<sup>44</sup>

### 2.2.3.4. Development of orality in the recent past

Judging by my personal experience, the replacement of oral narration by reading, and its general decrease in use, are developments that occurred during the last 30 years. I thus wish to take the opportunity to describe Balochi orality in Sistan in some detail.

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<sup>41</sup> I had the chance to meet him in 2005 at my place and to hear him recite traditional poetry. His photo is found on the CD accompanying this book. I am aware of one more *pahlawān* called Ali Khan, but he died before I had a chance to meet him.

<sup>42</sup> People in this region are mainly bilingual Balochi and Sistani (a dialect of Persian spoken in this area).

<sup>43</sup> One important motivation for losing the oral tradition is the new Islamic movement in the region. Playing any kind of music, dancing, or singing any kind of songs, have been forbidden by the Mullahs in the region. In some regions, even clapping hands has been replaced with saying special *drūds* (praising God and the prophets).

<sup>44</sup> My mother’s aunts were quite famous for reciting mourning poems. When I went to ask them to tell me some mourning poems, they refused, saying: “God will punish us in the last day if we recite these poems” (see also Noraiee 2008: 345–362).

Until approximately 30 years ago, there was neither electricity nor TV in the villages.<sup>45</sup> Most people in the villages lacked school education. I personally witnessed meetings at night in my grandmother's or a close relative's house, especially during winter. Then the old relatives would tell stories to the people of the village. The stories were so long that they were told over several nights. Since all the people in the village were closely related, there were no gender restrictions for attending these gatherings. These events also occurred during the festivals of Eid-e Fetr and Eid-e Korban, New Year, and the month of Muharram, when people used to stay awake until morning, telling long stories to each other. The oral tradition was also common with other activities during the harvest festivals and the so-called "Fresh Bread Festival".<sup>46</sup> As children we used to repeat the stories and poems on our way to or from school, or from the farm, or when going to the river to fetch water.

Oral poetry had an important place in women's daily activities. They used to recite songs (*līkō* and *līkōka*) when weaving carpets, embroidering, grinding flour, fetching water from the river, and washing clothes in the river. In addition, the shepherds used to play their instruments, particularly *nal*, (a kind of flute) and sing their songs while grazing their animals. During the summer, shepherds used to bring their animals to the river early in the evening and sing their songs to people in the village.

Some shepherds were also very good storytellers. This was the case for my grandfather's shepherd Mirgol. He used to tell stories to the children (who were his only audience) and perform them at the same time, e.g., by taking off his hat and throwing it on the ground or playing with his stick. He used to laugh, cry, clap hands, and imitate sounds of animals, motorbike, air plan, old people and children. During the festivals, children from other villages used to come to listen to Mirgol's stories, too.

Moreover, telling stories was also very common when someone got sick. It was believed that reciting nice stories and good music was a good remedy. The coastal area tradition of telling stories to a woman who has just given birth for a period of about forty days also persists in Sistan<sup>47</sup>; see also Ananikian (1925) and Asatrian (2001).

The oral tradition of poetry was very popular when someone from the village was away for a long time. People would recite poems about loneliness.

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<sup>45</sup> In our small village, electricity arrived around 2008. In the summer, we used to read novels and historical books during the day and retell them to our mother and brothers and sisters at night. During winter, especially on Thursday evenings, either mother or father used to tell us stories. My old uncle, who was very pious, recited tales about the prophets every Friday after his prayers.

<sup>46</sup> When the fresh grain arrived, two or three women were responsible for preparing fresh bread with butter and sugar. All people in the village came to eat it. After that they told stories and recited songs.

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/al-folkloric-being-that-personifies-puerperal-fever> (accessed 10 Nov. 2016).

One peculiarity is that poems that are recited when someone has died are recited during the day, not at night.<sup>48</sup>

Since electricity has come to the villages, TV has to a large extent replaced storytelling gatherings. People now gather to watch a movie together. In earlier days, mothers and grandmothers would ask the children to tell them what they learned at school and to tell them stories they had read at school. The younger generation does not experience oral narration, neither as addressees of stories being told, nor as performers retelling stories from school.

It is only among nomadic communities that one can still find storytellers, as these communities are not influenced by the above-mentioned factors as much as the settled population. But even in these communities, the presence of a storyteller is very rare. Among the Sistani Baloch from Afghanistan, many of whom have taken refuge in Iran though normally without acquiring Iranian nationality, there are good storytellers and reciters of oral poetry, particularly *līkō*. These refugees have not normally been able to get any education in Iran.

However, unlike the tradition of telling stories, singing songs still is a living art. Songs are sung at different ceremonies, such as weddings, Eid festivals, and upon the birth of a new family member. People recite poems they have composed themselves and learned by heart without having any formal education. They will also tell the life story of a famous person in new poems. Conversely, I have not found attempts at writing stories in Sistani Balochi, be they novels, stories or new poems.

In sum, the tradition of storytelling is not a living art among the Baloch in Sistan. But the tradition of poetry is still preserved. The society has shifted from oral tradition to written tradition due to the higher level of education of the Baloch in Sistan than of those in the coastal region. To my knowledge, there have been no attempts to write prose or poetry in Balochi.

### 2.3. Presentation of the corpus

As already mentioned, the present work is a study of three Iranian Balochi dialects: Coastal, Koroshi, and Sistani. The investigation is based on empirical data gathered during fieldwork in the regions where the dialects studied are spoken, as well as on empirical data published by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010). The duration of the recorded narratives used in the present study is more than 12 hours for all three dialects together.

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<sup>48</sup> People regard reciting this type of poems at night as bad luck for the owner of house and also themselves.

### 2.3.1. Types of text

For the purposes of the present work, I have recorded two types of text, folktales and biographical tales. These two types are described in section 2.3.1.1 below. In order to get data that can easily be compared, I have gathered “parallel texts”, a term defined in section 2.3.1.2.

#### 2.3.1.1. Genres

The texts used for the present research consist of two types. The first is traditional folktales, a term used for “a story passed on by word of mouth rather than by writing, and thus partly modified by successive re-tellings before being written down or recorded” (Baldick 2001: 99). The second type is biographical tales, a term used for reality-based life stories from the recent or a more distant past. Some of these stories may have acquired legendary elements. Both are narrated in the 3rd person. It was important to select only narratives in the 3rd person, because stories that are narrated in the 3rd person are organized around several participants, while narrations based on first and second persons are mainly built around one person.

#### 2.3.1.2. Gender and parallel texts

The term “parallel texts” used in this work denotes two versions of the same oral text as narrated by a female and a male speaker. The purpose of having parallel texts is to provide suitable material for investigating whether there are gender differences in the present narrations. In addition, parallel texts also reveal some sociolinguistic and cultural issues about male and female stories in society. In this study, the term “gender” is not understood as a prototypical term that covers all males and females in a society. Instead, it refers only to the male and female speakers who were selected for the present study.

For the purposes of the present work, the linguistic consultants were recorded and filmed during the narration for each dialect, except for two female speakers from CoB who did not allow me to film or take photos of them.

### 2.3.2. Text collecting

The data for the Coastal Balochi dialect were gathered in the regions of Bahukalat, Nobandiyan, Sedighzahi, and Korsar during five field journeys between March 2011 and January 2014. The data for the Koroshi dialect were recorded in the town of Marvdasht and in the Dehpiyaleh suburb of Shiraz in Fars Province during six field journeys between February 2008 and April 2014. The data for the Sistani dialect were collected in villages near the towns of Zahak and Zahedan during three field journeys between May 2012 and January 2014. I also used two texts (one biographical tale and one folktale) from the corpus published by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010).

### 2.3.2.1. CoB

To prepare the data for CoB, I went to several villages located close to one another, and asked for expert storytellers of both genders. It was rather easy in this area, in contrast to the areas where other dialects are spoken, because many people in the Coastal region know stories and are experienced in telling them. At first I recorded about 300 folktales from female speakers. When recording the female speakers, only women and children were present in the room. I then collected more than 400 stories from male speakers. But I had major difficulties recording the same folktales from both genders, even though I was working with experts in storytelling. When I asked the men for the same folktales as those narrated by women, my request was always rejected, because the male speakers said that those stories belong to the type of stories that womenfolk narrate. Instead, they offered to tell me other types of stories. The reverse was also true. Women said that they do not know folktales and legends told by men. They even claimed that these stories would be “so difficult” for them, and that only men would know this type of stories.

In order to acquire parallel texts told by both genders, I asked both female and male storytellers to be present in the same room and hear each other’s stories. Unfortunately, this did not work out either. In one case the daughter of a famous storyteller,<sup>49</sup> who was experienced in storytelling herself, was present during her father’s narration. When I asked her to retell the same story she only told me half the story, then she stopped and made excuses that she did not know the rest of the story. This observation illustrates how strongly gender is related to specific genres of stories.

In the end, only one male speaker, Rahimbaksh, a well-known storyteller in this area, agreed to tell some folktales which I had collected previously from a female speaker. He felt pity for me because he witnessed the trouble I was having obtaining the material. I played the sound files of about ten stories narrated by the female speakers. He listened to the stories only once and was ready to re-narrate ten of them with minor differences.<sup>50</sup> During the recording of his stories, only men were present in the room, with myself as the only woman.

When it comes to biographical tales, in contrast to KoB and SiB, speakers normally did not dare to tell me about the life of someone who was still alive. They pretended they would not know how to tell such a tale. They preferred to talk about events whose main participants died long ago. This kind of tale is named “biographical tale” in this study. I was confronted with many questions such as “Why do you want to know about my grandmother’s

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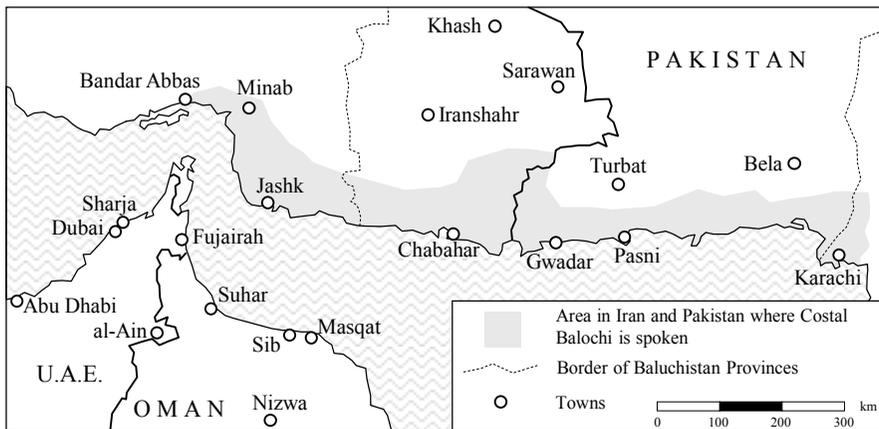
<sup>49</sup> He belongs to the *ostā* caste and is a goldsmith. He told us the stories while he was working.

<sup>50</sup> This observation leads to the conclusion that storytellers do not memorize (or say that they do not memorize) every detail of a story. Instead, they have a fixed frame for their narration and add the main elements and participants based on culture and geographical climate, etc.

and grandfather's life?" Some were ready to tell me about their siblings, mother, father, etc., but they did not want me to record them.

In some villages, I had the same experience as with folktales. A female speaker did not succeed in narrating a biographical tale, although she was an expert storyteller and was present while the male speaker was narrating the same biographical tale to me.

Finally, in two different villages I found four speakers who were willing to tell me about their brother's life and their grandmother's life. Both belonged to the lower class of the society (one male and one female from the *lūḍī* caste, and one male and one female from the *golām* caste). These stories were not simply re-narrated, even if in each case the second speaker had witnessed the narration of the first speaker. In both villages the women's narratives were shorter than the men's. In the first village, each narrator spoke only in the presence of people of the same gender (with people of the opposite gender leaving). However, during the male narration, the female narrator was present. In the second village, the audience was male-only, but the female narrator was present while the man spoke. In addition, in the second village men had a tendency to use mainly the non-past tense.



Map 2: Distribution of speakers of Coastal Balochi

### 2.3.2.2. KoB

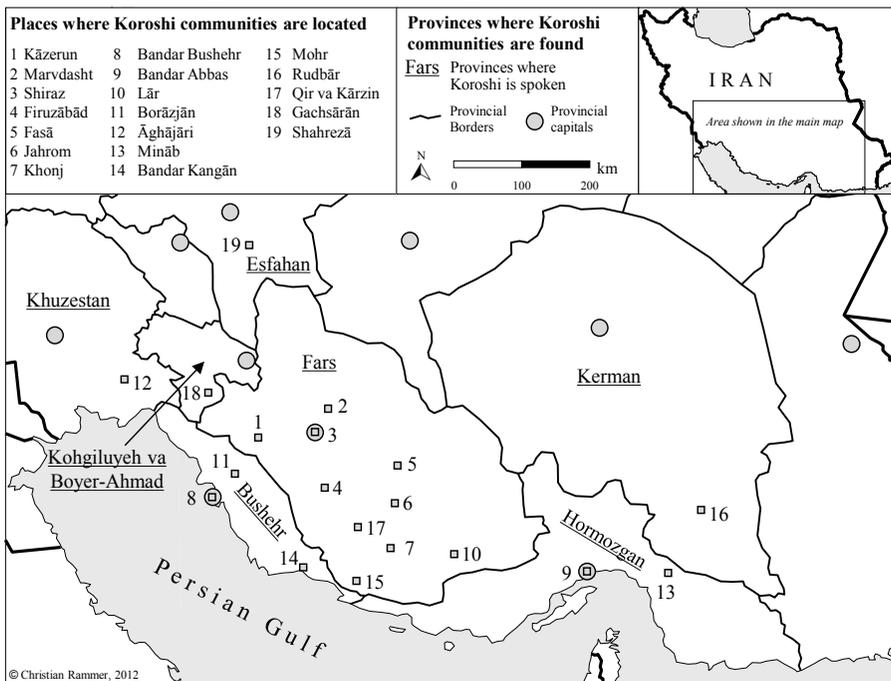
In contrast to CoB, Koroshi speakers are scattered over a huge area in small multilingual communities. The number of expert narrators, both male and female, who could tell a story in the Koroshi dialect was very small. Based on my observations, men tell stories in Koroshi more often than women. On several occasions, people asked me whether they could tell me the stories in Qašqā'i language.

For my MA thesis, I recorded about 100 folktales from three male speakers. However, I had trouble finding a female speaker who would tell the same stories. The women I asked usually replied that they would not know

the stories. One female informant began to tell a story in Koroshi, but was unable to finish it and asked me whether she could continue in Qaşqā'i, a Turkic language and the dominant language of the area.

Finally, the young daughter of one of my male informants was willing to provide me with the folktales her father had previously told me. Although she was convinced that she would know both stories, she struggled through both of them. In addition, her family was not interested in the event. During the recording, the children were watching TV and the adults were talking to each other. I was in fact the only audience. This is in strong contrast to the situation in CoB, where storytelling is cherished by the people and treated with respect.

When it comes to biographical tales, my informant for the folktales was reluctant to tell such a tale, even though he was an expert storyteller. Instead, he asked his brother to tell a biographical tale in his place. He told his brother a biographical tale in Persian. Then his brother told me two biographical tales. During the recording of the first biographical tale, his brother and some other men, who did not know Koroshi, were present. When he was re-narrating his brother's biographical tale, I was his only audience. Interestingly, he told both his biographical tales in the style of folktales.



Map 3: Distribution of speakers of Koroshi

When I asked my female speaker to tell me the same biographical tales, she told me her brother's biographical tales without any problem. Again, I was her only audience. She had a hard time completing the second biographical

tale, since it was unfamiliar to her. I had to interrupt the recording, because she forgot parts of the story and wanted to ask her brother about the content. In the end, I came the next day to record her. Even so, she told me the story differently from her brother. She complained about the fact that I was not interested in a biographical tale in Qašqā'i.

Another observation is noteworthy, because it illustrates the contrast to CoB. There is no restriction on female speakers telling stories or even singing in front of men.

### **2.3.2.3. SiB**

During my fieldwork on Sistani Balochi, procuring parallel texts was not easy. The number of expert storytellers was very low and consisted only of elderly people. Several times, they interrupted the stories, because they had forgotten parts of it, and I had to continue the recording one or two days later.

Similar to my experiences with other dialects, informants would tell stories differently even if they had been present at the first recording of the parallel text by another informant.

Since for SiB I am using one biographical tale and one folktale from Barjasteh Delforooz's corpus (2010), I went to the village where he recorded his data in order to record parallel texts from female speakers of the same dialect. It was very difficult to find a woman who knew the folktale and who would also be willing to tell it. Generally, I was referred to their educated male relatives. This can be taken as an indication that storytelling is usually considered part of the male domain.

In the end, one female speaker was willing to tell the folktale also found in Barjasteh Delforooz's corpus. She was quite famous for reciting poems both in Balochi and Sistani Persian. My informant had difficulties in telling the complete story, because she had not told it for several years. The stories that I recorded from her differ to a great extent from the male stories, as they are published in Barjasteh Delforooz's collection. During the recording I was her only audience. It was also hard to record the female version of the other parallel folktale. On the whole, one can conclude that storytelling is not part of the daily life of SiB speakers. While poems are still recited, stories have mostly been forgotten.

When it comes to recording biographical tales, I did not have the same problem as with folktales. All three of my female and male speakers provided me with a lot of biographical tales. In contrast to CoB, people were willing to talk about people's lives without any cultural constraints. During the recording, I was their only audience, while their children and grandchildren took no interest in the event, watching TV or reading books.



Map 4: Distribution of speakers of Sistani Balochi

#### 2.3.2.4. Summary

In sum, the material, forming the basis of the present study is purely oral. The stories have been preserved and learned by heart by the narrators for generations. The important peculiarities of each dialect are as follows:

(A) CoB indicates a strong gender tradition for telling the stories, and the existence of strong restrictions on telling the biographical tales. The presence of an audience during the narration of the story is also particular to CoB.

(B) KoB, telling the stories in different language and then retelling them in Koroshi. The women tend to tell their narrations in the Qašqā'i.

(C) SiB, shifting community attitudes from oral tradition to written. Forgetting the tradition of storytelling in the community. Willing to tell biographical tales.

## 2.4. Selection of corpus

Eight texts were then selected for each dialect, consisting of four pairs of parallel texts (two biographical tales and two folktales) narrated by female and male linguistic consultants. I have recorded 22 texts and also used two already published texts (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010). In total, the corpus consists of 24 oral texts.

In spite of having seven years of fieldwork experience, it was not easy for me to find texts which were readily narrated by both female and male speaker. For instance, in CoB, getting access to storyteller's stories was easy. However, it was hard to get the same text from both male and female speakers. In KoB, the males were more willing to tell a story in Koroshi than the females. In SiB, female speakers had almost forgotten the narrative tradition. In addition, it was difficult to find people who could tell stories in a coherent way.

Even so, I tried to find expert storytellers for each dialect. The term "expert storyteller" is meant to denote a person who is recognized by the community as a good storyteller. The level of professionalism in telling the story is different from dialect to dialect. I asked people to introduce me to men and women who were experienced in telling stories. This was not an easy task either, especially in a society which is more educated or influenced by TV and radio, such as the Sistani Balochi society (see Sec. 2.2.3) or in a multilingual society such as the Koroshi one (see Sec.2.2.2). Therefore, I could only provide parallel stories for each dialect, not across dialects. Some stories that are part of the Balochi culture as a whole would actually be expected, and people may have heard of them, but no one could tell them when I asked them to do so.

## 2.5. Linguistic consultants

The linguistic consultants for CoB were six speakers (four women and two men) of middle age (40 to 68). All were illiterate. The female speakers were housewives. One of the male speakers was employed by the government, while the other one was self-employed.

My male speaker, Rahimbaksh, was introduced to me by a former colleague of mine as a proficient storyteller in this region. He is always invited to perform his stories at large meetings in different places ( see Sec. 2.1.3.1). The other male speaker, Ragam, was also introduced to me by his village people. He was proficient in telling biographical tales. He was also quite well known for playing music, such as the drumming at wedding celebrations and the like. He only recently stopped playing the drum due to influence of new Islamic movements in the region.

His sister, Sarok, is also for better known for singing songs such as *nāzēnk* and *sepat* than for storytelling, but she was good at telling stories too. She was also introduced to me by people in this village. She still sings on different occasions such as childbirth, wedding celebrations, etc.

Two others female speakers were introduced to me by my female students in the villages Sedighzahi and Korsar. They belong to a low caste in society, although slightly higher than the *ostā* caste. They were very good storytellers. When it comes to my third female speaker from Nobandiyan, this was the first time she told a biographical tale in front of a recorder and camera.

Among my female speakers only one from Bahukalat was renowned as a singer, for example of lullabies.

Table 31. Information on Coastal speakers

Name/age/gender	Place	Date	Education	Occupation	Genre
Speaker1/58/♂	Nobandiyan	January 2013	No schooling	self-employed	biog: 1. RB folk: 1. KD 2. BS
Speaker 2 /55/♂	Bahukalat	January 2014	No schooling	employed	biog: 1. HA
Speaker 3 /60/♀	Bahukalat	January 2014	No schooling	housewife	biog: 1. HA
Speaker4 /40/♀	Nobandiyan	January 2013	No schooling	housewife	biog: 1. RB
Speaker 5 /56/♀	Sedighzahi	March 2010	No schooling	housewife	folk: 1. BS
Speaker 6 /45/♀	Korsar	March 2010	No schooling	housewife	folk: 1. KD

The linguistic consultants for the Koroshi dialect were four speakers (two male and two female), 30 to 70 years old. The 30 year-old woman was the only one who had an elementary education; the rest were illiterate. Both female speakers were housewives. One of the male speakers was employed by the government, while the other was self-employed.

Both my male speakers Alamdar and Noshad, were introduced to me by the Korosh community as good storytellers. Alamdar was good at telling folktales, Noshad at telling biographical tales. Both had a good voice. In contrast to the proficient CoB storyteller, they did not act during their narration.

I was introduced to a female storyteller, but she could only tell her narrations in Qaşqā'i. Neither of my female speakers was a prominent storyteller in the community. For the young female storyteller, it was her first time telling a story and being recorded.

Table 32. Information on Koroshi speakers

Name/age/gender	Place	Date	Education	Occupation	Genre
Speaker 1/60/♂	Dehpiyaleh	January 2013 November 2009	Basic elementary school	employed	biog: 1. AI 2. DA
Speaker 1 /68/♂	Marvdasht	November 2009	Basic elementary school	self-employed	folk: 1. KS 2. GA
Speaker 2 /58/♀	Dehpiyaleh	January 2013 January 2014	No schooling	housewife	biog: 1. AI 2. DA
Speaker 3 /30/♀	Dehpiyaleh	January 2014	Basic elementary school	housewife	folk: 1. KS 2. GA

The linguistic consultants for Sistani Balochi were three speakers (two female and one male) of middle age (54 to 65). Only the male speaker had an elementary education; the female speakers were illiterate. Both female speakers were housewives and the male speaker was self-employed.

Both my female speakers were better known in the community for reciting oral poems than telling tales. My second female narrator was always invited to recite poems at wedding celebrations and on other occasions. My male speaker was better known for giving speeches at big meetings in the community than for telling folktales or reciting poems.

Table 33. Information on Sistani speakers

Name/age/gender	Place	Date	Education	Occupation	Genre
Speaker1/56/ ♂	Zahak	January 2014	Basic elementary school	self-employed	biog: 1. KB folk: 1. MNJ
Speaker 2 /64/ ♀	Zahak	January 2014  January 2013	No schooling	housewife	biog: 1. KB folk: 1.MNJ
Speaker 3 /65/ ♀	Zahak	January 2014	No schooling	housewife	biog: 1. SA folk: 1. TB

## 2.6. The use of tense in the narrations

Tense in the folktales and biographical tales varies across the dialects. The non-past tense mainly dominates in the folktales in CoB, and the past tense in the biographical tales. However, the present data reveals that there are also individual preferences in one of the biographical tales. The biographical tale “Hawrokān” narrated by the male is interesting due to the fact that the male speaker starts this biographical tale in the past and then, after two episodes, switches to the non-past until the end of the tale.

The non-past tense dominates in both the remote biographical tales and the folktales in KoB. In the contemporary biographical tales, the present corpus indicates different results. Past tense dominates in the female’s biographical tale and non-past in the male’s biographical tale. It seems that the male speaker does not involve himself in the narration, and he also uses several evidential markers in his narration. By doing this, he tries to view the event as a neutral person, even though he has seen the event. In contrast, in the female’s narration there are no evidential markers. By involving herself in the narration, she makes it clear to her audience that she has seen the event.

The past tense is dominant in both folktales and biographical tales in SiB. However, there is one folktale in the present study where the male speaker opens in the past tense, but after two or three episodes switches to the non-past until the end of the story (see Sec. 9.1.1). It is likely that he makes this switch in order to show that the narration is not based on facts.

Two different tense forms are also found in the embedded stories in CoB and SiB. The present perfect dominates in the embedded stories in CoB,

while the past tense dominates in SiB. No embedded stories have been observed in KoB in the present corpus.

## 2.7. Narrative techniques

Each dialect has its own specific formulaic and other phrases, which are somewhat different in folktales and biographical tales, but are produced systematically by all speakers. They are found in the opening part, in the main part, when passing from one scene to another, and in the closing part. The following section presents formulaic and other phrases which appear regularly in folktales.

### 2.7.1. Folktales

#### 2.7.1.1. Opening the tales

A CoB storyteller may introduce his/her tales with a shorter or longer formulaic phrase: *rōčē rōzgārē bī* ‘There was a day, a time’, *tahlēn tambāk, šerkenēn hormāg, šap jāh o rōč jāh, šahrē ger o šahrē bell āšekāne bēdel, hastat rōčē hastat rōzgārē* ‘Bitter tobacco, sweet dates, somewhere at night, somewhere during the day, conquer a town, leave a town alone, lovers without their senses’ (see Jahani and Baloch 2016).

In my data, the storyteller in KoB has two options for opening a tale: (1) *yekī asse yekī naya ġayr az xodā hīška nayat* (with slight variation in pronunciation) ‘There is one, there was not one, except God there was nobody’ (2) *bessmellāhe rahmāne rahīm* ‘In the name of God’. Some storytellers do not use opening phrases.

In SiB, the following alternatives are attested in my corpus. There are no additional opening phrases in Barjasteh Delforooz (2010). (1) (*man anārē prōšīn ta čen dānaga lōṭay,*) *būt o bāt ša mošmay xodā kas gēter nawat* ‘I cut a pomegranate, how many seeds do you want? There was and there was, there was no one better than our God’ (the first part is sometimes omitted); (2) *šī/gošant* ‘It is said’ (see Barjasteh Delforooz (2010)).

#### 2.7.1.2. Passing from one scene to another in the tales

The following formulaic phrases are used for the changing of scenes in CoB tales (1) *bel X o beger Y* ‘(Let’s) leave X and get back to (lit. take) Y’ (where X and Y are characters in the story). (2) *paš kapt X kessa nī Xayg en* ‘X was left. Now it is X’s story’.

SiB and KoB apply a different technique for the changing of episodes. Two of my female speakers of SiB use a rhetorical question when the story changes from one episode to another, e.g., *bād X čōn ko?* ‘then, what did X do?’ In contrast, KoB uses tail-head linkage when changing episodes, e.g.,

between units 5 and 6 in the story about the donkey and the camel (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 124).

### 2.7.1.3. Closing the tales

There are five different ways for closing tales in CoB (1) *ā āngū šotant o mā padā tarret o atkē* ‘they went from there and we came back’. (2) *dāte manā zarrē zarr mā ko herrē herr ka čātā mo* ‘I got (lit. he gave me) some money; I bought a baby camel with that money (lit. I made the money a baby camel); the baby camel fell down into the well and died.’ (3) *bass* ‘finished’. (4) *kessā halās būt, man ča hamedā gōn atān, manā dāteš zarrē, zarr man kot herre, herr jorrā kapt o mort o man watī čāder čandēt o baḏḏā kot o dast hōrk o hālīg per tarret o lōgā ātkān* ‘the story finished; I was [with them] from here; they gave me some money; I bought a baby camel with that money (lit. I made the money a baby camel); the baby camel fell down into the ditch and died; I shook my mantle and put it on my shoulder; I came back home with empty hands (see Jahani and Baloch 2016). (5) *kessa ča hamedā āsar būt* ‘The story ended like this (lit. from here)’ (see Jahani and Baloch 2016).

For the closing part, only the following phrase has been attested for the tales in KoB. ‘*hālā am dōssen bebī čō hamā X došmanen am bebī čō hamā Y* now may our friend be like X, and may our enemy be like Y (where X is the hero of the story and Y is the loser in the story) (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 129, 146, 209).

SiB uses, e.g., the following phrases for closing tales (1) ‘*man seston o baston pa man īmānē o pašmā deštārē ē mnī āsmānak alās ūt*’ ‘I broke and mended, faith for me and a fiancée for you. [Here] my story finished’ (2) *āton berāē o dīston pēlekkē zarrē pēlekkē zarrā dāton dar rāhe xodā o do ḡarānā borton šenekē korton o šenekā jāton gošton brā ke tī sar braw be jahandomā o mnī sar braw be beheštā mnī kessā hamēda alās ū šmārā be allāhe pākā sepāretagon* ‘I came to a certain pathway and found a big bag with money. I gave the moneybag for God’s sake and I took two pennies and bought a goat, and beat the goat and said, “may your head go to hell and my head may go to paradise”. My story finishes here and I entrust (lit. have left) you to the holy God.’ (3) *dega tamēdā man gōn aton o angūrī dega allāh wata zānt ke čī būt* ‘I was with (them) thus far (lit. till here) and after that God knows what happened.’

## 2.7.2. Biographical tales

### 2.7.2.1. Opening the biographical tales

Opening the biographical tales is somewhat different from opening folktales: The biographical tales of CoB are opened in two different ways: (1) *besmelāhe rahmāne rahīm* ‘in the name of God’, (2) *yak mardē hasta yak zamānagē ke...* ‘Once, there was a man who...’ or even *hasta ya mardē janē* ‘There were one man [and] one woman’.

KoB has the Arabic formulaic phrase *besmellāhe rahmāne rahīm* ‘In the Name of God’.

SiB uses the same formulaic phrases as in folktales: (1) *būto būt ša mošmay xodā kasē gēter nawat* ‘Once upon a time (lit. There was and there was, there was no one better than our God)’ (2) *šī*, ‘it is said’ (3) *yak zamānagē... at(an)* ‘Once, there was/were...’

### 2.7.2.2. Passing from one scene to another in the biographical tales

Unlike the folktales, biographical tales do not have any formulaic phrases for changing from one scene to another in the dialects being studied.

### 2.7.2.3 Closing the biographical tales

The following phrases were common for closing the biographical tales in CoB: (1) *dāte manā zarrē zarr mā ko herrē herr ka čātā mo* ‘I got (lit. he gave me) some money; I bought a baby camel with that money (lit. I made the money a baby camel); the baby camel fell down into the well and died’ (2) *me kessa alās bī* ‘my story comes to the end’ (3) *ēšīte dāstā nī hamedā če tamām en* ‘His/her life story finishes here now’.

KoB has the following normal phrases: (1) *basāb ē ham sargozaš ...* ‘so, well, this is the story about,...’ (2) *basāb tamān* ‘well, that’s it’ (3) *xo imīdwār om xodā ke hāmmo kasā xodā begennī Xa ham begennī, X ham zor gī... ham bebī hamā pēšterīn X* ‘well, I hope [that] God may see (to) everybody and will see [to] X as well, and [that] X will turn back and become that previous X again.’

In SiB, the closing parts of biographical tales do not have any formulaic phrases. However, only one of my speakers used the same formulaic phrase in folktales ‘*man seston o baston pa man imānē o pašmā deštārē* ‘I broke and mended; I [brought] a faith for me and a fiancée for you’.

## 2.8. Summary

The three Balochi dialects being studied demonstrate three different strategies of orality. CoB, the most conservative one in the present study, demonstrates orality as a living art from the cradle to the grave. KoB preserves only the prose tradition, and the language of narration has shifted from Koroshi to

Qaşqā'i or Persian. SiB has shifted from oral style to written style. Storytelling has almost been forgotten in this society; the prose tradition is only preserved by the elderly people.

In contrast to KoB and SiB, CoB has two special characteristics: oral and written tradition. The written tradition in CoB has developed within the last hundred years.

There are no social class restrictions for telling stories in the Balochi dialects being studied. However, only CoB has preserved the professional and expert storytellers in addition to the aged people in the village. In a majority of cases, *lūdīs*, old women and Afro-Baloch are considered professional storytellers in this society.

The role of the audience is highly important only in CoB. The audience uses certain formulaic phrases for praising and encouraging the storytellers, which is unique to this dialect.

Both CoB and KoB use different formulaic phrases for opening and closing stories, which are different for folktales and biographical tales. SiB use similar formulaic phrases for both genres.



## 3. Method and approach

### 3.1. Introduction to participant reference

As an introduce to the concept of participant reference consider the following passage, found in its context in Nourzaei et al. (2015: 135–136),

**The dragon** said, “Yes I will get her for you.” So, then **this** said, “Very well, tonight I will go and wrap myself around the neck of the king’s daughter.” (...) Well, in the evening **the dragon** went and  $\emptyset$  wrapped itself around the neck of the king’s daughter.

In this passage, the dragon is referred to in three different ways (‘the dragon’, ‘this’ and ‘ $\emptyset$ ’). The term “participant” refers to anyone [or anything] (if the participants include inanimate objects) who has a part to play in a narrative.

The above passage leads us to ask the following questions: Why does the language use different forms to refer to the same participant? What triggers the use of these various forms? To answer these questions for any specific language, researchers and linguists have developed different approaches. The following section provides an overview of some theories that have been developed to account for different forms of participant reference.

The present study is based on Levinsohn’s approach (see Sec. 3.2.4). I apply his approach to the Coastal Balochi (CoB), Koroshi Balochi (KoB) and Sistani Balochi (SiB) corpora (see Sec. 2.4).

Before introducing the approach, I will explain the abbreviations that I will be using. The following forms function as a subject in the present data: noun phrase (NP), personal pronoun (PN), distal demonstrative pronoun (DIST), proximal demonstrative pronoun (PROX), indefinite pronoun (IndPN), reflexive pronoun<sup>51</sup> (REFL), adjective (ADJ), numeral (NUM), and person-marking verb clitic (PC), together with combinations such as PROX+NP, DIST+NP, and REFL+NP. If only the person-marking verb suffix indexes the subject of the sentence, then the subject is considered as dropped and indicated by ( $\emptyset$ ). In the current work “NP” is used as a general term for both single nouns, such as *go'hār*, ‘the sister’, coordinated nouns, such as *'pet o 'čok* ‘the father and the son’, and combinations of a noun plus modifiers except PROX and DIST, such as *'čēnkā mohta'ramēn jwā'nēn*

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<sup>51</sup> For an example see section 1.3.2.3.2.

*mar'dom*, ‘several respectful and good persons’. In cases of NP with one of these demonstrative pronouns, I used PROX+NP, such as *'ē rahīm'bašš* ‘this Rahimbaksh’ or DIST+NP, *'ā 'āsk* ‘those deer’. Technically these are still just an “NP”, but because of discourse considerations I divide them into different categories in my analysis (see Chaps. 4–6).

Although indefinite pronouns and numerals normally function as modifiers, they can also be used as the head of an NP. They are therefore classified as NP in this work. Some even take the same case endings as nouns. My data confirm that adjectives, indefinite pronouns and numerals (comparable to the *young one*, *they all*, *the third one*, etc., in English) can refer to definite referents. Consider the following examples:

Ex. 68) with indefinite pronoun

<i>'goddā</i>	<i>'šāh</i>	<i>a='š-ī</i>		<i>'ay</i>	<i>dūmād-o'bār=om</i>
then	king	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	VOC	son in law-PL=PC.1SG	
<i>'bīyed</i>		<i>'ber-r-et</i>		<i>'šekāl=o</i>	<i>ī'šān</i>
IMPV.come.NPST-2PL		IMPV-go.NPST-2PL		hunting=and	like this
<i>ba</i>	<i>'man</i>	<b><i>hām'mo</i></b>	<i>ā=k-ā-'yant</i>		
for	PN.1SG	all	VCL=IMP.k.come.NPST-3PL		

‘then the king says, “Hey my sons-in-law, come [and] go hunting, like this, for me.” They all come [to the king]’ Nourzaei et al. (2015: 191)

Ex. 69) with numeral as NP head

<i>'ē</i>	<b><i>do'k-ēn</i></b>	<i>nī'kay=a</i>	<i>ka'n-ant</i>
PROX	two-ATTR	married=VCL	do.NPST-3PL

‘these two get married’ (SiB.MNJ.m: 78f)

Ex. 70) with numeral as PROX+NP head

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'ham=e</i>	<b><i>yak</i></b>	<i>'paš</i>	<i>ka'p-ī</i>
Now	EMPH=PROX	one	behind	fall.NPST-3SG

‘now, this one [girl] was left [in the class]’ (CoB.KD.m:12)

Ex. 71) with numeral in oblique case as NP head

<i>bale</i>	<i>'ham</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<b><i>'yak=e-yā</i></b>	<i>borre't-ā</i>
but	every	year	you know	another	one=IND-OBL	cut.PST-3PL
<i>bor't-ag-ā</i>		<i>ba'lāh=e</i>	<i>bī't-a=∅</i>			
take.PST-PP-3PL		ghoul=IND	be.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG			

‘but every year, you know, someone else cut them off [and] took them. It was a ghoul’ (BS.f: 3–4)

Ex. 72) with adjective in oblique case as NP head

*kas-te'r-ēn-a*                      'go-∅                      'mã                      'tī  
small-COMP-ATTR-OBL    say.PST-3SG    PN.1SG    PN.2SG.GEN  
*'sāng=ā*                      *ka'n-ã*  
betrothal=VCL    do.NPST-1SG

‘the youngest [one] said, “I will marry you”’ (UT)

Ex. 73) with adjective in direct case as NP head

*gwan'q-ēn*                      'gošt=e  
small-ATTR    say.PST=PC.3SG

‘the young one said’(...) (SiB.PS.m: 90)

In the analysis I regard indefinite pronouns, numerals, and adjectives as NPs when used as an NP head, (see Chaps. 4–6).

### 3.2. Approaches in participant reference analysis

Texts of the narrative discourse genre (e.g., stories) normally contain several participants, and a story line, which has an introduction, some climaxes and a conclusion. Texts of this type normally describe events in chronological sequences that are performed by the participants (“agents” according to Longacre 1996: 9; Levinsohn 2015: 11).

One feature of narrative texts that has been investigated in some detail is participant reference. In the beginning, the focus lay on the “introduction” or “activation of participants” in a text. Linguists addressed the question of how participants are referred to once they have been activated, and how they are brought back on stage after leaving it. In the early 1980s linguists started introducing and discussing approaches to quantitatively evaluating the ways in which participants in a narrative are established and retained. Why are participants referred to in different ways? To answer this question, linguists developed a number of approaches.

Among the approaches in this field are the Default/Marked approach by Levinsohn (1978, 1994, 1999); the Familiarity Hierarchy approach by Prince (1981); the Topic Continuity approach by Givón (1983); Grosz, Joshi, and Weinstein’s Center of Attention approach (1983, 1995); Tomlin’s Episode/Focus approach (1987); the Accessibility Theory presented by Ariel (1988, 1990); Gundel et al.’s Givenness Hierarchy approach (1993); and Walker, Joshi, and Prince’s Centering approach (1998). Each of these linguists suggests methods for evaluating the linguistic forms for referring to activated participants. However, although they all look at the same categories, the theories they propose and the approaches they have employed are markedly different. A key question to ask is: How do these approaches operate and for what

can they be used? To address this question Clark; (2012: 5–16) compared and applied Givón’s Topic/Continuity<sup>52</sup> approach (1983), Tomlin’s Episode/Focus<sup>53</sup> approach (1987) and Levinsohn’s Default/Marked approach (1999) to studying participant reference in narrative discourse in Sio (Papua New Guinea).

Another researcher who compares and evaluates different approaches to studying participant reference is Humnick (2009:12–15). She wrote her doctoral dissertation on pronouns in Kumyk discourse and compared the Givenness Hierarchy approach of Gundel et al. (1993) with the Familiarity Hierarchy<sup>54</sup> approach of Prince (1981), the Topic Continuity approach of Givón (1983), the Accessibility Hierarchy approach of Ariel (1988, 1990), and the Centering Theory (Grosz, Joshi, and Weinstein 1983, 1995; Walker, Joshi, and Prince 1998).

Clark (2012) and Humnick (2009) thus discuss and compare a number of approaches. Levinsohn’s approach has been developed from Givón’s and Tomlin’s approaches (see Sec. 3.2.1). The approach of Gundel et al. is essentially cognitive and Levinsohn’s is empirical. However, so far there has been no comparison of Gundel et al.’s (1993) and Levinsohn’s (1994) approaches. Therefore, in the present study I will compare them to try to determine which provides a better explanation for participant encoding in narratives from the Balochi dialects being studied. I was also interested to see what the similarities and dissimilarities are between these two approaches. Before beginning this comparison, however, I first give a brief summary of what Clark (2012) and Humnick (2009) reported in their comparative studies of different approaches for studying participant reference.

### 3.2.1. Comparing Givón’s and Tomlin’s approaches to Levinsohn’s

Clark (2012: 1–8) applies Givón’s Topic/Continuity approach, Tomlin’s Episode/Focus approach and Levinsohn’s Default/Marked approach to the Sio language of Papua New Guinea in order to find out which seems to most accurately and thoroughly describe participant reference.

Givón (1983: 9) focuses on what he calls “Topic Continuity”. He introduces three types of topic: chain initial topic (defined as “a newly-introduced, newly-changed, or newly-reintroduced topic”), chain medial topic (a continuing and persistent topic), and chain final (a continuing but non-persistent topic). He (ibid. 10) identifies the latter two as definite topics, while the first type might be either definite or indefinite.

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<sup>52</sup> This was called “Recency/Distance” by Tomlin (1987: 456).

<sup>53</sup> This was named “Episode/Paragraph” by Clark (2012: 9).

<sup>54</sup> Humnick (2009: 12) uses the term givenness/familiarity for this approach.

Givón (ibid. 12) finds that the transfer of information from speaker to hearer is triggered by some psychological assumptions, which means that “what is continuing is more predictable”, “what is predictable is easier to process”, “what is discontinuing or disruptive is less predictable”, and “what is less predictable, hence surprising, is harder to process”. He (ibid. 13–14) points out that “linguistic devices” are employed by the narrator to encode different participants and the exact position of those participants in the discourse can be correlated with three primary “discourse measurements”: referential distance, potential interference and persistence. The aim of referential distance measurement is to evaluate the gap between the previous occurrence of the topic and its present occurrence in a clause. The gap is expressed by counting “the number of clauses to the left”. The minimal value is one clause to the left and the maximal value that Givón assigns is 20 clauses to the left. Givón suggests that this referential distance value could help to explain why a particular grammatical form (noun, pronoun, etc.) of the topic is employed.

Givón (ibid. 14) describes potential interference measurement as the disruptive effect that other referents within the immediately preceding text may have on the availability and identification of the participant. He defines the text immediately preceding as varying between 1 and 5, mostly 3, clauses to the left. A topic is regarded as interfering only if it is “as semantically compatible (most commonly in terms of animacy, humanity, agentivity or semantic plausibility as object or subject) with the predicate of the clause as the topic under consideration.”

The third measurement, persistence, has to do with the importance of the topic throughout the discourse (ibid.). There is a direct correlation between the number of clauses in the discourse where a certain participant is the topic and the importance of this participant.

Givón (ibid. 17) proposes that the encoding of topic accessibility is scalar by nature, and that languages have various syntactic devices that are employed at various “coding points” to present how accessible a certain participant is. He continues by suggesting that although there are major differences among languages, there is still a general tendency to use a scale of common grammatical devices cross-linguistically. This tendency is to encode the most continuous or accessible referents with zero anaphora and the most discontinuous referents with an indefinite noun phrase. Other commonly used items such as stressed/independent pronouns and unstressed/bound pronouns, as well as definite noun phrases, are located between these two points. The following hierarchy of forms for participant reference based on phonological size for degree topic continuity is given by Givón (ibid. 18):

zero anaphora > unstressed/bound pronouns or grammatical agreement markers > stressed/independent pronouns > full NPs

Figure 2. Hierarchy of forms for degree of topic continuity

Clark (2012: 9–12) then turns to Tomlin’s Episode/Focus approach. Tomlin (1987: 456) argues that although Givón’s Topic/Continuity approach for referential syntax is a valuable contribution, there are two classes of counterexamples which his approach cannot successfully address. First, a noun phrase can be employed to refer to a topic just a single clause back, even if there is no issue of ambiguity. Second, pronominal encoding of a topic can continue for more than a clause or two.

The main goal of Tomlin’s Episode/Focus approach is to explain the alternating use of nouns and pronouns by the speaker in a discourse (ibid. 457). He argues that the narrator will employ a noun phrase to restore the topic across an episode boundary, and pronouns to maintain the topic within a particular episode. This means that as long as the audience’s attention is maintained on a referent, less encoding (pronouns) will be employed, but whenever the audience’s attention is disrupted, the topic is encoded with a noun phrase regardless of the number of intervening clauses. He also recognizes that a noun phrase could be used to resolve the ambiguity of the referent.

Tomlin (ibid. 462–463) applies four strategies: (a) counting the number of propositions and episodes in a text; (b) counting the number of propositions in an episode; (c) referential distance (as measured by Givón 1983): counting the number of clauses intervening between a given referent and its last encoding reference; (d) episode boundary results: “hits” and “misses”. If the syntactic form of the referent is a noun phrase and is the first occurrence after an episode boundary, it is considered a hit. It is also a “hit” if it is a pronoun and is not the first occurrence after an episode boundary. If, on the other hand, it is a noun phrase and is not the first occurrence after an episode boundary (excluding ambiguous cases) or if it is a pronoun and is the first occurrence after an episode boundary, it is regarded as a “miss”.

In his comparison of Givón’s approach with that of Tomlin, Clark (2012: 9) points out that the crucial difference between the two is that Givón relies on clause level for studying the referring expression, whereas Tomlin focuses on paragraph level (episode boundaries).

As I see it, there are two major challenges in Tomlin’s approach, which are also pointed out by Clark, namely that there is a risk of circular argument since there are no totally clear criteria for where to establish episode boundaries (ibid. 10), and also that Tomlin’s approach only deals with noun and pronoun reference, whereas natural language normally uses other referring expressions as well (ibid. 9).

### 3.2.2. Comparing Gundel et al.’s approach with that of others

Humnick (2009: 12–15) describes the differences between the Givenness Hierarchy approach of Gundel et al. and a number of other approaches for studying participant reference. She does not discuss Levinsohn’s approach, nor does she mention the comparative work of Clark.

One of the approaches discussed by Humnick is the Familiarity Hierarchy approach by Prince (see Figure 3). Prince (1981: 226–230) distinguishes three levels of givenness:

(a) predictability/recoverability, which means that “the speaker assumes that the hearer CAN PREDICT OR COULD HAVE PREDICTED that a PARTICULAR LINGUISTIC ITEM will or would occur in a particular position WITHIN A SENTENCE”;

(b) saliency, which means that “the speaker assumes that the hearer has or could appropriately have some particular thing/entity/... in his/her CONSCIOUSNESS at the time of hearing the sentence”;

(c) shared knowledge, which means that “the speaker assumes, that the hearer ‘knows’, assumes or can infer a particular thing (but is not necessarily thinking about it).”

Prince (ibid. 235–236) distinguishes three categories of information in a hierarchy: “new”, “inferrable”, and “evoked”. When a speaker introduces an entity into the discourse for the first time it is called *new*. When a speaker refers to an entity, which is already in the discourse it is called *evoked*. The last type, *inferrable*, means that the speaker assumes the addressee can infer the referent by means of “logical – or, more commonly, plausible – reasoning, from discourse entities already Evoked or from other Inferrables.”

Prince (ibid. 237) introduces a hierarchy of different types of givenness, but she does not explicitly link the statuses with a particular linguistic form as in Figure (3).

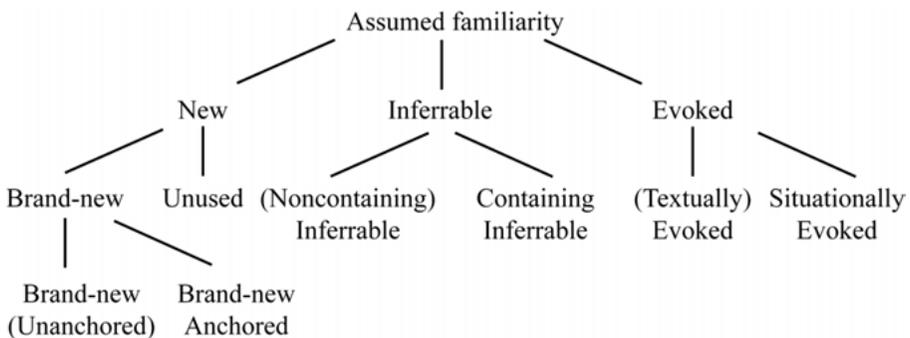


Figure 3. Familiarity Hierarchy

Comparing Givón's hierarchy of forms (see Figure 2) for participant reference with the Givenness Hierarchy (GH) approach of Gundel et al., Humnick (2009: 14) points out that "to a large extent, the ordering of forms in the hierarchy is reflected in the correlations suggested by the GH approach; however, the latter approach is a hierarchy of cognitive states, not of forms." She (ibid.) adds that although Givón claims distribution of the forms in the discourse in his approach, he does not take into consideration the cultural knowledge and physical context in his explanations regarding "the use of referring expressions for entities which are not accessible via linguistic context" while the GH approach does. In addition, Givón's projections show "probable correlations, in contrast to the absolute projections of the GH approach that result from the structure of unidirectional entailment" (as defined in Sec. 2.2).

Humnick (ibid. 14–15) then discusses Ariel's Accessibility Theory (AAT) (1988, 1990), which is built on Prince's Familiarity scale and Givón's hierarchy of forms. Ariel (1988) finds that there is a direct correlation between the distribution of the various forms of the encoding topics and the degree of accessibility of their referents in terms of a hierarchy of high, mid, and low accessibility. Ariel (ibid. 68) argues there is a clear non-arbitrary correlation between accessibility and context types such as "general knowledge, physical surroundings and previous linguistic material". Thus, referents based on general knowledge have low accessibility, those based on physical surroundings have a higher degree of accessibility, and those based on previous linguistic material have the highest accessibility to the source of information.

Humnick (2009: 15) finds that AAT is comprehensive, but that it is not an approach "by which one can test form-status correlations in cross-linguistic corpus studies." She (ibid.) continues that in contrast to the absolute projections of the GH approach presented by Gundel et al. (1993) (see below), Ariel's predictions, similarly to those of Givón, are "probabilistic". Neither her approach nor Givón's distinguishes those cases where pronouns are completely disallowed from cases where a pronoun or NP is equally appropriate. Humnick (2009: 17) holds that a crucial difference between AAT and the GH approach is that AAT focuses on degrees of accessibility, while the GH approach focuses on manner of accessibility.

The Centering Theory of Grosz et al. (1995) is another approach for explaining referring expressions in discourse. Grosz et al. (ibid. 204–205) concentrate on interactions between the coherence of discourse and different forms of referring expressions by explaining how coherence and interference load "interact with attentional state and choices in expression."

In her comparison of the Centering Theory with the GH approach, Humnick (2009: 15) points out that the important difference between these two theories is that the latter "is a comprehensive model of form-status correlations", taking into consideration both discourse and extra-linguistic context for studying correlation between form and status, while the Centering Theo-

ry concentrates on “the relationship between the form of referring expression and the coherence of discourse”.

### 3.2.3. Gundel et al.’s Givenness Hierarchy approach

Gundel et al. (1993: 274) point out that research on participant reference “has a long tradition in the philosophical literature, and has been investigated from various perspectives within linguistics and psychology”. They (ibid. 274–275) then introduce their approach, which they call the Givenness Hierarchy (GH) approach, the main assumption of which is that “different determiners and pronominal forms conventionally signal different cognitive statuses [...], thereby enabling the addressee to restrict the set of possible referents.” They then propose (ibid. 275) that “there are six cognitive statuses relevant to the form of referring expressions in natural language discourse, and that these are related in the Givenness Hierarchy” as follows (taken from Gundel et al.: 1993: 275):

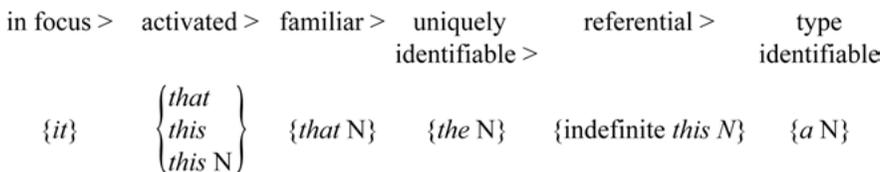


Figure 4. Givenness Hierarchy

They (ibid. 275–276) state that “each status on the hierarchy is a necessary and sufficient condition for the appropriate use of a different form or forms. [...] In using a particular form, a speaker thus signals that she assumes the associated cognitive status is met and, since each status entails all lower statuses, she also signals that all lower statuses (statuses to the right) have been met.”

Gundel et al. (ibid. 276) agree with Garrod and Sanford (1982) and Ariel (1988) that the speaker uses the various forms of referring expression as “processing signals to the addressee.” They (Gundel et al. 1993: 276) point out a crucial difference between their own approach and others that discuss givenness; other approaches hold that there is a mutually exclusive correlation between the statuses and different forms, while Gundel et al. suggest that there is a unidirectional relationship between the statuses and different forms, which means that “each status entails [...] all lower statuses, but not vice versa.” For example, any form that is *in focus* is also *activated*, *familiar*, *uniquely identifiable*, *referential* and *type identifiable*. However, not every form that is *familiar* has to be *activated* and/or *in focus*.

In introducing their approach, Gundel et al. (ibid.) state that they “make only minimal assumptions about reference processing and about the repre-

sentation of referents in long- and short-term memory.” They (ibid.) define the individual statuses as follows:

**Type identifiable:** “the addressee is able to access a representation of the type of object described by the expression. This status is necessary for appropriate use of any nominal expression” (ibid. 276).

**Referential:** “the speaker intends to refer to a particular object or objects. To understand such an expression, the addressee not only needs to access an appropriate type-representation, he must either retrieve an existing representation of the speaker’s intended referent or construct a new representation [...]. The status ‘referential’ is necessary for appropriate use of all definite expressions.” (ibid.)

**Uniquely identifiable:** “The addressee can identify the speaker’s intended referent on the basis of the nominal alone. This status is a necessary condition for all definite reference.” (ibid. 277)

Gundel et al. (ibid.) refer to Hawkins (1978) and others who point out that identifiability is not necessarily based on previous familiarity if the nominal itself contains enough descriptive content. Thus, in referring to expressions that are referential but not uniquely identifiable, the addressee needs to build a new representation with the help of the content of the expression together with the rest of the sentence. For expressions that are both referential and uniquely identifiable, the addressee is required to make or bring back a representation based on the expression alone to identify the referent.

**Familiar:** “The addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because he already has a representation of it in his memory” (Gundel et al. 1993: 278). All personal pronouns and definite demonstratives are appropriate for familiar status.

**Activated:** “The referent is represented in current short-term memory. Activated representations may have been retrieved from long-term memory, or they may arise from the immediate linguistic or extra linguistic context” (ibid.). All pronominal forms and stressed personal pronouns, are appropriate for activated status.

**In focus:**<sup>55</sup> “The referent is not only in short-term memory, but is also at the current centre of attention.” This status is necessary for appropriate use of zero and unstressed pronominals. Entities in focus generally include at least the topic of the preceding, as well as “any still-relevant higher-order topics” (ibid. 279). Gundel et al. (ibid. 280) conclude that although the linguistic form is important for what is brought in focus, “actual inclusion in the ‘in-focus’ set depends ultimately on pragmatic factors, and is not uniquely determinable from the syntax.”

Gundel et al. (ibid.) point out that a significant difference between the statuses in Prince’s Familiarity Hierarchy approach and their own GH approach

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<sup>55</sup> This is an infelicitous term, as “focus” is usually reserved for the most important new information in a sentence.

is that the former does not distinguish between *activated* and *in focus*. In addition, “the relation between statuses in the GH approach is one of entailment”, whereas in the Familiarity Hierarchy approach the statuses are mutually exclusive (see also above). They also find problems with the category of “inferable” on Prince’s scale (ibid. 281–282), since for Prince, and for linguists such as Garrod and Sanford (1982) and Chafe (1987), inferable referring expressions “have a separate cognitive status on a par with different types or degrees of givenness”, and reference with a pronominal or with a demonstrative determiner is not allowed in the category “inferable”. Gundel et al. (1993: 282) state that “when the link between an inferable and its associated discourse entity is strong enough to create (or activate) an actual representation of the inferable” both a demonstrative determiner and a pronoun are possible.

By applying the GH approach to five languages (Chinese, English, Japanese, Russian, and Spanish), they (ibid. 284) find that their six-status approach is appropriate for describing how demonstratives, articles, and pronouns are used in the languages concerned. They remark, however, that in some of the languages not all of the six statuses are needed.

Gundel et al. (ibid. 285) propose a cross-linguistic generalization between the statuses and their corresponding forms. The most restrictive cognitive status (in focus) is always encoded with the least phonetic content, namely unstressed pronouns, clitics and zero pronominals. For similar observations they refer to Givón (1983), Kameyama (1986), Levinson (1987), and Ariel (1988). Moreover, all pronouns require the topic to be at least activated. Gundel et al. (1993: 286) state that “while pronominals and the definite article appear to require the same statuses across languages, the situation is more variable for demonstratives and indefinite articles.”

Because the relationship between status and referring expression is unidirectional according to Gundel et al. (ibid. 290–293), they hold that a particular form will be considered inappropriate if it does not present the required cognitive status. When the speaker employs a form that fails to present the required cognitive status, the result may be either that the addressee fails to associate the form with the correct referent, or that he/she is somehow able to associate the correct referent with the form even if it was used wrongly. This is expected because of the unidirectionality feature of the approach, which means that all higher cognitive statuses can be encoded with felicitous encodings for lower statuses. At this point they (ibid. 294) refer to Grice’s maxim of quantity,<sup>56</sup> which in this case means that when the necessary cognitive status for more than one form is met the choice among forms can partly be explained in terms of the maxim (Q1), that the form should be “as informative as required”.

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<sup>56</sup> Grice (1975: 45) states the maxims of quantity as follows. Q1 “Make your contributions as informative as required”. Q2 “Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.”

Gundel et al. (ibid.: 299) state that the interaction of the quantity maxim with the GH approach appropriately predicts that “an indefinite article will normally not be used for referents that are uniquely identifiable, since this form explicitly signals only type identifiability status” and also that “for referents that are in focus, an unstressed personal pronoun or zero, will normally be chosen over a demonstrative pronoun, which gives less information about cognitive status because it only requires that the referent be activated.”

Gundel et al. (ibid.: 299–300) also state that applying a particular referring expression “does not always conversationally implicate that necessary conditions for a form requiring a higher status do not obtain [...] Thus, use of a definite article or a bare noun clearly does not implicate by Q1 that the referent is not familiar; rather, it is the second part of the Quantity Maxim – do not make your contribution more informative than required – that is relevant here.” They (ibid. 301) argue that because Q2 predicts use of the weakest possible referring expression “for full definite NPs, when demonstrative determiners do occur there is often a good reason for conveying the stronger cognitive–status information”. Addressing this result, they (ibid. 302–303) argue that because demonstrative pronouns only require the topic to be activated, they demonstrate a weaker, less restrictive cognitive status than unstressed personal pronouns or zero, which require the referent to be in focus. Thus demonstrative pronouns are less informative than unstressed personal pronouns, since anything which is in focus is also activated, but not vice versa.

Humnick (2009: 12) finds that of the above-mentioned approaches “the Givenness Hierarchy [...] approach of Gundel et al. provides the most comprehensive framework for describing the cognitive properties of referents of referring expressions”.

Now I return to a presentation of Levinsohn’s approach (see Sec. 3.2.4), which is followed by a comparison of Gundel et al.’s GH approach (1993) with Levinsohn’s Default/Marked approach (1994) (see Sec. 3.3).

### 3.2.4. Levinsohn’s Default/Marked approach

Clark (2012) does not mention in his work when Levinsohn introduced the Default/Marked approach, so, before introducing Levinsohn’s approach, I will discuss its origin briefly.

The default/marked distinction relates back to the Prague linguistic circle, which included the Russian émigrés Roman Jakobson, Nikolai Trubetzkoy, and Sergei Karcevskiy, as well as the Czech literary scholars René Wellek and Jan Mukařovský. In their development of the theory of the phoneme in the 1920s and 1930s, they introduced a set of distinctive features, which included markedness and unmarkedness (see Robins 1990: 226–228).

Levinsohn’s first article on participant reference (Levinsohn 1978) discusses a number of factors that determine the form of reference to activated participants in the Inga (Quechuan) language of Colombia, including at the

beginning of paragraphs and in connection with climax, but it does not use the concepts of default and marked encoding. His 1994 article “Analysis of Participant Reference in a Monologue Discourse” is probably the first publication in which he actually uses the terms default versus marked in connection with encoding of reference to participants.

Levinsohn (1994: 110–111) points out that Givón et al. applied statistical counts to validate their Iconicity Principle.<sup>57</sup> To determine exactly which form of encoding is to be used in a specific context, however, the individual factors which come into play must be isolated. Levinsohn takes the statistical counts of Givón and et al. as a starting point. He introduces two sets of factors which affect participant encoding: “(a) those related primarily to the iconicity principle itself... and (b) those related primarily to indicating the status of a participant and the position of a participant in relation to a spatial point of reference”. He points out that “these two sets of factors do interact; the first set tends to affect the amount of encoding material used, whereas the second tends to affect the selection of determiners within noun phrases.”

Levinsohn (*ibid.*) starts his discussion by introducing the main factors that relate to these two sets. The crucial factors relating to set one are: “(a) the number of participants featuring in the discourse at the point in question; (b) whether or not the referent occupies the same role in the previous sentence; (c) if so, whether or not the referent occupies the same role in the current sentence; (d) the presence or absence of a discontinuity; and (e) whether the sentence is unmarked for prominence, is backgrounded, or is highlighted”.

The important factors associated with set two are: “(a) whether or not one participant occupies an ‘authority role’ [...]; (b) whether or not the referent is spotlighted [...] or is salient [...]; (c) the position of a participant in relation to a spatial point of reference [...] or (d) ‘the association of the narrator with one participant, in contrast with others’ (Levinsohn 1978: 69); and (e) the status of the participant: whether the participant is globally or locally a ‘VIP’ [...], a major or a minor participant”.

Levinsohn (1994: 127–135) proposes an eight-step procedure for participant reference in narrative discourse, which is called the “Default/Marked approach”.

The first step in Levinsohn’s approach is to draw up an inventory of the possible ways in which the language being studied refers to participants. Typically, these may be grouped into the four categories that were identified in Givón’s Hierarchy (see Figure 2) of encoding weight for referring expres-

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<sup>57</sup> The iconicity principle states, “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is the more coding material must be assigned to it. Encoding of references to participants is typically on the scale (beginning with the least amount of coding material and ending with the greatest amount): Zero–unstressed pronoun–stressed pronoun–full noun phrase. In this scale, ZERO is absence of any coding material whatever, while an UNSTRESSED PRONOUN is often a bound pronoun or concord affix that is associated with the verb” (Levinsohn 1994: 110).

sions based on phonological size: nouns (with or without qualifiers), stressed pronouns, unstressed pronouns and zero anaphora.

The second step is to prepare a chart of how the participants are encoded in a narrative text. This involves numbering each clause, identifying both subject and non-subject participants in each clause, classifying each referring expression into the four strategies mentioned in the first step, and then providing a free translation of the remainder of each clause.

The third step is to track the participants through the text by allocating a number to each participant that is referred to more than once in the text.

Levinsohn's approach distinguishes between generic and non-generic subject, as defined in section 1.5.1.

In step four, the focus is on the subject and non-subject positions. The subject of each clause is classified into one of four "contexts":

- S1: the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence.
- S1+: a context where "the subject and other participants in the action of the previous clause are included in a plural subject in the next clause" (ibid. 2015: 126),
- S2: the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence.
- S3: the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation.
- S4: other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.

A fifth context, "INTRO", indicates that the participant is being introduced for the first time in the text. In addition, a "Global VIP" is the most prominent participant in the whole discourse, and may receive minimal encoding as a result. Other participants may be "Local VIPs", who are prominent at a certain stage of the text and are marked as such by minimal encoding.

After the context of each activated subject in the text has been identified, the context of each activated non-subject is also identified. For each clause or sentence, one must identify which of the following contexts is applicable:

- N1: the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause and sentence.
- N2: the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence.
- N3: the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N1 and N2.
- N4: other non-subject references than those covered by N1–N3.

The fifth step is to propose "default encoding" for each context by actual statistical counting and/or in inspection of the data. This is not always the encoding that occurs most frequently in that context. It is characterized by an

absence of discontinuities or surprises (as these terms are applied by Givón) or other complexities.

The sixth step is to inspect the text for other than default encoding to see whether the encoding is less or more than default encoding. Levinsohn proposes that when the amount of the coding material is less than the default, it is assumed that such an “under-encoding” represents a VIP, a cycle of events being repeated, or the special prominence of the referent in the discourse. When the coding material is more than predicted, this usually is in order to mark the beginning of a narrative unit or to highlight the referent.

The seventh step involves modifying the proposals made in Step 5 regarding default encoding because it might happen that the default needs to be redefined. For example, someone suggests that default encoding in S3 is always minimal (just a verbal affix), but then notes that, at the beginning of sentences, the encoding is usually NP. So, the statement for S3 should be: within a sentence, default encoding is minimal; between sentences, default encoding is NP (Levinsohn, personal communication).

Finally, in the eighth step, all remaining “deviant” instances are analysed to determine the motivation for the special encoding, and to draw generalizations. As indicated in step six, common motivations for over-encoding include the presence of a discontinuity and the highlighting of information, while under-encoding encoding typically refers to a VIP.

The default encoding values for reference to activated participants vary among the world’s languages (Levinsohn 2015: 127), there is a tendency for the African languages Levinsohn has studied to follow one of two patterns of default encoding. For type one (e.g., in Tyap a Chadic language) references in S1 contexts (continued subject) use a minimal encoding, while references in S2–4 (all changes of subject) use a maximal encoding. For type two (e.g., in Bekwarra, Cross-River, Nigeria, in some Bantu languages), references in S1–3 contexts “active participants” require a minimal encoding, whereas references in S4 “reactivating” use a maximal encoding. Based on Barjasteh Delforooz’s work (2010), Levinsohn (2015: 128) reports that in Sistani Balochi the encoding for S1 and S2 is minimal, whereas the encoding for S3 and S4 is NP. He further states that the default encoding for S1 contexts always requires the minimal encoding form regardless of the pattern a particular language follows.

For reasons discussed in the next section, the present study will be based on Levinsohn’s approach. I will, however, only deal with subject encoding, not with non-subject encoding.

Comparing Levinsohn’s approach to those of Givón and Tomlin, Clark (*ibid.* 12–16) finds that there are tools “particularly to account for the apparent under- and over-encoding of significant numbers of referring expressions left unexplained by Givón”. Clark finds that both Tomlin and Levinsohn account for factors not considered by Givón that affect reference in narrative texts (2012: 12). However, Levinsohn does not accept a pre-establishment of

episode boundaries, since they to a certain degree are arbitrary. In his approach he tries to take into consideration syntactic and discourse thematic features of the texts.

Clark finds that the crucial differences between Levinsohn's approach and the others are that Levinsohn establishes a default encoding before analysing individual tokens (*ibid.* 15). He focuses on "explaining individual referring expressions rather than computing statistical norms", and he introduces the concepts of 'highlighting' and 'VIP strategy' as potential explanations for over- and under-encoding.

Clark (*ibid.* 75) notes that Levinsohn's approach includes elements from the other two. "Givón's referential distance factor is reflected in the definitions of the various subject and non-subject contexts; his potential interference factor is reflected in the recognition of over-encoding for disambiguation; and his persistence factor is reflected in the VIP strategies. Tomlin's focus on episode boundaries is carried through in Levinsohn's extensive treatment of thematic continuity."

In the end Clark argues that each of the three approaches he evaluates has a different focus and a different basic hypothesis about analysing participant reference. He concludes that "Levinsohn's Default/Marked approach has been shown to be an excellent tool for explaining speaker motivation in using participant encoding strategies in narrative texts (*ibid.* 80–81)." This approach does not analyse the distribution of the different forms of encoding by the distance of clauses from each other (as is done by Givón), nor by the place of the referents within a thematic paragraph (as is done by Tomlin). Instead, there are a number of interacting variables that the narrator uses when referring to a certain participant, not only to make it clear to the audience what participant he or she is referring to, but also to mark the prominence of this participant within the discourse.

### 3.3. Evaluation of the approaches of Gundel et al. and Levinsohn

Levinsohn's and Gundel et al.'s approaches have significant differences which include:

1. Gundel et al.'s approach explains why particular forms of encoding correlate with different cognitive statuses, but only hints at reasons why other forms of encoding are also used for a particular cognitive status. For example, in Table (3) (Gundel et al. 1993: 291) the use of "it" continues the topic on 214 out of 246 occasions in the English corpus, but "that" (once), "this+noun" (once) and "the+noun" (30 times) are also used to refer to a subject in focal position. In other words, Gundel et al.

have listed four forms for a single cognitive status, whereas Levinsohn classifies all but one as different forms of marked encoding for S1, which is basically the same concept as *in focus* in Gundel et al.'s approach.

2. Gundel et al.'s approach fails to distinguish the functions of "this", "that" and "this N" for the "activated" cognitive status, while Levinsohn's approach gives a good explanation for them within the framework of default and marked encodings. Each type of S has its own default encoding, varying in different languages. An explanation for "this" can be that it brings the participant into the current centre of attention but "that" does not do so. Humnick (2009: 225) also states that the proximal demonstrative (*bu*) in Kumyk "though not restricted to the entities in focus, most often refers to the more prominent of two or more entities that are at least activated". Gundel et al.'s approach does not attempt to address this point.
3. Gundel et al.'s approach fails to explain why "this N" in English is found in two places, i.e., is used for two cognitive statuses in their approach, whereas in Levinsohn's approach "this N" can be used for all S contexts and is regarded as over-encoding.
4. There is general agreement among linguists (Levinsohn, Prince, Givón and Ariel) that in English a noun with a definite article (e.g., the boy) marks the referent as "uniquely identifiable". The unidirectionality of Gundel et al.'s approach means that levels on the hierarchy that are higher than uniquely identifiable will be uniquely identifiable as well. There are two theoretical issues here:
  - a) Are "that N" and "this N" more given than "the N" (as the hierarchy implies)? Levinsohn has a solution to this, claiming that "that N" is a marked instance of uniquely identifiable.
  - b) In Gundel et al.'s approach "this N" can be either "activated" or "referential indefinite" whereas, for Levinsohn "this" has a single cognitive status, thematic or current centre of attention (see point 2 above).
5. A problem in Gundel et al.'s approach concerns how languages employ minimal encoding. This problem is similar to that with Givón's "continuity" category. Languages employ minimal encoding in other places than just for the "*in focus/continuity*" cognitive status, but both approaches fail to explain why this happens. Levinsohn's approach, on the other hand, has a good explanation for use of minimal encoding in a variety of cognitive statuses (by Levinsohn labelled as S1, S2, S3, or S4); for example, that the referent is a VIP.
6. Gundel et al.'s approach connects the answer to why and when a subject remains *in focus* to Grice's Maxim of not giving more information than required. However, there is no corpus-based discussion of how this works in real language. Levinsohn's approach, on the other hand, in-

volves the analysis of a corpus in order to establish the default encoding. The very act of recognizing default and marked encodings presupposes assumptions associated with other theories (in particular, Relevance Theory, which offers an improvement on Grice's Maxim). After establishing the default encoding for the S contexts, Levinsohn's approach explains the motivation for the marked encoding without connecting the motivations with other theories.

7. One problematic issue with Gundel et al.'s approach relates to generic subjects. Gundel et al. do not propose how generic subjects should be dealt with, while Levinsohn's approach treats generic and non-generic subjects in two different ways with potentially different default encoding.
8. The issue of the content of speech verbs and conceptual verbs fails to be explained in Gundel et al.'s approach, while Levinsohn's approach provides a good explanation of this issue. The content of these verbs should be analysed separately from the framework of the narrative (see Appendix B.1, my analysis of *The King's Daughter* as an embedded story).
9. The issue of repetitions (including tail-head linkage) is not addressed in Gundel et al.'s approach, whereas Levinsohn explains both marked and unmarked forms in repetitions and tail-head linkages. He argues that when speakers are using unmarked repetitions and tail-head linkage, these features function as a coherence device. The motivation for the marked forms of tail-head linkage is either highlighting or in connection with a discontinuity. Repetition is typically for highlighting.
10. There is an inconsistency in the referring expressions which are used to represent cognitive statuses in Table (1) (Gundel et al. 1993: 275) and in Table (3) (ibid. 291) for English. For example, they have the same form "it" for both *in focus* and *activated* in Table (3), but in Table (1) the form "it" only represents the *in focus* status.
11. The borderline between categories in Gundel et al.'s hierarchy is blurry. Humnick (2009: 237) also brings up this issue in her conclusion: "the categories of 'in focus' and 'activated' are prototype categories with fuzzy boundaries (rather than discrete categories) mapped onto gradient distinctions of cognitive prominence."

I applied both approaches, Gundel et al.'s and Levinsohn's, to the folktale told by a male speaker of Koroshi Balochi called *Goli and Ahmad* published in Nourzaei et al., 2015: 130–149. The result of an analysis of participant reference in this text, based on Gundel et al.'s approach, is shown in Table (34) (see Appendix D).

Table 34. Analysis of participant reference: Gundel et al.'s approach<sup>58</sup>

Forms	IF	ACT	FAM	UN <sup>59</sup>	REF	TI	Totals
∅	44	18		1	2		65
PROX		2					2
NP	6	15	1			2	24
one NP+ IND <sup>60</sup>						1	1

Table (35) shows participant reference in *Goli and Ahmad* based on Levinsohn's approach:

Table 35. Analysis of participant reference: Levinsohn's approach

Context	Total	Default	Marked	Marked form	Motivation
S1	52	∅ (44)	8	<u>Over-encoding</u> NP (6)  PROX (2)	Discontinuity (3) Highlighting (1) Clarification (2) Thematic (2)
S2	17	∅ (11)	6	<u>Over-encoding</u> NP (6)	Highlighting (4) ADD <sup>61</sup> (2)
S3	9	NP (7)	2	<u>Under-encoding</u> ∅ (2)	VIP (2)
S4	11	NP (3) ∅ (6)	2	<u>Under-encoding</u> ∅ (2)	VIP (2)

I now compare the figures in Tables (34) and (35). The result is the following:

- The total number of tokens in Table (34) is 92, and in Table (35) is 89. The inconsistency arises because three participants are introduced in the text. Their introduction is handled separately in Levinsohn's approach but is included in the count in Gundel et al.'s approach. "Type identifiable" in Gundel et al. is classified as "INTRO" by Levinsohn.

<sup>58</sup> In this analysis the content of speech and perception verbs is ignored in order to get comparable data, since they are not counted in Levinsohn's approach.

<sup>59</sup> UN stands for "Uniquely identifiable" and corresponds to Levinsohn's *culture specific*. Both approaches consider cultural knowledge and the physical context. Physical context is relevant when studying how the proximal and distal demonstratives are used, for instance. Cultural knowledge includes shared knowledge or beliefs about local authorities and supernatural participants that, therefore, can be left implicit in the stories.

<sup>60</sup> IND stands for the individuation clitic in Balochi.

<sup>61</sup> ADD stands for additive particle "ham" in Balochi (see Chap. 5).

- Gundel et al.’s *in focus* (“continues the topic”) corresponds to Levinsohn’s S1 context, so the 44 items of  $\emptyset$  under *in focus* in Table (34) are located under *default* for S1 in Table (35).

A comparison of Tables (34) and (35) reveals the following significant differences between the two approaches:

- Gundel et al. offer no explanation for the six instances of NP in the *In focus* column in Table (34), whereas Levinsohn’s approach classifies the six instances<sup>62</sup> of NP in S1 as *over-encoding* and gives motivations for them (discontinuity, clarification and highlighting).
- Gundel et al. classify 18 instances of  $\emptyset$  as *activated*, whereas Levinsohn’s approach makes a distinction between generic and non-generic referents. Six instances of  $\emptyset$  in S4 have generic referents. In addition, four instances of  $\emptyset$  in S3 or S4 are classified as instances of *under-encoding*, with “VIP” given as the motivation. The remaining 11 instances of  $\emptyset$  are classified as default in S2. The remaining three instances of  $\emptyset$  in Gundel et al. are classified as two instances of *referential* and one instance of *uniquely identifiable*.
- Gundel et al. do not have a category for generic subjects, and in this approach the generic subjects have to be classified as *in focus*, *activated* or *type identifiable*.
- Gundel et al. offer no explanation for the two instances of PROX in the *activated* column in Table (34), whereas Levinsohn’s approach classifies them as instances of *over-encoding* in S1 and gives a motivation for them (thematic).
- The 16 instances of NP in the *activated* and *familiar* columns in Table (34) are allocated in Levinsohn’s approach to three different contexts: S2 (6), S3 (7) and S4 (3). NP is default in S3 and S4, but over-encoding in S2, with *highlighting* as the motivation.

In sum, Clark’s (2012: 15) remarks when comparing Levinsohn’s approach to those of Givón and Tomlin are also true of Levinsohn’s approach as compared with that of Gundel et al. Gundel et al.’s approach fails to establish default encoding values before discussing the encoding of individual examples. It also fails to introduce the terms *highlighting*, *discontinuity*, and *VIP strategy* as main factors for greater or lesser encoding of specific tokens.

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<sup>62</sup> One of the seven instances counted in Gundel et al.’s approach is an introduction.

I conclude that Levinsohn's approach appears to be well suited for explaining narrator motivation when applying participant encoding strategies in narrative texts. It shows that the number of referring expressions used in participant reference is not distinguished simply by describing how different referring expressions conventionally signal different cognitive statuses. His approach explains that a narrator uses the different referring expressions together with their different cognitive statuses to guide the audience to identify both the referent of the encoding forms and the importance of that participant in discourse. It is a practical tool that can be applied to discourses in any language.

### 3.4. Participant reference studies on Iranian languages

Relatively few investigations of Iranian languages in general and the Balochi language in particular have focused on participant reference. The following section provides an overview of studies of participant reference in Iranian languages.

Roberts (2009: 342–347), who investigated participant reference in Persian<sup>63</sup> based on two texts, concludes that written narrations in Persian are mainly in the past tense. He reports that the default encoding for S1 contexts is person-marking verb suffixes ( $\emptyset$ ). The default encodings for S2 contexts are  $\emptyset$  (in spoken text) and a noun phrase (NP) (in written text). The default encoding for S3 and S4 contexts is NP. Roberts' findings for the default encoding on the written text are consistent with the first type of languages that Levinsohn (2015: 127) finds and his findings for the default encoding of the spoken text are of the same type as for Koiné Greek and Sistani Balochi (ibid. 128).

Roberts (2009: 349) argues that in the spoken text the referential strategy relies more on context for maintaining referential identity, and is less specific than in the written text. It seems that Roberts draws very general conclusions based only on two texts. More research is needed to validate these conclusions. Roberts does not summarize the motivation for the marked encoding, but makes comments in individual instances. One can conclude from his comments that the motivations for the marked encodings are generally discontinuity, highlighting, clarification, and VIP.

Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 277–278) finds that in Sistani Balochi oral narratives are mainly narrated in the past tense. His findings on participant reference encoding are as follows: default encoding for S1, person-marking verb suffixes ( $\emptyset$ ); S2, PC; S3, NP; and S4, NP. The motivations for marked encodings in S1 contexts with an over-encoding NP are to indicate the beginning of a new narrative unit or to highlight the action concerned. The

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<sup>63</sup> By Persian I mean Modern New Persian.

motivations for marked encoding with an over-encoding demonstrative given by Barjasteh Delforooz<sup>64</sup> are a new narrative unit, highlighting, marked topic and parallelism. Moreover, the motivation for the marked encodings with over-encoding demonstrative + NP is that the demonstrative “highlights the state of thinking and its content” (ibid. 276), and the motivation for over-encoding with NP is to mark the beginning of a new narrative unit. The tendency for the marked encodings with NP in the S2 context is to highlight to identify an addressee of a previous long direct speech. He also regards  $\emptyset$  as a marked encoding in an S2 context, and argues that the motivation for it is to indicate that, “the participant is the main participant and he still is centre-stage” (ibid. 268). The tendency for marked encodings in an S3 context with PROX is to highlight the participant, and with  $\emptyset$  to indicate that the referent is the major participant (i.e., the VIP). Finally, the tendency for the marked encodings in the S4 context with  $\emptyset$  is to indicate that the referent is the major participant. Moreover, the motivation for a PC is to indicate the contrast of a VIP with other participants.

Jahani (2012) made an investigation of participant reference only in the S2 context of Southern Balochi, which shows a split ergative system, (see Sec. 1.4.1.3). In her data, the encoding options for S2 in the ergative alignment are NP, pronoun (PN) and PC. In the accusative alignment the encoding options are NP, PN and  $\emptyset$ . She establishes  $\emptyset$  as the default encoding for S2 in the accusative alignment, and PC as the default encoding in the ergative alignment.

There is also a short article by Ahangar, Mashhadi, and Mojahedi Rezaeian (1392 Š. [2013/14]) about participant reference in Ferdowsi’s *Shāhnāme*.

### 3.5. Transcription and translation of the texts

I chose to analyse my data according to the methodology proposed by Levinsohn (1994). After the texts were recorded, they were fed into the ELAN software<sup>65</sup> and transcribed phonemically. The transcriptions also mark the stress. They were all double-checked with the linguistic consultants for each dialect except Sistani, which is the present author’s mother tongue. The texts were then divided into intonation units and numbered. The end of each intonation unit is defined by a strongly falling intonation contour. The size of the intonation unit depends on the speaker; for instance, some speakers divide the text into small units while others use very long units. This difference might reflect individual styles in telling stories. After that, a morpheme-by-

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<sup>64</sup> Barjasteh Delforooz does not distinguish between proximal demonstrative (PROX) and distal demonstrative (DIST).

<sup>65</sup> <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>.

morpheme glossing was carried out using the FLEX software.<sup>66</sup> Finally, a free translation of the texts was produced, unit-by-unit.

In the free translation, all the sentences and clauses in the same intonation unit are separated by a semi-colon (;) and a full stop (.) at the end of the unit package. This has resulted in some modifications being made to the texts published by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), such as adding stress marking, dividing the texts into intonation units, and numbering them. To achieve this, the CD accompanying the book was used, where the sound files of the texts were available.

Use of tenses in the narrations varies between the three dialects studied. In Coastal Balochi both non-past and past tenses are used in the folktales as well as in biographical tales. The non-past tense dominates in both the folktales and recent biographical tales in Koroshi Balochi, and the past tense in remote biographical tales. The past tense dominates in both folktales and biographical tales in Sistani Balochi, but the non-past tense can also be used in folktales. For the analysis of my data, I have translated the verbs as they are found in the original texts when charting participant reference (see Appendix B) and also when presenting the examples, but in the free translation into English in Appendix (A), I have used the past tense as the default tense for the narration of past events.

There is a CD attached to the book. It contains audio files of the five texts used for interlinearization and charting, except that one of my female narrators from the Coastal Balochi dialect, did not give permission to publish her sound file because of cultural issues. Instead, I used the sound file of the male storyteller. In addition, the CD contains some photos taken during fieldwork and a searchable PDF of the full manuscript including Appendix A, as well as a separate PDF of Appendix B–D. These PDFs are also available online at:

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-314090>

### 3.6. Subject types

Since participant reference as discussed in the present work looks at the encoding of subjects, some discussion of the category of subject is appropriate before laying out the approach in some more detail. For the purposes of the present study, I distinguish eight types of subject: logical subjects, non-canonical subjects, the possessor subjects, body parts subjects, idiomatic subjects, inanimate subjects, generic subjects, and non-specific subjects. I now discuss each of them in turn.

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<sup>66</sup> <http://fieldwork.sil.org/>.

### 3.6.1. Logical subjects

In the present work only logical subjects are regarded as subjects. They appear in my corpus in both direct and oblique case. In the following example, the logical subject of clause (26) *'brāt* ‘brothers’ is in the direct case.

Ex. 74) with a logical subject in the direct case (NP+REFL)

26     *'brāt*     *'wat*     *šo't-ã*     *ǰegre't-ã*  
           brother   REFL   go.PST-3PL   run.PST-3PL

‘(26) the brothers, themselves, went running’ (KD.m.CoB: 26)

In example (75) the logical subject in clause (30) *'petã* ‘father’ is in the oblique case. Note that this type of logical subject is in the oblique case because the alignment is ergative.

Ex. 75) with a logical subject in the oblique case (NP)

30     *'pet-ã*           *'ham=ē*           *'čamm=o*     *'hōn*     *wār't-ant=o*  
           father-OBL   EMPH=PROX   eye=and     blood   eat.PST-3PL=and  
           *'nešt-∅*  
           sit.PST-3SG

‘the father consumed (lit. ate and sat) these eyes and the blood’  
 (KD.m.CoB: 30)

### 3.6.2. Non-canonical subjects

Jahani et al. (2010: 211) regard the following semantic areas as having a non-canonical subject in Balochi:

- psychological/physiological states;
- perception/cognition/receiving/linking/encountering;
- wanting and necessity;
- possession and lacking.

The case marking for a non-canonical subject, whether noun or pronoun, is dative case from a typological point of view. In Balochi, where there is no dative case, the oblique/object case is the norm for non-canonical subjects. For examples with possessive construction see section 3.6.3. Person-marking clitics can also be used to mark a non-canonical subject. Consider the following passages:

Ex. 76)

44a     *ah'mad*     *'čōn=en=et*  
           Ahmad     how=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG

‘Ahmad, how are you doing (lit. how is it to you)’ (Jahani et al. 2010: 202)

Here the 2SG person-marking clitic =*et* is the non-canonical subject.

The following example presents an independent pronoun as non-canonical subject:

Ex. 77) non-canonical subject with a pronoun

44a    **'man-ā**            *bah'tān*    *'dōst*    *b-īt*  
           PN.1SG-OBL    Bahtan    friend    become.NPST-3SG

‘I like (lit. to me Bahtan is a friend) Bahtan’

In this passage, the personal pronoun *'manā* is the non-canonical subject.

In the following passage, the grammatical subject of clause (22c) is *nang* ‘zeal’, but the logical subject is *'ā ja'wānā* ‘that youth’ in clause (22d), which is the non-canonical subject in the oblique case.

Ex. 78) with a logical subject in the oblique case (DIST+NP)

22c    **'ā**        **ja'wān-ā**        *'nang=a*        *'g-īt=o*  
           DIST    youth-OBL    zeal=VCL    catch.NPST-3SG=and

22d    *nan'g-ī=ya*        *b-īt*  
           zeal-ADVJ=VCL    become.NPST-3SG

‘that youth becomes zealous, (lit. zeal takes that youth) he becomes jealous’ (MNJ.m.SiB: 22c–22d)

For the present work, the dative subjects are regarded as a subject.

### 3.6.3. Possessor subjects

Three different possessive constructions are attested in my data. In the present study the possessor of the sentence will be regarded as subject for all three types.

- *Mihi est* construction in CoB.

In this construction the subject appears in oblique or genitive case, as in the following examples:

Ex. 79) *mihi est* construction

2a    *'ē*            **bāde'šāh-ā**    *'hapt*    *mar'dēnčok*    *'hast=a-∅*  
           PROX    king-OBL    seven    son                    be.PST=COP.PST-3SG

2c    *ya*    *ja'nēnčok*    *at=ī*  
           one    girl                    be.PST=COP.PST.3SG=PC.3SG

‘this king had seven sons (lit. there were seven sons for this king) [and] one daughter’ (KD.m.CoB: 2a–b)

Ex. 80)

55a *ā bā'ġ-ok ham ya 'šāh-e*  
DIST garden-DEF ADD one king-GEN  
*bod-ag=en*  
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(54d) [he] worked in the garden (lit. did gardening), and you know. (55a) Well, a **king** owned that garden’ (KS.f: 54d–55a)

- In KoB, the logical subject appears in direct case and agrees with a person-marking clitic.

Ex. 81) with a logical subject in the direct case+person-marking clitic

41a *'šāh ham 'haft ja'nek=ī*  
king ADD seven daughter=PC.3SG  
*'ass=en*  
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

‘**the king** has seven daughters’ (KS.f:41a)

In the following example, the logical subject is omitted while the person-marking clitic is present.

Ex. 82) possessor indicated by a person-marking clitic

49b *fa'ġat ya pay'ġām=e 'ass=en=om*  
only one message=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG  
*bar'hr=at*  
for=PC.2SG

‘I just have (lit. there is **to me**) a message for you’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 145)

- In SiB, the verb *dāš'ten* ‘to have’ expresses possessive meaning. Consider the following passage:

Ex. 83) with ‘have construction’

4 *xodānezar'xān nākō'zāk=ē 'dāšt-∅ be 'nām=e*  
Khodanezar Khan cousin=IND have.PST-3SG with name=EZ  
*pī'rak*  
Pirak

‘**Khodanezar Khan** had a cousin called Pirak’ (SA.f: 3–4)

### 3.6.4. Body part subjects

Body parts are regarded as subjects in the present study. When they are introduced for the first time in the story they are marked as INTRO. Thereafter, they are classified as S1–S4. In the following passage *'fekrī* ‘his thought’<sup>67</sup> in clause (39c) is regarded as INTRO because it was being introduced for the first time, but in clause (40a) it is considered to be in context S1.

Ex. 84) with a body part as the subject

39b *'tā mī'yān 'rāh-ā ye'how 'fekr=ī 'kār*  
 till middle way-OBL suddenly thought=PC.3SG work

*a=kan-t*

VCL=do.NPST-3SG

40a *'kār a=kan-∅ ke čī-'yā*  
 work VCL=do.NPST-3SG CLM what-OBL

*'be-gaš-ān*

SBJV-say.NPST-1SG

‘then in the middle of the road, he suddenly gets an idea (lit. **his thought** works),<sup>68</sup> he gets an idea about what to say (lit. what I should say)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 142)

In the following passage, the body parts *'dast o pā'dānī* ‘her hand and feet’ are the subject of clause (38g).

Ex. 85) with body parts as the subject

38g *'dast=o pā'd-ān=ī 'dard ko-∅*  
 hand=and feet-PL=PC.3SG pain do.PST-3SG

38h *'pād=e ĵa'ras bīt-ā*  
 feet=PC.3SG swelled become.PST-3PL

38i *'gwāt bīt-ā*  
 wind become.PST-3PL

‘She had pain in **her hands and feet** (lit. her hands and feet did pain), **her feet** swelled, they swelled’ (HA.f.CoB: 38g–i)

*'dast o pā'dānī* ‘her hands and feet’ are introduced into the story in clause (38g), and thus labelled INTRO, while in clause (38h) ‘her feet’ and in clause (38i) ‘they’ are regarded as being S4<sup>69</sup> and S1, respectively.

<sup>67</sup> *'fekr* ‘thought’ can be viewed as having the same status as a body part in this work.

<sup>68</sup> With slight modification from (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 142).

<sup>69</sup> Note, when members of a group become the subject, the context is S4 because it is necessary to specify which members are the subjects.

### 3.6.5. Idiomatic subjects

With idiomatic expressions, I focused on the logical meaning. In the following passage, for instance, *'otī 'sarā zī'rī* ‘took her head’ in clause (88b) does not describe a different action from ‘went’; it is the equivalent of the English adverb ‘alone’.

Ex. 86) with an idiomatic expression related to the subject

88a *'ē jā'nēn 'dar k-ay-∅ 'raw-t*  
 PROX woman PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG

88b *'otī 'sar-ā zī'r-ī*  
 REFL.GEN head-OBL take.NPST-3SG

‘this woman went all alone (lit. went took her head)’ (KD.f.CoB: 88a–88b)

In the expression ‘a little evil becomes visible in the Mullah’s heart’ in clause (11g), that is a bad thought. It indicates that the Mullah began thinking about the woman in a wrong way.

Ex. 87) with an idiomatic subject

11g *mol'lā-e de'l-ā 'ye ka'm-ok=ē xarā'bī pē'dā*  
 Mullah-GEN heart-OBL one little-DIM=IND wrong visible

*'b-ī*  
 become.NPST-3SG

‘the Mullah started to think about [her] in an inappropriate way (lit. a little evil becomes visible in the Mullah’s heart)’ (KD.m.CoB: 11g)

### 3.6.6. Inanimate subjects

In the following passage, *'šap* ‘night’ in clause (32b) is a logical, inanimate subject.

Ex. 88) with inanimate subject

32b *'šap 'ā-rā 'gept-∅*  
 night DIST-OBJ take.PST-3SG

‘the night caught him’ (MNJ.m.SiB: 32b)

In the following passage, *'rōč* ‘sun’ in clause (38b) is a logical, inanimate subject.

Ex. 89) with inanimate subject

38b *'rōč 'zāg-ā jā't-īt=o ko'š-īt*  
 sun child-OBL hit.NPST-3SG=and kill.NPST-3SG

‘the sun kills the child’ (UT.SiB: 38b)

### 3.6.7. Generic subjects

Following Levinsohn’s approach, plural subjects with unspecified referents are regarded as generic (as defined in Sec. 1.5.1). In the following passage the subject ( $\emptyset$ ) of *'pād akāyan* ‘they get up’ in clause (21a) is regarded as generic, because ‘they’ refers in a general way to the people who were living in the palace.

Ex. 90) with a generic subject

20b	<i>'wad=e</i>	<i>a='pēč-ī</i>	<i>'dawr=e</i>	<i>šā'h-ay</i>
	REFL=PC.3SG	VCL=twist.NST-3SG	around=EZ	king-GEN
	<i>ja'nek-ay</i>	<i>gar'den-ā</i>		
	daughter-GEN	neck-OBL		
21a	<i>'sōb-ī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'pād</i>	<i>a=k-ā-yan</i>
	morning-ADVZ	CLM	foot	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL
21b	<i>a=gen'n-an</i>			
	VCL=see.NPST-3PL			

‘(...) wraps itself around the neck of the king’s daughter. In the morning, when they get up; they see (...)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 136–137)

### 3.6.8. Non-specific subject

Similarly, following Levinsohn’s approach, singular subjects with unspecified referents (as defined in Sec. 1.5.1) are classified as non-specific. In the following passage, for example, the referent of the subject *a'šī* ‘one of them (lit. he) says’ in clause (42a) is not named, so it is regarded as non-specific.

Ex. 91) with a non-specific subject

41a	<i>a=ge'nn-an</i>	<i>ah'mad=ī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'xayle</i>
	VCL=see.NPST-3PL	Ahmad=IND	CLM	very
	<i>nārā'hat=a-∅</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>ma-kan'n-a=o</i>	
	troubled=COP.PST-3SG	now	IMP-laugh.NPST-3SG=and	
	<i>xoš'hāl=en</i>			
	happy=COP.NPST.3SG			
41b	<i>a='š-ī</i>			
	VCL=say.NPST-3SG			

‘they see that Ahmad, who was very worried [before], is now laughing and happy; [someone] says, (...)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 143)

### 3.7. S3 and Object dropping

S3 is defined as a subject that was present as a non-subject participant in the preceding sentence (see Sec. 1.5.2). Balochi, like other Iranian languages, is known as a “radical pro-drop”<sup>70</sup> language. So the subjects or objects can be left unspecified without causing a problem of understanding for the hearers. Consider the following passage:

Ex. 92) with a non-overt object

60a	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>a'wale</i>	<i>joḡa'l-ok</i>	<i>'wad-ī</i>	<i>as'p-ay</i>
	you know	first	boy-DIM	REFL-GEN	horse-GEN
	<i>'mūd=ay</i>	<i>'ās</i>	<i>a=dād-∅</i>		
	hair=PC.3SG	fire	VCL=give.NPST-3SG		
60b	<i>'asp</i>	<i>a='k-ay-∅</i>			
	horse	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG			
60c	<i>'swār=e</i>	<i>a=b-īd</i>			
	riding=PC.3SG	VCL=become.NPST-3SG			

‘Well, at the beginning, the boy burns a hair from his horse; the horse comes [to him], he mounts it’ (UT)

The subject of (60c), *'swāre abīd* ‘he mounts it’ was not overtly present in the preceding sentence *'asp a'kay* ‘the horse comes’ in (60b). However, it was implicitly present as a dropped object. I count instances such as (60c) as S3, because I consider them examples of topic-drop.

Erteschik-Shir (2007: 23) distinguishes between subject drop and topic drop as follows. “The subject drop is dependent on the availability of rich inflectional agreement morphology; topic drop does not exhibit such a dependency. Instead, topics are recoverable from the discourse.” Jügel (2015: 404) relates this observation to Iranian languages and observes topic-drop in Middle Persian, Parthian, and possibly in Bactrian as well.

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 93) with a non-overt object (KS.f.KoB: 60a–c).

60a	<i>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>'ās adād</i>	S4NP	well, at the beginning, the boy burns a hair from his horse;
60b	<i>'aspa</i>	<i>a'kay</i>	S3NP	the horse comes [to him];
60c	∅	<i>'swāre a'bīd</i>	S3∅	he mounts [it]

<sup>70</sup> “Languages that can drop not only subjects but also objects and other phrases are called radical pro-drop” (Crystal 2009: 389).

### 3.8. The additive particle *ham* ‘also’, ‘too’, ‘so’

The additive ‘*ham*’ is widely used in New Persian, the dominant language in Iran. A previous study on ‘*ham*’ in SiB by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 173–174) indicates that ‘*ham*’, with its two alternative forms (=)*am* and =*om*, is widely used in this dialect. Moreover, =*om* cannot appear clause initially, but *ham* and *am* can occur both clause initially and after the associative conjunction *wa/=u* ‘and’. The same three forms occur in KoB, where all three are enclitic. In CoB the additive particle occurs as an enclitic =*ham* with its two alternative forms =*hā* and =*hā̃*, though much less frequently than in the other two dialects being studied.

KoB uses the particle *ham* in a way that is not attested in SiB or CoB. When a reported speech in KoB is followed by a “response proposition” which “is anticipated by the stimulus [i.e., the reported speech], fulfils the conditions of the stimulus, or is closely associated with the stimulus” (Follingstad 1994: 168), then the response is introduced with an overt reference to the respondent, to which is attached the additive enclitic. This overt reference in context S2 is most often NP, so I take that encoding as default in such contexts.

Consider the following passage:

Ex. 94) S2 NP in connection with the particle *ham*

14d	<i>'ham=ī</i>	<i>'wad-ī</i>	<i>kor'rag=ay</i>	<i>a='š-ī</i>
	EMPH=PROX	REFL-GEN	foal=PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG
	<i>ke</i>	<i>ma'rō</i>	<i>'raft-ay</i>	<i>lō'g-ā</i>
	CLM	today	go.NPST-2SG	home-OBL
			<i>xo'rāk-ā</i>	<i>xo'rāk-ā</i>
			food-OBL	food-OBL
	<i>a='na-war-ay</i>		<i>xo'rāk=e</i>	<i>ke</i>
	VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-2SG		food=IND	CLM
			<i>bah'r=at</i>	
			for=PC.2SG	
	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>ma-ka'n-ag=en</i>		<i>'zahr=e</i>
	PREV	IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG		poison=PC.3SG
	<i>'rekk-a</i>	<i>'mān=e</i>	<i>zanbā'b=āt</i>	<i>xorā'k-ok</i>
	pour.PST-PP	into=PC.3SG	step mother=PC.3SG	food-DIM
	<i>mas'mūm=en</i>			
	poisoned=COP.NPST.3SG			

15a	<i>joġa'l-ok</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'gōš</i>	<i>a=g-ī</i>
	boy-DEF	ADD	ear	VCL=take.NPST-3SG

‘(14d) this his own foal says, “Today, when you go home, do not eat the food, the food which they serve you; she poured poison into it, your step-mother; her food is poisoned.” (15a) **So the boy** obeys (lit. listens);’ (KS.f: 14d–15a)

In the above passage, the enclitic *ham* adds the expected result to the speech that stimulated it; the norm is for the subject to be referred to overtly, so the motivation for the NP is the presence of *ham*.

In contrast to KoB, CoB and SiB use either  $\emptyset$  or PC in such environments as in the following passages:

Ex. 95) S2 with person-marking verb suffix  $\emptyset$

80     '*goš-t*                    '*bor-e*  
say.NPST-3SG     IMPV.go.NPST-2PL

'*by-ār-et=t*

IMPV.bring.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

81a    '*šot-∅*

go.PST-3SG

81b    '*āort=e*

bring.PST=PC.3PL

'(80) She says, "Go and bring him." (81) They went [and] brought him (...)' (BS.f: 80–81a–b)

Ex. 96) S2 with person-marking verb suffix  $\emptyset$

122    '*bass*    *ma'mūr-ān-ā*    '*dēm*    *dāt-∅*  
just     agent-OBL-OBJ    face     give.PST-3SG

*ke*     *ē's-ān-ā*                    '*b-ger-et=o*

CLM    PROX-OBL-OBJ    SBJV-take.NPST-2PL=and

'*by-ār-et*

SBJV-bring.NPST-2PL

123    *ē's-ān-ā*                    '*gept-ant*                    '*āwort-ant*

PROX-OBL-OBJ    take.NPST-3PL    bring.NPST-3PL

'(122) then he sent the agents [he said] /that/ "Arrest and bring them! " (123) They brought them' (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 374, transcription adapted and stress marker added).

### 3.9. Clause division

Following Levinsohn's approach, the first step in analysing participant reference is to divide the texts into sentences (see Sec. 3.2.4), where a simple sentence is an independent clause along with those clauses that are subordinate to it. A coordinative sentence uses either conjunctions or rising intonation to coordinate clauses and is considered a simple sentence for the purpose of this work. Then the clauses are divided based as far as possible on one action or state verb per clause. The charting of the texts for the analysis of participant reference consists of the following columns: sentence number, form of subject, form of verb, context, and summary content. I now give

three examples of how a text is divided into sentences and presented in a chart. The first example contains action verbs.

Ex. 97) (KD.f.CoB.: 12d–12j)

(12d) *'nī 'kay*, (12e) *'ešī sa'bak 'dā*, (12f) *'ešī sa'bak 'dā*, (12g) *'ē wā'nī* (12h) *'rawt*, (12i) *go'rā 'nī 'kay*, (12j) *ge'rīū 'dastā*.

‘(12d) then he comes, (12e) [and] he teaches her; (12f) he teaches her; (12g) this one reads (12h) [and] goes on; (12i) then he comes; (12j) and touches her hand.’

Ex. 97) with action verbs (KD.f.CoB.: 12d–12j)<sup>71</sup>

no.	subject	verb	context	summary of content <sup>72</sup>
12d	∅	'kay	S4∅	then he comes,
12e	∅	'dā	S1∅	[and] he teaches her;
12f	∅	'dā	S1∅	he teaches her;
12g	'ē	wā'nī	S3PROX	this one reads,
12h	∅	'rawt	S1∅	[and] goes on;
12i	∅	'kay	S4∅	then he comes;
12j	∅	ge'rīū	S1∅	and touches her hand.

The second example contains state verbs.

Ex. 98) (RB.m: 123l–123n)

(123l) *xo'sāl ē 'mard da'nīngā ča al'lāhe ne'magā če*, (123m) *'bāz mar'daka rāzī'g en*, (123n) *o xo'sāl ē*.

‘(123l) still the man is very happy from God; (123m) the man is pleased, and (123n) he is happy.’

Ex. 98) with state verbs (RB.m: 123l–123n)

123l	'mard	ē	S1NP	still the man is very happy from God;
123m	mar'daka	en	S1NP	the man is pleased ,and
123n	∅	ē	S1∅	he is happy.

The third example presents a special case of example one, namely. a sequence of unconnected verbs which are regarded as separate actions, each of them occupying a single box in the chart. In contrast to the first example, these verbs follow each other directly with no argument (like subject and object) interrupting the sequence, giving the false impression of a single action, as can be seen in the following passage with the verbs *'raw* ‘goes’ *'ada kā* ‘cooks’, *kā'rī*, ‘brings’, and *'kā* ‘puts’.

<sup>71</sup> A reference to a text does not mean that the text is necessarily available in the book.

<sup>72</sup> To save space I give the first line of content only in this example.

Ex. 99) (KD.m: 45a–45d)

(45a) *'raw*, (45b) *'ada kã*, (45c) *kã'rĩ*, (45d) *ĩ'rãní tō'kã 'kã*.

‘(45a) He goes; (45b) cooks [food]; (45c) brings [it]; (45d) puts [it] into a dish.’

Ex. 99) with sequence of unconnected verbs (KD.m: 45a–45d)

45a	∅	<i>'raw</i>	S1∅	He goes;
45b	∅	<i>'ada kã</i>	S1∅	cooks [food];
45c	∅	<i>kã'rĩ</i>	S1∅	brings [it];
45d	∅	<i>'kã</i>	S1∅	and puts [it] into a dish.

### 3.9.1. Relative clauses

Relative clauses modifying a head NP are not treated as separate clauses for the purposes of this analysis, because they only provide extra information on the subject and object of the clause. Consider the following examples:

In the following passage ‘who was that girl’s grandmother’ in clause (18b) is a restrictive relative clause modifying the head NP, ‘a mother’, in clause (18a).

Ex. 100) (MNJ.m.SiB.f: 18a–b).

(18a) *pas a'mã xã'nomē 'māsē 'dãšta ke bese'lã ā je'nekay bal'lok bĩ* (18b) *bal'lokē pē'sĩ nax'sãē rē'čĩ*

(18a) Well, /that/, his wife had a mother, you know, who was that girl’s grandmother. (18b) Her grandmother made a plan for him (i.e., the boy).

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 100) with a relative clause modifying the object of a verb (MNJ.m.SiB.f: 18a–b)

18a	<i>a'mã xã'nomē</i>	<i>'dãšta</i>	S4DIST+NP	Well, that his wife had a mother, you know, <u>who was that girl’s grandmother</u> .
18b	<i>bal'lokē</i>	<i>rē'čĩ</i>	S3NP	Her grandmother makes a plan for him.

In the following passage, ‘Her brother who had gone for trading’ in clause (50a) ‘who had gone for trading’ is a restrictive relative clause modifying the head NP ‘Her brother’.

Ex. 101) (DS.m.KoB: 50–51).

(50a) *be'rādī ke raf'tā boda čūbdā'rīā*, (50b) *a'kay*. (51a) *dō't am 'ya 'bače 'hamā ho'saynay boda* (51b) *ga'mānam*

(50a) Her brother who had gone for trading (50b) returned. (51a) there was a child; it was Hosayn's child; (51b) I think.

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 101) without a relative clause modifying the subject of the verb, (DS.m.KoB: 50–51)

50	<i>be'rādī</i>	<i>a'kay</i>	S1NP	Her brother who had gone for trading returns.
51a	<i>'ya 'bače</i>	<i>boda</i>	INTRO	there was a child; it was Hosayn's child;
51b	<i>ga'mānam</i>	-	1SG	I think.

In the following passage ‘the news reaches Sowladowlah, who was the Khan of the Korosh’, ‘who was the Khan of the Korosh’ in the clauses (83a–83b) is a non-restrictive relative clause in apposition to ‘Sowladowlah’, who is the goal of ‘reaches’ in clause (83b).

The following passage contains a relative clause modifying the goal of the verb.

Ex. 102) (DS.m.KoB: 82–83a).

(83a) *āx'bār ar'ra ba sowladow'lā* (83b) *ke 'hamī korošo'bāray 'xān boda* (83c) *a'sī kor'ošay mē'dagā 'dōšī tīrbā'raneš koda...*

‘(83a) The news reaches Sowladowlah, (83b) who was Khan of the Korosh; (83c) someone says, “Last night there was shooting in the Korosh encampment ...”’

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 102) without a relative clause modifying the goal of the verb, (DS.m KoB: 82a–83a)

83a	<i>ax'bār</i>	<i>ar'ra</i>	S1NP	the news reaches Sowladowlah, who was Khan of the Korosh.
83b	∅	<i>a'sī</i>	S4∅UNS	someone says, (...)

### 3.9.2. Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are treated as normal clauses. In this example ‘my brothers, one [of them] [is] a war veteran;’ in the clause 35d is an example of a nominal clause.

Ex. 103) (AD.f.KoB: 35b–35f)

(35b) *šeš'bareš boda* (35c) *o de'ya be har sū'rat hā to'faješ ham 'hattā boda* (35d) *be'rādem 'yake am jān'bāze* (35e) *yake ham ka'sān en* (35f) *'gat o gawā'raš 'nessa*

(35b) and they had club, (35c) and, you know, at any rate, yes, they even had guns; (35d) my brothers, one [of them] [is] a war veteran; (35e) the other one is young; (35f) they didn't have any stature [for fighting].

It is presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 103) with a nominal clause (AD.f.KoB: 35b–35f)

35b	∅	<i>boda</i>	S1∅	they had club,
35c	∅	<i>boda</i>	S1∅	and you know, at any rate, yes, they even had guns;
35d	<i>be'rādem 'yake</i>	-	S1∅	my brothers, one [of them] [is] a war veteran;
35e	<i>'yake</i>	<i>en</i>	S4NP	the other one was young;
35f	∅	<i>'nessa</i>	S1+∅	they didn't have any stature [for fighting].

### 3.9.3. Clauses disregarded in the present study

The content of reported speeches is usually viewed as its complement. Therefore, it is considered to be “embedded in the overall structure of the narrative” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 128). Following this, the content of speech verbs, verbs of perception etc. is omitted in the analysis of participant reference, since they function as the object of their verb and, as such, can be interpreted as nominal phrases.

In the example below the information ‘there is a rider on a horse in the garden, he is riding around’ in clauses (66b–66c) is the object of ‘she saw’ in clause (66a); ‘an angel is riding around in this garden’ in clause (66e) is the object of ‘one would imagine’ in clause (66d); ‘he dismounts, goes, this one comes [and] pulls that rumen over his head’ in clauses (67d–67g) is the object of ‘she sees’ in clause (67c); and ‘he is that bald [man] who is working in their garden, in clause (67i–67j) is the object of ‘she sees [that]’ in clause (67h).

The following passages contain verbs of perception.

Ex. 104) (KS.m.KoB: 65b–67j).

(65b) *'šāhay kassānō'ēn ja'nek ham 'ā 'rō bīxa'bar ā'kāboda mā bā'gā.* (66a) *agen'nī*  
 (66b) *xo'dā 'ya 'swāre 'aspī 'mā 'ī bā'gā 'assen* (66c) *'dowr ma'jana* (66d) *ā'ḡār*  
*akanay* (66e) *fere'sta mā 'ē bā'gā zor'rā mawara.* (67a) *assa 'pas a mod'datī ākōš'tī*  
 (67b) *ākōš'tī* (67c) *agen'nī bale* (67d) *pīvāda bo* (67e) *ar'raft o* (67f) *'ī am 'āk* (67g)  
*ha'mā komā'okā 'kaštī sa'ray* (67h) *agen'nī 'hā* (67i) *ha'mā ka'čal en* (67j) *ke mā*  
*bā'gāš 'kār makana*

‘(65)‘the king’s youngest daughter had also come to the garden without previous notice.’ (66a) She sees, (66b) there is a rider on a horse in the garden; (66c) he is riding around; (66d) one would imagine that; (66e) an angel is riding around in this garden. (67a) After a while she stops; (67b) she stops; (67c) she sees yes; (67d) he dismounts; (67e) goes; (67f) but this one comes; (67g) [and] he pulls that rumen over his head; (67h) she sees /that/; (67i) that one is that bald [man]; (67j) who is working in their garden.’

The following passages indicate verbs of perception with their content in charting text. It is presented in the charted text as follows: (parentheses represent what was perceived):

Ex. 104) with verbs of perception without the content, (KS.f.KoB: 65b–67d)

65b	<i>šā'hay kassānō'ēn ja'nek</i>	<i>ā'kāboda</i>	S4NP	the king’s youngest daughter had also come to the garden without previous notice.
66a	∅	<i>agen'nī</i>	S1∅	she sees, (...);
66b		<i>ā'ḡār akanay</i>	2SG	one would imagine that;
67a	∅	<i>ākōš'tī</i>	S4∅	After a while she stops.
67b	∅	<i>ākōš'tī</i>	S1∅	she stops;
67c	∅	<i>agen'nī</i>	S1∅	she sees, (...);
67d	∅	<i>agen'nī</i>	S1∅	she sees, (...);

Similarly, in the following passage, ‘well, why do you kill your foal? You should not kill it, you know’ in clauses (5b–5c) is the object of ‘the king’s son says to it’ in clause (5a); ‘no one can raise my foal’ in clause (5e) is the object of ‘it says’ in clause (5d); ‘no [that is not true], I will raise it, you know’ in clause (6b) is the object of ‘the king’s son says’ in clause (6a); and ‘it costs a lot, you cannot, it is difficult,’ in clauses (6d–6f) is the object of ‘the horse says’ in clause (6c).

The following passage contains verbs of speech.

Ex. 105) (KS.f KoB: 5a–6f).

(5a) *šā'hay 'bač a'zay a'šī* (5b) *ke 'xob 'ta ba'če kor'raget mako'šagay?* (5c) *'nabāhāten 'bekošay o e'šān* (5d) *a'šī* (5e) *ke 'manī kor'ragā 'hīčka a'natānt 'gott kant.* (6a) *šā'hay 'bač a'šī* (6b) *ke 'na 'man 'gotte aka'nān o e'šān* (6c) *as'pok a'šī* (6d) *ke 'xarje 'xaylī zī'yāden* (6e) *a'natānay* (6f) *'saxten.*

(5a) The king's son says to it; (5b) “Well, why do you kill your foal? ; (5c) you should not kill it, you know.” ; (5d) it says, (5e) “No one can raise my foal.” ; (6a) The king's son says, (6b) “No [that is not true]; I will raise it, you know” ; (6c) the horse says, (6d) “It costs a lot; (6e) you cannot; (6f) it is difficult.”

The following passages demonstrate verbs of speech with their content in charting text. It is presented in the charted text as follows: (parentheses represent what was spoken).

Ex. 105) without the content of the reported speeches, actual charting (KS.f.KoB: 5a–6b)

5a	<i>šā'hay 'bač</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	S4NP	The king's son says to it, (...)
5b	∅	<i>a'šī</i>	S2∅	it says, (...);
6a	<i>šā'hay 'bač</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	S2NP	The king's son says, (...)
6b	<i>as'pok</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	S2NP	the horse says, (...);

### 3.9.4. Exceptional cases

#### 3.9.4.1. Reportative marker

In the present corpus, the narrators frequently use the verb ‘to say’ to describe the fact that they have not seen the event concerned, as in the following passages:

Ex. 106) (SB.SiB.f: 1a–b).

*'šī 'xānē at be 'nāme xodānezar'xān.*

It is said (lit. he/she says) [that] there was a khan by the name of Khudanezar Khan

This passage is taken from a biographical tale; the past tense dominates in the story but the verb *'šī* ‘he/she says’ appears in the present. This form contributes an evidential meaning rather than referring to a participant in the text. The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 106) reportative marker, (SB.SiB.f: 1a–b)

1a		'šī	EVID	It is said.
1b	'xānē	at	INTRO	[there] was a khan called Khodanezar Khan

This form is used not only at the beginning of the story, but also more frequently throughout the story. Consider the following passage:

Ex. 107) (KD.CoB.f: 72b–d)

*nī 'dar kāyā kā'yā go'sī 'petay 'molk 'sak 'dīr ē*

'you know, they leave from there; It is said, her father's country is very far away.'

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 107) reportative marker, (KD.CoB.f: 72b–d)

72b	∅	'dar kāyā kā'yā	S1+∅	you know, they leave from there;
72c		go'sī	EVID	It is said.
72d	'petay 'molk	ē	INTRO	her father's country is very far away.

Contrary to the preceding example, the non-past tense is dominant in this story (in this case a folktale). The verb *go'sī* 'he/she says' also appears in the non-past tense. Again, it contributes a meaning of not having witnessed the event rather than referring to a participant in the text.

Consider the following passage:

Ex. 108) (Al.KoB.m: 107a–c)

*a'sī ta'raktolī gef'ta 'kāmōī gef'ta (...)*

It is said, he has bought a tractor; he has bought a Combine (...)

The narrator certainly knows about the event since he is talking about his younger brother, who is living in the same city. Thus, this form not only contributes a non-witness meaning, as in the previous examples, but it also indicates the narrator's distance from the event concerned.

This form in SiB, has been attested not only in the narrative texts, but also in the daily life conversions. Consider the following example:

Ex. 109) personal conversation

*'šī 'došī a'zīmī 'pasānā doze'tagan*

It is said, someone has stolen Azim's sheep last night.

However, this reportative marker is not used as frequently in other genres as in narrative texts. The reason for this could be that it has recently spread from narrative texts to a more common usage.

In the present analysis for the three Balochi dialects being studied, the following forms, *ašī/šīt/gošī/šī* ‘he/she says’; have a high frequency (see also Barjasteh Delforoos’s (2010: 286)<sup>73</sup> and Axenov’s (2006: 272) published corpora). These forms contribute an evidential, non-eye-witnessed meaning in Balochi, rather than functioning as a speech verb. This reportative marker is not only used in folktales and remote biographical tales, to indicate that the storyteller did not witness the events concerned, but is also used in contemporary biographical tales, and even occasionally in a more common usage if the narrator has seen the events but wishes to distance him/herself from them. In addition, this form appears only as a non-past 3rd person singular form. There is no restriction for its placement in the narrative texts.

Peterson (2000) has studied evidentiality in Nepali and found that the speech verb can act as an evidential marker in this language. Karakoç (2009) has reported this meaning for the speech verb in Turkic languages, particularly in the written genres, and Gawne (2016) makes the same observation for some Tibeto-Burman languages. As far as I know, no one has reported such a form for Iranian languages. Cross-linguistically, the verb “to say” is a good candidate for being grammaticalized to indicate an evidential meaning (see Aikhenvald 2001: 140). Thus, the forms of the speech verb listed above are regarded as evidential markers in the present work. These forms have been ignored in the analysis of participant reference since they do not refer to any participant in the text so, they occupy a single box in the charting, as follows:

Ex. 110) with reportative marker

'be 'yak 'waxt=o zamā'nag=ē 'š-ī 'do  
 at one time=and era=IND say.NPST-3SG two  
 'brās=at-ant  
 brother=COP.PST-3PL

‘in a certain time and era, it is said, there were two brothers’(MNJ.f.SiB: 2)

Ex. 111) with reportative marker

2a		'š-ī	EVID	It is said,
2b	'do 'brās	atant	INTRO	There were two brothers,

### 3.9.4.2. Quotation marker

There are two ways to introduce quoted speech: with the conjunction *ke* ‘that’ or with the verb *a'šī/šīt/go'šī/šī* ‘to say’. Consider the following passage with the conjunction *ke*.

<sup>73</sup> In his published texts there is also a plural form of this verb *gošant* ‘they say’ (ibid. 375).

Ex. 112) (MNJ.m.SiB: 2c–d)

(2c) *'ē 'do 'brās 'jan o 'zāg 'dāštant* (2d) *'bād 'gō am 'ādo pay'mān kortant /ke/ 'lālā aga 'tī x'ānomā xo'dā 'tī 'je'nēnā xo'dā 'zāgē 'dāt ke 'je'nekkē at 'mnīyā xo'dā ba'čakkē 'dāt meš'mā 'gō 'am was'lata kanan.*

‘(2c) these two brothers had wives and children, (2d) then they promised each other /that/ “My brother, if God gives your wife a child, if it is a girl [and] God gives mine a boy, we will marry [them] to each other.”’

Consider the following passage with the verb *ašī*.

Ex. 113) (Nourzaei et al. 2015:132).

(10c) *'pas az 'čār 'pan 'rō 'šūay a'sī, 'nabāhāta 'čō kanān 'nabāhāta ē'sī 'prēnān 'mā čā'hā mā'ī 'jan at*

‘(10c) after four or five days her husband says, “I should not have done that; I should not have pushed her into the well; she was my wife.”’

In the present corpus, the narrators sometimes use more than one verb to describe what seems to be a single event, as for example in the following passage:

Ex. 114) (KD.m. CoB: 15c–17)

(15c) *nā'drā 'bī tā 'čenčo rō'ča*, (15d) *'padā 'māt ha'bār kant* (15e) *o'sī*, *'čok 'do 'rōč ē ta'pīg bīta 'to 'naborta 'čī wās'ta 'bebarī* (16) *'bebarī 'padā 'pet 'bārī*.

‘(15c) she falls ill for several days; (15d) again the mother talks [to her father]; (15e) she says, “The girl has had a fever for two days; why haven’t you taken her [to school] take her! (16) Take her! Again, the father takes her.’

In the above passage, the verb “to say” does not express a new event; rather it functions as a quotation marker. As such, this verb does not have a separate subject. It is equivalent to the conjunction *ke*.

In the corpus used for this study, verbs that describe the nature of a speech or perception such as *'sōj kor'ten* ‘to ask’, *ta'wār ja'ten* ‘to call out’, *'amr kor'ten* ‘to order, to command’, *'pekr kor'ten* ‘to think’, *kes'sa kor'ten* ‘to tell a story’, *sō'ga kor'ten* ‘to recommend, to advise’, *'drōg ja'ten* ‘to lie’, *pa'gām dā'ten* ‘to send a message’, *dīs'ten* ‘to see, to know’, *ha'bar dā'ten*, ‘to talk’, *'ādo pay'mān kor'ten* ‘to promise’ and *'jwāb dā'ten* ‘to answer’,<sup>74</sup> are found both with the speech verb *'šīt/go'sīt/gošt* ‘he/she says’ or alone with the conjunction *ke*<sup>75</sup> without the speech verb.

<sup>74</sup>Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 218), in his online version, calls these verbs “speech introducers”.

<sup>75</sup>Levinsohn (2012: 154) calls *ke* an “interpretive use” marker.

In passage (115), the verb *māt habār kant* ‘the mother talked’ in clause (15d) requires the speech verb *ošt* ‘he/she says’ as the quote marker.<sup>76</sup> Both verbs are analysed as a single verbs and are placed in the same box of the chart.

Ex. 115) with a speech verb plus the quote marker

15c	∅	<i>nā'drā bī</i>	S1∅	she falls ill for several days;
15d	<i>'māt</i>	<i>ha'bār kant o'sī</i>	S4NP	again the mother talks [and] says [to her father] (...).
16	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'bārī</i>	S2NP	Again, the father takes her.

### 3.9.4.3. Omission of the speech orienters

Occasionally, the speech orienters are omitted by the narrator in the present data. Consider the following passage:

Ex. 116) (AL.m.KoB: 77d–82b)

(77d) *a'sant 'kay 'jadagī* (77e) *a'sī 'ī xona'wādāī ke mā 'ī ġahla'ok en.* (78) *'xob 'ī xona'wāda 'kay en* (79) *mahmad'alī en.* (80) *'bačī 'kay en?* (81) *alam'dār en* (82) *alam'dār 'išānā 'jadagī* (82b) *'hā*

‘(77d) [The police] say, “Who has beaten them” ; (77e) someone says, “That family who are in this house”. (78) [omission of the speech orienter] “Well who is this family? ”. (79) [omission of the speech orienter] “It is Mahammad’ Ali (’s family)”. (80) [omission of the speech orienter] “Who is his son?” (81) [omission of the speech orienter] “It is Alamdar.” (82a) [omission of the speech orienter] “So Alamdar has beaten all of them?” ; (82b) [omission of the speech orienter], “Yes.”’

In the above passage, the same question-answer pattern is followed throughout the reported conversation. Because the conversation is with the police, and the norm is for the police to ask questions which the addressees then answer, the narrator assumes that the hearers can work out who is speaking and where each new speech begins without indicating it.

Thus, once the question-answer pattern is established in the first round<sup>77</sup> the orienter is omitted in both parts of subsequent rounds.

This passage is presented in the chart as follows:

<sup>76</sup> Vydrin (2015) reports a similar phenomenon in the Ossetic language.

<sup>77</sup> “The form of reference in a non-initial round may also be minimal. When an episode contains more than one conversation between the participants, each conversation may be thought of as a round. [...] In non-initial rounds, references to both the speaker and the addressee in the orienter are often minimal” (see Levinsohn 2015: 115).

Ex. 116) without some speech orienters (AL.m.KoB: 77d–82b)

77d	∅	<i>a'sant</i>	S1∅	[The police] say, (...);
77e	∅	<i>a'sī</i>	S2∅	someone from this family says, (...).
78	0	0	S2	[The police say], (...)
79	0	0	S2	[He says], (...)
80	0	0	S2	[The police say], (...).
81	0	0	S2	[He says], (...).
82a	0	0	S2	[The police say], (...)
82b	0	0	S2	[he says], (...)

Consider the following example:

Ex.117 (RB.m.CoB: 67–68e)

(67) *go'sī* 'gōrā 'ā mar'dom 'kayē ke 'sangī 'ka? (68a) *ē'sīa* 'go ke 'man ā (68b) [omission of the speech orienter] 'četaw 'to 'sāngī kane (68c) *go'sī* 'mā hān'čō 'daste he'nī ka'nā 'pāde he'nī kanā go'dā 'gwāra ka'nā ra'wā bā'nūre 'gwārā nen'dā 'gōrā (68d) *go'sī* 'to ge'ray ē'sīa 'go 'haw 'mā ge'rāne. (69) [omission of the speech orienter] 'šarē 'to 'begere 'gōrā 'tarā čā'rā

‘(67) He says, “Well, who is that man, who wants to marry her?” (68a) This one said /that/, “It’s me.”; (68b) [he says] “How do you marry to her?”; (68c) he said, “Like this, I put Hana on her hand; I put Hana on her foot; I dress her up; [then] I will go and sit beside of the bride”; (68d) He says, “Do you marry to her?”; (68e) this said, “Yes I will marry her.” ; (69) [he says], “Alright. If you marry her, I will kill you. (lit. I will look at you)”’

This example again contains questions and answers, but the omission of non-initial speech orienters is less systematic than in the previous passage. Further investigation is needed to determine the precise reason why two of the speech orienters are omitted.

The passage is presented in the chart as follows:

Ex. 117) without some speech orienters (RB.m.CoB:67–68e)

67	∅	<i>go'sī</i>	S2∅	He says, (...).
68a	'ē'sīa	'go	S2PROX	This one said, (...);
68b	0	0	S2	[he said], (...);
68c	∅	<i>go'sī</i>	S2∅	he says, (...);
68d	∅	<i>go'sī</i>	S2∅	he says, (...);
68e	'ē'sīa	'go	S2PROX	this one said, (...);
69	0	0	S2	[he said], (...).

In the present work, references to participants in S2 that are absent because the speech orienter is omitted will count under the category of default encodings (see Sec. 3.5.4).

### 3.9.5. Multi-verb expressions

In this following section, several types of multi-verb expressions are grouped together for practical reasons.

#### 3.9.5.1. Auxiliaries and modal expressions

Needless to say, combinations of an auxiliary verb plus main verb (which is in the subjunctive form) are treated as one entity, and are included in the same box in the charting. In the following passage, the auxiliary verb *bā'yed* 'must' in clause (18b) and both subjunctive verb forms '*begendī* 'see' in clause (18c) and '*sāng bekā* 'get married' in clause (18d) are included in the same box in the charting.

The following passage contains an auxiliary verb plus two subjunctive verbs.

Ex.118) (RB. m.CoB: 18a–19a).

(18a) '*čan mod'datā če 'pēš, 'sī 'sāl, 'sī 'pan 'sāl 'pēš, 'hamē 'rangā bīta*. (18b) *hā'nī 'na, hā'nī bā'yed har'kā 'begendī 'yakīā do'mīgā* (18c) '*sāng bekā*. (19) *yak 'rōčē bīt*,

‘(18a) some years ago, thirty years, thirty-five years ago, it was like this; (18b) not nowadays, nowadays everyone must see each other, (18c) [and then] get married. (19) one day’

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 118) with an auxiliary verb plus subjunctive verb (RB. m.CoB: 18a–19a)

18a	<i>'hamē 'rangā</i>	<i>bī'ta</i>	INTRO	some years ago, thirty years, thirty-five years ago, it was like this;
18b	<i>'harkā</i>	<i>bā'yed 'begendī 'sāng bekā</i>	INTRO	not nowadays, nowadays everyone must see each other [and then] get married.
19a	<i>yak 'rōčē</i>	<i>'bīt</i>	INTRO	one day

The following passage contains a subjunctive verb plus the main verb.

Ex.119) (KS. f.KoB: 13b–d)

(13b) *agza'rīd o ya mod'date abīd o* (13c) '*ē šā'hay 'jan ke bo'kānī boda joğa'lokā 'bokošī* (13d) *ya 'rōč mā joğa'lokay xo'rākā zah'rā arē'čī*.

‘(13b) some time passed and (13c) this king’s wife who wanted to kill this boy; (13d) one day she pours poison into the boy’s food.’

In the example above *bo'kānī boda* ‘wanted’ in clause (13c) is followed by *'bokošī* ‘kill’. In the charting both share the same box, as example 24 shows.

Ex. 119) with a subjunctive verb plus a modal main expression (KS. f.KoB: 13b–d)

13b	<i>ya mod'date</i>	<i>abīd</i>	INTRO	some time passed, and
13c	<i>'ē šā'hay 'jan</i>	<i>bo'kānī boda 'bokošī</i>	S4PROX+NP	this king's wife who wanted to kill this boy;
13d	∅	<i>arē'čī</i>	S1∅	one day she pours poison into the boy's food.

### 3.9.5.2. Vector verbs

In the present corpus the narrators sometimes use more than one verb to describe what seems to be a single event, as for example in the following passage:

Ex. 120) (KD.m.CoB: 16c–17a)

(16c) *'yak da'līrē 'ē 'dēm 'ā 'dēm 'koī* (16d) *say'mī čār'mī rō'čā pa'dā 'petā 'gept o 'rā 'dā dabestā'nā pa'dā wānēna'gā mol'lāe gwa'rā*. (17) *mol'lāyā pa'dā 'ya 'rōčē 'do 'rōčē wā'nēnt*,

‘(16) this one made an excuse of some kind; on the third day, again the father took [her] and, sent her to the school, to study with the Mullah. (17) So the Mullah taught her for one or two days.’

In this example, the verb “took” adds a shade of meaning rather than presenting a separate action by itself.

In the following passage, the verbs *'prēnt* ‘threw’ in clauses (12a) and (12b) seems to indicate completion of action.

Ex. 121) (UT.f. SiB 12a–d)

(12a) *'šēr 'čalāpt mol'lah rō'bōhā*, (12b) *'sare 'sest o 'prēnt*, (12c) *'pādānī 'sest o 'prēnt*, (12d) *'dastānī 'sest o 'prēnt (...)*

‘(12a) The lion took the Mullah fox; (12b) it cut its head, and threw; (12c) it cut its legs, and threw; (12d) it cut its hands and threw (...)’

The verbs *'prēnt* ‘threw’ in this passage, adds a meaning of completion to the actions of cutting the different parts of the fox’s body rather than serving as a separate action by itself.

The verb *'nešt* 'sit down' in the following example adds a meaning of the end point of the king's eating and drinking actions rather, than describing a separate action by itself.

Ex. 122) (KD.m.CoB: 29h–31a).

(29h) *'čamm o 'hōne 'petā 'dātan*, (30) *'petā 'hamē 'čamm o 'hōn wār'tant o 'nešt*  
(31a) *je'nek paš 'kapt*

'(29h) he gave its eyes and blood to the father. (30) The father ate up these eyes, and [drank] the blood. (31a) The girl was left.'

Similarly, in the following example, the verb *'āt* 'came' in clause (9e) contributes the meaning of a starting point for the event, rather than indicating a separate action by itself.

Ex. 123) (KB.m.SiB: 9d)

(9d) *'tāke was'sū wā'kī 'āto gō'sī be badī'yā oš'tāt (...)*

'(9d) finally, [her] mother-in-law came and stood up with her for badness (...).'

As can be seen in the above passages, these verbs do not indicate a separate action but rather contribute meaning to the other verb in the clause.

In the present analysis for the three Balochi dialects being studied, the following verbs have high frequency in such contexts: *gerag/gepten* 'to catch', *zorag/zorten* 'to take', *dawr kanag/harkat korten* 'to move', *prēnag/prēnten* 'to throw', *čest kanag/čest korten* 'to lift up', *oštag/oštāten* 'to stand', *ešten* 'to leave', *āyag/āten* 'to come' and *nendag/nešten* 'to sit'.

Instead of functioning as separate verbs, these verbs rather contribute aktionsart, aspectual, or evidential meanings to the verbal complex. For instance, the verb *'gept* 'took' in example (118) behaves as a vector verb of *'rā 'dā* 'sent' in clause (16e).

Note that in the present data there are no restrictions on their placement in a sentence.

In Indo-Aryan languages, such patterns are very frequent and have been studied previously. No study however has been carried out on vector verbs in Iranian languages. This topic needs to be examined carefully in Balochi and, more generally, in Iranian languages. Also for Eastern Balochi, Bashir (2008: 75) reports that the verbs 'go', 'take away', 'give', 'rise', and 'throw' in Eastern Balochi "belong to the class of motion verbs grammaticized as vector verbs in I[ndo-]A[ryan] compound verbs and cross linguistically as light verbs." I follow Bashir's definition for Eastern Balochi and call them vector verbs in the present work, and they are included in the chart together with the main verb in the same box.

The above passages thus look as follows in the charting:

Ex. 124) with two verbs describing a single event, (KD.m.CoB: 16c–17a)

16c	PC	' <i>koī</i>	S1PC	this one made an excuse of some kind
16d	' <i>petā</i>	' <i>gept o 'rā 'dā</i>	S3NP	on the third day, again the father sent her to the school, to study with the Mullah.
17a	<i>mol'lāyā</i>	<i>wā'nēnt</i>	S3NP	So the Mullah taught her for one or two days,

Ex. 125) as a vector verb, indicating the completion of the action, (UT.f.SiB: 12a–d).

12a	<i>šēr</i>	' <i>sest o 'prēnt</i>	S4NP	The lion took the Mullah fox;
12b	∅	' <i>sest o 'prēnt</i>	S1∅	it cut its head off;
12c	∅	' <i>sest o 'prēnt</i>	S1∅	it cut its legs off;
12d	∅	' <i>sest o 'prēnt</i>	S1∅	it cut its hands off;

Ex. 126) as a vector verb, indicating the end-point of an action, (UT.m.CoB: 29h–31a).

29h	PC	' <i>dātan</i>	S1PC	he gave its eyes and blood to the father.
30	' <i>petā</i>	<i>wār'tant o 'nešt</i>	S3NP	the father ate up these eyes and [drank] the blood.
31a	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>paš 'kapt</i>	S4NP	The girl was left.

Ex. 127) as a vector verb indicating the starting-point of an action (KB.m.SiB: 9d)

9d	<i>was'sū</i>	' <i>āto oš'tāt</i>	S1NP	finally, [her] mother-in-law really started to annoy [her].
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### 3.9.5.3. Adverb of manner

In the present corpus the narrators sometimes use the two verbs to describe what seems to be a single event, as for example in the following passage (KD.m.CoB:16c–17a). One of the two verbs functions in a similar way as an adverb of manner.

Ex. 128)

(25a) *ko'nerē 'yak 'dračkē 'hasta* (25b) *'hamē 'dračke čē'ra nen'dēnte*. (26a) *'brāt 'wat šo'tā* (26b) *jege'r'tā* (27a) *'gošte 'wāt 'bemerī hame'dā 'bemerī 'mārā 'šāt 'nabī 'oī 'gwār ke 'mā 'āīā 'bekošē čo ke 'āī har'kate ley'āze wāst'a 'āī se'zā ham'eš ē ke 'mā ya'low 'bedē 'berē*

‘(25a) [There was] a Jujube-tree, there was a tree; (25b) they made her sit under this tree. (26a) Brothers, themselves, went (26b) they ran. (27a) One of them (lit. he) said, “(let) her die here, die; we do not wish to kill our sister because of her deed.; her punishment is that we leave her (and) go.”’

In this context it appears that the first verb describes the action and the second one the manner of the action; e.g., they went running. Instead of using an adverb in Balochi, the speakers often express the manner of the action with a second verb. Thus, two verbs express different aspects of a single action. In the above example, the two verbs *šo'tā* ‘they went’ in clause (26a) and *jegre'tā* ‘they ran’ in clause (26b) convey the meaning of ‘ran away’. Both verbs are placed in a single box in the analysis of the present study.

These clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 129) with two verbs expressing an event (KD.m. CoB: 25a–26)

25a	<i>ko'nerē 'yak 'dračkē</i>	<i>'hasta</i>	INTRO	[there was] a Jujube-tree, there was a tree;
25b	∅	<i>nen'dēnte</i>	S1∅	they made her sit under this tree.
26	<i>'brāt 'wat</i>	<i>šo'tā jegre'tā</i>	S1NP+REFL	Brothers, themselves, went running.
27	PC	<i>'gošt</i>	S1PC	One of them said, (...)

### 3.9.5.4. Repetition of the same verbs

In the present corpus, the narrators sometimes use the form of a verb a few times in the sentence to describe what seems to be a single event, as for example in the following passage.

Ex. 130)

(12a) *'nī, 'hamedā 'wapt*, (12b) *'wapt*, (12c) *'wapt*, (12d) *'zahnē 'gōn ene*.

‘(12a) You know, there (lit. here) he fell asleep; (12b) he fell asleep; (12c) he fell asleep; (12d) he had a sword’ (KD.m.CoB: 16c–17a).

The repeated verb *'wapt* ‘fell asleep’ in clauses 12a–d, contributes the meaning of ‘he kept falling asleep in the story, rather than indicating a separate action for each repetition.

The following passage is Similar:

Ex. 131) (UT.m.CoB: 16c–17a)

(16c) *'ē 'hamedā bād'sāhe gwā'rā 'kārān a* (16d) *'kārān a* (16e) *'kārān a* (16f) *'kārān a* (16g) *'kārān a*, (17a) *'yak' roče bād'sāh 'rāhī dāt še'kālā*.

‘(16c) This one there (lit. here) was working; was working; was working; was working; was working. (17a) One day the king sent him hunting.

The repetition of verb ‘was working’ in clauses (16c–g) gives the meaning of ‘he uses to work at the king’s [palace] rather than indicating a separate action.

Consider, in the following passage:

Ex. 132) (MNJ.f.SiB: 16a–d).

*'ē ba'čak 'šoto 'šoto 'šoto 'šoto 'šoto 'šot 'tā wat'rā re'sēnt be 'mā 'šare ke mol'lah naykar'jan at.*

‘This boy went and went and went and went and went and went until reached to the city where the Mullah Neykadar Jan was.

In the above passage, an expert narrator uses repetition of a verb to indicate passing of time in the story, rather than to indicate a series of separate actions.

Thus, for the purposes of the present study the repetition of a verb is regarded as a single action or state when it shows the habitual, durative or iterative nature of an event. Such repeated verbs are placed in the same box in the charting. The above passages thus look as follows in the charting:

Ex. 133) with repetition of the same verb (BS.f.CoB: 12a–12b)

12a	∅	'wapt 'wapt 'wapt	S1∅	You know, there he kept falling asleep;
12b	∅	e	S1∅	he had a sword;

Ex. 134) with repetition of the same verb (UT.m.CoB: 16c–17a)

12a	'ē	'kārān a, 'kārān a, 'kārān a, 'kārān a, 'kārān a	S4PROX	this one there uses to work at the king’s [palace].
13a	pad'šāh	'rāhī dā	S3NP	One day the king sends him to hunt.

Ex. 135) with repetition of the same verb (MNJ.f.SiB: 16a–d).

12a	'ē ba'čak	'šoto 'šoto 'šoto 'šoto 'šoto 'šot	S1PROX+NP	this boy kept going;
12b	∅	re'sēnt	S1∅	until he himself arrived to the city, where the Mullah Neykadar Jan was.

### 3.9.5.5. Paired verbs

Similarly, paired verbs occur frequently in the present corpus and are considered one verb for the purpose of the present study. In the following passage, *ašō'dīd* ‘washed’ in clause (49g) and *ta'mīs akant* ‘cleans’ in clause (49i) are considered paired verbs. Therefore, in the charting they share a single box.

The following passage contains the pair verbs.

Ex.136) (KD.f.KoB: 49–49i)

(49f) *a'wārt*, (49g) *o kār'may ham ašō'dīd o*, (49i) *ta'mīs akant*, *o* (49j) *xolā'sa, a'jant mā saray*.

‘(49f) he eats; (49g) he washes its rumen, and (49i) he cleans [it], and (49j) you know, he pulls it over his head’

These clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 136) with paired verbs (KD.f.KoB: 49–49i)

49f	∅	<i>a'wārt</i>	S1∅	he eats;
49g	∅	<i>ašō'dīdo ta'mīs akant</i>	S1∅	he washes its rumen, and
49i	∅	<i>a'jant</i>	S1∅	he pulls it over his head.

The verb *laq'dag/laqde'ten* ‘to move’ always comes with either ‘to go’ or ‘to come’ in the texts in this corpus. They function as paired verbs. Therefore, in the charting they share a single box. In the following passage, the verb *laq'det* ‘moved’ in clause (24e) comes with verb *āt'kā* ‘came’ in clause (24f).

The following passage contains paired verbs in the text.

Ex.137) (RB.f.: 24d–25a)

(24d) *pānz'dah 'sāl 'gwast* (24e) *go'rā 'āōdā če pa'dā laq'det 'āt'kā ē'rānā*. (25a) *ē'rānā 'āt'kā*

‘(24d) fifteen years passed; (24e) then again they moved from there, [and] they came to Iran. (25a) They came to Iran’

These clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 137) with paired verbs, actual charting (RB.f.: 24d–25a)

24d	<i>pānz'dah 'sāl</i>	<i>'gwast</i>	INTRO	fifteen years passed;
24e	∅	<i>la'qdet āt'kā</i>	S4∅	then again they moved from there, [and] they came to Iran.
25a	∅	<i>āt'kā</i>	S1∅	They came to Iran.

### 3.9.5.6. Adverbial of time

In the present study, there are some instances, such as *agza'rīd/gwazīt* ‘passes, and *'tūl akašūt* ‘takes time’ which do not refer to any participants in the story, but rather contributing the meaning of adverbial of time, as in the following passage:

Ex.138 (KS.f.KoB 15d–16b)

(15d) *a'nawā*. (16a) *agzā'rī o* (16b) *dobā'ra sō'bēnē joḡa'lok ar'raft madra'sā o ē'sān*  
 ‘(15d) he doesn’t eat the food. (16a) [That day] passes, and again [the next] morning; (...); (16b) when the boy goes to school, you know (...)’

In the above example the verb *agzā'rī* ‘passes’ does not have an overt subject; it rather expresses the meaning of “next day”. And if there is no subject, this clause does not count in the present analysis. Verbs of this type are presented in the charting as following:

Ex. 138) with adverbial of time (KS.f.KoB: 15d–16b)

15d	∅	<i>a'nawā</i>	S1∅	he does not eat the food.
16a		<i>agzā'rī o</i>	(‘-’)	[That day] passes, and again [the next] morning, (...);
16b	<i>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	S1NP	when the boy goes to school, you know, (...).

### 3.10. Problematic cases

#### 3.10.1. False starts and mistakes

False starts in the narrative and mistakes by the narrator are not included in the charts. In the following passage, *ḡene'kok a'wārt* ‘the girl ate’ in clause (101a) is an example of a mistake by the narrator because in clause (101b) *'ē šā'hok a'wārt* ‘so this king ate’ the storyteller corrects herself. The reason I have removed this type of information from the analysis is that it was clear from the recordings that the narrator herself/himself recognized the errors and immediately corrected them.

The following passage contains a false start:

Ex.139) (KS.f.KoB:101)

(100d) *a'sī 'na 'man ē kallapā'čao'bārā a'nawarān* (100e) *do'ī a'sī ke hā'lā kasanō'ēn ḡa'nek enet go'nāheya de'ley 'mabōren 'bōr ta ham 'ya 'darfe az 'ē kallapā'čae ke ā'ortayī*. (101a) *xolā'sa ḡene'kok am a'wārt...* (101b) *'ē šā'hok am a'wārt a'z ī kallapā'ča* (101c) *agen'nī ta 'xaylī xošma'za en*.

‘(100d) he says, “No I won’t eat this head-and-trotter dish.” ; (100e) her mother says, “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.” (101a) Well, the girl ate (...) ; (101b) so this king ate of the head-and-trotter dish, [and] (101c) finds that it was actually very tasty.’

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 139) with the mistake by the narrator omitted, actual charting (KS.f.KoB: 101)

100d	∅	<i>a'sīt</i>	S1∅	he says, (...);
100e	<i>dō't</i>	<i>a'sīt</i>	S4NP	her mother says, (...);
101a	<i>'ē šā'hok</i>	<i>a'wārt</i>	S2PROX+NP	So this king eats of the head-and-trotter dish, [and]
101b	∅	<i>agen'nī</i>	S1∅	finds, (...).

In the following passage, *a'sīt* 'he says' in clause (5a) illustrates a false start by the narrator. He presumably felt the need to clarify who the subject was in clause (5b).

The following passage contains a false start by the narrator:

Ex.140) (KS.m.KoB:4c–6).

(4c) *mara'wāboda* (4d) *kor'ragī maprē'nāboda mā dar'yāhā* (5a) *a'sīt* (5b) *'ē 'šāhay 'bač a'sīt 'ay 'ar ta ba 'če mara'way kor'ragat maprē'nē mā dar'yāhā*, (6) *a'sīt 'manī kor'ragā 'hīška a'natwānt ma'zan kant*

'(4c) it goes, [and] (4d) it throws its foal into the sea. (5a) He says ; (5b) this king's son says, "Hey donkey, why do you go and throw your foal into the sea?" (6) It said, "Nobody can raise my foal."'

The above clauses are represented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 140) with the false start by the narrator omitted (KS.m.KoB: 4c–6)

4c	∅	<i>mara'wāboda</i>	S1∅	it goes, [and]
4d	∅	<i>maprē'nāboda</i>	S1∅	it throws its foal into the sea.
5	<i>'ē 'šāhay 'bač</i>	<i>a'sīt</i>	S4PROX+NP	This king's son says ;
6	∅	<i>a'sīt</i>	S2∅	It says (...)

### 3.10.2. Ambiguous references

Ambiguous references, whose role cannot be determined with certainty, are not included in the counting of occurrences. In the following passage, clause (28b) *ar'raft* 'he goes' has an ambiguous referent, since it is not clear if it refers, to the subject S1 or S4. Both options are possible. If the subject is the king, it is S1, and if the subject is the boy, it is S4.

The following passage contains an ambiguous reference:

Ex.141 (KS.f.KoB: 25g–27b)

(25) *a'sī 'man ma'rīz bodagon zar'dīom āor'ta 'gašteš fo'lān kor'ragay 'hōn am bah'rat 'xoben.* (26) *'sāh ḡa'būl akant ke as'pokā 'bokošan.* 27) *xolā'sa ar'raft o as'pok ba joḡa'loka a'sī ke 'ta aḡe ma'rō 'berray madra'sa bo'kāneš 'manā 'bokošant.*

‘(25g) She says, “I have fallen ill; I have got jaundice; I have been told (lit. they say), the blood of the foal so-and-so is good for me (lit. you).” (26) The king agrees /that/ to kill the horse. (27) You know, he goes and the horse says /that/ to the boy, “if you go to school today, they want to kill me.”’

The following passage indicates ambiguous references in the charting:

Ex. 141) with an ambiguous reference (KS.m .KoB: 27a–29a)

25g	∅	<i>a'sī</i>	S1∅	She says, (...)
26	<i>'sāh</i>	<i>ḡa'būl akant</i>	S1∅	The king agrees/that/ to kill the horse.
27a	∅	<i>ar'raft</i>	S?	You know, he goes and
27b	<i>as'pok</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	S?	the horse says, (...)

### 3.11. Interruption

Following Levinsohn’s approach, the oral texts should be edited (Levinsohn 2015: 13). The present work is based on unedited texts. The interesting issue with working on unedited texts is interruption. Two types of interruption are attested in the present data.

#### 3.11.1. Internal interruption

One of the common features in the oral narrative is that the narrator stops telling the story and gives some contextual details that do not advance the story. In the following passage (clauses 93b–c) contain extra information from the narrator which is not related to the story line.

Ex.142) (KS.m.KoB: 29a–30a)

(93a) *a'sī 'bībī* (93b) *ī am 'wadī bo'da xo* (93c) *'ā sā'hāt ko'mā ā rū 'saray zor'tay-boda.* (94a) *tā 'bad am ke lā'sā ākā'yant 'bebarant (...).*

‘(93a) He says, “OK.”; (93b) Well, this one was himself (lit. this one himself was); (93c) at that time he had taken off the rumen from his head. (94a) Then afterwards, they were about to take the meat (...).

In the present study such information is included in the charting and analysis because omitting them would affect the following subject encodings. If one could omit the extra information in the above example, the clause 94a changes to S2 ∅.

This is presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 142) with extra information by the narrator (KS.m.KoB: 29a–30a)

93a	∅	<i>a'šī</i>	S2∅	He says, (...);
93b	ī	<i>bo'da</i>	S1PROX	Well, this one was himself;
93c	∅	<i>bo'da</i>	S1∅	at that time he had taken off the rumen from his head;
94a	∅	<i>ākā'yant 'bebarant</i>	S4∅	Then afterwards, they were about to take the meat.

### 3.11.2. External interruption

It is quite common that a storyteller is interrupted in his/her narration for various reasons e.g., the arrival of a new audience member, noise; etc., which effect the resulting text by causing repetition; that is, the narrator stops and repeats the interrupted passage. In fact, these texts are different from texts produced smoothly by the narrator without interruption. Consider the following passage:

Ex. 143) repetition due to interruption (SiB.MNJ.f: 64a–64b)

64a *odā ke šot-∅ ta*  
 there CLM go.PST-3SG MIR

(someone knocking the door)

Narrator talking to her daughter:

*ūrak darā pāč ∅-kan-∅*  
 Urak door-OBL open IMPV.do.NPST-2SG

64b *odā ke šot-∅ ta*  
 there CLM go.PST-3SG MIR

‘64a, when he went there [he saw]... [interrupted part], open the door, Urak. 64a, when he went there [he saw] (...)’ (SiB.MNJ. f: 64a–64b)

In the above passage, the narrator was interrupted by her audience in 64a. She had to stop her narration and talk to her daughter. She then returned to her narration by repeating the preceding clause in 64.

Similarly, consider the following passage:

Ex. 144) repetition due to interruption

- 6a *'do 'say 'māh=ī a=b-īd*  
 two three month=IND VCL=become.NPST-3SG
- 6b *'mē'dag=eš as ō'dān 'bār*  
 encampment=PC.3PL from there load  
*a=kan ar='ra-∅ 'jā=ī de'ga*  
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG place=IND another
- (air plane noise)
- 7a *'mē'dag=eš as ō'dān 'bār a=kant-∅*  
 encampment=PC.3PL from there load VCL=do.NPST-3SG  
*ar='ra-∅ 'jā=ī de'ga*  
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG place=IND another
- 7b *čō'bān a=b-ant*  
 shepherd VCL=become.NPST-3PL

‘(6a) Around two, three months pass (lit. becomes) (6b) [and] their encampment moves from there [and] goes to another place. (7a) **Their encampment** moves from there [and] goes to another place [and] (7c) they become shepherds [for some others] (AD.m.KoB: 6–7)’

The clause (7a) in this passage is a repetition of the preceding clause (6b), which is due to the fact that the narrator was interrupted during his narration.

Thus, in the present work, interruption is included as a motivation for over-encoding.<sup>78</sup> This issue would not arise in edited texts, because the effects of the interruption would have been edited out.

## 3.12. Discourse subjects S1–4

### 3.12.1. Types of discourse subjects

The second step in analysing participant references, according to Levinsohn’s approach involves, classifying the subject in each clause as S1, S1+, S2, S3, or S4 (see Sec.3.2.4) and indicating to whom the subjects refer. In addition to Levinsohn’s approach, S2+, S3+ subjects are attested in the present work. In the present work I will focus on the subjects and only refer to how objects are encoded when that helps to explain the encoding of the

<sup>78</sup> The number of instances for the marked interruption were few. That is why I have not dealt with them in the motivation sections in the comparison chapters (see Chaps. 7–9) as a separate category.

subject. Only occasionally, when it is significant that the subject is S1+ rather than S1, do I mention S1+ as a category distinct from S1.

### 3.12.1.1. S1 and S1+

In the following passage, the subject, 'Ø' [he] in (2c) is S1, since the subject in this clause is the same as subject in the previous clause (2a). This context is called S1.

Ex.145) S1

- 2a *pīrā'mard=e=at*  
old man=IND=COP.PST.3SG
- 2b 'say 'zāg 'dāšt-Ø wa  
three child have.PST-3SG and
- 2c 'say *te'lā* 'dāšt-Ø  
three gold have.PST-3SG

'(2a) There was an old man; [Ø] had three sons, and [Ø] had three [pieces of] gold' (TB.f: 2a–b)

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 145) with S1 in charting (TB.f: 2a–b)

2a	<i>pīrā'mard</i>	<i>at</i>	S3NP	There was an old man;
2b	Ø	' <i>dāšt</i>	S1Ø	[Ø] had three sons, and
2c	Ø	' <i>dāšt</i>	S1Ø	[Ø] had three [pieces of] gold.

In the following passage the subject of clause (86) is Alamdar, while the subject of clause (88a) is both Alamdar and the other participants in the action of the previous clause. This context is called S1+.

Ex.146) with S1+

85c *alam'dār* 'wad=ī *ham* ī *'hōn-ā*  
 Alamdar REFL=PC.3SG ADD PROX blood-OBL

*bālā'sēg=e* 'wad=ī *a='kan-t*  
 rubbing=EZ REFL=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

86 *a='š-īt*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG

88a *'xob* *ī'dān* *'dya* ***alam'dār*** ***ī's-ān***  
 well here you know Alamdar PROX-PL

*a=gen'n-ant*  
 VCL=see.NPST-3PL

'(85c) so Alamdar rubbed the blood onto himself. (86) [he] says, (...) (88a) Well, then (lit. here), you know, Alamdar and his family see (...)' (AL.m.KoB: 85–88a)

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 146) with S1+ in charting (AD.m.KoB: 86–88a)

85c	<i>alam'dār</i>	<i>a'kant</i>	S3NP	so Alamdar rubs the blood onto himself.
86	∅	<i>a'sīt</i>	S1∅	He says, (...)
88a	<i>alam'dār ī'sān</i>	<i>agen'nant</i>	S1+ NP+PROX	Well, then, you know, Alamdar and his family see (...)

### 3.12.1.2. S2 and S2+

In the following passage, the subject ‘Ø’ [he] in (8b) is S2, because it is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (8a). This context is called S2.

Ex.147) S2

8a	<i>'ē</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	
	PROX	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	lesson	
	<i>'be-day-Ø</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>wa't-ī</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	
	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG.GEN	REFL-GEN	lesson	
	<i>'yād=ē</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	
	know=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	lesson	
	<i>'na-day-Ø</i>				
	NEG-give.NPST-2SG				
8b	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'bar=ē</i>	<i>'sabr</i>
	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	one	time=IND	patience
	<i>Ø-'kā-Ø</i>				
	IMPV-NPST-2SG				

‘(8a) This one says, “Teach me; I know my lesson; [why] don’t you teach me?”; (8b) [he] says, “Wait a little!”’ (KD.f: 8a–8b)

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 147) with S2 in charting (KD.f.CoB: 8a–8b)

38a	<i>'ē</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	S2PROX	This one says, (...);
38b	Ø	<i>go'sī</i>	S2Ø	he says, (...).

In the following passage, the subject of clause (54a) is =eš ‘they’, which refers to the addressees of the speech reported in clause (53c) together with other active participants. Therefore, the context is called S2+.

Ex.148) with S2+

53c	<i>'xod=e</i>	<i>now'sād</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'gašt=om</i>
	REFL=PC.3SG	Noshad	ADD	say.PST=PC.1SG
54a	<i>bort=eš</i>	<i>'īdān</i>		
	bring.PST=PC.3PL	here		

‘(53c) I even said to Noshad, (...). (54a) They brought [him] there (lit. here) (...)’ (AD.f.KoB: 53c–54a)

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 148) with S2+ in the charting (AD.f.KoB: 53c–54a)

53c	PC	'gaštom	S1PC.1SG	I even said to Noshad, (...)
54a	PC	'borteš	S2+PC.3PL	they brought [him] there (lit. here)...

### 3.12.1.3. S3 and S3+

The passage below the subject, '**Khodanezar Khan**' in (13) is S3 since the subject is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (12b).

Ex.149) S3

12b	<i>xodānezar'xān-ī</i>		<i>pah'nād-a</i>		<i>'nešt-∅</i>
	Khodanezar Khan-GEN		beside-OBL		sit.PST-3SG
13	<i>xodānezar'xān</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>pā'd-ān-ī</i>		
	Khodanezar Khan	CLM	feet-OBL.PL-GEN		
	<i>pox'lok-ān=ī</i>		<i>'dīs-∅</i>		
	vesicle-OBL.PL=PC.3SG		see.PST-3SG		

'(12b) [he] sat down beside Khodanezar Khan. (13) When **Khodanezar Khan** saw vesicles on his feet' (SA.f.SiB: 12b–13)

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 149) with S3 in the charting (SA.f.SiB: 12b–13)

12b	∅	<i>'nešt</i>	S1∅	he sat down beside Khodanezar Khan.
13	<i>xodānezar'xān</i>	<i>'dīs</i>	S3NP	When <b>Khodanezar Khan</b> saw vesicles on his feet'

In the following passage, the non-subject in clause (10k) 'they sent [her] to her house' is Khanbibi and the subject of clause (11a) is Khanbibi together with other active participants. Therefore, the context of (11a) is called S3+.

Ex.150) with S3+

10k	<i>'dēm</i>	<i>dāt-ant</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>	<i>ge's-ā</i>
	face	give.PST-3PL	for	DIST.GEN	house-OBL
11a	<i>ē'dā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'āt-an</i>		
	here	CLM	come.PST-3PL		

'(10k) they sent [her] to her house. (11a) When they [she and her uncle] came back (lit. here)' (KB.m.SiB: 10k–11a)

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 150) with S3+ in charting (KB.m.SiB: 10k–11a)

10k	∅	'dēm dātant	S1∅	and sent [her] to her house.
11a	∅	'ātan	S3+∅	When they came back.

### 3.12.1.4. S4

In the following passage, the subject '**Khodanezar Khan**' in (4) is S4 since he was not involved in the previous clause (3).

Ex.151) S4

- 3 *be 'nām=e sab'zō je'nek=ē 'dāšt-∅*  
 with name=EZ Sabzo daughter=IND have.PST-3SG
- 4 *xodānezar'xān nākō'zāk=ē 'dāšt-∅ be 'nām=e*  
 Khodanezar Khan cousin=IND have.PST-3SG with name=EZ
- pī'rak*  
 Pirak

'(3) [he] had a daughter called Sabzo. (4) **Khodanezar Khan** had a cousin called Pirak' (SA.f.SiB: 3–4)

The above clauses are presented in the charting as follows:

Ex. 151) with S4 in charting (SA.f.SiB :3–4)

3	∅	'dāšt	S1∅	he had a daughter called Sabzo.
4	<i>xodānezar'xān</i>	'dāšt	S4NP	Khodanezar Khan had a cousin called Pirak

Note that in the present study, I do not deal with S1+, S2+ and S3+ as separate categories, since the motivation for marked encoding and over-encoding in these instances is the same as for the normal S1–3. They are therefore included in the S1–3 categories in the activated participant result tables (see Chaps. 4–6). Consider the following example:

Ex. 152) with S1+

- pa'dā ha'm=ā 'brāt āī-e čō'bī ko'mak*  
 again EMP=OBL brother DIST-GEN you know help
- bīt-∅=o 'gō 'ē do-'ēn 'hōr*  
 became.PST-3SG=and with PROX two-ATRR joined
- bīt-ā*  
 became.PST-3PL

'(6d) again that his brother helped him, and (6e) these **two** [brothers] were together' (RBS.f: 6d-6e)

### 3.12.2. Default encoding

The third step in the analysis involves counting the number of instances of each form of encoding for each context S1–S4. I count each instance as a single occurrence even when it contains more than one verb as defined in section 3.9.

The fourth step in the analysis consists of finding the default encoding for each context in turn by counting the occurrences and, when the result is ambiguous, by inspecting the data. The most frequent form of encoding is considered as unmarked (default) for each context, and the other encodings as marked. For instance, in (KS.m.KoB) there are 127 tokens in the S1 context, of which 115 are encoded with  $\emptyset$ , seven with NP, two with PC, one with PROX+REFL, and two with PROX+NP. This implies that zero ( $\emptyset$ ) is the default encoding and the rest are marked encodings.

However, there are some cases where the figures are very close to each other. Consider the following table:

Table 36. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in folktales (ergative alignment) in CoB

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	9	1	1	3
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1			
<b>NP</b>	31	23	20	37
<b>PROX</b>	11	7	3	5
<b>DIST</b>	1		1	1
$\emptyset$	41	3	1	2
<b>PC</b>	154	29	4	7
Total	248	63	30	55

As seen in the above table, in the S2 context, the numbers of forms with NP encoding (23) and PC encoding (29) are very close to each other. In such cases, based on Levinsohn’s approach, the higher figure is regarded as default encoding. One can also inspect the texts, in such instances to see what marked encoding may be the easiest one to explain.

### 3.12.3. Marked encoding

The fifth step in the analysis involves identifying the motivation for each instance of marked encoding. Marked encoding may be either over-encoding or under-encoding.

It is sometimes hard to decide on the motivation for over-encoding. At this point, it is important to note that determining the motivation for a particular instance of over-encoding is a *subjective* process. Gutt (1991: 41) writes that by choosing a more marked form, “the communicator makes the utterance more costly to process... [and] this would entail that she intended to convey

additional implicatures to compensate for the increase in processing effort”. Wilson and Sperber (2012: 39) point out that different hearers can draw different conclusions from what is being communicated by the over-encoding. Note that the motivation for PROX and DIST in Levinsohn’s approach is always to mark the referent as thematic or non-thematic respectively.

The present study concentrates on discourse motivations for marked encodings.

Ex. 153) with a discourse motivation for marked encoding

- 10a *ar='ra-∅*                      *'mā čā'h-ā*  
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG    into    well-OBL
- 10b *a='k-ay-∅*  
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
- 10c *'pas az*    *'čār*    *'pan*    *'rō*    *'šū=ay*  
 after        four        five        day        husband=PC.3SG
- a='š-īt*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘(10a) [He] falls down into the well; (10b) he comes [home]; (10c) after four or five days **her husband** says, (...)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 132)

In this passage, the subject ‘**her husband**’ in (10c) refers to the same person as ‘∅’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The default encoding in the S1 context is zero. The adverbial phrase *'pas az 'čār 'pan 'rō* ‘after four or five days’ at the beginning of (10c) signals a switch (discontinuity) of time. ‘She fell down into the well’ in clause (9a) and ‘He came home’ in clause (9b) take place at one time. ‘Her husband said’ in clause (9c) takes place four or five days later. So the motivation for the over-encoding in clause (9c) is discourse related (discontinuity of time see Chaps. 4–6).

Now consider the following passage, which is an example of a syntactic motivation for the marked encoding:

Ex. 154) with marked encoding a syntactic motivation for

- 44a *ā=k-ā-'yānt=o*  
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL=and
- 44b *'čan*    *na'far*    *ā=k-ā-'yānt*  
 a few    people    VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL
- 44c *'ya*    *'haf*    *'haš*    *'dah*    *na'far*  
 one    seven    eight    ten        people
- ā=k-ā-'yānt*  
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

‘(44a) they came and (44b) a few people came, (44c) **some seven, eight, ten people** came’ (DS.m.KoB:44)

In the above passage, the subject ‘**A few people, some seven, eight, ten people**’ in (44b–c) refer to the same person as ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [they] in the previous clause (44a), so the context is S1. The default encoding in the S1 context is zero. The motivation for the marked encoding ‘A few people came, some seven, eight, ten people’ in clause (44b–c) is syntactic rather than discourse related. The reason such examples have to be discussed separately is that the referent of ‘a few people’ and ‘some seven, eight, ten people’ is the same. So, if the subject had been the topic rather than being focal (as defined in Sec. 1.5.2), default encoding for the second part would have been zero.

Clark 2012: 79 uses the term “discontinuity” as a general term for all types of discontinuity; discontinuity of time, place, action and new narrative unit. Similarly he applies, the term “highlighting” as a general term for all types of highlighting, such as highlighting of speech, event, etc.

#### 3.12.4. Tail-head linkage and repetition

Tail-head linkage and repetition (as defined in Sec. 1.5.2) are two phenomena that occur frequently in oral stories. They are distinguished by having a different intonation contours. The information concerning the intonation contours associated with the two phenomena is as follows.

The first part of a tail-head construction has falling intonation (typical of the end of a sentence), whereas the second part starts at a higher pitch and has rising intonation at the end.

The key feature of repetition is that the repeated part imitates the intonation of the first part. So, if the first part has falling intonation, then the second part will start at about the same level and also have falling intonation. It will never be the case that the first part has falling intonation at the end, while the second part ends with rising intonation (Levinsohn, personal communication).

In the following passage, clause (26) ‘**the father asks her**’ has falling intonation, whereas clause (27a) ‘**the father asks her**’ starts at a higher level/pitch and has rising intonation at the end. Thus this passage exemplifies a tail-head linkage.

Ex. 155) tail-head linkage

- 26    *'nī*    *'pet*    *'jos*    *kan-t=e*  
 now    father    question    do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
- 27a   *'pet*    *'jost=ī*    *kā-∅*  
 father    question=PC.3SG    do.NPST-3SG
- 27b   *'pet-a*    *gō*    *'hēc*    *'na-goš-ī*  
 father-OBL    with    nothing    NEG-say.NPST-3SG
- 28a   *'na-goš-ī*  
 NEG-say.NPST-3SG
- 28b   *'dāke*    *mol'lā*    *'wat*    *'k-ay-∅*  
 till    Mullah    REFL    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

‘(26), then **the father** asks her [what had happened]. (27a), **The father** asks her; 27b [she] does not say anything to the father. (28a) [She] does not say [anything]; (28b) until the Mullah, himself, comes’ (KD.f: 26–27b)

In the following passage, clause (46c) ‘**the girl became aware**’ has falling intonation, then clause (46d) ‘**the girl became aware**’ has the same intonation. Thus this passage exemplifies a repetition.

Ex. 156) Repetition

- 46b   *ke*    *'ēr*    *kap-t*  
 CLM    PREV    fall.PST-3SG
- 46c   *jene'k=o*    *sar'pad*    *'būt-∅*  
 girl=FOC    aware    become.PST-3SG
- 46d   *jene'k=o*    *sar'pad*    *'bū-∅*  
 girl=FOC    aware    become.PST-3SG
- 46e   *'gošt=e*    *'xānā*    *xa'rāb*    *zā'n-ay*  
 say.PST=PC.3SG    house    ruined    know.NPST-2SG
- 'čōn*    *'b-kan-ay*    *'āt-∅*  
 how    SBJV-do.NPST-2SG    come.PST-3SG

‘(46b) when [he] came down; (46c) **the girl became aware**; (46d) **the girl became aware**; (46e) [PC] said, “Poor fellow do you know what to do?”’ (MNJ.f: 46b–46e)

In the comparison section (see Chaps. 7–9), over-encoding by both repetition and tail-head linkage will be interpreted as motivated by either ‘discontinuity and a new narrative unit’ or ‘highlighting’ without specifying which of the two phenomena is present.

In the following sub-sections, I distinguish two types of tail-head linkage and repetition: unmarked and marked.

### 3.12.4.1. Unmarked instances of tail-head linkages and repetitions

Unmarked instances of repetition and tail-head linkage involve clauses with no overt subject. In particular, no reference to the subject is made in the head that begins the new sentence.

In the following passage, ‘Ø’ [she] in clause (14b) ‘[she] does not tell [her] father’ and (15a) ‘[she] does not tell [her father]’ is an instance of unmarked tail head linkage. It is regarded as unmarked because there is no overt reference to the subject. In other words, the encoding is default. The motivation for unmarked tail-head linkage is to enhance coherence in the text.

Ex. 157) tail-head linkage to maintain the coherence of the text

14b    *'pet-a*            *'gō*        *'nām*        *'na-ger-ī*  
          father-OBL    with        name        NEG-take.NPST-3SG

15a    *'na-ger-ī*  
          NEG-take.NPST-3SG

15b    *ta'pīg*        *b-ī*  
          feverish        become.NPST-3SG

‘(14b) [she] does not tell [her] father. (15a) [She] does not tell [her father]; (15b) [she] gets a fever’ (KD.f.CoB: 14b–15b)

In the following passage, ‘Ø’ [he] in clause (44b) ‘[he] becomes very happy’ involves unmarked repetition. The motivation for unmarked repetition is again to enhance the coherence of the text. In this instance, the reason repetition is chosen rather than tail-head linkage is because the next clause begins with ‘until’. In the motivation section (see Chaps. 4–6) I will not deal with unmarked tail-head linkage and repetitions.

Ex. 158) repetition to maintain the coherence of the text

44a    *'xeyle*    *ham*    *xoš'hāl*    *a=b-īd*                            *alam'dār*  
          very    ADD    happy    VCL=become.NPST-3SG    Alamdar

44b    *'xeyle*    *ham*    *xoš'hāl*    *a=b-īd*  
          very    ADD    happy    VCL=become.NPST-3SG

44c    *ke*        *'bač= en*  
          CLM    child=COP.NPST-3SG

‘(44a), So [he] becomes very happy Alamdar; (44b) [he] becomes very happy; (44c) since it [the baby] is a boy (44b) (AL.m:44a–c)

### 3.12.4.2. Marked instances of tail-head linkage and repetition

Marked instances of tail-head linkage and repetition involve clauses with over-encoding of the subject. In other words, there is an overt reference to the subject in the head that begins the new sentence. The motivation for over-encoding in connection with both tail-head linkage and repetition is

highlighting or discontinuity. In the motivation section in Chapters 4–6, I will discuss these motivations in more detail.

In the following passage involving tail-head linkage, the subject ‘**Zarafshan**’ in clause (40a) ‘Zarafshan gives him the wooden club’, is an instance of over-encoding because the default encoding in S1 is zero. The motivation for the marked encoding is to highlight the following event in the story.

Ex. 159) tail-head linkage for highlighting the following event

- |     |                   |            |                   |                     |                 |
|-----|-------------------|------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 39b | <i>čō'māk-ā</i>   |            | <i>a=rasā'n-ī</i> |                     | <i>'bahr=ay</i> |
|     | wooden club-OBL   |            | VCL=take.NPST-3SG |                     | for=PC.3SG      |
|     | <i>zaraf'shān</i> |            |                   |                     |                 |
|     | Zarafshan         |            |                   |                     |                 |
| 40a | <i>čō'māk-ā</i>   |            | <i>a=rasā'n-ī</i> |                     | <i>'bahr=ay</i> |
|     | wooden club-OBL   |            | VCL=take.NPST-3SG |                     | for=PC.3SG      |
|     | <i>zaraf'shān</i> |            |                   |                     |                 |
|     | Zarafshan         |            |                   |                     |                 |
| 40b | <i>dobā'ra</i>    | <i>ham</i> | <i>'sar</i>       | <i>a=kan-∅</i>      | <i>'gō</i>      |
|     | again             | ADD        | head              | VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG | with            |
|     | <i>čō'māk-ā</i>   |            |                   |                     |                 |
|     | wooden club-OBL   |            |                   |                     |                 |

(39b) [he] gives him the wooden club, Zarafshan. (40a) [He] gives him the wooden club, **Zarafshan**; (40b) so again he attacks them with the club. (AL.f.KoB: 39b–40a–40b)'

In the following passage, the repeated clause ‘the girl for her part goes to her home’ in clause (21a) is also an example of tail-head linkage. The motivation for such over-encoding is to mark the beginning of a new narrative unit. This is because there is an attention shift from the place where Alamdar stopped the girl her father and her brother, to the place where the girl reported to her family what happened to her father and brother.

Ex. 160) tail-head linkage at the beginning of a new narrative unit

20a *ā=bā-∅* *'šām-ī* *ko'h-ā* *'ē*  
 VCL=bring.NPST-3SG evening-ADVZ mountain-OBL PROX

*do=en-ā*  
 two=PC.1PL-OBL

20b *ja'nek* *ham* *ar='ra-∅* *'lōg=aš*  
 girl ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG house=PC.3PL

21a ***ja'nek*** *ham* *ar='ra-∅* *'lōg=aš*  
 girl ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG house=PC.3PL

21b *a='š-ī*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘(20a) In the evening, he takes both of them into the mountain; (20b) the girl for her part goes to her home. (21a) **The girl** for her part goes to her home, [and] (21b) says, (...)’ (AL.m.KoB: 20a–21b).

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the girl**’, in clause (46d) ‘the girl became aware’ presents a marked repetition of the previous clause (46c). The motivation for the marked repetition is to highlight what follows in the story.

Ex. 161) Repetition for highlighting.

46b *ke* *'ēr* *kapt-∅*  
 CLM PREV fall.PST-3SG

46c *jene'k=o* *sar'pad* *'būt-∅*  
 girl=FOC aware become.PST-3SG

46d ***jene'k=o*** *sar'pad* *'bū-∅*  
 girl=FOC aware become.PST-3SG

46e *'gošt=e* *'xānā* *xa'rāb* *zā'n-ay* *'čōn*  
 say.PST=PC.3SG house ruined know.NPST-2SG how  
*'b-kan-ay*  
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

(46b) when he [the Mullah] came down, (46c) the girl became aware; (46d) **the girl** became aware; (46e) [she] said, “Poor fellow, do you know what to do?” (MNJ.f: 46b–46e)

As stated in section 2.3, when the coding material is more than predicted, this usually is due to marking the beginning of a new narrative unit or to highlighting the referent.

The following section provides features associated with them.

### 3.12.5. Features associated with new narrative units

The following features are associated with the beginning of new **narrative units**:

**Principal** feature:

- characteristic intonation contours (the previous sentence finishes low, and the new sentence begins at a significantly higher level).

**Supportive** features:

- an adverbial expression at the beginning of the sentence that establishes a “point of departure” for what follows such as “after two or three days”.
- the presence of certain connectives at the beginning of the sentence: such as *'nī* ‘now’ *'dāke/'dā* ‘until’ *go'rā* ‘then’, etc.. in CoB, or their equivalents in KoB or SiB.
- the content of what follows is suggestive of a discontinuity (e.g., a switch from events to non-events [action discontinuity]).

### 3.12.6. Features associated with highlighting and clarification

The following features make it **unlikely** that the over-encoding signals the beginning of a new narrative unit, and it is therefore instead associated with highlighting:

- not in the first clause of the sentence;
- intonation contour characteristic of highlighting (the highlighted part has a higher level intonation than to other parts);
- characteristic heavy stress contour.

The following features are associated with the over-encoding that signals clarification:

- characteristic heavy stress contour on the clarification part;
- the subject is after the verb.

### 3.13. Sample of text and chart

In the following I will present a chart with a small part of the story titled The King's Daughter (KD) from CoB. It was told by a 45 year-old female speaker from Korsar. The full text of this folktale and its charting are available in Appendix A and B.

1

<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>rōz'gāre</i>	<i>'bī</i>	<i>bād'sāhē</i>	<i>bād'sāhe</i>
rōč=e	rōzgār=e	b-ī	bādšāh=e	bādšāh=e
day=IND	time=IND	become.NPST-3SG	king=IND	king=PC.3SG

<i>ba'yā</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>ja'nē 'čok...</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>mar'dē 'čok</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ja'nē 'čoke</i>
bay-ā	hapt	janěčok	hapt	marděčok	ya	janěčok=e
become.NPST-3PL	seven	daughter	seven	son	one	daughter=IND

Once upon a time there was a king; the king had seven daughters... seven sons and a daughter (lit. there were seven sons and a daughter for the king).

2

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ja'nē 'čoke</i>	<i>'yake</i>	<i>'šāht</i>	<i>'nabīte</i>
ē	janěčok=e	yak=e	šāht	na-b-īt=e
PROX	daughter=PC.3SG	one=IND	happy	NEG-become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

<i>'nayāpte</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'yake</i>	<i>ja'nē</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>mar'dē 'čok</i>
nayāpt=e	ke	yak=e	janě	hapt	marděčok
valuable=PC.3SG	CLM	one=IND	daughter	seven	son

*ā*

=ā

=COP.NPST.3PL

This girl of his [was] the only girl; he was very protective (lit. he is not happy); she was valuable to him since he had only one girl [and] seven sons.

Table 37. Participant identification and tracking in KD.f

no.	Subject	Verb	Context	Summary of content
1a	<i>bād'sāhē</i>	<i>'bī</i>	INTRO	Once upon a time there was a king.
1b	<i>bād'sāhē</i>	<i>ba'yā</i>	S1NP	the king had seven daughters... seven sons and a daughter.
2a	PC	–	S1PC	This girl [was] the only girl to him;
2b	PC	<i>'nabīte</i>	S1PC	he is very protective;
2c	∅	<i>e</i>	S1∅	she is valuable to him
2d	∅	<i>ā</i>	S1∅	since there was only one girl [and] seven boys [for him].

## 4. Participant reference analysis of Coastal Balochi (CoB)

Before analysing participant reference in CoB, I transcribed, glossed, and translated the texts into English. Then I divided the texts into clauses according to the principles outlined in section 3.5. In section 3.6, a chart is presented which shows how the references to the participants in a sample text were analysed, and Appendix (B) gives charts of two texts in CoB one each from a male and a female speaker; the latter are used as points of reference in 4.1 and 4.2.

This section presents the analysis of the texts that form the corpus of CoB (see Sec. 2.1.3).

### 4.1. Folktales

The text called “The King’s Daughter” (KD) was told to me by a 45 year-old female speaker from Korsar. It is found on pp. 435–495 of Appendix (A). The encodings found in this text are:

- noun phrases (NP) with or without modifiers such as a proximal or distal demonstrative (PROX, DIST);
- proximal or distal demonstratives (PROX, DIST);
- reflexive pronouns (REFL);
- person-marking verb suffixes (hereafter  $\emptyset$ );
- person-marking clitics (hereafter PC).

The conclusions about the findings in this text can be summed up in two tables; one for the accusative alignment and the other for the ergative alignment, as follows:

Table 38. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KD.f (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	8	4	-	10
<b>DIST+NP</b>	2	-	1	4
<b>NP+REFL</b>	1	-	-	1
<b>REFL+NP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>NP</b>	22	7	4	31
<b>PROX</b>	11	11	7	7
<b>DIST</b>	1	1	-	4
<b>REFL</b>	4	-	-	-
<b>∅</b>	173	34	11	18
<b>Total</b>	223	57	23	75

Table 39. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KD.f (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>NP</b>	1	2	2	2
<b>PROX</b>	1	1	-	-
<b>∅</b>	3	1	-	-
<b>PC</b>	24	8	1	-
<b>Total</b>	29	12	3	2

As can be observed from the frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KD.f in the ergative alignment in Table (39) and also from the frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in the ergative alignment in other folktales (see Tables 40–45), the number of occurrences in the ergative alignment for S1–4 contexts is fewer than the number of occurrences in the accusative alignment. The reason is that most of the text in a folktale is told in the non-past tense in this dialect.

I also analysed three additional folktales in both the accusative and the ergative alignment. The reason why I presented the findings in three additional folktales is that more texts are required to determine the most frequent encoding for each context based on a statistical count. The statistics for subject encoding in these texts are presented in tables below. The first two tables are a summary of the findings for the story entitled The King's Daughter (KD) as told by a male speaker.

Table 40. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KD.m (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	-	1	-	1
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>NP+ REFL</b>	2	-	-	-
<b>NP</b>	17	3	12	17
<b>PROX</b>	2	-	-	1
<b>DIST</b>	1	-	1	-
<b>∅</b>	62	32	3	2
<b>Total</b>	84	36	16	22

Table 41. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KD.m (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	-	-	2
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>NP</b>	15	13	10	18
<b>PROX</b>	4	-	2	1
<b>DIST</b>	-	-	1	-
<b>∅</b>	16	2	-	1
<b>PC</b>	59	14	1	3
<b>Total</b>	97	29	14	25

The second pair of tables is a summary of the findings for the story entitled The Baloch's Son (BS) as told by a female speaker.

Table 42. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in BS.f (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	-	-	-	3
<b>DIST+NP</b>	2	-	1	4
<b>NP</b>	6	7	5	20
<b>PROX</b>	5	2	2	6
<b>DIST</b>	-	-	1	9
<b>REFL+∅</b>	1	-	-	1
<b>∅</b>	67	22	9	20
<b>Total</b>	81	31	18	63

Table 43. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in BS.f (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	7	1	1	-
<b>NP</b>	-	4	2	3
<b>PROX</b>	-	1	-	1
<b>∅</b>	12	-	1	-
<b>PC</b>	23	1	1	-
<b>Total</b>	42	7	5	4

The third pair of tables is a summary of the findings for the story entitled The Baloch's Son (BS) as told by a male speaker.

Table 44. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in BS.m (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	1	1	2	4
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1	-	-	1
<b>NP</b>	10	3	11	21
<b>PROX</b>	3	-	1	-
<b>DIST</b>	-	-	1	1
<b>∅</b>	40	16	4	8
<b>Total</b>	55	20	19	35

Table 45. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in BS.m (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>NP</b>	15	8	6	14
<b>PROX</b>	6	5	1	3
<b>DIST</b>	1	-	-	1
<b>∅</b>	10	-	-	1
<b>PC</b>	38	6	1	4
<b>Total</b>	70	19	8	24

Based on these four pairs of tables the following summaries can be made for subject encoding in the four CoB folktales:

Table 46. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in folktales (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	9	6	2	18
<b>DIST+NP</b>	5		2	10
<b>NP+ REFL</b>	3	-	-	1
<b>REFL +NP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>NP</b>	55	20	32	79
<b>PROX</b>	26	13	10	14
<b>DIST</b>	2	1	3	14
<b>REFL+∅</b>	5	-	-	1
<b>∅</b>	342	104	27	48
<b>Total</b>	448	144	76	185

Following Levinsohn's approach (see Sec. 3.5.4) the form of encoding that occurs most frequently is provisionally regarded as default. Table (46) suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts for the accusative alignment is as follows: for S1 and S2, the default encoding is ∅,<sup>79</sup> while for S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP.<sup>80</sup>

As can be seen from the above table, the figures for NP and zero/PC in the S3 context are very similar: 32 instances of NP and 27 of zero/PC. I regard NP as default. However, further research may reveal that there are in fact two default encodings in S3: minimal encoding (∅/PC) within sentences and NP between sentences.

<sup>79</sup> A person-marking verb suffix, is, of course, always present in the ∅ encoding.

<sup>80</sup> A simple NP is understood to mean NP without a demonstrative.

Table 47. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in folktales (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	9	1	1	3
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1			
<b>NP</b>	31	23	20	37
<b>PROX</b>	11	7	3	5
<b>DIST</b>	1		1	1
<b>∅</b>	41	3	1	2
<b>PC</b>	154	29	4	7
<b>Total</b>	248	63	30	55

Table (47) suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts for the ergative alignment is as follows: for S1 and S2, the default encoding is PC, while for S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP. As can be seen from the table, the figures for NP and zero/PC in S2 contexts are very similar: 23 instances of NP and 29 of zero/PC in the ergative alignment. I regard zero/PC as the default because motivations can be found for all the instances of over-encoding with NP.

## 4.2. Biographical tales

The text called “Rahimbaksh” (RB) was told to me by a 58 year-old male speaker from Nobandiyan. It is found on pp. 496–544 of Appendix (A). The encodings found in this text are:

- noun phrases (NP) with or without modifiers such as a proximal or distal demonstrative (PROX, DIST);
- proximal or distal demonstratives (PROX, DIST);
- independent pronouns (PN), or reflexive pronouns (REFL);
- person-marking verb suffixes (∅);
- person-marking clitics (PC).

The conclusions about the findings in this text are summed up in two tables; one for the accusative alignment and the other for the ergative alignment as follows:

Table 48. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in RB.m (acc)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	3	1	-	1
<b>NP+REFL</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>NP</b>	12	10	7	13
<b>PROX</b>	8	2	-	2
<b>DIST</b>	-	1	-	-
<b>∅</b>	40	57	1	3
<b>Total</b>	64	71	8	19

Table 49. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in RB.m (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	3	1	-
<b>NP</b>	4	5	7	9
<b>PROX</b>	2	13	1	3
<b>DIST</b>	-	1	1	1
<b>∅</b>	14	-	1	4
<b>PC</b>	36	6	-	3
<b>Total</b>	58	28	11	20

I have also analysed three additional biographical tales in both the accusative and the ergative alignments. The statistics for subject encoding in these texts are presented in tables below. The first two tables are a summary of the findings for the story entitled Rahimbaksh (RB) as told by a female speaker.

Table 50. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in in RB.f (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	2	1	7
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1	-	1	1
<b>NP</b>	9	-	3	15
<b>PROX</b>	8	1	2	5
<b>DIST</b>	1	-	1	-
<b>∅</b>	63	3	4	9
<b>Total</b>	84	6	12	37

Table 51. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in in RB.f (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	1	1
<b>NP</b>		9	2	3
<b>PROX</b>	16	6	-	3
<b>DIST</b>	2	-	1	-
<b>∅</b>	15	-	1	-
<b>PC</b>	41	1	2	6
<b>Total</b>	75	16	7	13

The second pair of tables is a summary of the findings for the biographical tale entitled Hawrokān (HA) as told by a male speaker.

Table 52. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in HA.m (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	3	-	1	8
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	-	3
<b>NP</b>	12	5	7	32
<b>PROX</b>	15	3	2	2
<b>DIST</b>	1	1	1	4
<b>PN</b>	1	1	-	1
<b>∅</b>	123	26	13	19
<b>Total</b>	155	36	24	69

Table 53. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in HA.m (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	-	-	1	-
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	1	1	-
<b>NP</b>	2	2	1	7
<b>PROX</b>	1	-	-	4
<b>DIST</b>	-	-	1	1
<b>REFL+PC</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>∅</b>	12	-	-	1
<b>PC</b>	28	-	-	2
<b>Total</b>	44	3	4	15

The third pair of tables is the summary of findings for the biographical tale entitled Hawrokān (HA) as told by a female speaker.

Table 54. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in HA.f (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	-	1	3
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	2	1
<b>NP+REFL</b>	-	-	-	2
<b>NP</b>	11	2	9	39
<b>PROX</b>	3	-	-	3
<b>DIST</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>PN</b>	1	3	-	-
<b>∅</b>	47	9	4	6
<b>Total</b>	64	14	16	55

Table 55. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in HA.f (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>NP</b>	8	6	2	6
<b>PROX</b>	4		1	2
<b>DIST</b>		-	-	-
<b>∅</b>	16	-	1	2
<b>PC</b>	18	-	-	1
<b>Total</b>	46	6	4	11

Based on these four pairs of tables the following summaries can be made for subject encoding in the four CoB biographical tales:

Table 56. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in biog. tales (acc.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	10	3	2	19
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1	-	1	5
<b>NP+REFL</b>	1	-	-	2
<b>NP</b>	44	29	26	99
<b>PN</b>	-	4	-	-
<b>PROX</b>	44	10	4	12
<b>DIST</b>	2	2	2	5
<b>∅</b>	273	95	22	37
<b>Total</b>	375	143	57	179

Table (56) suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts for the accusative alignment is as follows: for S1 and S2, the default encoding is ∅, while for S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP.

Like to the folktales in the accusative alignments, the figures for NP and zero/PC in the S3 context are very similar: 26 instances of NP and 22 of zero/PC. I regard NP as default for this dialect. However, further research may again reveal that there are in fact two default encodings in S3: minimal encoding (∅/PC) within sentences and NP between sentences.

Table 57. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in biog. tales (erg.)

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	3	3	2	
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	1	2	1
<b>NP</b>	14	24	12	25
<b>PROX</b>	23	19	2	12
<b>DIST</b>	2	1	3	2
<b>REFL</b>	1	-	1	-
<b>∅</b>	57	-	3	7
<b>PC</b>	123	7	2	12
<b>Total</b>	223	55	27	59

Table (57) suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts for the ergative alignment is as follows: for S1, the default encoding is PC for S2, S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP.

As seen in table (57) the figures for NP and PROX in S2 context are very similar: 24 instances of NP and 19 of PROX. A brief look at the S2 contexts reveals that the encoding is affected by whether or not one of the participants in the conversation is marked as the centre of attention.

(1) When neither the speaker nor the addressee is the centre of attention, NP is default, as in the following example: the father said, (...) the son said, (...).

(2) when either the speaker or the addressee is the current centre of attention (marked by PROX, e.g., this one said), the speaker has two possibilities for referring to a participant who is not the current centre of attention, either by NP (e.g., the sister said) or by DIST (e.g., that one said).<sup>81</sup>

It is not possible to have both the speaker and the addressee at the same time in the current centre of attention. In other words, if one participant in a reported conversation is referred to with PROX, the default way of referring to the other will still be with NP. This could be the reason why these two encodings, PROX and NP, are so close to each other.

### 4.3. Default encodings

As the summary tables in sections 4.1 and 4.2 show, the default encoding for the S3 and S4 contexts is the same for folktales and biographical tales in ergative and accusative alignments, viz. NP. The default encoding for S1 is  $\emptyset$  in the accusative alignment and PC in the ergative alignment for both genres (see Sec. 4.1–2). The default encoding for S2 partly depends on the genre. In the accusative alignment it is  $\emptyset$  in both genres, but in the ergative alignment it is a PC for folktales and a simple NP for biographical tales. Three questions arise.

The first question is why the default encoding is different between the two genres in the ergative alignment. It seems that the two genres follow different strategies of narration. Folktales are part of memorized oral literature. Utas (2008: 229) points out “the language of oral and written literature is [...] normalized, conventionalized and consciously shaped to be remembered”. In contrast, biographical tales are narrated spontaneously. This observation leads to the conclusion that participants in folktales have predictable roles and/or the stories are well enough known that it is not necessary to be too explicit.

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<sup>81</sup> Compare Levinsohn (1978: 89) concerning the Inga (Quechuan) language of Colombia: “The narrator has the option... of not associating himself... with any one participant” (so uses DEM+N). Alternatively, he may wish (ibid. 87) “to show his association with the first participant” (so uses a pronoun).

The second question is why there are two different defaults for the S2 context in the biographical tales, viz.  $\emptyset$  as default in the accusative alignment and NP in the ergative alignment. This could be due to the ergativity in this dialect, viz. in the ergative alignment the verb agrees with the object rather than the agent as a logical subject. When an agent appears in forms such as NP and PROX or DIST or combinations of them such as PROX+NP or DIST+NP in the ergative alignment, pro-drop is rare for the agent because the verb agrees with the object. In contrast, pro-drop is common in the accusative alignment because the verb agrees with the agent.

The third question concerns the status of PC and  $\emptyset$  as two possible encodings in S1–4 contexts in the ergative alignment (see Sec.1.4.1.4.3). As can be observed in Table (47) for the folktales and Table (57) for the biographical tales, there are two alternative forms of minimal encoding in the ergative alignment: PC (person-marking clitics) and  $\emptyset$  (person-marking verb suffixes). The frequency of person-marking clitics is higher than the instances of dropped agents (i.e.,  $\emptyset$ ) in the present texts. Furthermore, the PC regularly appears on the verb, which is similar to the person-marking verb suffixes, and their high frequency matches the frequency of the agreement marking in the accusative alignment (i.e.,  $\emptyset$ , see table 46). Thus, the use of the PC resembles the use of the agreement marker.

With respect to the general shift of ergative to accusative alignment in other Balochi dialects (e.g., SiB), this can be seen as a sign of the grammaticalisation of PCs as agreement markers (just as with KoB). The reason for the two alternative encodings in CoB, PC/ $\emptyset$ , could be that the PC (encoding the agent) is not fully grammaticalised as an agreement marker yet in contrast to KoB (see Sec.1.4.2.3). The narrator's decision for employing PC/ $\emptyset$  could depend on whether or not an agreement marker is present on the verb that refers to the object. When there is no person-marking suffix on the verb, the slot is free to be filled by the PC.

From a discourse point of view, PC/ $\emptyset$  indicate topic continuity for S1 contexts in both folktales and biographical tales. In addition, they are found when the referent is a VIP in S3–4 contexts for folktales and in S2–4 contexts for biographical tales. This observation suggests that both forms can be treated in the same way. There is no discourse motivation for the alternation of these two forms.

#### 4.3.1. Default encodings for S1

The present study concludes that there are two sets of default encodings for the S1 context in CoB: person-marking verb suffixes ( $\emptyset$ ) for all verb forms in the non-past domain and for intransitive verbs in the past domain, and person-marking clitics (PC/ $\emptyset$ ) for transitive verbs in the past domain, as in the following examples:

- S1 ∅ with person-marking verb suffix in accusative alignment

The following passage is narrated in the non-past tense so the alignment is accusative. The subject ‘∅’ [he] in (28b) is encoded with ∅ in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause.

Ex. 162) S1 with person-marking verb suffix ∅ in accusative alignment

28a	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>'k-ay-∅</i>	
	Mullah	REFL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	
28b	<i>'kownš-e</i>	<i>'tā=e</i>	<i>zī'r-ī</i>	
	shoe-GEN	match=PC.3SG	take.NPST-3SG	
28c	<i>'k-ay-∅</i>			
	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG			

‘(28a) The Mullah himself comes; (28b) [he] takes her one shoe [and]; (28c) comes [to the king]’ (KD.f: 28a–c)

- S1 with person-marking clitic (PC) in ergative alignment

The following passage is narrated in the past tense so the alignment is ergative. The subject ‘PC’ [he] in (118b) is encoded with PC in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause.

Ex. 163) S1 with person-marking clitic (PC) in ergative alignment

118a	<i>mol'lā-ya</i>	<i>saj'jē</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>dā't-ag-ā</i>	
	Mullah-OBL	all.ATTR	lesson	give.PST-PP-3PL	
118b	<i>'ē</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'na-dāt-ag=ī</i>		
	PROX	lesson	NEG-give.PST-PP=PC.3SG		

‘(118a) The Mullah taught all [the students], (118b) [but] [he] did not teach this one’ (KD.m:118a–b)

The following passage is also narrated in the past tense so the alignment is ergative. The subject ‘∅’ [he] in (20b) is encoded with ∅ in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause.

Ex. 164) S1 ∅ in ergative alignment

20a	<i>'ā</i>	<i>wā'dī</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>ha'zār</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>šo'wāz</i>	<i>ko</i>
	DIST	time	three	thousand	toman	collected	do.PST
20b	<i>'sī</i>	<i>mes'xāl</i>	<i>te'lā</i>	<i>'zo</i>			
	thirty	meskal	gold	buy.PST			

‘(20a) At that time [he] collected three thousand toman, [and] [he] (20b) bought thirty *meskal* of gold’ (RB.m: 20a–20b)

### 4.3.2. Default encodings for S2

As I mentioned in (see Sec. 4.3) the default encoding in S2 is different for the folktales and the biographical tales.

#### 4.3.2.1. Default encodings for S2 in folktales

The default encoding in folktales for the S2 contexts is  $\emptyset$  in the accusative and PC/ $\emptyset$  in the ergative alignments, as in the following examples:

- S2  $\emptyset$  with person-marking verb suffix

The following passage is narrated in the non-past tense so the alignment is accusative. The subject ' $\emptyset$ ' [he] in (8b) is encoded with  $\emptyset$  in S2 because it is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (8a).

Ex. 165) S2  $\emptyset$  in accusative alignment

8a	<i>'ē</i>	<i>go's-ī</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	
	PROX	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	lesson	
	<i>'be-day-∅</i>		<i>'mnī</i>	<i>wa't-ī</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>
	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG		PN.1SG.GEN	REFL-GEN	lesson
	<i>'yād=ē</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	
	know=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	lesson	
	<i>'na-d-ay</i>				
	NEG-give.NPST-2SG				
8b	<i>go's-ī</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'bar=ē</i>	<i>'sabr</i>
	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	one	time=IND	patience
	<i>∅-'kā-∅</i>				
	IMPV-NPST-2SG				

'(8a) This one says, "Teach me; I know my lesson; [why] don't you teach me?" (8b) [he] says, "Wait a little"' (KD.f: 8a–8b)

- S2 ∅ in ergative alignment

The following passage is narrated in the past tense so the alignment is ergative. The subject ‘∅’ [he] in (9) is encoded with ∅ in S2 since the subject is the addressee of the speech reported in the previous clause (9).

Ex. 166) S2 ∅ in ergative alignment

8	<i>ja'nēn-ān</i>		<i>'go</i>		<i>'wāja</i>		<i>'ta-rā=o</i>		
	woman-OBL.PL		say.PST		Sir		PN.2SG-OBJ=FOC		
	<i>'čok</i>		<i>'na-b-ī</i>				<i>'be-l-∅</i>		
	child		NEG-became.NPST-3SG				IMPV-allow.NPST-2SG		
	<i>'mā-rā</i>		<i>'ra-en</i>		<i>'dega</i>		<i>'mard=e</i>		<i>'lōg-ā</i>
	PN.1PL-OBJ		go.NPST-1PL		another		man=IND		house-OBL
	<i>'kan-en</i>								
	do.NPST-1PL								
9	<i>'go</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ay</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>ja'nēn</i>	<i>gep't-a</i>		
	say.PST	CLM	VOC	PN.1SG	seven	woman	take.PST-PP		
	<i>'man</i>		<i>'bādšāh=ī=yen</i>			<i>'man-ā</i>	<i>'čok</i>		
	PN.1SG		king=IND=COP.NPST-3SG			PN.1SG-OBL	child		
	<i>'na-b-ī</i>			<i>'nī</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>				
	NEG-became.NPST-3SG			now	people				

‘(8) [his] wives said, “Majesty (lit Sir), you do not have a child; let us go; we will marry with another man (...). (9) [He] said /that/ “oh dear, I have taken seven wives; I am a king; If I do not have a child, now people (...)”’  
(KS.m : 8–9)

- S2 with person-marking clitic PC in ergative alignment

The following passage is narrated in the past tense so the alignment is ergative. The subject ‘PC’ [he] in (3b) is encoded with PC in S2 since the subject is the addressee of the speech reported in the previous clause (3a).

Ex. 167) S2 with person-marking clitic PC in ergative alignment

- 3a *ha'bar ko 'gošt=ī bād'sāh 'to*  
 word do.PST say.PST=PC.3SG king PN.2SG  
*'ē ja'nek 'ī yak=e 'šāht*  
 PROX daughter PN.2SG.GEN one=IND happy  
*'na-b-ī ∅-'bar-∅=e*  
 NEG-became.NPST-3SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG  
*∅-nen'dēn-∅=e wān-a'g-ā*  
 IMPV-place.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG read.NPST-INF-OBL
- 3b *'gošt=ī 'man 'na-dār-ā*  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG NEG-hold.NPST-1SG  
*wān-a'g-ā ke mol'lā ja'n-ant=e*  
 read.NPST-INF-OBL CLM Mullah hit.NPST.3PL=PC.SG  
*hak'kal day-ant=e 'man-ā 'šāht*  
 shouting give.NPST-3PL=3SG PN.1SG-OBJ happy  
*'na-b-ī*  
 NEG-became.NPST.3SG

‘(3a) [She] talked [and] said, “Your majesty, your daughter is the only one, you are protective (lit. not happy), send (lit. take [and] send) her to study.” (3b) [he] said, “I won’t send her to study since the Mullah punishes her [and] shouts at her, so I do not like it (lit. happiness is not for me)”’ (KD.m: 3a–3b)

#### 4.3.2.2. Default encodings for S2 in biographical tales

The biographical tales have two different defaults for the S2 context in ergative and accusative alignments. The default encoding for S2 is person-marking verb suffixes (Ø) in the accusative alignment and a simple NP in the ergative alignment, as in the following examples:

- S2 Ø in accusative alignment

The following passage was narrated in the non-past tense so the alignment is accusative. The subject, ‘Ø’ [he] says,’ in (10) is encoded with Ø in S2 since the subject is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (9).

Ex. 168) S2 Ø in accusative alignment

8	<i>go's-ī</i> say.NPST-3SG	<i>'bābā</i> father	<i>'mā</i> PN.1SG	<i>'čī</i> what	<i>'tī</i> NP.2SG.GEN
	<i>ham'rāh</i> companion	<i>'ma-b-ā̃</i> PRO-became.NPST-1SG			
9	<i>go's-ī</i> say.NPST-3SG	<i>'taw</i> PN.2SG	<i>nō'k-ī</i> new-ADVZ	<i>'man-ī</i> PN.1SG-GEN	
	<i>ḍaw'l-ā</i> manner-OBL	<i>kessawā'lā=yē</i> storyteller=IND	<i>'na-b-ay</i> NEG-become.NPST-2SG		
	<i>'šēr-wā'lā=e</i> poet=IND	<i>'na-b-ay</i> NEG-become.NPST-2SG	<i>batal'gū-ye</i> teller of idiom-GEN		
	<i>mar'dom=ē</i> person=IND	<i>'na-b-ay</i> NEG-become.NPST-2SG	<i>'taw</i> PN.2SG	<i>'čī-yā</i> what-OBL	
	<i>o'tī</i> REFL.GEN	<i>'dast-e</i> hand-GEN	<i>'kār</i> work	<i>bor't-a</i> take.PST-PP	
10	<i>'š-ī</i> say.NPST-3SG	<i>go'ṛā</i> well	<i>par'wā</i> fear	<i>'nēst=en</i> NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	
	<i>'man-ā</i> PN.1SG-OBJ	<i>ō'tī</i> REFL.GEN	<i>hamrā'hī-yā</i> companionship-OBL		
	<i>'ma-koš-Ø</i> PRO-kill.NPST-2SG	<i>'na</i> no			

‘(8) [he] says, “Father, why shouldn’t I follow you?” (9) [he] says, “You will not be like me, a storyteller, a poet, a teller of idioms; why are you wasting your time?” (10) [he] says, “Well, it is no problem; do not prevent me from coming with you (lit. do not kill me in your company), alright?”’ (RB.m: 8–10)

- S2 with NP in ergative alignment

The following passage was narrated in the past tense so the alignment is ergative. The subject, ‘**the sister**’ in (43) is encoded with NP in S2 since the subject is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (42).

Ex. 169) S2 with NP in ergative alignment

42	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>go'hār</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>mas'-ter</i>	
	PROX.OBL	REFL.GEN	sister	say.PST	big-COMP	
	<i>'man-ī</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'taw=ay</i>		<i>'harčī</i>	<i>ke</i>
	PN.1SG-GEN	ADD	PN.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG		whatever	CLM
	<i>'to</i>	<i>'man-ā</i>	<i>∅-'d-ay</i>		<i>'man-ā</i>	
	PN.2SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	SBJV-give.NPST-2SG		PN.1SG-OBJ	
	<i>'dega</i>	<i>ete'rāz=ē</i>	<i>'nēst=ē</i>			
	another	objection=IND	NEG.be=COP.NPST.3SG			
43	<i>go'hār-ā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'ta-rā</i>	<i>'sī</i>	
	sister-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	thirty	
	<i>'panč</i>	<i>mes'kāl</i>	<i>te'lāh</i>	<i>da'y-ā̃</i>	<i>bā'kī</i>	<i>'ta-rā</i>
	five	<i>meskal</i>	gold	give.NPST-1SG	rest	PN.2SG-OBJ
	<i>'sad=o</i>	<i>pan'jā</i>	<i>ha'zār</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>'tī</i>	
	hundred=and	fifty	thousand	toman	PN.2SG.GEN	
	<i>go'd-ān=ī</i>		<i>'ta-rā</i>	<i>da'y-ā̃</i>		
	cloth-OBL.PL=PC.3SG		PN.2SG-OBJ	give.NPST-1SG		
44	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>mas'-ter</i>	<i>'ta</i>		
	PROX.OBL	say.PST	big-COPM	PN.2SG		
	<i>'wat=ay</i>					
	REFL=COP.NPST.2SG					

‘(42) this one said to his sister, “You are my lawyer (lit. my chief), too; whatever you give me, I will not have any objection.” (43) **The sister** said, “I will give you thirty five *meskal* gold and the rest, I will give you one hundred and fifty thousand *toman* for your [daughter’s] clothes.” (45) This one said, “You can decide (lit. you are bigger)” (RBS.m: 43–45)

### 4.3.3. Default encodings for S3

The default encoding for the S3 context is NP in both the accusative and the ergative alignments for both genres. As in the following examples:

- S3 with NP in the accusative alignment

The passage below is narrated in the non-past domain so the alignment is accusative. The subject, ‘**the father**’ in (40) is encoded with NP in S3 since the subject is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (39c).

Ex. 170) S3 with NP as default in the accusative alignment

39a *'āsk-e*      *ʔela'g-ã*      *kaš'š-ã*  
 deer-GEN      eye-OBL.PL      pull out.NPST-3PL

39b *k-ā'r-ã*  
 IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL

39c *da'y-ã*              *'pet-a*  
 give.NPST-3PL      father-OBL

40 *'pet*      *ʔos*      *kan-t=e*  
 father      question      do.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL

‘(39a) [they] pull out the deer’s eyes; (39b) [they] bring [them], [and] (39c) give [them] to the father. (40) **The father** asks them’ (KD.m: 39–40).

- S3 with NP in the ergative alignment

The following passage is narrated in the past tense domain so the alignment is ergative. The subject ‘**the sister**’ in (38e) is encoded with NP in S3 because the subject is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (38d).

Ex. 171) S3 with NP as default in the ergative alignment

38d *'ham=e*              *'mard-ā*      *yak*      *go'hār=e*  
 EMPH=PROX      man-OBL      one      sister=IND

*hast=a-∅*  
 be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG

38e *go'hār-ā*      *'go*  
 sister-OBL      say.PST

‘(38d) this man had a sister (lit. there was a sister for this man); (38b) **the sister** said, (...)’ (RB.m: 38d–38e)

#### 4.3.4. Default encodings for S4

The default encoding for the S4 context is NP for both the ergative and the accusative alignments in both genres. The following examples illustrate default encoding for both alignments.

- S4 with NP in the accusative alignment

The following passage is narrated in the non-past domain so the alignment is accusative. The subject, ‘**the mother**’ in (16a) is encoded with NP in S4 since she was not involved in the previous clause (the subject was the girl).

Ex. 172) S4 with NP as default in the accusative alignment

15c *nād'rā* 'b-ī *tā* 'čenčo *rō'č-ā*  
ill become.NPST-3SG for several day-OBL

16a 'padā 'māt ha'bār kan-t o's-ī  
again mother word do.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG

‘(15c) [she] falls ill for several days. (16a) Again **the mother** speaks [to her father] says, (...)’ (KD.m:15c–16a)

- S4 with NP in the ergative alignment

The following passage is narrated in the past tense so the alignment is ergative. The subject ‘**the father**’ in (13d) is encoded with NP in S4 since he was not involved in the previous clause (the subject was the boy).

Ex. 173) S4 with NP as default in the ergative alignment

13c *ja'wān* 'bī-∅  
young become.PST-3SG

13d 'āxer 'pet-ā 'go ke 'man-ī  
end father-OBL say.PST CLM PN.1SG-GEN

'čo 'nī 'mā 'ta-rā 'sīr  
child now PN.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ wedding

*day-ā*  
give.NPST-1SG

‘(13c) [he] became a young [man]; (13d) finally **the father** said /that/, “My son now I will marry you off” (RB.m: 13c–13d)

The passage below is also narrated in the past tense so the alignment is ergative. The subject, ‘**the man’s sister**’ in (14b) is encoded with NP in S4 since she is a member of the group that was the indirect object in (14a).

Ex. 174) S4 with NP as default in the ergative alignment

113a *ā'xer-ā*    *'āp=ē*    *'čā=ē*    *wā'rag=ē*    *'čīz=ē*  
 end-OBL    water=IND    tea=IND    food=IND    thing=IND  
*'čest=e*    *ko*    *'dāt-ā*  
 up=PC.3SG    do.PST    give.PST-3PL

14b *'gōrā*    *'mard-e*    *go'hār-ā*    *'go*  
 then    man-GEN    sister-OBL    say.PST

‘(113a) At the end, [she] gave (lit. lifted and gave); some water, tea, food and things [like this]; (14b) then **the man’s sister** said, (...)’ (RB.m: 14a–b)

#### 4.3.5. Default encodings for generic subjects in S3 and S4

I now deal with generic subjects (as defined in Sec. 1.5.2). The default encoding for generic subjects in S4 contexts is  $\emptyset$ . Note that this would also be true for generic subjects in S3 contexts, but no example was found in the corpus.

The following examples present default encoding for generic nouns in S4 contexts in both the ergative and the accusative alignments.

In the following passage, the generic subject ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [people] in (19b) is encoded with  $\emptyset$  in S4 since the ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ refers to an unspecified group of the people in the story who were not involved in (19a).

Ex. 175) S4 with  $\emptyset$  for generic nouns in accusative alignment

19a *'pet-ā*    *'go*    *ke*    *'nī*    *'tī*  
 father-OBL    say.PST    CLM    now    PN.2SG.GEN  
*'sīr-e*    *pro'grām=ē*    *'tī*  
 wedding-GEN    plan=COP.NPST.3SG    PN.2SG.GEN  
*'sīr-e*    *barnā'mah=ē*    *'pūl*    *'pūl*  
 wedding-GEN    plan=COP.NPST.3SG    money    money  
*hā*    *'nēst=ē*  
 ADD    NEG.be=COP.NPST.3SG

19b *ā'xer-ā*    *'ā*    *zamā'nag-ā*    *pēsa'rā*    *šo't-ā*  
 end-OBL    DIST    time.OBL    in former times    go.PST-3PL

19c *bejārī=ye*    *kot=at*  
 contribution=PC.3PL    do.PST=COP.PST

‘(19a) the father said /that/, “It is time (lit. plan) for your wedding; it is time (lit. plan) for your wedding, [but] the money, [but] there is no money” (19b) you know, in the past times, **[people]** went (lit. have gone) and (19c) [they] did (lit. have done)’ *bejārī* (RB.m: 19a–19c)

In the following passage, the generic subject ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [people] in (82b) is encoded with  $\emptyset$  in S4 since it refers to unspecified people who are living in the king’s palace and who had not been referred to in (82a).

Ex. 176) S4 with  $\emptyset$  for generic nouns in ergative alignment

82a    *šo'rū*    *bī-ā*                                    *'nāč*    *nā'zēnk*    *'šayr*  
          start    become.PST-3PL    dance    song                    poetry

*samanda'rī*

joyous songs

82b    *ba'čak-e*    *'sar-e*                    *'jān-e*                    *'šošt-ā*  
          boy-GEN    head-GEN    body-GEN    wash.PST-3PL

‘(82a) The drums started [playing], the dance, songs, poetry [and] joyous songs started; (82b) [**people**] washed the boy’s head and body’ (BS.m: 82a–82b)

## 4.4. Marked encoding

When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, marked encoding is anything more than  $\emptyset$  or PC; for example, NP, PROX, DIST or a combination such as PROX+NP. When the default is a simple NP, on the other hand, anything more than a simple NP is regarded as over-encoding: PROX+NP or DIST+NP. Conversely, anything less than NP is regarded as under-encoding. When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, there is no under-encoding. So, the heaviest encoding in this dialect is PROX+NP or DIST+NP and the lightest encoding is either ( $\emptyset$ ) or (PC).

In the following sections, I will discuss the marked encodings and their motivation for each S context in turn.

### 4.4.1. Marked encoding in S1 and motivations

When the default encoding for S1 is  $\emptyset$ /PC, the marked encoding consists of anything more than  $\emptyset$ /PC. The following forms of over-encoding are found in the current corpus: NP, PROX, DIST, REFL, PN and combinations of them PROX+NP, DIST+NP and NP+REFL. The following examples illustrate each form and its motivation in turn.

- S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity

In the present corpus of the Coastal Balochi dialect, discontinuity of place is not attested. This is also true for the other Balochi dialects being studied, Koroshi and Sistani. The reason could be that points of departure that indicate discontinuities of place are very uncommon in narratives. Narratives are typically arranged with reference to time, not place. Even when there is a change of place, it is often described within a subordinate clause of time (e.g., ‘When they arrived at the village’). Thus, time is still the primary dimension in narrative, rather than place (Levinsohn, personal communication).

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the woman**’ in (50) refers to the same person as ‘the girl’ in the previous clause (49), so the context is S1. The adverbial phrase, ‘in the next year’ marks a switch of time from the year when the woman previously gave birth to a son to the next year, so the motivation for the marked NP encoding in S1 occurs in connection with a discontinuity of time.

Ex. 177) S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity of time

49	<i>je'nek-ā</i>	<i>'ārt</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>mar'den'čok=ē</i>		
	girl-OBL	bring.PST	one	son=IND		
50	<i>'ēdga</i>	<i>'sāl-ā</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<b><i>je'nēn</i></b>	<i>čel'lag</i>	<i>bīt-∅</i>
	next	year-OBL	again	woman	delivered	become.PST-3SG
	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'čok=ē</i>	<i>'ārt</i>			
	another	child=IND	bring.PST			

‘(49) The girl gave birth to a son. (50) Again in the next year, **the woman** delivered [and gave birth] to another son’ (KD.m: 49–50)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the Mullah**’ in (10) refers to the same person as ‘∅ [he]’ in the previous clause (9), so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked NP encoding occurs in connection with a discontinuity of action since the narrator gives extra information about the Mullah rather than describing the next event involving him.

Ex. 178) S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity of action

9	<i>saj'jē</i>	<i>jane'k-ā</i>	<i>ta'tīl</i>	<i>dā-∅</i>	
	all.ATTR	girl-OBL.PL	dismissed	do.NPST-3SG	
10	<b><i>mul'lah-e</i></b>	<i>'del</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>da'gā=ē</i>	<i>'gō</i>
	Mullah-GEN	heart	now	lustful=COP.NPST.3SG	with
	<i>ja'nek-a</i>				
	girl-OBL				
11	<i>'nī</i>	<i>o's-ī</i>			
	now	say.NPST-3SG			

‘(9) [he] dismisses all the girls. (10) You know, **the Mullah** is cheating the girl. (11) Then [he] says, (...)’ (KD.f: 9–11)

- S1 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

In the passage below, the subject, ‘**the girl**’ in (14a) refers to the same person as ‘PC [she]’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The intonation contour for (13c) ends low, whereas that for (14a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (13c) ends the previous unit, whereas (14a) begins a new narrative unit. The motivation for beginning a new narrative unit is because

the story switches from the place where the girl does not allow the Mullah to touch her hand to what happens when she comes back home.

Ex. 179) S1 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

13c	<i>mol'lā-yā</i>	<i>'dast=ī</i>	<i>'na-dāt</i>		
	Mullah-OBL	hand=PC.3SG	NEG-give.PST.3SG		
14a	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>ātk-∅</i>	<i>lō'g-ā</i>	
	girl	PREV	come.PST-3SG	home-OBL	
14b	<i>ba'le</i>	<i>lō'g-ā</i>	<i>'wat-ī</i>	<i>mā't-e</i>	<i>gō</i>
	but	home-OBL	REFL-GEN	mother-GEN	with
	<i>pe't-e</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>brā't-ānī</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>'kas-e</i>
	father-GEN	with	brother-PL.OBL.GEN	by	person-GEN
	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>'nām=e</i>	<i>'na-ge</i>		
	by	name=PC.3SG	NEG-take.PST		

‘(13c) [she] did not allow to touch her (lit. give hand to Mullah). (14a) **The girl** came home; (14b) but at home she did not tell anyone, not her father, not her mother and not her brothers’ (KD.m: 13c–14b)

- S1 NP in connection with highlighting

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the shepherd**’ in (119c) refers to the same person as ‘∅’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the fact that when the shepherd went to pull up water, he pulled out a girl.

Ex. 180) S1 NP in connection with highlighting an event

119b	<i>lagge't-a</i>	<i>'āp-e</i>	<i>kaš'š-ag-ā</i>		
	start.PST-PP	water-GEN	pull.NPST-INF-OBL		
119c	<i>še'pānk-ā</i>	<i>'ham=e</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>kašš't-a</i>	<i>ča</i>
	shepherd-OBL	EMPH=PROX	girl	pull out.PST-PP	from
	<i>'čāt-a</i>				
	well-OBL				

(19b) ‘[he] started to pull out water, (19c) **the shepherd** pulled out this girl from the well (KD. m:119b–119c)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the man**’ in (82b) refers to the same person as ‘the man’ in the previous clause (82a), so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the thought since it is important for the rest of the story.

Ex. 181) S1 NP in connection with highlighting a thought

82a	<i>'mard</i>	<i>'ātk-∅</i>	<i>mē'tag-ā</i>	
	man	come.PST-3SG	village-OBL	
82b	<i>'tā</i>	<i>čā'r-ī</i>	<i>'mard</i>	
	MIR	think-NPST-3SG	man	
	<i>'mard-ā</i>	<i>'kēr=ē</i>	<i>'nest=ē-∅</i>	<i>ke</i>
	man-OBL	fare=IND	NEG.be=COP.NPST-3SG	CLM
	<i>mā'sīn-ā</i>	<i>'swār</i>	<i>∅-b-ī=o</i>	<i>'dega</i>
	car-OBL	riding	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG=and	another
	<i>ja'nen=e</i>	<i>ga'r-ag-e</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>ha'nī</i>
	wife=IND	take.NPST-INF-GEN	for the sake of	right now
	<i>janē'n-ānī</i>	<i>ge'r-ag-e</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>'bāz</i>
	wife-GEN.PL	take.NPST-INF-GEN	for the sake of	many
	<i>'pūl=a</i>	<i>lō't-ī</i>		
	money=VCL	need.NPST-3SG		

‘(82a) The man came home to [his] village; (82b) you know, **the man** thinks; the man does not [even] have (lit. there is no money for the man) any money for his fare to go by car, but nowadays a lot of money is needed to take another wife’ (RB.m: 82a–b)

- S1 NP to clarify the subject

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**Rahimbaksh**’ in (28c) refers to the same person as ‘this man’ in the previous clause (28b), so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked encoding is to clarify the subject. Because there is a switch from plural to singular in (28b), the reference is unclear, so the narrator decides to disambiguate it in (28c).

Ex. 182) S1 NP to clarify the subject

28a	<i>yak</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>neš't-ag=at-ā=o</i>
	one	day	PROX	sit.NPST-PP=COP.PST-3PL=and
28b	<i>'ham=ē</i>	<i>'mard</i>	<i>neš'tag=a-∅</i>	
	EMPH=PROX	man	sit.NPST-PP=COP.PST-3SG	
28c	<i><b>rahīm'bakš</b></i>	<i>neš't-ag=a-∅</i>		
	Rahimbaksh	sit.NPST-PP=COP.PST-3SG		

(28a) One day they were sitting, and (28b); this man was sitting; (28c) **Rahimbaksh** was sitting ’ (RB.m: 28a–28c)

- S1 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (44c) refers to the same person as ‘ $\emptyset$  [he]’ in the previous clause (44b), so the context is S1. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention (rather than the girl).

Ex. 183) S1 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

44a	<i>'k-ay-<math>\emptyset</math></i>				
	IMP-k come.NPST-3SG				
44b	<i>gen'd-<math>\bar{u}</math>=e</i>	<i>'<math>\bar{e}</math></i>	<i>en's<math>\bar{a}</math>n=<math>\bar{e}</math></i>	<i>mar'dom=<math>\bar{e}</math></i>	
	see.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	PROX	human being=IND	people=IND	
	<i>'<math>\bar{e}</math></i>	<i>'<math>\bar{c}</math><math>\bar{t}</math>=y<math>\bar{e}</math></i>	<i>'ed<math>\bar{a}</math></i>		
	PROX	what=IND	here		
44c	<i>'<math>\bar{e}</math></i>	<i>'raw-<math>\emptyset</math></i>	<i>'pad<math>\bar{a}</math></i>	<i>'ot<math>\bar{i}</math></i>	<i>'l<math>\bar{o}</math>g-<math>\bar{a}</math></i>
	PROX	go.NPST-3SG	again	REFL.GEN	house-OBL

‘(44a) [he] comes, [and] (44b) sees her; [he says to himself] “Is this one a human?; A person? What is this one here?”; (44c) **this one** goes back to his house’ (KD.f: 44a–c)

- S1 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following example, the subject ‘**those**’ in (37a) refers to the same person as ‘those people’ in the previous clause (36), so the context is S1. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referents as not the current centre of attention since both the VIP and other participants are present at this stage of the story and, as the next clause (37c) shows, the VIP is the centre of attention, rather than the other participants.

Ex. 184) S1 DIST to mark the referents as non-thematic

36	<i>go'r<math>\bar{a}</math></i>	<i>'d<math>\bar{a}</math>ke</i>	<i>'<math>\bar{a}</math></i>	<i>mardo'm-<math>\bar{a}</math></i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'m<math>\bar{a}</math></i>
	then	you know	DIST	people-OBL.PL	say.PST	PN.1PL
	<i>'ta-r<math>\bar{a}</math></i>	<i>'z<math>\bar{i}</math>r-<math>\bar{e}</math></i>				
	PN-OBJ	take.NPST-1PL				
37a	<i>'n<math>\bar{i}</math></i>	<i>'<math>\bar{a}</math>-h<math>\bar{a}</math></i>	<i>zor't-a</i>			
	now	DIST-OBL.PL	take.PST-PP			
37b	<i>'bale</i>	<i>e's<math>\bar{i}</math><math>\bar{a}</math></i>	<i>'h<math>\bar{e}</math><math>\bar{c}</math><math>\bar{e}</math></i>	<i>'nest=<math>\bar{e}</math>-<math>\emptyset</math></i>		
	but	PROX.OBL	nothing	NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST-3SG		

‘(36) You know, those people said, “We will accept you”. (37a) Now **those ones** have accepted him, (37b) but this one has nothing” (RB.f: 36–37)

- S1 REFL in connection with emphasis

In the following passage, the subject ‘Ø [he] **himself**’ in (45f) refers to the same person as ‘Ø [he]’ in the previous clause (45e), so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the referent over against the king’s daughter (the global VIP).

Ex. 185) S1 REFL in connection with emphasis

45e *'nī ko'nar-e čē'rā 'ēr kan-t=e*  
 now Jujube-GEN under PREV do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

45f *'wat 'raw-Ø*  
 REFL go.NPST-3SG

45g *lap'p-ī*  
 hide.NPST-3SG

‘(45e) then [he] leaves it under the Jujube-tree; (45f) [**he**] **himself** goes, [and] (45g) hides’ (KD.f: 45e–45g)

- S1 PN in connection with highlighting

In the following passage, the subject ‘**I**’ in (47c) refers to the same person as ‘**I**’ in the previous clause (47b), so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked PN encoding is to highlight how long the narrator stayed.

Ex. 186) S1 PN in connection with highlighting

47a *'man 'šot-ō*  
 PN.1SG go.PST-1SG

47b *'caret=ō ka'hīr 'nī ma'nīng-ī*  
 look.PST=PC.1SG kahir now mine-OBL

*'nahē-Ø ka'hīr 'nī xa'lās=ē*  
 NEG.COP.NPST-3SG Kahir now finish=COP.NPST-3SG

*xa'tam=ē*  
 finished=COP.NPST-3SG

47c *mā 'ham=ōdā 'nešt-ō*  
 PN.1SG EMPH=there sit.PST-1SG

‘(47a) I went; (47b) I saw (lit. watched) Kahir is unable to care about me; you know, Kahir, is in his last stage of life (lit. in his end); he is in his last stage of life (lit. in his end); (47c) **I** sat there’ (HS.f: 47a–47c)

- S1 NP+REFL in connection with highlighting plus emphasis

In the following passage, the subject ‘**The brothers themselves**’ in (128) refers to the same person as ‘the brothers’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is that it is a slowing down device to highlight the false report that they (e.g., the king’s sons) then give to the king about the killing of their sister. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the referent over against their sister (the global VIP).

Ex. 187) S1 with NP+REFL in connection with highlighting (NP) plus emphasis (REFL)

127b	<i>brā't-ã</i>	<i>bor't-a</i>	<i>ya'las</i>	<i>dā't-a</i>
	brother-OBL.PL	take.PST-PP	throwing	give.PST-PP
	<i>yak</i>	<i>ko'nar=ē-e</i>	<i>čē'rā</i>	
	one	Jujube=IND-GEN	under	
128	<b>'brāt</b>	<b>'wat</b>	<i>tat'k-ã</i>	<i>šot-a'g=ã</i>
	brother	REFL	escape.PST-3PL	go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

‘(127b) the brothers left (lit. have taken throwing) her under a Jujube-tree.  
 (128) **The brothers themselves** ran away (lit. have run, have gone)’  
 (KD.f: 127b–128)

- S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus for highlighting

In the following passage, the subject ‘**This woman**’ in (91a) refers to the same person as ‘this woman’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention rather than other people (with DIST) in (90). The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the following event in the story, i.e., her finding a well.

Ex. 188) S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus to highlight the following event (NP)

90    *'nī*    *'ē*    *ǰa'nēn*    *'padā*    *'ā*    *dega'r-ã*  
 now    PROX    woman    again    DIST    another-OBL.PL  
*'gap*    *'na-kā-∅*  
 word    NEG-do.NPST-3SG

91a    *'dãke*    *'ē*    *ǰa'nēn*    *'k-ay-∅*  
 you know    PROX    woman    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG  
*'k-ay-∅*  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

91b    *ya*    *'čāt=ē*    *b-ī*  
 one    well=IND    become.NPST-3SG

91c    *'ēr*    *kap-ī*    *'čāt-e*    *tō'kā*  
 PREV    fall.NPST-3SG    well-GEN    inside

‘(90) Well, again this woman does not tell the others. (91a) You know, **this woman** keeps coming; (91b) there is a well; (91c) she goes inside the well’ (KD.f: 90–91c)

- S1PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus to signal a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this Rahimbaksh**’ in (54a) refers to the same person as ‘∅’ [he] in the previous clause (53), so the context is S1. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention. The intonation contour for (53) ends low, whereas that for (54a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (53) ends the previous unit, whereas (54a) begins a new narrative unit. So the motivation for the marked NP encoding in (54a) is to signal a new narrative unit as attention switches to the next town.

Ex. 189) S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus to show a new narrative unit (NP)

53    *go'š-ī*    *'šarr=ē*  
 say.NPST-3SG    fine=COP.NPST.3SG

54a    *'ham=ī*    *rahīm'bakš*    *tar'r-ã*    *tar'r-ã*  
 EMPH=PROX    Rahimbaksh    turn.NPST-3PL    turn.NPST-3PL  
*tar'r-ã*    *tar'r-ã*  
 turn.NPST-3PL    turn.NPST-3PL

54b    *'dãke*    *'šot-∅*    *yak*    *'molk=ē-ā*  
 till    go.NPST-3SG    one    land=IND-OBL

‘(53) [he] says, “Alright”. (54a) **This Rahimbaksh** keeps travelling; (lit. turning, turning, turning, turning); (54b) until he went to a town’ (RB.m: 53–54)

- S1 PROX+NP to mark a referent as thematic in connection with a discontinuity of action

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this king**’ in (70b) refers to the same person as ‘[Ø]’ in the previous clause (70a), so the context is S1. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention. The motivation for the marked NP encoding occurs in connection with a discontinuity of action since the narrator gives background information about the king before the next event on the story line.

Ex. 190) S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) in connection with a discontinuity of action (NP)

70a	<i>'dar</i>	<i>k-ay-Ø</i>				
	PREV	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG				
70b	<i>'ē</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>'dega</i>	<i>naw'kar=e</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>
	PROX	king	REFL	another	servant=IND	you know
	<i>go'lām=e</i>	<i>zī'r-ī</i>		<i>gō̄=o</i>		
	slave=IND	take.NPST-3SG		with=and		
70c	<i>'dega</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>mol'lā=e</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>mol'k-īg-ī</i>	
	another	one	Mullah=IND	PROX	land-ADJZ-GEN	
	<i>zī'r-ī</i>					
	take.NPST-3SG					

‘(70a) [He] leaves; (70b) **this king** takes with a servant with him; you know, a slave, and (70c) [he] takes a Mullah from that (lit. this) country’ (KD.f: 70a–70c)

- S1 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic plus for highlighting

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that king**’ in (151a) refers to the same person as ‘Ø’ [he] in the previous clause (150c), so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to slow the story down in preparation for what happens once the king has left (i.e., the Mullah becoming interested in his wife and killing his sons etc.).

Ex. 191) S1 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic (DIST) plus highlighting (NP)

150a *bād'sāh 'pada tar'r-ī 'raw-∅*  
king again turn.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG

150b *'eš-ān 'dan-t=e*  
PROX-PL give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

150c *o's-ī*  
say.NPST-3SG

151a *'ā bād'sāh 'raw-∅*  
DIST king go.NPST-3SG

‘(150a) The king returns (lit. turns goes) [to his place and]; (150b) leaves (lit. gives] her to them; (150c) [he] says (...). (152a) **That king** goes back’ (KD.f:150a–152a)

- S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage for highlighting

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the father**’ in (27a) refers to the same person as ‘the father’ in the previous clause (26), so the context is S1. Because there is falling intonation at the end of (26) and rising intonation at the beginning of (27a), it is a tail-head linkage combination. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the fact that the girl said nothing to her father.

Ex. 192) S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage for highlighting

26 *'nī 'pet 'jos kan-t=e*  
now father question do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

27a *'pet 'jos=ī kã-∅*  
father question=PC.3SG do.NPST-3SG

27b *'pet-a gō 'hēč 'na-goš-ī*  
father-OBL with nothing NEG-say.NPST-3SG

‘(26) Then the father asks her [what had happened]. (27a) **The father** asks her; (27b) [she] does not say anything to the father’ (KD.f: 26–27b)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this one of her shoes**’ in (24a) refers to the same subject as ‘one of her shoes’ in the previous clause (24a), so the context is S1. Because there is falling intonation at the end of (23d), and rising intonation at the beginning of (24a), it is a tail-head linkage combination. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the shoe as thematic since it is a significant item as the story develops. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to signal a new narrative unit as attention switches from what happened at the school to what happened at the king’s palace.

Ex. 193) S1 PROX+NP in connection with tail-head linkage to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus a new narrative unit (NP)

23c	<i>'padā</i>	<i>ta'č-ī</i>	<i>ta'č-ī</i>	<i>ta'č-ī</i>
	again	run.NPST-3SG	run.NPST-3SG	run.NPST-3SG
23d	<i>'kawnš-e</i>	<i>'tā=e</i>	<i>ka'p-īt=ē</i>	
	shoes-GEN	match=PC.3SG	fall.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	
24a	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'kawnš-e</i>	<i>'tā</i>	<i>ka'p-īt=e</i>
	PROX	shoe-GEN	match	fall.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG
24b	<i>'e</i>	<i>'k-ay-∅</i>	<i>'k-ay-∅</i>	
	PROX	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	
25a	<i>'k-ay-∅</i>	<i>ra's-ī</i>	<i>mē'tag-a</i>	
	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	arrive.NPST-3SG	village-OBL	

‘(23c) Again she keeps running; (23d) one of her shoes falls [off]. (24a) **This one of her shoes** fell’ [off]; (24b) this one keeps coming [till she arrives home]; (25a) [She] arrives [home] (lit. comes [and] arrives village)’ (KD.f: 23–24c)

- S1 NP in connection with repetition as a highlighting/slowing down device

In the passage below, the subject ‘**girl**’ in (15c) refers to the same person ‘girl’ as in the previous clause (15b), so the context is S1. Because the intonation pattern in (15b) is repeated in (15c), it is a form of repetition, even though the events concerned took place on different days. The motivation for the marked NP in the repeated material in S1 is either to highlight the girl’s failure to study or, more likely, to be as a slowing-down device in anticipation of the father’s response (which will change the direction of the story).

Ex. 194) S1 NP in connection with repetition as a highlighting/slowing down device

15a	<i>'xayr</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>'gwast-∅</i>	
	you know	DIST	day	pass.PST-3SG	
15b	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>'na-šo-∅</i>	<i>wān-a'g-ā</i>		
	girl	NEG-go.PST-3SG	read-NPST-INF-OBL		
15c	<i>'ēdga</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>'na-šo-∅</i>	<i>wān-a'g-ā</i>
	another	day	girl	NEG-go.PST-3SG	read.NPST-INF-OBL
15d	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'pet-ā</i>	<i>'go</i>		
	then	father-OBL	say.PST		

‘(15a) You know, that day passed; (15b) the girl did not go studying; (15c) the next day, **the girl** did not go studying; (15d) then her father said, (...) (KD.m: 15a–15d)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**one of the girl’s shoes**’ in (18e) refers to the same thing as ‘one of the girl’s sandals’ in the previous clause, (18d) so the context is S1. Because the intonation pattern in (18d) is repeated in (18e), this is a form of repetition. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight what afterwards happens in the story since the loss of her sandals is a significant element for the development of the rest of the story.

Ex. 195) S1 NP in connection with repetition to highlight the event

18c	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>'jerge-Ø</i>		
	girl	run.PST-3SG		
18d	<i>je'nek-e</i>	<i>čam'pal-e</i>	<i>'tā=ī</i>	<i>'kapt-Ø</i>
	girl-GEN	sandal-GEN	match=PC.3SG	fall.PST-3SG
18e	<i>čam'pal-e</i>	<i>'tā=ī</i>	<i>je'nek-e</i>	<i>'kapt-Ø</i>
	sandal-GEN	match=PC.3SG	girl-GEN	fall.PST-3SG

‘(18c) the girl run away; (18d) **one of the girl’s sandals** fell [off]; (18e) one of the girl’s sandals fell [off]’ (KD.m: 18c-19)

#### 4.4.2. Marked encoding in S2 and motivations

The following sub-sections discuss forms of marked encoding in accusative and ergative alignments in the S2 context.

Various forms of marked encoding occur in the S2 context in the folktales and biographical tales in the accusative alignment.

##### 4.4.2.1. Marked encoding for S2 in the accusative alignment

The marked forms for the S2 context are: NP, PROX, DIST, PN; and combinations of them: PROX+NP, DIST+NP. The following examples illustrate the forms and motivations for the different marked encodings.

- S2 NP in connection with highlighting

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the girl**’ in (56c) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (56b), so the context is S2. The motivation for over-encoding with NP is to highlight the speech since the contents are very important for the rest of the story.

Ex. 196) S2 NP in connection with highlighting a speech

- 56a *mās-te'r-ēn* 'brāt-ā 'go-∅ 'mā  
 old-COMP-ATTR brother-OBL say.PST-3SG PN.1SG  
 'tī 'sāng=ā ka'n-ā̃  
 PN.2SG.GEN betrothal=VCL do.NPST-1SG
- 56b *kas-te'r-ēn-ā* 'go 'mā  
 young-COMP-ATTR-OBL say.PST PN.1SG  
 'tī 'sāng=ā ka'n-ā̃  
 PN.2SG.GEN betrothal=VCL do.NPST-1SG
- 56c *ǰa'nek-ā* 'go ke 'man-ī 'ē  
 girl-OBL say.PST CLM PN.1SG-GEN PROX  
*manga'līk-e* ba'dal-ā 'harče mar'dom=ē  
 bangle-GEN copy-OBL every person=IND  
 'be-ǰan-t=o čōrī'keg-ā  
 SUBJ-make.NPST-3SG=and bangle=IND  
 'mā ha'm=āī 'sāng=ā ka'n-ā̃  
 PN.1SG EMPH=DIST.GEN betrothal=VCL do.NPST-1SG
- 57 *ē'sīā* 'go 'mā 'hanī  
 PROX.OBL say.PST PN.1PL right now  
 ǰa'n-ēn=e  
 hit.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG

“(56a) The oldest brother said, “I will marry you.” (56b) The youngest one said, “I will marry you.” (56c) **The girl** said /that/, “Anyone who can make an identical copy of my bangle I will marry him.(57) This one said, “We will make it right now”” (BS.m: 56a–57)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the boy**’ in (71b) is the addressee of the speech reported in the previous clause (71a), so the context is S2. The motivation for over-encoding with NP is to highlight the boy’s action of cutting his thigh with his sword to provide meat for the bird.

Ex. 197) S2 NP in connection with highlighting an action

71a *pa'dā* 'gošt=ī 'man-ā 'gōšt  
 again say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ meat  
 'be-day-Ø  
 IMPV.give.NPST-2SG

71b *ba'čak-ā* kaš'šet 'zahm=o 'otī 'pād-ay  
 boy-OBL pull.PST sword=and REFL.GEN foot-GEN  
 'rān=ī 'borret=o 'morg-e 'dap-ā dā  
 thigh=PC.3SG cut.PST=and bird-GEN mouth-OBL give.PST

‘(71a) Again it said, “Give me meat.” (71b) **The boy** drew his sword and cut his thigh and put it into the bird’s mouth’ (BS.m: 71a–71b)

In the following example, the subject ‘**The woman**’ in (79b) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (79a), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight a countering speech since the woman does not allow the Mullah to fulfil his wish.

Ex. 198) S2 NP in connection with a countering speech

79a 'nī 'ošt=ī 'man-ā 'b-el-Ø  
 now say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1PL-OBJ IMPV-allow.NPST-2SG

79b *ja'nēn* go's-ī 'na na'zīk-a 'may-ā-Ø  
 woman say.NPST-3SG no near-OBL PRO-come.NPST-2SG

80 'gošt=ī 'tī 'čok-a ko's-ā  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG.GEN child-OBL kill.NPST-1SG

‘(79a) You know, [he] said, “Allow me”. (79b) **The woman** says, “No, do not come close [to me]”. [he] said, “I will kill your son.” (KD.m: 79–80)

- S2 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject ‘**poor Jalahi**’ in (5), is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (4c), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (4c) ends low, whereas that for (5) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (4c) ends the previous unit, whereas (5) begins a new narrative unit. So the motivation for the marked NP encoding in (5) is to signal a new narrative unit, since there is a switch of attention from the place where Jalahi meets his sister to what happens when Jalahi returns.

Ex. 199) S2 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

- 4a *'raw-t=ē* *daš't-ā*  
go.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG Dasht-OBL
- 4b *ha'm=āngō* *dar* *gē'j-īt=ē*  
EMPH=DIST PREV find.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG
- 4c *go'š-ī* *'by-ā-∅* *e'dā* *'dēm* *pa*  
say.NPST-3SG IMPV.come.NPST-2SG here face to  
*'dēm-ā* *māšo'mā-rā* *'nay-l-ā*  
face-OBL PN.1PL.INC-OBJ NEG.allow.NPST-3PL  
*raw-a'g-ā* *'hanī* *'mā* *'ta* *'čī*  
go.NPST-INF-OBL right now PN.1PL PN.2SG what  
*∅-kan-'ēn* *polīs-'ānī* *sa'rā* *'ē* *ha'bar*  
SBJV-do.NPST-1PL police-GEN.PL on PROX word  
*ka'n-ā* *'mā-rā* *ge'r-ā*  
do.NPST.3PL PN.1PL-OBJ take.NPST-3PL  
*gerete'r=ē* *'taw* *'bo-ro-∅*  
good.COMP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG
- 5 ***jalā'hī*** ***baz'zag*** *'k-ay-t=ē*  
Jalahi poor IMP.k.come.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG  
*'ham=īngō* *'padā* *'otī* *mol'k-ā*  
EMPH=there again REFL.GEN land-OBL

‘(4a) [he] goes to Dasht, (4b) finds them there (lit. this direction). (4c) [she] says [to Jalahi], “Look, here they do not allow us to go openly; now you [and] me do something; these report to the police; they will seize us; it is a good [solution]; you go” (5) **Poor Jalahi** returns to this direction to his village’(HA.f: 4–5)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the brothers**’ in (24a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (23c), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (23c) ends low, whereas that for (24a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (23c) ends the previous unit, whereas (24a) begins a new narrative unit. So the motivation for the NP encoding is to mark a new narrative unit. There is a switch of attention from the place where king is talking to his son to the forest (where the girl is taken to).

Ex. 200) S2 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

- 23a *bad'šāh-ā* *gō* *'otī* *čō'k-ā* *'go*  
king-OBL with REFL.GEN child-OBL.PL say.PST  
*ke* *čō'k-ā*  
CLM child-VOC
- 23b *'gošt=ī* *'hā*  
say.PST=PC.3SG yes
- 23c *'gošt=ī* *'ēšīā* *'be-bar-e* *'ē*  
say.PST=PC.3SG PROX.OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL PROX  
*ja'nek-ā* *'be-bar-e*  
girl-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL  
*'be-koš-et=ī=o* *'ēšīe*  
IMPV-kill.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG=and PROX.GEN  
*čam'm-ā=ō* *hō'n-ā* *'bey-ār-e*  
eye-OBL.PL=and blood-OBL.PL IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL  
*'man-ā* *∅-'day-et=e* *'man*  
NP.1SG-OBL IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3PL PN.1SG  
*wā'r-ān* *'ēšīā* *'ē-rang-ē* *har'kat=ī*  
eat.NPST-1SG PROX.OBL PROX-kind-ATTR deed=IND  
*kot-a*  
do.PST-PP
- 24a *brā't-ā* *'zo* *go'hār* *'ārt*  
brother-OBL.PL take.PST sister bring.PST
- 24b *'ārt* *jan'gal-e* *tō'kā*  
bring.PST forest-GEN into

‘(23a) The king told his children /that/, “[Hey] children!” (23b) [one of them] said, “What do you want (lit. yes); (23c) [he] said, “Take her, take this girl, kill [her] and bring her eyes and her blood [and] give me to eat [since] she has done such a deed (lit. movement).” (24a) **The brothers** brought the sister (lit. took and brought), (24b) [they] kept bring [her] into the forest’ (KD.f: 23–24)

- S2 when a new narrative unit is signalled by intonation

New narrative units are usually characterised by a discontinuity of time or action. However, the present study confirms that an author may choose to begin a new narrative unit (recognizable by the characteristic intonation) even when there is no discernible discontinuity.

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (69) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (68), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (68) ends low, whereas that for (69) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (68) ends the previous unit, whereas (69) begins a new narrative unit. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the king is the current centre of attention rather than his wife; furthermore, the next part of the story will develop through him.

Ex. 201) S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

67	<i>o'š-tī</i>	<i>'ē=ō</i>	<i>'man-tī</i>	<i>dōs't-ē̃</i>
	say.NPST-3SG	PROX=FOC	PN.1SG-GEN	friend -ATTR
	<i>mar'dom=ē</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>pē'sarā</i>
	people=IND	PN.2SG	than	in former times
	<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>'man-a</i>	<i>'na-gošt-a</i>	
	for the sake of	PN.1SG-OBL	NEG-say.PST-PP	
68	<i>'gošt-tī</i>	<i>'šar=ē̃</i>	<i>'be-r-ē̃</i>	
	say.PST=PC.3SG	fine=COP.NPST.3SG	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	
69	<i>'ē̃</i>	<i>'odā̃</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>'dar</i>
	PROX	there	from	PREV
				<i>k-ay-∅</i>
				IMP.k -come.NPST-3SG

(66a) [he] says, “Alright, who is your father?” (66b) [she] says, “It is king so-and-so.” (67) [He] says, “He is my friend; why haven’t you told me before”. (68) [She] said, “Let’s go”. (69) **This one** leaves (lit. gets out from there)’ (KD.m: 64-69)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that one**’ in (84) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (83b), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (83c) ends low, whereas that for (84) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (83c) ends the previous unit, whereas (84) begins a new narrative unit. The motivation for the DIST is to mark the referent as non-thematic, since the centre of attention at this stage of the story is someone else (the global VIP).

Ex. 202) S2 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

83a	<i>kam'bal</i>	<i>kaš'še</i>			
	blanket	pull.PST			
83b	<i>ča'gal=e</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>xā'nom-e</i>	
	throwing=PC.3SG	give.PST.3SG	REFL.GEN	wife-GEN	
	<i>nēma'g-ā</i>				
	direction-OBL				
83c	<i>'ēš-ā</i>	$\emptyset$ - <i>'zī-∅</i>	<i>de'ge</i>	<i>kam'bal=ē</i>	
	PROX-OBL	IMPV.take.NPST-2SG	another	blanket=IND	
	<i>'by-ār-∅</i>				
	IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG				
84	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'šo-∅</i>	<i>kam'bal=ē</i>	<i>'by-ār-ī</i>	
	DIST	go.PST-3SG	blanket=IND	SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG	

‘(83a) [he] removed [it] [and] (83b) threw it to his wife’s direction; (83c) [he said] “Take this one and bring another blanket” (84) **That one** went to bring the blanket’ (HS.m: 83–84)

- S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this one**’ in (174c) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (174b), so the context is S2. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention, since attention switches from the king’s wife to the shepherd.

Ex. 203) S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

147a	<i>ča</i>	<i>'čāt-e</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>rama'gī</i>	<i>'jos</i>
	from	well-GEN	in	DIST	shepherd	question
	<i>kā-∅</i>		<i>'to</i>	<i>'čōnēn=ē=e</i>		
	do.NPST-3SG		PN.2SG	what=IND=COP.NPST.2SG		
	<i>'čāt-e</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>				
	well-GEN	in				
174b	<i>'gošt=ī</i>		<i>'mā</i>			
	say.PST=PC.3SG		PN.1SG			
	<i>mar'dom=ē=ā</i>			<i>'ta-ra</i>	<i>'māt=ē</i>	
	human being=IND=COP.NPST.1SG			PN.2SG-OBJ	mother=IND	
	<i>go'hār=ē</i>	<i>'kas=ē</i>	<i>hā-∅</i>	<i>'nē</i>		
	sister=IND	someone=IND	be.NPST-3SG	NEG.be.NPST-3SG		
174c	<i>'ē</i>	<i>go'š-ī</i>	<i>'man-a</i>			
	PROX	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ			
	<i>hast=ē</i>					
	be.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG					

‘(147a) That shepherd asks her from inside the well, “What are you?”; (174b) she said from inside the well, “I am a human; do you have a mother, a sister, a relative [or] not?”; (174c) **This one** says, “I do”’ (KD.m: 147a–174b)

- S2 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following example, the subject, ‘**that one**’ in (54b) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (54a), so the context is S2. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention, since in the next sentence (54c with PROX) the king is as the current centre of attention.

Ex. 204) S2 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

54a	<i>bāde'šāh-ā</i>	'go	'bo-ro-∅		
	king-OBL	say.PST	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG		
	'ba-yār-∅=ī				
	IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG				
54b	<i>ā'īā</i>	'go	'man	'čī	∅-'kan-ān
	DIST.OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG	what	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG
	'īī				
	'čok=en				
	PN.2SG.GEN	child=COP.NPST.3SG			
54c	<i>ēšīā</i>	'go	to	wazīr=ay	
	PROX.OBL	say.PST	PN.2SG	minister=COP.NPST.2SG	

‘(54a) The king said. “Go and bring him”; (54b) **that one** said “What should I do?; he is your son”; (54c) this one said, “You are the minister” (KS.m: 54a–54c)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that one**’ in (56) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (55c), so the context is S2. (56) begins with a temporal clause (with the complementiser *ke*) that signals a switch from the time of conversation to the time that the wife goes to bring a blanket. The motivation for the DIST is to mark the referent as non-thematic, since the centre of attention at this stage of the story is someone else (Kahir as the global VIP).

Ex. 205) S2 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

55c	<i>'ēš-ā</i>	∅-'zī-∅	<i>de'ge</i>	<i>pa'tū=ē</i>
	PROX-OBL	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG	another	blanket=IND
	'by-ār-∅			
	IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG			
56a	<i>'ā</i>	ke	'šo-∅	<i>pa'tū=ē</i>
	DIST	CLM	go.PST-3SG	blanket=IND
	'by-ār-ī			
	SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG			

(55c) [he said to his wife] “Take this one and bring another blanket” (56) When **that one** went to bring the blanket’ (HS.f: 55c–56a)

- S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this father**’ in (31a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (29), so the context is S2. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention. The intonation contour for (30) ends low, whereas that for (31a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (29–30) ends the previous unit, whereas (31a) begins a new narrative unit. So, the motivation for the marked NP encoding is to signal a new narrative unit in which the father decides what to do next.

Ex. 206) S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus a new narrative unit (NP)

29	<i>go's-ī</i>	<i>'by-ā-∅</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>bād'sāh=ē</i>	
	say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	king=IND	
	<i>maza'n-ē</i>	<i>nām'dār=ē</i>	<i>mol'k-ānī</i>	<i>bad'sāh=ay</i>	
	big-ATTR	famous=IND	land-GEN.PL	king=COP.NPST-2SG	
30	<i>ta-ī</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>'čoš-ē</i>	<i>'kār=e</i>	
	PN.2SG-GEN	daughter	such-ATTR	work=IND	
	<i>randā=ē</i>				
	after=COP.NPST.3SG				
31a	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'hančō</i>	<i>pare'sān</i>	<i>b-ī</i>
	PROX	father	very	sad	become.NPST-3SG

‘(29) [He] says, “Look, you are a famous king, king over [many] countries; (30) your daughter is doing such and such a thing (...). (31a) **This father** gets very sad’ (KD.f: 29–31a)

- S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus to highlight

In the following passage, the subject ‘**This shepherd**’ in (96b) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (96a), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked encoding with PROX is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the speech since the contents are important for the rest of the story.

Ex. 207) S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus highlighting the speech (NP)

- 96a    *'š-ī*                      *'šarr=ē*                      *'tra*  
 say.NPST-3SG    fine=COP.NPST-3SG    PN.2SG.OBJ  
*'māt=o*              *go'hār*    *mar'dom*  
 mother=and    sister    human being  
*ha-∅*  
 be.NPST-3SG
- 96b    *'ē*              *ramā'gī*    *go'š-ī*              *'drō*    *'man-a*  
 PROX              shepherd    say.NPST-3SG    all    PN.1SG-OBJ  
*hast=ē*  
 be.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG
- 97    *go'š-ī*                      *'goṛā*    *'be-r-ē*  
 say.NPST-3SG    then    SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

‘(96a) [She] says, “Fine do you have a mother, sister, relative?”; (96b) **this shepherd** says, “I have all of them.” (97) She says, “So let’s go.” (KD.f:96a–175)

- S2 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic plus a slowing-down device to highlight what followings

In the following passage, the subject ‘**That woman**’ in (54e) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (54d), so the context is S2. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention, since in (54d with PROX) the king is the current centre of attention. The question of (54e), together with the marked NP encoding, is slowing-down device to highlight (54f).

Ex. 208) S2 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic (DIST) plus a slowing-down device to highlight what follows (NP)

54b	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>go's-ī</i>		<i>'janen</i>	
	king	say.NPST-3SG		woman	
54c	<i>go's-ī</i>		<i>'hā</i>		
	say.NPST-3SG		yes		
54d	<i>'ē</i>	<i>go's-ī</i>	<i>'bo-ro-∅</i>	<i>zā'm-ā</i>	
	PROX	say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	sword-OBL	
	<i>'by-ār-∅</i>		<i>ra'w-ān</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>č'o'k-ā</i>
	IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG		go.NPST-1SG	REFL-GEN	child-OBL
	<i>ko's-ān</i>				
	kill.NPST-1SG				
54e	<i>'ā</i>	<i>ja'nen</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>'kan-t</i>	
	DIST	woman	what	do.NPST-3SG	
54f	<i>lagg-īt</i>	<i>kand-ag-ā</i>			
	start.NPST-3SG	laugh.NPST-INF-OBL			

‘(54b) the king says, “Woman” ; (54c) [she] says, “Yes” ; (54d) this one says, “go [and] bring the sword; I will go [and] kill my son”; (54e) what does **that woman** do? (54f) she starts to laugh’ (UP: 54b–54f)

#### 4.5.2.2. Marked encoding in S2 in ergative alignment in the biographical tales

Because the default encoding for the S2 context in the ergative alignment in the biographical tales is NP, there are two types of marked encoding for S2: Under-encoding and over-encoding. They are considered in turn.

##### 4.5.2.2.1. Under-encoding

The forms of under-encoding are: PC, PROX and DIST. The following examples illustrate each form in turn, together with the motivation for under-encodings.

- S2 PC in connection with a VIP

In the following passage, the subject ‘PC’ [he] in (51) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (50), so the context is S2. Such under-encoding is possible because the referent is the global VIP and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 209) S2 PC in connection with a VIP

51	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'man-ī</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>da'nīgā</i>	
	PROX.OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG-GEN	father	still	
	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ka'sān=ā</i>				
	PN.1SG	young=COP.NPST.1SG				
52	<i>do-'mī</i>	<i>'čok=e</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>'har</i>
	two-ORD	child=PC.3SG	say.PST	father	PN.2PL	every
	<i>yak=ī</i>	<i>'bīs</i>	<i>'sī</i>	<i>'bīs</i>	<i>'pā</i>	<i>'sāl</i>
	one=IND	twenty	thirty	twenty	five	year
	<i>'omr=e</i>	<i>'bīs</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>mar'dom-e</i>		
	age=COP.NPST.2PL	twenty	year	person-GEN		
	<i>'omr=e</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>'by-ā-e</i>			
	age=COP.NPST.2PL	PN.2PL	IMPV-come.NPST-2PL			
	<i>'sīr</i>	<i>Ø-kan-e</i>				
	wedding	IMPV-do.NPST-2PL				

‘(51) This one said, “My father, I am still young.”(52) [Rahimbaksh] said to his second son, “My dear (lit. father), each of you, are twenty, thirty, twenty five years old, twenty years old; get married (lit. come [and] get married).” (RB.m: 51–52)

- S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (44) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (43), so the context is S2. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent who is the global VIP in this biographical tale, as also the current centre of attention.

Ex. 210) S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

42	<i>e'šīā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>go'hār</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>mas-'ter</i>	
	PROX.OBL	REFL.GEN	sister	say.PST	big-COMP	
	<i>'man-ī</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'taw=ay</i>		<i>'harčī</i>	<i>ke</i>
	PN.1SG-GEN	ADD	PN.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG		whatever	CLM
	<i>'to</i>	<i>'man-ā</i>	<i>∅-'d-ay</i>		<i>'man-ā</i>	
	PN.2SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	SBJV-give.NPST-2SG		PN.1SG-OBJ	
	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>ete'rāz=ē</i>	<i>'nēst=ē</i>			
	another	objection=IND	NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG			
43	<i>go'hār-ā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'ta-rā</i>	<i>'sī</i>	<i>'panč</i>
	sister-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	thirty	five
	<i>mes'kāl</i>	<i>te'lāh</i>	<i>day-ā</i>	<i>bā'kī</i>	<i>'ta-rā</i>	
	<i>meskal</i>	cold	give.NPST-1SG	rest	PN.2SG-OBJ	
	<i>'sad=o</i>	<i>pan'jā</i>	<i>ha'zār</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>'tī</i>	
	hundred=and	fifty	thousand	toman	PN.2SG.GEN	
	<i>go'd-ānī</i>	<i>'ta-rā</i>	<i>da'y-ā</i>			
	cloth-GEN.PL	PN.2SG-OBJ	give.NPST-1SG			
44	<i>ē'šīā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>mas-'ter</i>	<i>'ta</i>		
	PROX.OBL	say.NPST	big-COPM	PN.2SG		
	<i>'wāt=ay</i>					
	REFL=COP.NPST.2SG					

‘(42) This one said to his sister, “You are my lawyer (lit.my chief) too; whatever you give me, I will not have any objection”. (43) The sister said, “I will give you thirty five meskal gold and the rest, I will give you one hundred and fifty thousand *toman* for your [daughter’s] clothes”. (44) **This one** said, “You can decide (lit. you are bigger)”’ (RB.m: 42–44)

- S2 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that one**’ in (31) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (30), so the context is S2. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention, since in the previous clause ‘Rahimbaksh’ is in the current centre of attention. Under-encoding is possible, because ‘that one’ is in contrast with ‘this Rahimbaksh’.

Ex. 211) S2 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

- 30 *go's-ī*  
say.NPST-3SG
- 31 *'ē rahīm'bakš hay'rã bī-∅*  
PROX Rahimbaksh confused become.PST-3SG  
*'šarr=ē*  
fine=COP.NPST.3SG
- 32 *ā'īā yak gwānd-o'k-ê negē'na=ē 'čest*  
DIST.OBL one small-DIM-ATTR stone=IND up  
*ko 'dāt=ī*  
do.PST give.PST=PC.3SG

‘(30) [One of them] says, (...). (31) This Rahimbaksh was surprised; [he said], “Alright.” (32) **That one** gave [him] a small stone [gem]’ (RB.m: 29–31)

#### 4.5.2.2.2. Over-encoding

The forms of over-encoding are: PROX+NP, DIST+NP.

The following examples illustrate each form in turn, together with the motivation for over-encoding.

- S2PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**This man**’ in (122) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (121), so the context is S2. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark that the referent as the current centre of attention.

Ex. 212) S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

120	<i>go's-ī</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>zem'in=ī</i>	<i>hã</i>	<i>pa</i>
	say.NPST-3SG	another	land=IND	ADD	for
	<i>'man-ī</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>hã</i>	<i>'be-zīr-ī</i>	
	PN.1SG-GEN	for the sake of	ADD	SBJV-buy.NPST-3SG	
121	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mard-ā</i>	<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>'dā-∅</i>	<i>ke</i>
	PROX	man-OBL	answer	give.NPST-3SG	CLM
	<i>'šarr=ē</i>	<i>'dah</i>	<i>'sor</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>mī'lūn=ē</i>
	fine=COP.NPST.3SG	ten	gold	one	million=IND
	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>ze'mīn=ī</i>	<i>ē's=o</i>	<i>no'k-ē</i>	<i>ja'nēn=ē</i>
	toman	land=IND	PROX=FOC	new-ATTR	wife=IND
	<i>ra's-ī</i>	<i>'taw=o</i>	<i>kwā'n-ē</i>		
	arrive.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG=FOC	old-ATTR		
	<i>ja'nēn=ay</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>'čōn=a</i>	<i>ka'n-ay</i>	
	wife=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG	what=VCL	do.NPST-2SG	

‘(120) [She] says, “He should buy another [a piece of] land for me too”.  
 (121) **This man** answered /that/, “Alright, ten [meskal] gold, one million toman, [a piece of] land, with them, one will get a new wife, but you are an old wife, what will you do [with them]”’ (RB.m120–121)

- S2 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that son**’ in (69a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (68f), so the context is S2. The motivation for the DIST is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention since the centre of attention at this stage of the story is someone else (the global VIP).

Ex. 213) S2 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

68f	<i>ʔel'pūn</i>	<i>ʃa'n-ā</i>	<i>'by-ā-∅</i>		
	telephone	hit.NPST-3PL	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG		
	<i>pelā'n-ī</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>'pet</i>		
	so and so-NOMZ	PN.2SG.GEN	father		
	<i>nātā'rī=ē</i>	<i>'by-ā-∅</i>			
	sick=COP.NPST.3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG			
69a	<i>'ū</i>	<i>'čok-ū</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>wāsā'yel=e</i>	
	DIST	child-OBL	REFL.GEN	stuff=PC.3SG	
	<i>e'law</i>	<i>kot-ā</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>āt-∅</i>	<i>'āt-∅</i>
	loose	do.PST-3PL	PREV	come.PST-3SG	come.PST-3SG
	<i>lō'g-ā</i>				
	house-OBL				

‘(68f) [they] call [him]; [they said] “You fellow come your father is sick, he is sick, come” (69a) **That son** left his stuff; (69b) [he] came home’ (HS.m: 68f–69a)

#### 4.4.3. Marked encoding in S3 and motivations

Because the default encoding for S3 contexts is NP, there are two types of marked encoding for S3: under-encoding and over-encoding. They are considered in turn.

##### 4.4.3.1. Under-encoding

The forms of under-encoding are: ∅, PC, PROX and DIST.

The following examples illustrate each form of under-encoding in turn, together with its motivation.

- S3 ∅ in connection with a VIP

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [she] in (18b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (4a), so the context is S3. The reason for the under-encoding with ∅ is that the king’s daughter is the global VIP in this story and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around her.

Ex. 214) S3 ∅ in connection with a with the global VIP

18a	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'bārt=ī</i>			
	again	father	take.NPST=PC.3SG			
18b	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>hap'tag=e</i>	<i>'dō</i>	<i>hap'tag=e</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>wā'n-ī</i>
	till	week=IND	two	week=IND	again	read.NPST-3SG
	<i>ša'r-ī-ye</i>		<i>sa'rā</i>			
	good-NMLZ-GEN		on			

‘(18a) Again, the father takes her; (18b) then [she] studies well for one or two weeks’ (KD.f: 18a–18b)

In the following passage, the subject ‘PC’ [they] in (9b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (4a), so the context is S3. Such under-encoding is possible is because the referent is a local VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around them.

Ex. 215) S3 PC in connection with a local VIP

9a	<i>man'jal=ē</i>	<i>'āp=ē</i>	<i>dā't-ag-ā</i>
	pot=EZ	water=PC.3PL	give.PST-PP-3PL
	<i>na'gan-e</i>	<i>čon'dok=ē</i>	<i>dā't-ag-ā</i>
9b	bread-GEN	slice=PC.3PL	give.PST-PP-3PL

‘(9a) [children] gave (lit. have given) a pot of the water to them; [they] gave (lit. have given) a small slice of the bread to them [children]’ (HS.m: 9a–9b)

- S3 ∅ in connection with a repeated pattern

Heimerdinger (1999: 299) uses the term “script” for “a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions, with a specific goal”.

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [it] in (70c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (70b), so the context is S3. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that the context has set up a pattern which makes it obvious what the subject will be, without having to specify it.

Ex. 216) S3 ∅ in connection with a repeated pattern

70b 'āxer=ī 'gōšt-ā lō't-ī  
 end=PC.3SG meat-OBL want.NPST-3SG  
 'be-kaš-īt=o 'morg-e da'p-ā  
 SBJV-pull.NPST-3SG=and bird-GEN mouth-OBL  
 'be-dā-∅  
 SBJV-give.NPST-3SG

70c ča 'morg-e da'p-ā 'na-raset-∅=o  
 from bird-GEN mouth-OBL NEG-arrive.PST-3SG=and

70d pē'sarā za'mīn-ā 'kapt-∅  
 behind earth-OBL fall.PST-3SG

‘(70b) [he] wants to take the last piece of meat, and puts it inside the bird’s mouth; (70c) [it] didn’t reach the bird’s mouth; (70d) [it] fell down onto the ground already’ (BS.m: 70b–70d)

- S3 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [they] in (8c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (8b), so the context is S3. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that a singular participant is interacting with a plural number of participants, and the verb indicates whether the current subject is singular or plural.

Ex. 217) S3 ∅ singular-plural contrast

8a 'nī 'har jāgāh ke 'ē bād'sāh-e 'čok  
 now every place CLM PROX king-GEN child  
 ra'w-ant=ē  
 go.NPST-PL=COP.NPST.3SG

8b 'ē ba'lōč ran'dā kap't-a=∅  
 PROX Baloch behind fall.PST.PP=COP.NPST.3SG

8c tā'bīl=e 'na-ger-ā  
 attention=PC.3SG NEG-take.NPST-3PL

‘(8a) You know, wherever the king’s sons go, (8b) the Baloch [son] follows (lit. has followed) them, [but] (8c) [they] do not pay attention to him’ (BS.m: 8a–8c)

- S3 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (21b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (21a), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is the global VIP in this folktale, is also the current centre of attention rather than the king.

Ex. 218) S3 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

21a	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>tā'bīl</i>	<i>'na-ge</i>	<i>bād'sāh-ā</i>
	PROX	attention	NEG-take.PST	king-OBL
21b	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'ātk-∅</i>	<i>'māt-e</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>
	PROX	come.PST-3SG	mother-GEN	to

‘(21a) The king did not [pay] attention to him; (21b) **this one** came to his mother’ (BS.m: 21a–21b)

- S3 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that one**’ in (86d) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (86c), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to signal the referent as not the current centre of attention, since the Baloch’s son himself is the current centre of attention.

Ex. 219) S3 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

86c	<i>'dan-t=e</i>	<i>'dap-e</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>	
	give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	mouth-GEN	inside	
86d	<i>'ā</i>	<i>zī'r-ī</i>	<i>da'p-ā</i>	<i>dā'r-ūt=e</i>
	DIST	take.NPST-3SG	mouth-OBL	hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

‘(86c) [he] puts it into its mouth; (86d) **that one** takes [and] keeps it in its mouth’ (BS.f: 86c–86d)

#### 4.4.3.2. Over-encoding

The forms of over-encoding are as follows: PROX+NP, DIST+NP.

The following examples illustrate each form of over-encoding in turn, together with its motivation.

- S3 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this woman**’ in (3b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (3a), so the context is S3. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention rather than the king’s other wife.

Ex. 220) S3 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

3a *yak balō'č-ēn je'nēn=ē 'gept=ī*  
 one Baloch-ATTR wife=IND take.PST=PC.3SG

3b *bād'sāh-e 'naya-∅ 'ē ja'nen*  
 king-GEN NEG.COP.PST-3SG PROX woman

‘(3a) [He] took a Baloch wife; (3b) **this woman** was not a king’s [daughter]’ (BS.m: 3a–3b)

- S3 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that grandmother**’ in (176a) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (175b), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention since the king’s daughter is the current centre of attention.

Ex. 221) S3 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

174b *'bār-t=e 'otī bal'lok-e*  
 take-NPST-3SG=PC.3SG REFL.GEN grandmother-GEN

*lō'g-ā*  
 home-OBL

175a *'ā bal'lok 'ham=eš=ē*  
 DIST grandmother EMPH=PROX=COP.NPST.3SG

*neš't-a=∅*  
 site.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(174b) [He] takes her to his grandmother’s home. (175a) **That grandmother** was sitting’ (KD.f: 175b–176a)

#### 4.4.4. Marked encoding in S4 and motivations

As in the S3 context, there are two kinds of marked encoding for the S4 context: under-encoding and over-encoding. They are considered in turn.

##### 4.4.4.1. Under-encodings

The forms of under-encoding are as follows:  $\emptyset$ , PC, PROX and DIST. The following examples illustrate each form in turn, together with its motivation.

- S4  $\emptyset$  in connection with a VIP

In the following passage, the subject ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [he] in (26a) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (25), so the context is S4. The reason for the under-encoding  $\emptyset$  is that Rahimbaksh is the global VIP in this story and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 222) S4  $\emptyset$  in connection with a global VIP

20	<i>'čok</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>'b-īt</i>	
	child	fine	become.NPST-3SG	
21a	<i>'čok-ā</i>	<i>'bār-t</i>	<i>dabes'tān-ā</i>	
	child-OBL	take.NPST-3SG	primary school-OBL	
	<i>'dant=o</i>			
	give.NPST-3SG=and			
22b	<i>dabes'tān-ā</i>	<i>lag'g-īt</i>	<i>wā'n-ag-ā</i>	
	primary school-OBL	start.NPST-3SG	read.NPST-INF-OBL	
	<i>'čok</i>			
	child			

‘(20) The child is nice. (21a) [He] sends (lit. takes and gives) the child to school, and (21b) the child starts studying at school’ (RB.f: 25–26b)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ in (20a) is under-encoded with  $\emptyset$  in S4 since he was not involved in the previous clause. so the context is S4. The reason for the under-encoding  $\emptyset$  in the ergative alignment is that the referent is the global VIP in this story and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 223) S4 with under-encoding  $\emptyset$  in the ergative alignment in connection with a VIP

- 19a *yak* 'rōč=ē *bīt-∅=o* 'pet-ā *go*  
 one day=IND become.PST-3SG=and father-OBL say.PST  
*ke* 'nī 'tī 'sīr-e *pro'grām=ē*  
 CLM now PN.2SG.GEN wedding-GEN plan=COP.NPST.3SG  
*'tī* 'sīr-e *barnā'mah=ē* 'pūl  
 PN.2SG.GEN wedding-GEN plan=COP.NPST.3SG money  
*'pūl* *hā* 'nēst=ē  
 money ADD NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG
- 19b *ā'xer-ā* 'ā *zamā'nag-ā* *pē'sarā*  
 end-OBL DIST time-OBL in former times  
*šo't-a=∅*  
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
- 19b *bejā'rī=ye* *kot=at*  
 contribution=PC.3SG do.PST=COP.PST
- 19c *yak* *mar'dom=ē* *ke* 'yak=ē-ā *bejā'rī*  
 one people=IIND CLM one=IND-OBL contribution  
*dāt=at*  
 give.PST=COP.PST
- 19d *de'ga* *mar'dom* *bejā'rī* *kot=at*  
 you know people contribution do.PST=COP.PST
- 20a 'ā *wā'dī* 'say *ha'zār* *to'mō* *šo'wāz* *ko-∅*  
 DIST time three thousand toman collected do.PST-3SG
- 20b 'sī *mes'xāl* *te'lā* 'zo-∅  
 thirty meskal gold buy.PST-3SG

‘(19a) There was a day and the father said /that/, “It is time (lit. plan) for your wedding; it is time (lit. plan) for your wedding, [but] the money, [but] there is no money.” (19b) You know, in the past times, they went (lit. have gone) (19c) and did (lit. have done) *bejārī*, (19d) you know people asked for *bejārī* [...] (20a) At that time [he] collected three thousand *to-man*, (20b) [and] [he] bought thirty meskal of gold’ (RB.m: 19a–20b)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘PC’ [she] in (28a) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (27a), so the context is S4. The reason for the under-encoding PC in the ergative alignment is that the referent is the global VIP in this story and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around her.

Ex. 224) S4 PC in the ergative alignment in connection with the global VIP

26c	<i>golām'kāder</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>ā-∅</i>		
	Golalmkader	PREV	come.PST-3SG		
26d	<i>go's-ī</i>	<i>'hā</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>sār=ay</i>	
	say.NPST-3SG	ADD	PN.2SG	wise=COP.NPST.2SG	
	<i>ga'nok=ay</i>				
	crazy=COP.NPST.2SG				
27a	<i>ka'hīr-ā</i>	<i>ko'jā</i>	<i>ko's-ay</i>	<i>ka'hīr</i>	<i>'tī</i>
	Kahir-OBL	where	kill.NPST-2SG	Kahir	PN.2SG.GEN
	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>'jan=ē</i>	<i>gep't-a</i>		
	by	wife=IND	take.PST-PP		
28a	<i>'nī</i>	<i>šekā'hat=ī</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>pol'lān-e</i>	
	now	complain=PC.3SG	do.PST	Polan-GEN	
	<i>ga'jar-ā</i>				
	army-OBL				

‘Golalmkader appeared, [he] says [to Yarmammad], “Yes, are you sane or are you crazy?; Why do you kill Kahir?; Kahir took (lit. has taken) a wife from your relatives (lit. side).” (28a) You know, [she] complained to Polan’s court (lit. army)’ (HA.f: 26c–28a)

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [he] in clause (86b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (86a), so the context is S4. Such an under-encoding with ∅ is possible because the referent is a local VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 225) S4 ∅ in connection with a local VIP

86a	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'drō</i>	<i>moč'č-ē</i>	<i>wāp't-ag=ā</i>	
	now	all	all-ATTR	sleep.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	
86b	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'k-ay-∅</i>		<i>'ešīe</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>
	now	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		PROX.GEN	to

‘(86a) Now all are asleep; (86b) now [he] comes to her’ (KD.f: 86a–86b)

- S4 ∅ in connection with a contrast between the VIP and a minor participant

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [he] in (50) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (49), so the context is S4. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that the VIP is contrast with a minor participant and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around the girl rather than the king’s son.

Ex. 226) S4 Ø in connection with a contrast between the VIP and a minor participant

49 *ke 'ē manga'lik-ā gō 'wat-a*  
 CLM PROX bangle-OBL with REFL-OBL

Ø-'kā-Ø

IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

50 *je'nek ke 'kašše-Ø bor'zag-ā*  
 girl CLM pull.PST-3SG up-OBL

'(49) [She said to the boy] /that/, “Keep this bangle”. (50) When [he] pulled the girl up' (BS.f: 49–50)

- S4 PC in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject 'PC' [they] in (52b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (52a), so the context is S4. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that a singular participant is interacting with a plural number of participants, and the verb indicates whether the current subject is singular or plural.

Ex. 227) S4 in connection with a singular-plural contrast

52a *ba'čak-ā 'bas 'otī 'srēn-ā=o*  
 boy-OBL tie.PST REFL.GEN waist-OBL=and

52b *'kaššet=e 'dā 'nēm 'rāh-ā*  
 pull.NPST=PC.3PL till half way-OBL

'(52a) The boy tied it around his waist, and (52b) [they] pulled him up till the middle of the way' (BS. m: 52a–b)

- S4 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject 'this one' in (4l) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (4k), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is the global VIP in this biographical tale, is also the current centre of attention rather than his father.

Ex. 228) S4 PROX to mark the VIP as thematic

4k *dī'wān=ī kot-a*  
 meeting=PC.3SG do.PST-PP

4l *'ē hamē'sa gō ē's-ā 'hōr=a-Ø*  
 PROX always with PROX-OBL.PL together=COP.PST-3SG

'(4k) [he] chatted (lit. has chatted); (4l) **this one** was always with him (lit. them)' (RB.m: 4k–4l)

- S4 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that one**’ in (7d) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (7c), so the context is S4. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention. The reason why the author did not need to say ‘that ghoul’ is probably because it has already been stated in context that the son is to watch for a ghoul that it is a ghoul, so it is not necessary to give this information again.

Ex. 229) S4 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

- 7a *mas-te'r-ēn* 'čok 'šo-Ø  
 old-COMP-ATTR child go.PST-3SG
- 7b *'nešt-Ø* *ka'm-ok=e-yā*  
 sit.PST-3SG little-DIM=IND-OBL
- 7c *'dānke* *ha'm=ōdā* 'wāb *ka-Ø*  
 till EMPH=there sleep fall.PST.3SG
- 7d **'ā** 'ātk-Ø  
 DIST come.PST-3SG
- 7e *yak* 'hōš=ē 'borret  
 one cluster=IND cut.PST
- 7f 'šo-Ø  
 go.PST-3SG

‘(7a) The oldest son went, (7b) [and] sat for a short while; (7c) till he fell asleep there; (7d) **that one** came, (7e) cut one of the clusters, (7f) [and] went away’ (BS.f: 7a–7f)

#### 4.4.4.2. Over-encoding

The forms of over-encoding are as follows: PROX+NP, DIST+NP, and REFL+NP.

The following examples illustrate each form of over-encoding in turn, together with the motivation for using more than a simple NP.

- S4 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**These chicks**’ in (57d) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (57c), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention rather than the Baloch’s son.

Ex. 230) S4 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

57c *go's-ī*                      'ē                      'b-zā-∅                      'man-ī  
 say.NPST-3SG      PROX      IMPV-know.NPST-2SG      PN.1SG-GEN  
*čō'rok*    *ham=ē'sīā*                      *wār't-ag-ā*  
 chick      EMPH=PROX.OBL      eat.PST-PP-3PL  
*bor't-ag-ant-ī*  
 take.PST-PP-3PL=PC.3SG

57d 'ē              čō'rok    *may'dān*    *kan-ā*  
 PROX    chick    square    do.NPST-3PL

57e *go's-ī*  
 say.NPST-3SG

‘(57c) [it] says, “He has eaten my chicks; he has taken them”; (57d) **these chicks** come running, (57e) [and] [it] says, (...)’ (BS.f: 57c–57e)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (12c) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (12b), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the king’s daughter, who is the global VIP in this story, is also the current centre of attention rather than the Mullah’s students in the class. The number ‘one’ is used to indicate that she was alone.

Ex. 231) S4 PROX+NP to mark the referent as a VIP as thematic

12a 'nī    *ke*    *saj'jē*    *ja'nek*    *ta'tīl*    *ka'n-ā*  
 now    CLM    all.ATTR    girl    dismissed    do.NPST-3PL

12b *raw-ā*  
 do.NPST-3PL

12c 'nī    'ham=e                      *yak*    'paš    *ka'p-ī*  
 now    EMPH=PROX                      one    behind    fall.NPST-3SG

‘(12a) Then, when all the girls are dismissed, (12b) [and] go away; (12c) only **this one** [girl] is left [in the class]’ (KD.m: 12a–12c)

- S4 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**those people**’ in (37c) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (37b), so the context is S4. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention since the attention is on the Baloch’s son who is inside the well.

Ex. 232) S4 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

37b *'ham=ē*            *'čāt-e*            *gwa'rā*    *'ēr*            *kā-∅*  
 EMPH=PROX    well-GEN    by            PREV        do-NPST-3SG

*'čāt-e*        *da'pā*  
 well-GEN    front

37c *'ā*        *mar'dom*    *'nī*        *ham='ōdā*  
 DIST    people        now        EMPH=there

*neš't-ag=ā*  
 sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

‘(37b) [he] puts [them] beside this well; (37c) now, **those people** were sitting there at the well’ (BS.f: 37b–37c)

- S4 NP+REFL to emphasise the subject

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the Mullah, himself**’ in (28b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (28a), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the referent over against the king’s daughter (the global VIP).

Ex. 233) S4 NP+REFL to emphasise the subject

28a *'na-goš-ī*  
 NEG-say.NPST-3SG

28b *'dāke*    *mol'lā*    *'wat*    *'k-ay-∅*  
 until    Mullah    REFL    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

‘(28a) [She] does not say [anything to her father]; (28b) until **the Mullah, himself**, comes’ (KD.m: 28a–28b)

## 4.5. Conclusions on motivations for marked encoding in S1–4

So far, I have established the default encodings for the S1–4 contexts given motivations for the different forms of marked encoding in each context. Because the default encoding for S1 and for S2 (except in ergative alignment in the biographical tales) is the same (∅/PC), the motivations for over-

encoding in S1 and S2 are basically the same, as well. Similarly, because the default encoding for S3, S4 and, in ergative alignment, S2 (in biographical tales) is the same (NP), the motivations for under-encoding and over-encoding in S3 and S4 are basically the same, too. This section therefore summaries the motivations for marked encoding in two pairs of contexts: S1-2 and S3-4. Any motivations which are peculiar to a single context (e.g., tail-head linkage and repetition in S1) are noted in the respective section.

#### 4.5.1. Motivations for marked encoding in S1–2

The main motivations for marked encodings in S1–2 contexts (except for ergative alignment in S2 in biographical tales) are:

For NP:

- In connection with a discontinuity of time or action;
- In connection with a new narrative unit;
- To highlight a thought or the following event in the story;
- In connection with tail-head linkage to highlight the following event or to signal a discontinuity (peculiar to S1);
- In connection with repetition as a highlighting/slowing down device (peculiar to S1);
- To clarify who subject is;

For REFL and PN:

- To emphasise the identity of the referent;

For PROX:

- To mark a referent as thematic;

For DIST:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic.

When combinations of marked encodings occur, the motivation for the different parts remains unchanged. Thus, the motivations for the combinations of marked encodings are:

For PROX+NP:

- To mark a referent as thematic plus highlighting or to signal a discontinuity;

For DIST+NP:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic plus to signal a discontinuity;
- To mark a referent as non-thematic plus to highlight a following event (to date, only found in S2 context).

For NP+REFL:

- To mark a discontinuity plus emphasise the identity of the referent (peculiar to S1 context).

#### 4.5.2. Motivations for marked encoding in S3–4

As I mentioned in (Sec. 4.4.3) there are two types of marked encoding for the S3 and S4 contexts, as well as biographical tales in ergative alignment in S2 (see Sec. 4.4.2.2): either under-encoding (i.e., less than NP) or over-encoding (more than a simple NP).

The main motivations for under-encoding in S3 and S4 are:

For  $\emptyset$ , PC:

- Referent is a VIP;

For  $\emptyset$ :

- In connection with a repeated pattern (peculiar to S3) ;
- In connection with a singular-plural contrast;
- When there is a switch between major and minor participants (peculiar to S4);

For PROX:

- Referent marked as thematic plus one of the above reasons for under-encoding;

For DIST:

- Referent marked as non-thematic plus one of the above reasons for under-encoding.

For REFL:

- To emphasise the identity of the referent (peculiar to S4).

The motivations for over-encodings (more than a simple NP) are:

For PROX+NP:

- To mark a referent as thematic;

For DIST+NP:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic.

## 4.6. Summary

In the current chapter, I first dealt with default encodings for the S–4 contexts in both folktales and biographical tales in the Coastal Balochi dialect.

- The default encodings for the S1 context depend on the type of alignment. There are two types of default encoding for S1: ( $\emptyset$ ) for all verb forms in the present domain and for intransitive verbs in the past domain, and (PC) for transitive verbs in the past domain for both folktales and biographical tales.
- The default encoding for the S2 context is different between the folktales and biographical tales. The default encoding for S2 in the accusative alignment is the same in the folktales and the biographical tales. It is encoded with ( $\emptyset$ ) in the ergative alignment, it is (PC) in the folktales and NP in the biographical tales. The reason for having two different default encodings in S2 in the biographical tales and folktales seems to be because folktales are part of memorized oral literature, whereas biographical tales are narrated spontaneously. Participants in folktales have pre-

dictable roles and the stories are well enough known that there is less need to be explicit than in the biographical tales. Ergativity itself could also be the reason for NP being default in the ergative alignment of S2.

- The default encoding for the S3 and S4 contexts is the same for both folktales and biographical tales and for both ergative and accusative alignments. They are encoded with NP.

When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, then marked encoding is anything more than  $\emptyset$  or PC such as NP, PROX, DIST, or combinations of NP and PROX or DIST. When the default is a simple NP, on the other hand, anything more than a simple NP is regarded as over-encoding: PROX+NP or DIST+NP. Conversely, anything less than NP is regarded as under-encoding.<sup>82</sup> Thus, the lightest encoding is either (PC) or ( $\emptyset$ ) and the heaviest encodings in this dialect are PROX+NP and DIST+NP.

The encoding hierarchy in CoB is summarised in Figure 5.

$\emptyset$ /PC>PN>PROX>DIST>REFL>NP>PROX+NP/DIST+NP

Figure 5. The encoding hierarchy in CoB

- The motivation for PROX and DIST to mark a referent as thematic and non-thematic respectively is the same in all S contexts.
- The motivation for marked REFL or PN encoding to emphasise the referent over against other participants is the same in all S contexts.
- The motivations for over-encoding in S1 or S2 with NP (whether with or without PROX or DIST) are to mark the beginning of a new narrative unit, to mark a discontinuity and to highlight (a speech, thought, action or event).
- Over-encoding with NP in S1 is also found for clarification, in repetitions and tail-head linkage.
- The motivation for under-encoding in S3–4 contexts is the same. It arises when the referent is a VIP and/or under certain circumstances when no ambiguity would result (see. Sec. 4.5.2).

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<sup>82</sup> When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, there is no under-encoding.

## 5. Participant reference analysis of Koroshi Balochi (KoB)

Before analysing participant reference in KoB, I transcribed, glossed, and translated the texts into English. Then I divided the texts into sentences and clauses according to the principles outlined in section 3.5. In section 3.6, a chart is presented which shows how the references to the participants in a sample text were analysed and Appendix (B) gives two texts in KoB: one each from a male and a female speaker; these are used as points of reference in 5.1 and 5.2.

This section presents the analysis of the texts that form the KoB corpus (see Sec. 2.1.3).

### 5.1. Folktales

The text called “The King’s Son” (KS) was told to me by a 30 year-old female speaker from Dehpiyaleh. It is found on pp. 545–600 of Appendix (A). The encodings found in this text are:

- noun phrases (NP) with or without a proximal or distal demonstrative (PROX, DIST);
- proximal or distal demonstratives (PROX, DIST);
- reflexive pronouns (REFL);
- person-marking verb suffixes ( $\emptyset$ );
- person-marking clitics (PC).

The following table presents the conclusions about the findings in KS (f):

Table 58. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KS.f

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	1	1	3	4
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>NP</b>	4	17	20	35
<b>PROX</b>	5	6	2	2
<b>DIST</b>	2	-	-	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	155:	45:	7:	7:
<b>∅</b>	153	45	7	7
<b>PC</b>	2	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	167	69	32	49

I also analysed three additional folktales. The statistics for subject encoding in these texts are presented in tables below. The first table is a summary of the findings for the story entitled The King's Son (KS) as told by a male speaker. This text was published in Nourzaei et al. (2015: 162–209).

Table 59. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KS.m

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	5	1	7
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>NP</b>	6	9	12	20
<b>PROX</b>	-	2	1	2
<b>DIST</b>	-	-	1	-
<b>REFL +∅</b>	-	1	-	1
<b>∅/PC</b>	114:	43:	11:	18:
<b>∅</b>	113	43	10	18
<b>PC</b>	1	-	1	-
<b>Total</b>	122	60	26	49

The second table is a summary of the findings for the story entitled Goli and Ahmad (GA) as told by a female speaker.

Table 60. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in GA.f

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>NP</b>	2	6	11	4
<b>PROX</b>	1	1	-	-
<b>REFL +∅</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	58:	16:	3:	4:
<b>∅</b>	58	16	3	4
<b>PC</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	64	23	14	8

The third table is a summary of the findings for the story entitled Goli and Ahmad (GA) as told by a male speaker. This story was published in Nourzaei et al. (2015: 130-146).

Table 61. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in GA.m

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>NP</b>	6	6	7	3
<b>PROX</b>	2	-	-	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	44:	11:	2:	8:
∅	44	11	2	8
<b>PC</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	52	17	9	11

Based on these four tables the following summary can be made for subject encoding in the four KoB folktales:

Table 62. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in folktales

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	4	6	4	11
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1	-	-	2
<b>NP</b>	18	38	50	62
<b>PROX</b>	8	9	3	4
<b>DIST</b>	2	-	1	-
<b>REFL+∅</b>	1	1	-	1
<b>∅/PC</b>	371:	115:	23:	37:
∅	368	115	22	37
<b>PC</b>	3	-	1	-
<b>Total</b>	405	169	81	117

Table 62 suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts is as follows: for S1 and S2, the default encoding is ∅/PC (see Sec. 5.3), while for S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP. As in CoB, the figures for NP and zero/PC in S3 context are similar: 50 instances of NP and 23 of zero/PC. I regard NP as default for this dialect too. However, further research may reveal that there are in fact two default encodings in S3: minimal encoding (∅/PC) within sentences and NP between sentences.

## 5.2. Biographical tales

The text called “Dastan” (DA) was told to me by a 60 year-old male speaker from Dehpiyaleh. It is found on pp. 601–647 of Appendix (A). The encodings found in this text are:

- noun phrases (NP) with or without modifiers such as a proximal or distal demonstrative (PROX, DIST) or a reflexive pronoun (REFL);
- proximal or distal demonstratives (PROX, DIST);
- independent pronouns (PN), reflexive pronouns (REFL) ;
- person-marking verb suffixes (∅);
- person-marking clitics (PC).

The conclusions about the findings in this text are summed up as follows:

Table 63. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in DA.m

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	-	-	4
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>NP+ REFL</b>	1	-	1	-
<b>NP</b>	20	4	14	30
<b>PROX</b>	3	1	1	3
<b>DIST</b>	-	-	-	2
<b>REFL +∅</b>	1	-	1	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	116:	15:	2:	14:
∅	115	15	2	14
<b>PC</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	143	20	19	54

I also analysed three additional biographical tales. The statistics for subject encoding in these texts are presented in tables below. The first table is a summary of the findings for the biographical tale entitled Dastan (DA.f) as told by a female speaker. This biographical tale was published in Nourzaei et al. (2015: 210–248).

Table 64. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in DA.f

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	1	-	1	3
<b>NP+REFL</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>NP</b>	6	12	4	24
<b>PROX</b>	4	-	1	1
<b>DIST</b>	1	-	-	2
<b>REFL+∅</b>	-	-	1	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	94:	18:	6:	8:
∅	93	18	6	7
<b>PC</b>	1	-	-	1
<b>Total</b>	106	30	13	39

The second table is a summary of the findings for the biographical tale entitled Alamdar (AL.m) as told by a male speaker

Table 65. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in AL.m

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	-	1	-
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>NP</b>	28	11	12	43
<b>PROX</b>	2	3	1	1
<b>REFL+Ø</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>Ø/PC</b>	110:	29:	6:	15:
<b>Ø</b>	110	28	6	13
<b>PC</b>	-	1	-	2
<b>Total</b>	143	43	20	60

The third table is a summary of the findings for the biographical tale entitled Alamdar (AL.f) as told by a female speaker. Note that this biographical tale was narrated partly in the 3rd person and partly in the 1st person.<sup>83</sup> Only the 3rd person subject encoding is presented in this table.

Table 66. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in AL.f

<b>S</b>	<b>S1</b>	<b>S2</b>	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	-	-	1
<b>NP</b>	8	5	8	15
<b>PROX</b>	1	1	2	4
<b>DIST</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>Ø/PC</b>	66:	7:	11:	7:
<b>Ø</b>	41	1	6	3
<b>PC</b>	25	6	5	4
<b>Total</b>	78	13	21	27

<sup>83</sup> There are 21 examples of 1<sup>st</sup> person encoding in S1, 11 in S2, none in S3 and 10 in S4.

Based on these four pairs of tables the following summary can be made for subject encoding in the four KoB biographical tales:

Table 67. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in biog. tales

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	7	-	2	8
<b>DIST+NP</b>	1	-	-	1
<b>NP+REFL</b>	1	-	1	1
<b>NP</b>	62	35	38	112
<b>PROX</b>	10	5	5	9
<b>DIST</b>	2	-	-	4
<b>REFL +∅</b>	1	-	2	1
<b>∅/PC</b>	386:	69:	25:	44:
<b>∅</b>	359	62	20	37
<b>PC</b>	27	7	5	7
<b>Total</b>	470	109	73	180

Table (67) suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts is as follows: for S1 and S2, the default encoding is ∅/PC, while for S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP.

Similar to CoB, the figures for NP and zero/PC in the S3 context are very similar: 38 instances of NP and 25 of zero/PC. I regard NP as default for this dialect, too. However, further research may again reveal that there are in fact two default encodings in S3: minimal encoding (∅/PC) within sentences and NP between sentences.

### 5.3. Default encodings

As the summary Tables (62) and (67) in (Sec. 5.1 and 5.2) show, the default encoding is the same for folktales and biographical tales, namely ∅/PC for S1 and S2, and NP for S3 and S4.

As I mentioned in chapter (1.4.2.3.3), there are two different sets of agreement markers in KoB. The first set consists of normal person-marking verb suffixes, which apply for all verb forms in the non-past domain and intransitive verb forms in the past domain. The second set is person-marking clitics for transitive verb forms in the past domain (see also Nourzaei et al. 2015: 81–83). For the purposes of the present work both of them are regarded as default for S1 and S2 contexts and under-encoding for S3–4 contexts, even though PC is seldom used in most of the stories.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> The only story that is told mostly in past tense is the biographical tale about Alamdar.

### 5.3.1. Default encodings for S1

The default encoding for the S1 context is  $\emptyset$ /PC for both folktales and biographical tales; as in the following examples:

- S1 with  $\emptyset$  person-marking verb suffix

In the following passage, the subject, ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [he] in (15b) is in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause (15a).

Ex. 234) S1 with  $\emptyset$

15a *joġa'l-ok ham 'gōš a=g-ī*  
 boy-DEF ADD ear VCL=take.NPST-3SG

15b *'waxte az madra'sa ar='raf- $\emptyset$  lō'g-ā*  
 when from school VCL=go.NPST-3SG home-OBL

‘(15a) So the boy obeys (lit. takes ear); (15b) when [he] goes home from school’ (KS.f: 15a–b)

- S1 with person-marking clitic (PC)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**PC**’ [she] in (17b) is in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause (17a).

Ex. 235) S1 with PC

17a *alam'dār-ā 'zort=ī 'raft- $\emptyset$ =o*  
 Alamdar-OBL take.PST=PST=PC.3SG go.PST-3SG=and

17b *ja'nek=e ham 'dād=ī 'az=ay*  
 daughter=PC.3SG ADD give.PST=PC.3SG to=PC.3SG

‘(17a) [She] took (lit. took and went) Alamdar; (17b) [she] also gave him her daughter’ (AS.f: 16–17a–b)

### 5.3.2. Default encodings for S2

The default encoding for the S2 context is  $\emptyset$ /PC, as in the following examples:

- S2 with person-marking verb suffix ( $\emptyset$ )

In the following passage, the subject ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [he], in clause (63) is in S2 since the subject in this clause is the addressee of the speech reported in the previous clause (62).

Ex. 236) S2 with  $\emptyset$  as default

62	<i>az</i>	<i>bāḡ'bān-ā</i>	<i>sō'j-ā</i>	<i>a=g-ī</i>
	from	gardening-OBL	question-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3SG
	<i>a=š-ī</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>joḡa'l-ok</i>	<i>'kay=en</i>
	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	PROX	boy-DEF	who=COP.NPST.3SG
63	<i>a=š-ī</i>	<i>'wālā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'man-ī</i>
	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	by God	PROX	PN.1SG-GEN
	<i>'bač=en=o</i>	<i>'ham=īdān</i>	<i>'kār</i>	
	son=COP.NPST.3SG=and	EMPH=here	work	
	<i>ma-kan-ag=en</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'man</i>	
	IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	with	PN.1SG	
	<i>'ham=ī</i>	<i>bāḡbā'n-ok=en</i>		
	EMPH=PROX	gardening-DEF=COP.NPST.3SG		

‘(62) [She] asks the gardener [and] says, “Who is this boy?” (63) [He] says, “By God, this one is my son, and he is working with me here; he is this gardener”’ (KS.f: 62–63)

- S2 with person-marking clitics (PC)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**PC**’ [he] in clause (55d) is in S2 since the subject in this clause is the addressee of the speech reported in the previous clause (55c).

Ex. 237) S2 with PC as default

55c	<i>'gašt=om</i>	<i>bā'hāt=en</i>	<i>ko'mak</i>		
	say.PST=PC.3SG	must=COP.NPST.3SG	helping		
	<i>∅-day-ay</i>	<i>alm'dār-ā</i>	<i>'tark</i>		
	SBJV-give.NPST-2SG	Alamdār-OBL	leaving		
	<i>∅-day-en</i>	<i>ala'mdār</i>	<i>'dīd=ō</i>	<i>'čekada</i>	
	SBJV-give.NPST-1PL	Alamdār	see.PST=PC.2PL	how much	
	<i>jawān'mard=a</i>	<i>'čekada</i>	<i>ko'mak=ī</i>		
	generous=COP.PST.3SG	how much	helping=PC.3SG		
	<i>a='dā</i>	<i>'čekada</i>	<i>bā</i>	<i>fā'mīl-ā</i>	<i>sarferā'zī</i>
	VCL=see.PST	how much	for	family-OBL	honour
	<i>a=k-ā'ort-a</i>				
	VCL=IMP.k-bring.PST-PP				
55d	<i>'gašt=ī</i>	<i>'be-b-ī</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>'wad=e</i>	
	say.PST=PC.3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	if	REFL=PC.3SG	
	<i>gā'būl</i>	<i>∅-kan-∅</i>	<i>'man</i>		
	accepting	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG		
	<i>gā'būl=ān</i>	<i>a=k-ā'r-ān=ī</i>			
	accepting=COP.NPST.1SG	VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG			

‘(55c) [I] said, “You must help; we should detoxify Alamdar; you saw how generous he was; how much he helped; how honour he has brought to [his] relatives”; (55d) [**he**] said, “Ok; if he himself accepts, I will accept [and] bring him”’ (AS.f: 55c–d)

### 5.3.3. Default encodings for S3

The default encoding for the S3 context is a simple NP for non-generic nouns, as in the following examples:

- S3 with NP

In the passage below the subject, ‘**the boy**’ in (14a) is in S3 since the subject is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (13d).

Ex. 238) S3 with NP as default

13d *ya 'rōč 'mā jōg'a'l-ok-ay xo'rāk-ā zah'r-ā*  
 one day into boy-DEF-GEN food-OBL poison-OBL  
*a=rē'č-ī*  
 VCL=pour.NPST-3SG

14a *jōg'a'l-ok ke 'ā 'rōč ke as madra'sā*  
 boy-DEF CLM DIST day CLM from school.OBL  
*a='k-ay-∅*  
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

‘(13d) one day [she] pours poison into the boy’s food. (14a) That day, when **the boy** is coming back from school, (...)’ (KS.f: 13d-14a)

In the passage below the subject, ‘**the foal**’ in (12b) is in S3 since the subject is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (12a).

Ex. 239) S3 with NP as default

12a *xolā'sa a='d-ād=o ē'sān*  
 in short VCL=give.NPST-3SG=and like this  
 12b *korra'g-ok 'gott a=b-ī*  
 foal-DEF big VCL=become.NPST-3SG

‘(12a) In brief, he gives [the foal all this]; you know, (12b) **the foal** grows up’ (KS.f: 12a–12b)

### 5.3.4. Default encodings for S4

The default encoding for the S4 context is NP for non-generic nouns in both genres, as in the following examples:

- S4 with NP

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the king’s youngest daughter**’ in (68b) is in S4 since she was not involved in the previous clause.

Ex. 240) S4 with NP as default

68a	<i>'dawr</i>	<i>ma-ʃan-ā</i>		<i>bod-a</i>		
	turn	IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG		become.PST-PP		
68b	<i>šā'h-ay</i>	<i>'kassān-o-ēn</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>ham 'ā</i>	<i>'rō</i>	
	king-GEN	small-DIM-ATTR	daughter	ADD DIST	day	
	<i>bīxa'bar</i>	<i>āk'k-a=∅</i>		<i>bod-a</i>		
	without notice	come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		become.PST-PP		
	<i>mā</i>	<i>bā'g-ā</i>				
	into	garden-OBL				

‘(68a) [He] was riding around, (68b) [and] on that day **the king’s youngest daughter** had come to the garden without letting anyone know’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 185)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the boy**’ in (115a) is in S4. Even though he is a member of the group that was the indirect object in (114), when one member of a group is singled out as the new subject, he has to be overtly identified, so the context is counted as S4 (see Sec. 1.5.2 S4).

Ex. 241) S4 with NP as default

114	<i>'hīčī</i>	<i>'šāh</i>	<i>a=š-ī</i>		
	well	king	VCL=do.NPST-3SG		
115a	<i>joǰa'l-ok=am</i>	<i>'ham=ī</i>	<i>ha'san</i>	<i>ka'čal=am</i>	
	boy-DEF=ADD	EMPH=PROX	Hasan	bald=ADD	
	<i>'wad=ī</i>	<i>moare'fī</i>	<i>a=kan-t</i>		
	REFL=PC.3SG	introducing	VCL=do.NPST-3SG		
	<i>a=š-ī</i>				
	VCL=do.NPST-3SG				

‘(114a) Well (lit. nothing), the king says to [his six sons-in-law] (...); (115b) so **the boy**, this Hasan the Bald, introduces himself [and] says, (...)’ (KS.f: 115a)

### 5.3.5. Default encodings for generic subjects in S3 and S4

I now deal with generic subjects (as defined in Sec. 1.5.2). For the S3 and S4 contexts the under-encoding with  $\emptyset$ /PC is regarded as default for the generic subjects.

In the following example, the generic subject ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [people] in (33a) is in S3 since the ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ refers to an unspecified group of people living in the king’s palace who were alluded to in the previous clause (32c).

Ex. 242) S3 with generic referent  $\emptyset$

32c	<i>joğ'la</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>rezā'yat</i>	<i>'na-ma-day-ā</i>	
	boy	ADD	approval	NEG-IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG	
	<i>bod-a</i>		<i>'bo-koš-ant</i>		
	become.PST-PP		SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL		
33a	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'rōč=ē</i>	<i>nax'sa</i>	<i>ā=rē'č-ant</i>
	until	one	day=IND	plan	VCL=pour.NPST-3PL
	<i>ke</i>				
	CLM				

‘(32c) but the boy does not allow [this]; he will not consent to them killing [the foal]. (33a) Then one day [**people**] make a plan that (...)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 172–173)

In the following passage, the generic subject, ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [people] in (22c) is in S4 since ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ refers to unspecified people living in the king’s palace who were not alluded to in the previous clause (22b).

Ex. 243) S4 with generic referent  $\emptyset$

22b	<i>'šām-ī</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>aždāhā'-ok</i>	<i>a=pē'č-ī</i>
	supper-ADVZ	PROX	dragon-DEF	VCL=twist.NPST-3SG
	<i>'dawr=ay</i>	<i>šā'h-ay</i>	<i>ja'nek-ay</i>	<i>gar'den-ā=o</i>
	around=EZ	king-GEN	daughter-GEN	neck-OBL=and
22c	<i>sōbī'gāh</i>	<i>'pād</i>	<i>a=k-ā-yan</i>	
	early in the morning	foot	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	

‘(22b) in the evening this dragon wraps itself around the neck of the king’s daughter, and (22c) early in the morning [**people**] get up’ (GA.f: 22b–c)

In the following passage, the generic subject, ‘PC’ [people] in (2b) is in S4 since it refers to unspecified people living in the village and who were not alluded to in the previous clause (2a).

Ex. 244) S4 with generic referent PC

2a *har'jā ham ā'sog a=bod=ad*  
 everywhere ADD in love VCL=become.PST=COP.PST.3SG

2b *a='gašt=eš*  
 VCL=say.PST=PC.3PL

‘(2a) So he fell in love everywhere, (2b) [people] said, (...)’(AD.m: 2a–b)

## 5.4. Marked encoding and motivation

When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, marked encoding is anything more than  $\emptyset$ /PC; for example, NP, PROX, DIST or a combination such as PROX+NP. When the default is a simple NP, on the other hand, anything more than a simple NP is regarded as over-encoding: PROX+NP or DIST+NP. Conversely, anything less than NP is regarded as under-encoding. When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, there is no under-encoding. So, the heaviest encoding in this dialect is PROX+NP or DIST+NP and the lightest encoding is either  $\emptyset$  or PC.

In the following sections, I discuss the marked encodings and their motivations for each S context in turn.

### 5.4.1. Marked encoding in S1 and motivations

As I stated in section 5.3.1, the default encoding for the S1 context is  $\emptyset$ /PC, so marked encoding for S1 consists of anything more than  $\emptyset$ /PC. The following forms of over-encoding are found in the present corpus: NP, PROX, DIST, REFL, PN and combinations of them: PROX+NP, DIST+NP and NP+ REFL.

The following examples illustrate each form and its motivation in turn

- S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**her husband**’ in (10c) refers to the same person as ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The adverbial phrase ‘after four or five days’ signals a switch (discontinuity) of time since the event in (10b) takes place at one time and the event in (10c) takes place four or five days later.

Ex. 245) S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity of time

10b *a='k-ay-∅*

VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

10c *'pas az 'čār 'pan 'rō 'šū=ay*

after four five day husband=PC.3SG

*a='š-īt*

VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘(10b) [he] comes [home]; (10c) after four or five days **her husband** says, (...)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 132)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the horse**’ in (4f) is the same as ‘∅’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is a discontinuity of action since the narrator gives a summary of what was said in the previous clauses (4c–4e) rather than moving the narrative forward to the next action in sequence.

Ex. 246) S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity of action

4c *'ē as'p-ok har 'sāl ke kor'rag=ē*

PROX horse-DEF each year CLM foal=PC.3SG

*ma-ba'r-ā*

IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG

*bod-a...*

become.PST-PP...

*bo'kān=ī*

want.NPST=PC.3SG

*'bez-zay-∅*

SUBJ-give.birth.NPST-3SG

4d *ma-ba'r-ā*

IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG

*bod-a*

become.PST-PP

4e *ma-prē'n-ā*

IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG

*bod-a*

become.PST-PP

*'mā*

into

*dar'yā-hā*

sea-OBL

4f *'asp kor'rag=ay ma-kō's-ā*

horse foal=PC.3SG IMP-kill.NPST-BACKG.3SG

*bod-a*

become.PST-PP

‘(4c) each year this horse wanted to take... to give birth to her foal; (4d) she used to take it, [and] (4e) [it] throw it into the sea; (4f) **the horse** used to kill her foal (KS.f: 4c–4f)

In following passage, the subject, ‘**Mashhadi [and] his people**’ in (6) is the same as ‘Mashhadi Hosayn’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1+. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is a discontinuity of action since the narrator gives background information about the participant rather than moving the narrative forward to the next action in sequence.

Ex. 247) S1+ NP in connection with a discontinuity of action

5 *mašaṭ* *ho'sayn=am* *ko'roš*  
Mashhadi Hosayn=ADD Korosh

*bod-a=∅*

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

6 *mašaṭ* *e'š-ān* *ko'roš-ay* *fā'mīl*  
Mashhadi PROX-PL Korosh-GEN family

*bod-a=∅*

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(5) Now Mashhadi Hosayn was a Korosh. (6) **Mashhadi [and] his people** were a Koroshi family’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 211)

- S1 in connection with a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject ‘**Nawshad’s son**’ in (40a) refers to the same person as ‘∅’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The intonation contour for (39e) ends low, whereas that for (40a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (39e) ends the previous unit, whereas (40a) begins a new narrative unit. So the motivation for the marked NP encoding in (40a) is to signal a new narrative unit, since there is a switch of attention from the place where boy gave the dress to his daughter to what happens when the boy goes and talks with his uncle.

Ex. 248) S1 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

39d *naw'šād-ī* *'bač* *ar='r-a* *alam'dār-ī*  
Nawshad-GEN son VCL=go.NPST-3SG Alamdar-GEN

*lō'g-ā*

house-OBL

39e *la'bās-ā* *a='d-an* *ba* *ja'nek=ay*  
dress-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG to girl=PC.3SG

40a *naw'šād-ī* *'bač* *ar='r-a* *had=e*  
Nawshad-GEN son VCL=go.NPST-3SG by=EZ

*ā'mū=ay=o*

uncle=PC.3SG=and

40b *a='š-ī*

VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘(39d) **Nawshad’s son** goes to Alamdar’s house [and] (39e) gives the dress to his girl. (40a) Nawshad’ son goes to his uncle [and] (40b) says, (...)’ (AL.m: 39d–40b)

- S1 NP in connection with highlighting

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the woman**’ in (13c) refers to the same person as ‘PC’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The family (‘we’) have been trying to persuade Alamdar not to marry the woman’s daughter. However, her fainting makes him decide to go against their wish. So the motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight what follows in the next part of the story.

Ex. 249) S1 NP in connection with highlighting the following event

- 13a *ǰa'nek-ay doṯ alm'dār-ā ke 'ded=ī*  
 girl-GEN mother Alamdar-OBL CLM see.PST=PC.3SG
- 13b *a 'zōr=ī 'grēd=ī*  
 from force=PC.3SG cry.PST=PC.3SG
- 13c ***dā'zan** a 'hāl 'raft-∅*  
 woman from health go.PST-3SG
- 14a *a 'hāl 'raft-∅*  
 from health go.PST-3SG
- 14b *alam'dār 'gašt=ī go'nāh=en hā'lā*  
 Alamdar say.PST=PC.3SG sin=COP.NPST.3SG now
- 'man 'ē ǰa'nek-ā a=ge'r-ān bad ham*  
 PN.1SG PROX girl-OBL VCL=take.NPST-1SG after ADD
- ǰes'mat bo-∅ ya 'ǰan=e 'dya ham*  
 destiny become.NPST-3SG one wife=IND another ADD
- a=ge'r-ān*  
 VCL=take.NPST-1SG

‘(13a) When the girl’s mother saw Alamdar, (13b) [she] cried a lot; (13c) **the woman** fainted. (14a) She fainted, [and] (14b) Alamdar said, “Have pity on her (lit. she is to be pitied); now, let me get married to this girl, and later [if] it is [part of my] destiny, [I] will marry another woman as well.”’ (AL.f: 13a–14b)

- S1 NP to clarify the subject

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the man**’ in (8a) refers to the same person as ‘∅’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to clarify the previous subject since there is a switch of subject from ‘they’ in (7b) to ‘he’ in (7c) and it is not clear who ‘went and found a well’, so the speaker feels the need to clarify this ambiguity.

Ex. 250) S1 NP to clarify the subject

- 7a *ar='r-an* *ha'm=i* *sah'rā* *'dya*  
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX wilderness well
- 7b *saw'zā* *ma-č'e'n-ēn* *bod-a=o*  
 herb.OBL IMP-pick.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP=and  
*ā'ηa* *ī'ηa*  
 there here
- 7c *ar='ra-∅*  
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG
- 7d *'yak* *'čāh=i* *pē'dā* *a=kan-t*  
 one well=IND visible VCL=go.NPST-3SG
- 8a *bā'mard* *yak* *'čāh=i* *pē'dā* *a=kan-t*  
 man one well=IND visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘(7a) [They] go [out] into the (lit. this) wilderness; (7b) you know, [they] were picking green herbs, like this; (7c) [he] goes [and] (7d) [he] finds a well. (8a) **The man** finds a well’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 131–132)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the boy**’ in (18c) refers to the same person as ‘∅’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The word order in (18c) is special in that the subject comes after the verb. This suggests that the storyteller felt a need to clarify who was the subject. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is therefore to clarify the subject.

Ex. 251) S1 NP to clarify the subject

- 18b *'ā* *'rōč* *'zohr-ī* *xo'rāk-ā*  
 DIST day noon-ADVZ food-OBL  
*ā='na-wā-∅=o*  
 VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-3SG=and
- 18c *dobā'ra* *a='raf-t* *joğ'la* *ma'drasa*  
 again VCL=go.NPST-3SG boy school

‘(18b) that day at noon [he] does not eat the food; (18c) again **the boy** goes to school...’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 168)

- S1 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (96b) refers to the same subject as ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is mark the referent, who is a VIP, as the current centre of attention.

Ex. 252) S1 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

96a	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>'šiš-tā</i>	<i>še'kāl-ay</i>	<i>sa'r-ā</i>	<i>a=bor'r-īd=o</i>	
	well	six-CL	prey-GEN	head-OBL	VCL=cut.NPST-3SG=and	
96b	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>'kodom=e</i>	<i>'sar=eš</i>	<i>ke</i>
	PROX	ADD	each	which=EZ	head=PC.3PL	CLM
	<i>ma-bor'r-ā</i>			<i>bod-a</i>		
	IMP-cut.NPST-BACKG.3SG			become.PST-PP		

‘(96a) Well, [he] slaughters these six animals of prey, and (96b) when **this one** was slaughtering each one of them’ (KS.f: 96a–96b).

- S1 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that one**’ in (87b) refers to the same person as ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ in the previous clause (87a), so the context is S1. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention and, instead, to direct the hearers’ attention to Kakol, who is the global VIP.

Ex. 253) S1 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

87a	<i>dah'wat=eš</i>		<i>a=kan-t</i>		<i>ba</i>	
	invitation=PC.3PL		VCL=say.NPST-3SG		for	
	<i>pāwāko'nī-yā</i>					
	welcoming party-OBL					
87b	<i>'ā</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'asp=e</i>	<i>a='dā-∅</i>	<i>kā'kol</i>
	DIST	ADD	one	horse=IND	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	Kakol
	<i>a'mū</i>					
	uncle					

‘(87a) [He] invites them for a welcoming party, [and] (87b) **that one** gives a horse to Uncle Kakol’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 247)

- S1 REFL in connection with emphasis

In the following passage, the subject ‘Ø [he] himself’ in (9d) refers to the same person as ‘Ø’ in the previous clause, (9d) so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the referent over against Goli (the local VIP).

Ex. 254) S1 REFL in connection with emphasis

- 9b    *'loh=e*                      *a='dā-Ø*  
       push=PC.3SG        VCL=give.NPST-3SG
- 9c    *a=prē'n-īd=ē*                      *'mā*    *čā'h-ā*  
       VCL=throw.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    into    well-OBL
- go'lī-ā=o*  
       Goli-OBL=and
- 9d    *'wad=ī=am*                      *'zorr*    *a=g-ī*  
       REFL=PC.3SG=ADD    turning    VCL=take.NPST-3SG
- lō'g-ā*  
       house-OBL

‘(9b) [he] pushes [her] [and] (9c) [he] throws her into the well, Goli, and (9d) [he] himself returns home’(GA.f: 9b–9d)

- S1 NP+REFL in connection with a discontinuity plus emphasis

In the following passage, the subject ‘**Hosayn himself**’ in (7a) refers to the same person as ‘a person’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the NP encoding is to mark an action discontinuity, since there is a switch from events to a background comment. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the referent over against Dastan (the global VIP).

Ex. 255) S1 NP+ REFL in connection with a discontinuity of action (NP) plus emphasis (REFL)

- 6    *'yek*    *na'far*    *ho'sayn*    *az*    *koroš-o'bār-ā*    *ā'šog=e*  
       one    person    Hosayn    from    Korosh-PL-OBL    in love=EZ
- dās'tān*    *a=b-īd*  
       Dastan    VCL=become.NPST-3SG
- 7a    *ho'sayn*    *'wad=ī*                      *'xaylī*    *ā'dam=e*                      *xū'b=ī*  
       Hosayn    REFL=PC.3SG    very    human being=EZ    good=IND
- bod-a=Ø*  
       become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(6) A person, [by name) Hosayn, from the Korosh [tribe] falls in love with Dastan. (7a) **Hosayn himself** was a very good man’ (DS.m: 6–7a)

- S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic in connection with a discontinuity

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this dragon**’ in (22a) refers to the same subject as ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ in the previous clause (22a), so the context is S1. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention. The adverbial phrase ‘in the evening’ signals a switch of the time from the morning when it was talking with Ahmad to the evening when it coils itself around the king’s daughter’

Ex. 256) S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) in connection with a discontinuity of time (NP)

22a *ar='raf-t=o*

VCL=go.NPST-3SG=and

22b *'šām-ī*                      *'ē*                      *aždāhā'-ok*      *a=pē'č-ī*

supper-ADVZ              PROX              dragon-DEF      VCL=twist.NPST-3SG

*'dawr=e*      *šā'h=ay*      *ja'nek-ay*      *gar'den-ā*

around=EZ      king-GEN      daughter-GEN      neck-OBL

‘(22a) [It] goes and (22b) in the evening **this dragon** wraps itself around the neck of the king’s daughter’(GA.f: 22a–22b)

- S1 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic in connection with a discontinuity

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that king**’ in (31b) refers to the same person as ‘the king’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention since the attention is on Ahmad. The NP occurs in connection with a discontinuity of action, since the narrator switches from a description of the story line events to a background comment about the king.

Ex. 257) S1 DIST+NP to marking the referent as non-thematic (DIST) in connection with a discontinuity of action (NP)

31a *'šāh*      *a='š-ī*                      *xo*                      *če'taw*      *∅-kan-en*

king      VCL=say.NPST-3SG      well      how      SBJV-do.NPST-1PL

*e'šān*

like this

31b *ā*                      *šā'h-ok*      *nārā'hat*      *a=b-īd*

DIST      king-DEF      troubled      VCL=become.NPST-3SG

32 *a='š-ant*

VCL=say.NPST-3PL

‘(31a) The king says, “Well, what should we do?” you know; (31b) **that king** is worried. (32) They say (...)’ (GA.f: 31–32)

- S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage to signal a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the over-encoded subject, ‘**the girl**’ in (21a) refers to the same person as ‘the girl’ in the previous clause (20b), so the context is S1. Because there is falling intonation at the end of (20b) and rising intonation at the beginning of (21a) it is a tail-head linkage combination. The motivation for the tail-head linkage and NP encoding is to signal a new narrative unit since there is a switch from the place where Alamdar stopped the girl and the others to the girl’s place where the girl reports to her family what happened to her father and brother.

Ex. 258) S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage to signal a new narrative unit

20a	<i>ā=bā-∅</i>		<i>šām-ī</i>		<i>ko'h-ā</i>		<i>'ē</i>
	VCL=bring.NPST-3SG		evening-ADVZ		mountain-OBL		PROX
	<i>do=en-ā</i>						
	two=PC.1PL-OBL						
20b	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ar='ra-∅</i>		<i>'lōg=aš</i>		
	girl	ADD	VCL=go.NPST-3SG		house=PC.3PL		
21a	<b><i>ja'nek</i></b>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ar='ra-∅</i>		<i>'lōg=aš</i>		
	girl	ADD	VCL=go.NPST-3SG		house=PC.3PL		
21b	<i>a='š-ī</i>						
	VCL=say.NPST-3SG						

‘(20a) In the evening, he takes both of them into the mountain; (20b) the girl for her part goes to her home. (21a) **The girl** for her part goes to her home, [and] (21b) says, (...)’ (AL.m.KoB: 20a–21b).

- S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage for highlighting

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**Zarafshan**’ in (40a) refers to the same subject as ‘Zarafshan’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. Because there is falling intonation at the end of (39b) and rising intonation at the beginning of (40a) it is a tail-head linkage combination. The motivation for the tail-head linkage and marked NP encoding is probably to highlight the following event in the story, where Alamdar attacked the people and beat them with his wooden club.

Ex. 259) S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage for highlighting

39b *čō'māk-ā*                      *a=rasā'n-ī*                      *'bahr=ay*  
 wooden club-OBL      VCL=take.NPST-3SG      for=PC.3SG

*zarafšān*

Zarafshan

40a *čō'māk-ā*                      *a=rasā'n-ī*                      *'bahr=ay*  
 wooden club-OBL      VCL=take.NPST-3SG      for=PC.3SG

***zarafšān***

Zarafshan

40b *dobā'ra*    *ham*    *'sar*    *a=kan-∅*                      *'gō*  
 again      ADD    head    VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG      with

*čō'māk-ā*

wooden club-OBL

(39b) [he] gave him the wooden club, Zarafshan. (40a) [He] gave him the wooden club, **Zarafshan**; (40b) so again he attacked them with the club. (AL.f.KoB: 39b–40a–40b)'

- S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage due to an interruption<sup>85</sup>

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**their encampment**’ in (7a) refers to the same subject as ‘their encampment’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. Because there is falling intonation at the end of (6b) and rising intonation at the beginning of (7a) it is a tail-head linkage combination. The motivation for the tail-head linkage and marked NP encoding is an interruption.

Ex. 260) S1 NP tail-head linkage due to an interruption

- 6a *'do 'say 'māh=ī a=b-īd*  
 two three month=IND VCL=become.NPST-3SG
- 6b *'mē'dag=eš as ō'dān 'bār*  
 encampment =PC.3PL from there load  
*a=kan ar='ra-∅ 'jā=ī de'ga*  
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG place=IND another
- 7a *'mē'dag=eš as ō'dān 'bār a=kant-∅*  
 encampment=PC.3PL from there load VCL=do.NPST-3SG  
*ar='ra-∅ 'jā=ī de'ga*  
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG place=IND another
- 7b *čō'bān a=b-ant*  
 shepherd VCL=become.NPST-3PL

‘(6a) Around two, three months pass (lit. becomes) (6b) [and] their encampment moves from there [and] goes to another place. (7a) **Their encampment** moves from there [and] goes to another place [and] (7c) they become shepherds [for some others] (AD.m.KoB: 6–7)’

- S1 NP in connection with repetition as a highlighting/slowing down device

In the following passage, the subject ‘**The sons-in-law**’ in (91a) refers to the same as person ‘Those sons’ in the previous clause (90), so the context is S1. Because the intonation pattern in (90) is repeated in (91a), it is a form of repetition. The marked NP in the repeated material in S1 functions as a slowing-down device to highlight the following event (91b-c) since it is very significant for what follows the story.

<sup>85</sup> By interruption I mean that the narrator was interrupted in some way. In the comparative chapters 7–9, I do not give interruption as a separate motivation for marked tail-head linkage or repetition since it occurs very infrequently. Instead, I merge it with the other motivations for tail-head linkage and repetitions.

Ex. 261) S1 NP in connection with repetition as a highlighting/slowing down device

90 *ē dūmād-o'bār=ay ā=k-ā-'yant*  
 PROX son in law-PL=PC.3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

91a *dūmād-o'bār=ay ā=k-ā-'yant*  
 son in law-PL=PC.3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

91b *'harčī ma-gar'd-ēn*  
 however much IMP-go around.NPST-BACKG.3PL

*bod-a*  
 become.PST-PP

91c *še'kāl-ā pe'dā 'na-ma-kan-ēn*  
 prey-OBL visible NEG-IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3PL

*bod-a ke 'be-ĵan-an*  
 become.PST-PP CLM SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL

‘(90) These [other] sons-in-law come. (91a) **The sons-in-law** come, [and] (91b) however much [they] were looking for prey, (91c) [they] were not able to find any prey’ (KS.f: 90–91c)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the news**’ in (83a) refers to the same concept as ‘the news’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. Because the intonation pattern in (82) is repeated in (83a), it is a form of repetition. The motivation for the marked NP in the repeated material is to mark the importance of this information.

Ex. 262) S1 NP in connection with repetition to highlight the event concerned

82 *ax'bār a-bar-a ... ar='ra-∅ ba*  
 news VCL=take.NPST-3SG ... VCL=go.NPST-3SG to

*sowladow'lā*

Sowladowlah.OBL

83a *āx'bār ar='ra-∅ ba sowladow'lā ke*  
 news VCL=go.NPST-3SG to Sowladowlah.OBL CLM

*'ham=ī koroš-o'bār-ay 'xān*  
 EMPH=PROX Korosh-PL-GEN khan

*bod-a=∅*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(82) The news takes... reaches Sowladowlah. (83a) **The news** reaches Sowladowlah, who was Khan of these Korosh’ (DS.m: 82–83a)

## 5.4.2. Marked encoding in S2 and motivations

Since the default encoding for the S2 contexts is a  $\emptyset$ /PC, the over-encodings for the S2 context are: NP, PROX, PN, REFL and combinations of them: PROX+NP, DIST+NP. The following examples illustrate the forms and motivations for the different marked encodings.

- S2 NP in connection with a discontinuity

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the horse**’ in (8a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (7), so the context is S2. The presence of the expression *xolā’sē* ‘In short’ suggests that a new narrative unit is beginning. In addition, ‘that year’ signals a switch of time from the moment when the horse and king’s son were talking to each other to the time when the horse wanted to give birth to her foal. So NP occurs in connection with a discontinuity.

Ex. 263) S2 NP in connection with a discontinuity of time

7	<i>a=š-ī</i>		<i>'na</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'be-ga-∅</i>		<i>čē'tar</i>
	VCL=say.NPST-3SG		no	PN.2SG	IMPV-say.NPST-2SG		how
	<i>'gott=ī</i>	<i>∅-ka'n-ān</i>		<i>'man</i>	<i>'wad=om</i>		
	big=PC.3SG	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG		PN.1SG	REFL=PC.1SG		
	<i>as'p-ok-ā</i>	<i>'gott</i>	<i>a=kan-ān</i>				
	horse-DEF-OBL	big	VCL=do.NPST-3SG				
8a	<i>xolā'sē</i>	<i>as'p-ok</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>bo'kān=ī</i>		
	in short	horse-DEF	DIST	year	want.NPST=PC.3SG		
	<i>bod-a</i>	<i>kor'rag-a</i>	<i>'by-ār-īd=o</i>		<i>e'šān</i>		
	become.PST-PP	foal-OBL	SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG=and		like this		

‘(7) [He] said, “No let me how to raise it; I myself will raise the horse.” (8a) In short, that year, [when] **the horse** wanted to give birth to her foal, you know’ (KS.f: 7–8a)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the girl’s mother**’ in (13a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (12d), so the context is S2. The marked NP encoding occurs in connection with a discontinuity of action since the story switches from reported conversation to a non-speech event.

Ex. 264) S2 NP in connection with a discontinuity of action

- 12c *'gašt=ī*                      *ke*      *alam'dār-ā*      *āmōx'ta*  
 say.NPST=PC.3SG      CLM      Alamdar-OBL      influenced  
*kod-ag=en*                      *šō'mā=o*              *'man*      *fe'lān=o*  
 do.PST.PP=PC.2PL      PN.2PL=FOC      PN.1SG      so and so=and  
*bī'sān*  
 so and so
- 12d *'gašt=en*                      *'xo*      *mā*              *āmōx'ta=yen*  
 say.PST=PC.1PL      well      PN.1PL      influenced=PC.1PL  
*'nā-kod-a*                      *ya*      *'kam*      *'wad=et*              *ham*  
 NEG-do.PST-PP      one      little      REFL=PC.2SG      ADD  
*'fekr*      *∅-kan-∅*                      *ke*      *'ē*              *ba*      *'šan=e*  
 think      IMPV-do.NPST-2SG      CLM      PROX      for      worth=EZ  
*alam'dār*      *'nā-mah-ā-∅*  
 Alamdar      NEG-IMP-come.NPST-3SG
- 13a *ja'nek-ay*      *do'ī*      *alm'dār-a*      *dīd=ī*  
 girl-GEN      mother      Alamdar-OBL      see.PST=PC.3SG

‘(12c) she said /that/ “You have influenced (lit. taught) Alamdar, and I (will do) this and this”;<sup>86</sup> (12d) we said, “Well, we have not influenced him; think a bit for yourself as well (and you will realise) that she is not worthy of Alamdar.” (13a) **The girl’s mother** saw Alamdar (...) (AD.f: 12c–13a)

- S2 NP to mark a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject ‘**his ministers**’ in (110a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (110b), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (110b) ends low, whereas that for (111a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (110b) ends the previous unit, whereas (111a) begins a new narrative unit. So, the motivation for the marked NP encoding is to signal a new narrative involving the king’s ministers, rather than the king.

<sup>86</sup> It seems that the mother of the bride threatened to do some things to the family that are not mentioned in the story.

Ex. 265) S2 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

110a *wāzīr-o'bār=ay=o*                      *e'š-ān=ī*                      *'gerd*  
 minister-PL=PC.3SG=and                      PROX-PL=PC.3SG                      gathered

*a=kan-∅*

VCL=do.NPST-3SG

110b *a='š-ī*                      *'ber-r-et*                      *'e*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG                      IMPV-go.NPST-2PL                      PROX

*ġas'r-ok-ā*                      *'m-enn-ān*                      *'ē*  
 palace-DEF-OBL                      SBJV-see.NPST.1SG                      PROX

*'kay=en*                      *ke*                      *īdānā'kō*                      *ya*                      *'šaf-ī*  
 who=COP.NPST.3SG                      CLM                      righ there                      one                      night-ADVZ

*'ē*                      *taw'r-ēn*                      *'ġasr=ī*  
 PROX                      how-ATTR                      palace=IND

*ġa'd-ag=en*

hit.PST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

111a *wāzīr-o'bār=ī*                      *ar='r-ant*  
 minister-PL=PC.3SG                      VCL=go.NPST-3PL

‘(110a) [the king] gathers his ministers and others [and] [he] says, “Go to this palace [and check]; I want to see who it is who has built such a palace here in one night.” **His ministers** go’ (KS.f: 110a–111a)

- S2 NP in connection with highlighting

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the dragon**’ in (18) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (17), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the speech since the content is important and leads into the next part of the story.

Ex. 266) S2 NP in connection with highlighting

17 *bā'mard*                      *a='š-ī*                      *'xo*                      *a=tā'n-ay*  
 man                      VCL=say.NPST-3SG                      well                      VCL=be able.NPST-2SG

*šā'h-ay*                      *ġa'nek-ā*                      *bah'r=am*                      *'be-ger-ay*  
 king-GEN                      daughter-OBL                      for=PC.1SG                      SBJV-take.NPST-2SG

18 *ažda'hā*                      *a='š-ī*                      *'hā*                      *'man*                      *bah'r=at*  
 dragon                      VCL=say.NPST-3SG                      yes                      PN.1SG                      for=PC.2SG

*a=ge'r-ān*

VCL=take.NPST-1SG

‘(17) The man says, “Fine, can you get the king’s daughter for me?” (18) **The dragon** says, “Yes I will get her for you.”’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 135)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**Alamdar**’ in (59c) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (59b), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight Alamdar’s action of throwing the stick to hit someone else.

Ex. 267) S2 NP in connection with highlighting

- 59a *alma'dār* *a='š-ī* *'zor=e*  
 Alamdar VCL=say.NPST-3SG power=PC.2SG  
*ma-ra's-a*  
 IMP-arrive.NPST-3SG
- 59b *a='š-ī* *'hā*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes
- 59c *alma'dār* *ya* *'dār=e* *a=prē'n-ī* *ba'hr=ay*  
 Alamdar one wood=IND VCL=throw.NPST-3SG for=PC.3SG

(59a) Alamdar says, “Are you able to?”; (59b) he says, “Yes.” (59c) **Alamdar** throws a stick towards him [to hit him] (Al.m: 59a–59c)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the king’s son**’ in (7) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (6), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the countering speech in which the king’s son contradicts the horse and says ‘I will raise it’.

Ex. 268) S2 NP in connection with a countering speech

- 5b *a='š-ī* *ke* *'man-ī* *kor'rag-ā* *'hīčka*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM NP-GEN foal-OBL nobody  
*a='na-tān-t* *'gott* *∅-kan-t*  
 VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-3SG big SBJV-do.NPST-3SG
- 6 *šā'h-ay* *'bač* *a='š-ī* *ke* *'na* *'man*  
 king-GEN boy VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM no PN.1SG  
*'gott=e* *a=ka'n-ān=o* *e'sān*  
 big=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-1SG=and like this

‘(5b) [It] says /that/ “No one can raise my foal.” (6) **The king’s son** says /that/ “No [that is not true], I will raise it, you know”.’ (KS.f: 6–7)

- S2 when a new narrative unit is signalled by intonation

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (23a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (21), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (22) ends low, whereas that for (23a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (22) ends the previous unit, whereas (23a) begins a new narrative unit. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention rather than Dastan’s father.

Ex. 269) New narrative unit signalled by intonation

- 21 *a='š-ī* *'ta-rā* *'mā* *ā'dam*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG-OBJ PN.1PL human being  
*he'sāb* *a='na-kan-en* *ber-ra-∅*  
 account VCL=NEG-do.NPST-1PL IMPV-go.NPST-2SG
- 22 *ta'lab=am* *ha'nū* *ā'šōg...* *ā'šōg-ay* *'pūl*  
 claim=ADD yet in love... in love-GEN money  
*ha'nū* *'mā* *ǰī'b-ā* *'na-rapt-a=∅*  
 yet into pocket-OBL NEG-go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG  
*ke* *'mā* *'be-d-en* *ba* *'ta*  
 CL PN.1PL SBJV-give.NPST-1PL to PN.2SG
- 23 *'xo* *'ē* *ham* *nāī'mēd*  
 well PROX ADD disappointed  
*a=b-īd*  
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG

‘(21) He says, “We don’t regard you as a person; get lost (lit. go). (22) And the debt, still the lover... still the lover’s money has not gone into [our] pocket in order for us to give [it] to you.” (23a) So, **this one** becomes disappointed (...)’

- S2 with NP when the enclitic *ham* adds the expected result to the speech that stimulated it

In contrast to the other Balochi dialects being studied, when a reported speech in KoB is followed by the expected response proposition, the additive enclitic ‘*ham*’ is used (see Sec. 3.8).

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the boy**’ in (15a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (14d), so the context is S2. When the enclitic *ham* adds the expected result to the speech that stimulated it, the norm is for the subject to be referred to overtly, so the motivation for the NP is the presence of *ham*.

Ex. 270) S2 NP in connection with the enclitic *ham*

14d	<i>'ham=ī</i>	<i>'wad-ī</i>	<i>kor'rag=ay</i>	<i>a='š-ī</i>
	EMPH=PROX	REFL-GEN	foal=PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG
	<i>ke ma'rō</i>	<i>'raft-ay</i>	<i>lō'g-ā</i>	<i>xo'rāk-ā</i>
	CLM today	go.NPST-2SG	home-OBL	food-OBL
	<i>a='na-war-ay</i>	<i>xo'rāk=e</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke</i>
	VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-2SG	food=IND	CLM	CLM
	<i>bah'r=at</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>ma-ka'n-ag=en</i>	
	for=PC.2SG	PREV	IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	
	<i>'zahr=e</i>	<i>'rekk-a</i>	<i>'mān=e</i>	
	poison=PC.3SG	pour.PST-PP	into=PC.3SG	
	<i>zanbā'bā=t</i>	<i>xorā'k-ok</i>	<i>mas'mūm=en</i>	
	step mother=PC.3SG	food-DIM	poisoned=COP.NPST.3SG	
15a	<b>joġa'l-ok</b>	<b>ham</b>	<i>'gōš</i>	<i>a=g-ī</i>
	boy-DEF	ADD	ear	VCL=take.NPST-3SG

‘(14d) this his own foal says, “Today, when you go home, do not eat the food, the food which they serve you; she has poured poison into it, your stepmother; the food is poisoned.” (15a) So **the boy** obeys (lit. takes ear)’ (KS.f: 14d–15a)

- S2 PN in connection with emphasis

In the following passage, the subject ‘we’ in (15) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (14b), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked PN encoding is to emphasise the identity of the referent over against Alamdar (the global VIP).

Ex. 271) S2 PN in connection with emphasis

14b	<i>'gašt=ī</i>	<i>go'nāh=en</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'ē</i>
	say.PST=PC.3SG	sin=COP.NPST.3SG	now	PN.1SG	PROX
	<i>ja'nek-ā</i>	<i>a=ge'r-ān</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ges'mat</i>
	girl-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-1SG	than	ADD	destiny
	<i>bo-∅</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>ʃan=e</i>	<i>'dya</i>	<i>ham</i>
	become.PST-3SG	one	wife=IND	another	ADD
	<i>a=ge'r-ān</i>				
	VCL=take.NPST-1SG				
15	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'gašt=en</i>	<i>etō'rī</i>	<i>'dye</i>	<i>'xūb</i>
	PN.1PL	say.PST=PC.1PL	like this	well	good
	<i>'nē</i>				
	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG				

‘(14b) Alamdar said, “Have pity on her (lit. she is to be pitied), now, let me get married to this girl, and later [if] it is [part of my] destiny, [I] will marry another woman as well.” (15) We said, “Well, you know that is not good”’ (AL.f: 14b–15)

- S2 REFL in connection with emphasis

In the following passage, the subject ‘**himself**’ in (97b) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (97a), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the identity of the referent over against the king’s other six sons-in-law (the local VIPs).

Ex. 272) S2 REFL in connection with emphasis

97a	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>a='š-ant</i>	<i>'bī-b-ī</i>
	in short	VCL=say.NPST-3PL	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG
97b	<i>'āgā</i>	<i>'hay</i>	<i>'wad=ī</i>
	sir	ITER	REFL=PC.3SG
			head.OBL.PC.3SG
	<i>a=bor'r-ī</i>		
	VCL=cut.NPST-3SG		

(97a) So they say, “Very well”; (97b) sir, **he himself** slaughters [these animals] (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 195)

- S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this one**’ in (64a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (63), so the context is S2. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent (the local VIP) as the current centre of attention.

Ex. 273) S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

63	<i>a='š-ī</i>	<i>'wāllā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'man-ī</i>	
	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	by God	PROX	PN-GEN	
	<i>'bač=en=o</i>	<i>'ham=īdān</i>	<i>'kār</i>		
	son=COP.NPST.3SG=and	EMPH=here	work		
	<i>ma-kan-ag=en</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'ham=ī</i>	
	IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	with	PN.1SG	EMPH=PROX	
	<i>bāgbā'n-ok=en</i>				
	gardening-DEF=COP.NPST.3SG				
64a	<i>'ē</i>	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>a='zān-t</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ma'san</i>
	PROX	well	VCL=know.NPST-3SG	CLM	for example
	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ha'm=ā</i>	<i>joġa'l-ok=en</i>		
	PROX	EMPH=DIST	boy-DEF=COP.NPST.3SG		

‘(63) [He] says, “By God, this one is my son and he is working with me here; he is the gardener.” (64a) Well, **this one** understands that, you know, this one is that boy’ (KD.m: 65a–65b)

- S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus to signal a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this king**’ in (110a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (100e), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to mark the referent as thematic. The intonation contour for (100e) ends low, whereas that for (110a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (100e) ends the previous unit, whereas (110a) begins a new narrative unit. So, the motivation for the NP encoding is to mark a new narrative unit.

Ex. 274) S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus to signal a new narrative unit (NP)

100e	<i>doṭ=ay</i>	<i>a=š-ṭ</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>		
	mother=PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	now		
	<i>kassān-o-'ēn</i>	<i>ja'nek=en=et</i>				
	small-DIM-ATTR	daughter=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG				
	<i>go'nāh=ay=a</i>	<i>de'lay</i>				
	sin=PC.3SG=be.NPST.3SG	heart.OBL.PC.3SG				
	<i>'ma-bōren-Ø</i>	<i>'b-ōr-Ø</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ham</i>		
	PRO-break.NPST-2SG	IMPV-eat.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	ADD		
	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'darf=e</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>kallapā'ča=e</i>	<i>ke</i>
	one	bowl=IND	from	PROX	head and trotters=IND	CLM
	<i>ā'ort-ay=ṭ</i>					
	bring.PST-PP=PC.3SG					
101a	<i>'ē</i>	<i>šā'h-ok=am</i>	<i>a='wār-t</i>	<i>a'z</i>		
	PROX	king-DEF=ADD	VCL=eat.NPST-3SG	from		
	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>kallapā'ča</i>				
	PROX	head and trotters				

‘(100e) her mother says /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.”(101a) So **this king** eats of the head-and-trotter dish’(KS.f: 100e–101a)



- S3 ∅ in connection with a VIP

In the following passage the subject, ‘∅’ [he] in (38c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (38b), so the context is S3. Such under-encoding is possible because the referent is the global VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 276) S3 ∅ in connection with the global VIP

38a *dobā'ra xa'bar a=b-an*  
again news VCL=become.NPST-3PL

38b *ar='ras-an a'z=ī ke*  
VCL=arrive.NPST-3PL to=PC.3SG CLM  
*'be-ger-ant=e*  
SBJV-take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

38c *dobā'ra fā'd-ā a=rē'č-ī*  
again salt-OBL VCL=pour.NPST-3SG

‘(38a) Then all of a sudden (lit. again) [they] realize [what had happened]; (38b) [they] catch up with him, to catch him; (38c) this time (lit. again) [he] throws out the salt’ (KS.f: 38a–38c)

In the following passage, the referent of ‘PC’ [he] in (45d) is the global VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around him. So the storyteller can omit any overt reference to him.

Ex. 277) S3 PC in connection with the global VIP

56b *'tā 'yak 'māh 'mā alam'dār-ā 'bort=en*  
for one month PN.1PL Alamdar-OBL take.PST=PC.1PL  
*dok'ter-ā*  
doctor-OBL

56c *ā'ort=en*  
bring.PST=PC.1PL

56d *'xaylī ham 'šarm=ī ā='kod=ad*  
very ADD ashamed=PC.3SG VCL=do.PST=COP.PST.3SG  
*'dya āxe'r-ī*  
well end-ADVZ

‘(56b) for one month, we brought (lit. took and brought) [him back]; (56d) well [he] was feeling very ashamed at the end’ (AL.f: 56a–56d)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘Ø’ [she] in (81c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (81b), so the context is S3. The referent is the local VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around him. So the storyteller can omit any overt reference to him.

Ex. 278) S3 Ø in connection with a local VIP

81b 'āgā 'bāz ham sī'b-ā a='d-an  
 sir again ADD apple-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL  
 das'say  
 hand.OBL.PC.3SG

81c 'bāz=am a='jan-t  
 again=ADD VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

‘(81b) Sir, again they give her the apple [and] (81c) again [**she**] hits [him]’  
 (Nourzaei et al. 2015:190)

- S3 Ø in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject, ‘Ø’ [they] in (103c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (103b), so the context is S3. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that a singular participant is interacting with a plural number of participants, and the verb indicates whether the current subject is singular or plural.

Ex. 279) S3 Ø in connection with a singular-plural contrast

103a xolā'sa 'yek=ī 'ya 'mohr=e  
 in short one=IND one tattoo=IND  
 a=ma-'jan-t=eš=o  
 VCL=IMP-hit.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL=and

103b 'wel a=dā-Ø  
 loose VCL=give.NPST-3SG

103c a=k-ā-'yant  
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SPL

‘(103a) So, [he] makes a tattoo on each one of them and (103b) [he] lets them go; (103c) [**they**] come (...)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 197)

- S3 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [he] in (108b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (108a), so the context is S3. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that a singular participant is interacting with a plural number of participants, and the verb indicates whether the current subject is singular or plural. The PC in (108a) also indicates that the object of ‘bring’ was singular, so the hearers would expect the singular subject in (108b) to be the same person.

Ex. 280) S3 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

108a  $\bar{a}=k-\bar{a}'r-ant=\bar{i}$

VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

108b  $a='š-\bar{i}$

VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘(108a) [they] bring him, (108b) [he] says, (...)’(KS.f: 108a-b)



- Residual example in S3 in which the referent is unambiguous

In the passage below, the subject, ‘Ø’ [it] in (33b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (33a), so the context is S3. The reason such under-encoding is possible is because horses neigh but people do not. So, although there are two major participants (the boy and the horse), there is no need to identify which of them does the neighing.

Ex. 282) S3 Ø in connection with a residual example in which the referent is unambiguous.

33b *xolā'sa* *ī* *'mā* *madra'sā* *monta'zer*  
 in short PROX in school.OBL waiting  
*bod-ag=en* *as'p-ok-ay*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG horse-DEF-GEN  
*šay'hā* *'bī-aškon-ī=o* *e'šān*  
 neighing.OBL SBJV.hear-3SG=and like this

33c *awa'l-īn* *šay'hā* *a=ka'š-ī*  
 first-ATTR neighing.OBL VCL=pull.NPST-3SG

‘(33b) you know, at school this one was waiting to hear the neighing of the horse, you know; (33c) when [it] neighs the first time’ (KS.f: 33b–33c)

- S3 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (37a) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (36c), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is the global VIP in this folktale, is also the current centre of attention rather than the children.

Ex. 283) S3 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

36b *čok-o'bār* *a=rē'č-an* *rū* *sa'ray*  
 child-PL VCL=pour.NPST-3PL on head.OBL.PC.3SG

36c *a=ge'r-ant=e*  
 VCL=take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

37a *'ē* *ham* *noǵ'l-ā* *a=gen'n-ī*  
 PROX ADD candy-OBL VCL=see.NPST-3SG  
*'geft=eš*  
 take.PST=PC.3PL

37b *'pešk* *a=dā-Ø*  
 throwing VCL=give.NPST-3SG

‘(36b) the children attack him; (36c) [they] catch him. (37a) So **this one** sees that they were about to catch [him] [and] (37b) throws out the candy’ (KS.f: 36b–37b)

- S3 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that one**’ in (64b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (64a), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention, since the centre of attention is about to become the king and his daughters.

Ex. 284) S3 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

- 64a *'ham=īdān hay 'kār*  
 EMPH=here ITER work  
*ma-kan-īy=and=o* *'kār*  
 IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL=and work  
*ma-kan-īy=and* *bod-a*  
 IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL become.PST-PP
- 64b *ā ham šā'h-ay 'bāg*  
 DIST ADD king-GEN garden  
*bod-a=∅*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(64a) They kept on working there (lit here); (...) (64b); **that** [garden] was actually the king’s garden’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 184)

- S3 REFL in connection with emphasis

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅ [**he**] **himself**’ in (8c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (8b), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the identity of the referent over against the other participants. Moreover, the referent is the global VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around him. So the storyteller can omit any additional reference to him.

Ex. 285) S3 ∅+ REFL in connection with a VIP (∅) and for emphasis (REFL)

- 8a *ma-ra'w-ēn* *bod-a*  
 IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP
- 8b *ba ā'šī sa'lām-ā ma-ka'n-ēn*  
 to DIST.OBL greeting-OBL IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3PL  
*bod-a wa*  
 become.PST-PP and
- 8c *'bad 'wad=ī me-ga'š-ā* *bod-a*  
 then REFL=PC.3SG IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

‘(8a) [They] went [and] (8b) greeted him [first] and (8c) then [**he**] **himself** would say, (...)’ (DS.m: 8a–8c)

### 5.4.3.2. Over-encoding

The forms of over-encoding are as follows: PROX+NP, DIST+NP. The following examples illustrate each form of over-encoding in turn, together with its motivation.

- S3 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this Hasan the Bald**’ in (83c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (83b), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is the global VIP in this folktale, is also the current centre of attention rather than the king’s daughter.

Ex. 286) S3 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

83a *de'ya*            *ġa'būl*            *a=kan-t*  
you know            accepting            VCL=give.NPST-3SG

83b *gō*            *ham=ī'sī*  
with            EMPH=DPROX  
*ham=edāna'kō*    *zende'gī*    *ma-ka'n-ā*  
EMPH=here            live            IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG  
*bod-a*  
become.PST-PP

83c *'ē*            *ha'san*    *ka'čal*    *ham*    *šā'h-ay*    *ġāter-o'bār=o*  
PROX            Hasan            bald            ADD    king-GEN    donkey-PL=and  
*asp-o'bār-ā*            *'ma-čārēn-ā*  
horse-PL-OBL            IMP-take grazing.NPST-BACKG.3SG  
*bod-ag=en*  
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(83a) You know, [she] accepts (83b) [and] [she] was living there (lit. here) with him [and] (83c) **this Hasan the Bald** was grazing the king’s donkeys and horses’ (KS.f. 83a–83c)

- S3 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that woman**’ in (6a) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (5d), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention, since attention is on her husband in (5d).

Ex. 287) S3 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

5d	<i>'ē</i>	<i>dāzan-ā</i>	<i>a=prē'n-īd=o</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>
	PROX	woman-OBL	VCL=throw.NPST-3SG=and	like this
6a	<i>'ā</i>	<i>dā'zan</i>	<i>ham ar='ra-∅</i>	<i>'mā čā'h-ā</i>
	DIST	woman	ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG	into well-OBL

‘(5d) this one throws the woman, and you know. (6a) **That woman** falls into the well’ (G.Af: 5d–6a)

#### 5.4.4. Marked encoding in S4 and motivations

Like the S3 context, there are two types of marked encoding for the S4 context: under-encoding and over-encoding. They are considered in turn.

##### 5.4.4.1. Under-encoding

The forms of under-encoding are as follows: ∅/PC, PROX, DIST, PN and REFL. The following examples illustrate each form in turn, together with its motivation.

- S4 ∅ in connection with a VIP

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [he] in (38c) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (38b), so the context is S4. The referent is the global VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around him. So the storyteller can omit any additional reference to him.

Ex. 288) S4 ∅ in connection with a global VIP

38b	<i>bā'mard</i>	<i>a=jer'g-ī</i>	
	man	VCL=run.NPST-3SG	
38c	<i>go ta'far-ā</i>	<i>a='na-ĵan-t</i>	<i>bā'mard-ā</i>
	with axe-OBL	VCL=NEG-hit.NPST-3SG	man-OBL

‘(38b) the man runs away; (38c) **[he]** (i.e. Alamdar) does not beat the man with the axe.’ (AS.f: 38b-c)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘Ø’ [she] in (82) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (81c), so the context is S4. Such under-encoding is possible because the referent is the local VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 289) S4 Ø in connection with a local VIP

81b *'āgā 'bāz ham sī'b-ā a='d-an*  
 sir again ADD apple-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL

*das's-ay*  
 hand.OBL.PC.3SG

81c *'bāz=am a='jan-t*  
 again=ADD VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

82 *a='š-ī 'xayle xob hā'lā ke 'dya*  
 VCL.say.NPST-3SG very well now CLM well

*bo'kān=ī 'be-d-et=ī*  
 want.NPST=PC.3SG IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

‘(81b) Sir, again they give her the apple [and] (81c) again [she] hits [him]. (82) He [The king] says, “Very well, since [she] wants [him], give [her] to him”’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 190)

- S4 Ø in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject ‘Ø’ [they] in (33b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (33a), so the context is S4. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that a singular participant is interacting with a plural number of participants, and the verb indicates whether the current subject is singular or plural.

Ex. 290) S4 Ø in connection with a singular-plural contrast

33a *alma'dar-ī 'jan ma'rīz a='b-īt*  
 Almdar-GEN wife sick VCL=become.NPST-3SG

33b *a=bar-'ant=e dok'terā*  
 VCL=take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG doctor-OBL

33c *'āja 'īja 'tā 'xūb a='b-īt*  
 there here till good VCL=become.NPST-3SG

(33a) Almdar’s wife becomes sick; (33b) [they] (i.e. her husband and brother-in-law) take her to the doctor; (33c) you know until [she] gets well’ (Al. f. 33a–33c)

- S4 ∅ in connection with a non-specific member of a group

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [he] in (111c) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (111b), so the context is S4. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that he is a non-specific member of a previously mentioned group and the hearers would expect the current subject to be someone who was present.

Ex. 291) S4 ∅ in connection with a non-specific member of a group

- 111a *wazīr-o'bār=ī*                      *ar='r-ant*  
 minister-PL=PC.3SG      VCL=go.NPST-3PL
- 111b *a=gen'n-ant*                      *ta*      *ha'm=ī*  
 VCL=see.NPST-3PL      MIR      EMPH=PROX
- kača'l-ok=en*                                      *'nešt-a=∅*  
 bald man-DEF=COP.NPST.3SG      sit down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
- 'mā*      *ī*                      *ġas'r-ā=o*                      *'jan=en=ī*  
 into                      PROX      palace-OBL=and      wife=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG
- 111c *a='š-ī*                                      *'tar=ay*                                      *īdānā'kō*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG      NP.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG                      right here
- 'nešt-ag=ay*  
 sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST-2SG
- 111d *a='š-ī*                                      *'hā*      *e'dān*                      *'man-ī*  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG      yes      here                      PN.1SG-GEN
- 'lōg=en*                                      *'ē*                      *ġas'r-ok*  
 house=COP.NPST.3SG      PROX                      palace-DEF
- ma'n-ī=en*  
 PN.1SG-GEN=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(111a) His ministers go [and] (111b) see that this bald man was sitting in this palace with his wife (lit. and it is his wife); (111c) [he] (i.e. one of them) says, “Is that you sitting here?; (111d) [he] says, “Yes, this (lit. here) is my house, this palace is mine”’ (KS.f: 111a–111d)

- S4 ∅ in connection with a repeated cycle of events

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [it] in (35c) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (35b), so the context is S4. The reason such under-encoding is possible is because horses neigh but people do not. So, although there are two major participants (the boy and the horse), there is no need to identify which of them does the neighing.

Ex. 292) S4 ∅ in connection with a repeated cycle of events

- 35a *joḡa'l-ok a=nen'n-ī*  
 boy-DEF VCL=sit down.NPST-3SG
- 35b *ya čan de'ḡa a='b-ī*  
 one some minute VCL=become.NPST-3SG
- 35c *dobā'ra do-wo'm-īn šay'hā*  
 again two-ORD-ATTR neighing.OBL  
*a=ka's-ī*  
 VCL=pull.NPST-3SG
- 35d *joḡa'l-ok de'ya tā'ḡat a='na-kan-t=o*  
 boy-DEF you know waiting VCL=NEG-do.NPST-3SG=and
- 35e *xolā'sa a=jēr'g-ī*  
 in short VCL=run.NPST-3SG

‘(35a) The boy sits down; (35b) after a few minutes, (35c) [it] (i.e. the foal) again neighs the second time; (35d) the boy could not wait any longer and, you know, (35e) runs away’ (KS.f: 35a–e)

- S4 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this one**’ in (14b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (14a), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that referent, who is the global VIP in this folktale, is also the current centre of attention rather than the horse (who had previously been the centre of attention—see (14a)).

Ex. 293) S4 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

- 14a *mas'an maw'ḡeīke 'ē 'asp*  
 in fact when PROX horse  
*a='k-ay-∅* *'be-zay-t*  
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG SBJV-give.birth.NPST-3SG
- 14b *'ē kor'rag-ā a='g-ī*  
 PROX foal-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG

‘(14a) When this horse is about to give birth, you know; (14b) **this one** takes the foal’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 166)

- S4 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**those**’ in (6b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (6a), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention because the attention is on Mashhadi [and] his people.

Ex. 294) S4 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

6a *maša'ī e'š-ān ko'roš-ay fā'mīl*  
Mashhadi PROX-PL Korosh-GEN family

*bod-a=∅*

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

6b *'ā ham a darašo'lī-ay fā'mīl-ā*  
DIST ADD from Darreshuri-GEN family-OBL

*bod-a=∅*

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘Mashhadi [and] his people these (lit. they) were a Koroshi family, and **those** [other ones] were from a Darreshuri family’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 211)

- S4 ∅+REFL in connection with a VIP and emphasis

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅ [**he**] **himself**’ in (104a) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (103e), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the identity of the referent. The motivation for the under-encoding ‘∅’ is that the referent is the global VIP and the hearers expect this part of the story to be revolving around him. So the storyteller can omit any additional reference to him.

Ex. 295) S4 ∅+REFL in connection with a VIP (∅) and emphasis (REFL)

103e *ā=k-ā'r-ant*  
VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL

104a *'wad=ī=am a ran'nā 'swār*  
REFL=PC.3SG=ADD from after riding  
*a=b-ī gā'ter=o... 'šal=ay=o*  
VCL=become.NPST-3SG mule=and... lame=PC.3SG=and

104b *kallapā'ča=o mallapā'ča*  
head and trotters=and echo

*ā=k-ā'r-ī*

VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

‘(103e) they bring [it]. (104a) [**He**] **himself** mounts his mule, and... his lame [mule] afterwards, too, (104b) [and] he brings the heads and trotters’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 197)

### 5.4.4.2. Over-encoding

The forms of over-encoding are: PROX+NP, DIST+NP and NP+REFL.

The following examples illustrate each form of over-encoding in turn, together with the motivation for using more than a simple NP.

- S4 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**Uncle Hosayn**’ in (7a) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (6b), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is a local VIP in this biographical tale, is also the current centre of attention rather than Dastan.

Ex. 296) S4 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

6b    *'ā*    *ham*    *a*    *darašo'li-ay*    *fā'mīl-ā*  
 DIST    ADD    from    Darreshuri-GEN    family-OBL

*bod-a*=∅

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

7a    *'ē*    *ho'sayn*    *ā'mū*    *'mawgeī*    *ma-ra'w-ā*  
 PROX    Hosayn    uncle    when    IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG

*bod-a*

become.PST-PP

7b    *gō*    *xā'n-ā*    *ma-ra'w-ā*    *bod-a*  
 with    khan-OBL    IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG    become.PST-PP

‘(6b) those [other ones] were from a Darreshuri family. (7a) **This Uncle Hosayn**, when he would go with the Khan (...)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 211)

- S4 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**That youngest daughter**’ in (100a) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (99d), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is a local VIP, is not the current centre of attention, because the attention is on the king.

Ex. 297) S4 with DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

- 99c *bow'ā=eš=am*            *'harčī*  
 father=PC.3PL=ADD    however much  
*ma-wa'r-ā*                      *bod-a*  
 IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG    become.PST-PP
- 99d *ma-gen'n-ā*                      *bod-a*  
 IMP-see.NPST-BACKG.3SG    become.PST-PP
- 100a *'ā*        *'kassān-o-ēn*        *ja'nek=am*  
 DIST    small-DEF-ATTR    daughter=ADD  
*kallapāčā-'ok-ā*                      *a=pa'č-īd*  
 head and trotters-DEF-OBL    VCL=cook.NPST-3SG

‘(99c) however much their father was eating, (99d) he found, (...). (100a) Well, **that youngest daughter** makes a head and trotters dish’ (KS.f: 100a)

- S4 REFL+NP to emphasise the subject

In the following passage, the subject ‘**Uncle Kakol, himself**’ in (28a) is a member of one of the groups in the previous clause (27d), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the identity of the referent over against the other participants.

Ex. 298) S4 REFL+NP to emphasise the subject

- 27d *a='š-ant*                      *'xo*    *'bīy-ā-Ø*  
 VCL=do.NPST-3PL    well    IMPV-come.NPST-2SG  
*'ber-r-en*                      *ba*    *ta'labayn*                      *yā*    *ke*  
 SBJV-go.NPST-1PL    for    claim.OBL.PC.1PL    or    CLM  
*'ber-r-en*                      *'m-enn-en*                      *ja'nek-ā*  
 SBJV-go.NPST-1PL    SBJV-see.NPST-1PL    girl-OBL  
*a='d-ant=en*  
 VCL=give.NPST-3PL=PC.1PL
- 28a *'xo*        *kā'kol*    *a'mū*    *'wad=ī*  
 well    Kakol    uncle    REFL=PC.3SG  
*ar='raf-t*  
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG

‘(27d) they say, “Well, come, let’s go for our claim (i.e., to get the bridal gift back) or go, [and] see [if] they give us the girl.” (28a) Well, **Uncle Kakol himself** goes [there]’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 221)

## 5.5. Conclusions on motivations for marked encoding in S1–4

So far, I have established the default encodings for the S1–4 contexts and given motivations for the different forms of marked encodings in each context in turn. This section summaries the motivations for marked encoding in two pairs of contexts: S1–2 and S3–4 (see Sec. 4.5). Any motivations which are peculiar to a single context (e.g., tail-head linkage and repetition in S1) are noted in the respective section.

### 5.5.1. Motivations for marked encoding in S1–2

The main motivations for marked encoding in S1–2 contexts in KoB are:

For NP:

- In connection with a discontinuity of time or action;
- In connection with a new narrative unit;
- To highlight the speech, thought (to date, only found in S2); or the following event in the story;
- In connection with tail-head linkage to highlight the following event or to signal a discontinuity (peculiar to S1);
- In connection with repetition to highlight the following event (peculiar to S1);
- To clarify who the subject is;
- In connection with the enclitic *ham* when the expected result is added (ADD) to the speech that stimulated it (peculiar to S2).

For REFL and PN:

- To emphasise the identity of the referent (REFL is peculiar to S1 and PN to S2);

For PROX:

- To mark a referent as thematic;

For DIST:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic.

When combinations of marked encodings occur, the motivation for the different parts remain unchanged. Thus, the motivations for the combinations of marked encodings are:

For NP+ REFL:

- In connection with a discontinuity plus to emphasise the referent (peculiar to S1).

For PROX+NP:

- To mark a referent as thematic plus for highlighting;
- To mark a referent as thematic in connection with a discontinuity.

For DIST+NP:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic in connection with discontinuity.

### 5.5.2. Motivations for marked encoding in S3–4

As I mentioned in (5.4.3–4) there are two types of marked encoding for the S3–4 contexts: under-encoding (i.e., less than NP) or over-encoding (more than a simple NP).

The motivations for under-encoding for S3 and S4 that are attested are:

For  $\emptyset$  and PC:

- Referent is a VIP.

For  $\emptyset$ :

- In connection with a singular-plural contrast;
- In connection with in connection with the repetition of a previous event;
- In connection with a repeated cycle of events (peculiar to S4).

For PROX:

- To mark a referent as thematic plus one of the above reasons for under-encoding.

For DIST:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic plus one of the above reasons for under-encoding.

For REFL:

- To emphasise the identity of the referent.

The motivations for over-encoding (more than a simple NP) are:

For PROX+NP:

- To mark a referent as thematic.

For DIST+NP:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic.

## 5.6. Summary

In this chapter, I first established the default encoding for the S–4 contexts for both folktales and biographical tales in the Koroshi Balochi dialect.

- The default encoding for S1 and S2 is  $\emptyset$ /PC and the default encoding for S3 and S4 is NP in both genres.
- When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, then marked encoding is anything more than  $\emptyset$ /PC, such as NP, PROX, DIST or the combination of NP and PROX or DIST. When the default is a simple NP, on the other hand, anything more than a simple NP is regarded as over-encoding: PROX+NP or DIST+NP. Conversely, anything less than NP is under-encoding. Thus, the lightest encoding is either (PC) or ( $\emptyset$ ) and the heaviest encodings in this dialect are PROX+NP or DIST+NP

The encoding hierarchy in CoB is summarised in Figure 6.

∅/PC>PN>PROX>DIST>REFL>NP>PROX+NP/DIST+NP

Figure 6. The encoding hierarchy in KoB

- The motivation of PROX and DIST to mark a referent as thematic and non-thematic respectively is the same in all S contexts.
- The motivation for marked REFL or PN encoding is to emphasise the identity of the subject in all S contexts.
- The motivation for over-encoding in S1 or S2 with NP (whether with or without PROX or DIST) is to mark the beginning of a new narrative unit, in connection with a discontinuity (of time or action) and to highlight (a speech, action or event).
- Over-encoding with NP in S1 is also found for clarification, in repetitions and tail-head linkage.
- The motivation for under-encoding in S3–4 is the same. It arises when the referent is a VIP and/or under certain circumstances when no ambiguity would result (see Sec. 5.5.2).

## 6. Participant reference analysis of Sistani Balochi (SiB)

Before analysing participant reference in SiB, I transcribed, glossed, and translated the texts into English. Then I divided the texts into sentences and clauses according to the principles outlined in section 3.5. In section 3.6, a chart is presented which shows how the references to the participants in a sample text were analysed, and Appendix (1) gives two texts in SiB one each from a male and a female speaker; the latter are used as points of reference in sections 6.1 and 6.2.

This section presents the analysis of the texts that form the corpus SiB (see Sec. 2.1.3).

### 6.1. Folktales

The text called “The Mullah Neykadar Jan” (MNJ) was told to me by a 56 year-old male speaker from Zahak. It is found on pp. 648–700 of Appendix (1). The encodings found in this text are:

- noun phrases (NP) with or without modifiers such as a proximal or distal demonstrative (PROX, DIST);
- proximal or distal demonstratives (PROX, DIST);
- reflexive pronouns (REFL);
- person-marking verb suffixes (Ø);
- person-marking clitics (PC).

The conclusions about the findings in this text can be summed up as follows:

Table 68. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in MNJ.m

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	2	1	3	8
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	1	3
<b>NP</b>	10	3	9	22
<b>PROX</b>	18	5	5	7
<b>DIST</b>	2	1	-	5
<b>REFL+Ø</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>Ø/PC</b>	114:	35:	2:	8:
Ø	114	35	2	8
<b>PC</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	146	45	20	54

I also analysed three additional folktales. The statistics for subject encoding in these texts are presented in tables below. The first table is a summary of the findings for the story entitled The Mullah Neykadar Jan (MNJ) as told by a female speaker.

Table 69. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in MNJ.f

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	3	2	-	6
<b>DIST+NP</b>	2	-	-	1
<b>NP</b>	12	2	6	34
<b>PROX</b>	9	5	4	9
<b>DIST</b>	7	-	-	4
<b>REFL</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>Ø/PC</b>	122:	41:	8:	17:
Ø	107	20	7	15
<b>PC</b>	15	21	1	2
<b>Total</b>	156	50	18	71

The second table is a summary of the findings for the story entitled The Three Brothers (TB) as told by a male speaker. This text was published in Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 336–356)

Table 70. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in TB.m

<b>S</b>	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	5	-	1	2
<b>NP</b>	7	9	5	20
<b>PROX</b>	1	-	-	4
<b>DIST</b>	1	2	-	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	36:	36:	1:	6:
∅	32	30	1	3
<b>PC</b>	4	6	-	3
<b>Total</b>	50	47	7	32

The third table is a summary of the findings for the story entitled The Three Brothers (TB) as told by a female speaker.

Table 71. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in PS.f

<b>S</b>	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	1	9	2	4
<b>NP</b>	13	7	2	20
<b>PROX</b>	2	-	1	1
<b>DIST</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>∅/PC</b>	61:	23:	1:	4:
∅	59	15	1	4
<b>PC</b>	2	8	-	-
<b>Total</b>	77	39	6	30

Based on these four tables the following summary can be made for subject encoding in the four SiB folktales:

Table 72. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in the four folktales

<b>S</b>	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	11	12	6	20
<b>DIST+NP</b>	2	-	1	4
<b>NP</b>	42	21	22	96
<b>PROX</b>	30	10	10	21
<b>DIST</b>	10	3	-	10
<b>REFL+∅</b>	1	-	-	1
<b>∅/PC</b>	333	135:	12:	35:
∅	312	100	11	30
<b>PC</b>	21	35	1	5
<b>Total</b>	429	181	51	187

Table (72) suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts is as follows: for S1 and S2 the default encoding is ∅/PC (see Sec. 1.4.3.4 for

discussion of the PC in this dialect), while for S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP.

## 6.2. Biographical tales

The text called “Sabzo” (SA) was told to me by a 65 year-old female speaker from Zahak. It is found on pp.701–715 in Appendix (A). The encodings found in this text are:

- noun phrases (NP) with or without modifiers such as a proximal; or distal demonstrative (PROX, DIST);
- proximal or distal demonstratives (PROX, DIST);
- reflexive pronouns (REFL);
- person-marking verb suffixes (Ø);
- person-marking clitics (PC).

The conclusions about the findings in this text are summed up as follows:

Table 73. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in SA.f

<b>S</b>	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>NP</b>	5	6	3	12
<b>PROX</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>Ø/PC</b>	36:	3:	4:	1:
<b>Ø</b>	33	2	4	1
<b>PC</b>	3	1	-	-
<b>Total</b>	41	9	7	14

I also analysed three additional biographical tales. The statistics for subject encoding in these texts are presented in tables below. The first table is a summary of the findings for the biographical tale entitled Sabzo (SA) as told by a male speaker. This text was published in Barjasteh Delforooz (2010:326–335).

Table 74. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in SA.m<sup>87</sup>

<b>S</b>	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>NP</b>	9	2	4	16
<b>PROX</b>	1	-	1	-
<b>DIST</b>	-	1	-	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	39:	5:	1:	3:
<b>∅</b>	31	1	1	3
<b>PC</b>	8	4	-	-
<b>Total</b>	49	8	6	19

The second table is a summary of the findings for the biographical tale entitled Khanbibi (KB) as told by a female speaker.

Table 75. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KB.f

<b>S</b>	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	-	-	2	6
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	-	-	2
<b>NP</b>	9	2	4	34
<b>PROX</b>	-	1	3	4
<b>DIST</b>	-	1	-	-
<b>REFL+∅</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	87:	20:	7:	11:
<b>∅</b>	83	12	7	11
<b>PC</b>	4	8	-	-
<b>Total</b>	97	24	16	57

The third table is a summary of the findings for the biographical tale entitled Khanbibi (KB) as told by a male speaker.

Table 76. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KB.m

<b>S</b>	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	3	1	3	6
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	1	-	4
<b>NP</b>	9	7	11	24
<b>PROX</b>	4	3	4	7
<b>DIST</b>	1	4	1	1
<b>∅/PC</b>	78:	25:	7:	15:
<b>∅</b>	72	20	7	13
<b>PC</b>	6	5	0	2
<b>Total</b>	95	41	26	57

<sup>87</sup> PROX and DIST are presented as PN in Barjasteh Delforoos's work (2010: 266).

Based on these four pairs of tables the following summary can be made for subject encoding in the four SiB biographical tales:

Table 77. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in the four biog. tales

S	S1	S2	S3	S4
<b>PROX+NP</b>	3	1	5	12
<b>DIST+NP</b>	-	1	-	6
<b>NP</b>	32	17	22	86
<b>PROX</b>	5	4	8	12
<b>DIST</b>	1	6	1	1
<b>REFL+∅</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>∅/PC</b>	240	53	19	30
∅	219	35	19	28
<b>PC</b>	21	18	-	2
<b>Total</b>	282	82	55	147

Table (77) suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts is as follows: for S1 and S2, the default encoding is ∅/PC, while for S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP.

### 6.3. Default encodings

As the summary tables in chapter 6.1 and 6.2 show, the default encoding is the same for folktales and biographical tales, namely ∅/PC for S1 and S2 context and a simple NP for S3 and S4 context.

As in the other Balochi dialects being studied, the above tables (72–76) show that the figures for NP and zero/PC in the S3 context are very similar: 22 instances of NP and 19 of zero/PC (a problem also faced by Barjasteh Delforooz [2010: 277–278]). I provisionally regard NP as default for this dialect. However, further research may again reveal that there are in fact two default encoding values in S3: minimal encoding (zero/PC) within sentences and NP between sentences.

#### 6.3.1. Default encodings for S1

The default encoding for S1 is ∅/PC, as in the following examples:

- S1 ∅ with person-marking verb suffix

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [he] in (2c) is in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause (2a).

Ex. 299) S1 with  $\emptyset$

2a *pīrā'mard=e=at*  
old man=IND=COP.PST.3SG

2b *'saj 'zāg 'dāšt- $\emptyset$  wa*  
three child have.PST-3SG and

2c *'saj te'lā 'dāšt- $\emptyset$*   
three gold have.PST-3SG

‘(2a) There was an old man; (2b) [he] had three sons and (2c) [he] had three [pieces of] gold’ (TB.f: 2a–c)

- S1 with person-marking verb clitic (PC)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘PC’ [he] in (14e) in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause (14d).

Ex. 300) S1 with PC as default

14d *'ē 'šo- $\emptyset$*   
PROX go.PST-3SG

14e *'gošt=e*  
say.PST=PC.3SG

‘(14d) this one went; (14e) [he] said, (...)’ (MNJ.f:14d–14f)

### 6.3.2. Default encodings for S2

The default encoding for the S2 context is  $\emptyset$ /PC as in the following examples:

- S2  $\emptyset$  with person-marking verb suffix

In the following passage, the subject ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [he] in clause (29a) is in S2 since the subject in this clause is the addressee of speech reported in the previous clause (28b).

Ex. 301) S2 with ∅ as default

28b	'š-ī	'by-ā-∅		ke	
	say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG		CLM	
	am=ē ran'g-ēn		masa'la=ē=o		
	EMPH=PROX kind-ATTR		issue=IND=and		
	am=ē ran'g-ēn	'nang=ē	be	'mnī	
	EMPH=PROX kind-ATTR	zeal=IND	with	PN.1SG.GEN	
	gar'den-ā=en	'heč	'rā=ē		
	neck-OBL=COP.NPST.3SG	no	way=IND		
	'na-dār-ī	yā	'marg=a	b-ī	
	NEG-have.NPST-3SG	or	death=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	
	yā ha'm=ē	'elm=a		b-ī	
	or EMPH=PROX	knowledge=VCL		become.NPST-3SG	
29a	'š-ī	'man=om	pa	'ta	do'ā=a
	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG=ADD	for	PN.2SG	prayer=VCL
	ka'n-īn	'bass=o	'trā		ne'šān=a
	do.NPST-1SG	just=and	PN.2SG.OBJ		sign=VCL
	day-īn				
	give.NPST-1SG				

‘(28b) he [the boy] says, “Well, there is such an issue and such a disgrace upon me (lit. on my neck) [and] there is no choice [for me]; either it will be [my] death or that (lit. this) knowledge.” (29a) [He] (i.e. the old man) says, “So then I will pray for you and show you the way (...)” (MNJ.m: 28b–29a)

- S2 with person-marking clitics (PC)

In the following passage, the subject ‘PC’ [she], in (70) is in S2 since the subject in this clause is the addressee of speech reported in the previous clause (69e).

Ex. 302) S2 with PC as default

69e 'gošt-∅ 'man=o e'dā  
 say.PST-3SG PN.1SG=FOC here  
 'na-būt-ag=on 'ta pa 'kay  
 NEG-be.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG PN.2SG for who  
 ārā'eš=ay  
 make up=COP.NPST.2SG

70 'gošt=e rās't-ēn-a 'sōj=a kan-ay  
 say.PST=PC.3SG truth-ATTR-OBL question=VCL do.NPST-2SG

‘(96e) he [her husband] said [to her], “Well, I wasn’t here, for whom have you put on makeup?” (70) [She] said, “Do you want to know the truth (lit. do you do question the truth)?”’ (TB.f: 69e–70)

### 6.3.3. Default encodings for S3

The default encoding for the S3 context is a simple NP for non-generic nouns as in the following example:

- S3 with NP

The passage below the subject, ‘**Khodanezar Khan**’ in (13) is in S3 since the subject is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (12b).

Ex. 303) S3 with NP

12b xodānezar'xān-ī pah'nāda 'nešt-∅  
 Khodanezar Khan-GEN beside sit.PST-3SG

13 xodānezar'xān ke pā'd-ān-ī  
 Khodanezar Khan CLM feet-OBL.PL-GEN  
 pox'lok-ān=ī 'dīst-∅  
 vesicle-OBL.PL=PC.3SG see.PST-3SG

‘(12b) [He] came and sat down beside Khodanezar Khan. (13) When **Khodanezar Khan** saw vesicles on his feet’ (SA.f: 12b–13)

### 6.3.4. Default encodings for S4

The default encoding for the S4 context is a simple NP for non-generic nouns as in the following examples:

- S4 with NP

In the following passage, the subject ‘**Khodanezar Khan**’ in (4) is in S4 since he was not involved in the previous clause.

Ex. 304) S4 with NP

- 3 *be 'nām=e sab'zō je'nek=ē 'dāšt-∅*  
with name=EZ Sabzo daughter=IND have.PST-3SG
- 4 *xodānezār'xān nākō'zāk=ē 'dāšt-∅ be 'nām=e*  
Khodanezar Khan cousin=IND have.PST-3SG with name=EZ
- pī'rak*  
Pirak

‘(3) [He] had a daughter called Sabzo. (4) **Khodanezar Khan** had a cousin called Pirak’ (SA.f: 3–4)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the third one**’ in (18) is in S4, since he was not involved in the previous clause.

Ex. 305) S4 with NP (NUM)<sup>88</sup>

- 17 *'gošt=e 'ān*  
say.PST=PC.3SG yes
- 18 *sayo'm-ēn 'gošt=e ke 'yak 'čamm=e*  
third-ATTR say.PST=PC.3SG CLM one eye=PC.3SG
- 'kōr=at*  
blind=COP.NPST.3SG

‘(17) [He] said [to the second one], “Yes.” (18) **The third** one said /that/ “Was it blind in one eye?” (PM.f:17–18)

### 6.3.5. Default encodings for generic subjects in S3 and S4

As in the other Balochi dialects being studied, the default encoding for the generic subjects in the S3 and S4 contexts is ∅/PC. The following examples illustrate a generic referent in the S3 and the S4 contexts in turn.

In the following passage, the generic subject ‘∅’ [people] in (26b) is in S3 since the ‘∅’ refers to an unspecified group of people working for Khodanezar Khan who were alluded to in the previous clause (26a).

<sup>88</sup> Note that the numerals are regarded as heads of NPs for this present work when no head noun is present (see Sec.3).

Ex. 306) S3 with  $\emptyset$  generic referent

26a    *'dēm*    *dāt- $\emptyset$*   
         face    give.PST-3SG

26b    *hap'tād*    *oš'ter-a*    *je'tā*    *kort-ant*  
         seventy    camel-OBL    separate    do.PST-3PL

‘(26a) [He] sent [some people and] (26b) [**the people**] separated out seventy camels’ (SA.f: 26a–26b)

In the following passage, the generic subject ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ [people] in (7b) is in S4 since the ‘ $\emptyset$ ’ refers to an unspecified group of people living in the village who were not alluded to in the previous clause (7a).

Ex. 307) S4 with  $\emptyset$  for generic referent

7a    *'mort- $\emptyset$ =o*  
         die.PST-3SG=and

7b    *e's-ā*            *'bort-ant*    *kabr*    *kort-ant*  
         PROX-OBL    take.PST-3PL    grave    do.PST-3PL

‘(7a) [He] died, and (7b) they [**some people**] buried (lit. took and buried) this one’ (TB.f: 7a–7b)

## 6.4. Marked encoding

When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, the marked encoding is anything more than  $\emptyset$ /PC for example NP, PROX, DIST or a combination such as PROX+NP. When the default is a simple NP, on the other hand, anything more than a simple NP is regarded as over-encoding: PROX+NP or DIST+NP. Conversely, anything less than NP is regarded as under-encoding. When the default is  $\emptyset$ /PC, there is no under-encoding. As in the other two dialects, the heaviest encoding in SiB is PROX+NP or DIST+NP and the lightest encoding is  $\emptyset$ /PC.

In the following sections, I discuss the marked encodings and their motivation for each S context in turn.

### 6.4.1. Marked encoding in S1 and motivations

Since the default for the S1 context is  $\emptyset$ /PC, marked encoding consists of anything more than  $\emptyset$ /PC, the commonest forms in the present corpus being NP, PROX, DIST, REFL and combinations of them: PROX+NP and DIST+NP. The following examples illustrate each form and its motivation in turn.

- S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**Khodanezar Khan**’ in (36d) refers to the same person ‘Khodanezar Khan’ in the previous clause so the context is S1. The adverbial phrase ‘one year’ in (36c) marks a switch from the time of (36b) to the time he died in (36d). So the motivation for the marked NP encoding in S1 is here a discontinuity of time.

Ex. 308) S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity of time

- 36b *xodānezar'xān=om*      'šot-∅      'wtī      *zende'gī-ay*  
 Khodanezar Khan=ADD    go.PST-3SG    REFL.GEN    life-GEN  
*sa'rā*    *wa*  
 on      and
- 36c *'yak*    *'sāl=ē*      *ke*      *ša*      *e'š-ān-ī*  
 one    year=IND    CLM    from    PROX-OBL.PL-GEN  
*ā'rōs-ā*      'gwāst-∅  
 marriage-OBL    pass.NPST-3SG
- 36d *xodānezar'xān-ī*      'omr    *pū'ra*      'būt-∅=o  
 Khodanezar Khan-GEN    life    completed    become.PST-3SG=and
- 36e *xodānezar'xān*    'mort-∅  
 Khodanezar Khan    die.PST-3SG

‘(36b) so Khodanezar Khan went on with his life (lit. he went to his life) and (36c) when one year had passed after their marriage, (36d) Khodanezar Khan’s life ended (lit. was completed) and (36e) Khodanezar Khan died<sup>89</sup>’ (SB.f: 36b–36e)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**merchant**’ in (45a) refers to the same person as ‘the merchant’ in the previous clause (44), so the context is S1. The narrator in (45a) for a short moment stopped telling the story and asked a question for rhetorical effect that it is not part of the story line. So the motivation for the marked NP encoding is a discontinuity of action. Note that clause 45a is a rhetorical question that the narrator herself then answered.

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<sup>89</sup> In this culture people believe that first a person’s days end, then they die, which is why both expressions are used.

Ex. 309) S1 NP in connection with a discontinuity of action

44 *toj'jār-ā*      *sō'r-ēn*      *'tap=ē*      *'gept-Ø*      *ke*  
 merchant-OBL    hot-ATTR    fever=IND    take.PST-3SG    CLM  
*a'nū*    *'man*      *'čōn*    *Ø-kan-īn*  
 now    PN.1SG    how    SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

45a *toj'jār*      *'čōn*    *ko-Ø*  
 merchant    how    do.PST-3SG

45b *sā'lār-ā*      *'lōt-īt*  
 overseer-OBL    call.NPST-3SG

‘(44) The merchant got a high fever [and asked himself] /that/ “What should I do now?” (45a) What did **the merchant** do? (45b) [he] called the overseer (of the farm workers)’ (PS.f: 44–45)

- S1 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**The woman**’ in (75a) refers to the same person as ‘this woman’ in the previous clause (74), so the context is S1. The intonation contour for (74) ends low, whereas that for (75a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (74) ends the previous unit, whereas (75a) begins a new narrative unit. So the motivation for the marked NP encoding in (75a) is to signal a new narrative unit, one involving a conversation in the palace between the woman and the king.

Ex. 310) S1 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

74 *'ē*      *je'nēn*      *'šot-Ø*  
 PROX    woman    go.PST-3SG  
 75a *je'nēn*      *ša'mē*      *'sūp-ay*      *tā*  
 woman    from.EMPH.PROX    tunnel-GEN    inside  
*'šot-Ø=o*  
 go.PST-3SG=and  
 75b *be* *pāde'sā*      *'rast-Ø*  
 to    king.OBL    arrive.PST-3SG

‘(74) This woman went (lit. left her house). (75a) **The woman** went through this tunnel, and (75b) came (lit. arrived) to the king’ (TB.f: 74–75)

- S1 NP in connection with highlighting

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the Mullah**’ in (52c) refers to the same person as ‘Ø’ in the previous clause so the context is S1. Note the repetition of ‘grab’ (*'ēšerā*) in 52b–c: “he grabbed this one” and “as soon as Mullah was about to grab this one”. It is not the usual sort of tail-head link-

age. Rather, it looks like a slowing-down device, including the overt references to the Mullah and the boy, to highlight the unexpected event that happens next.

Ex. 311) S1 NP in connection with a slowing-down device to highlight an unexpected event

- 52b *'ēšerā* *'g-īt=o*  
 PROX.OBJ take.NPST-3SG=and
- 52c *ha'mē* *ke* ***mol'lā*** *k-ay-t* *ke*  
 EMPH=PROX CLM Mullah IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG CLM
- ē'serā* *'b-g-īt*  
 PROX.OBJ SBJV-take.NPST-3SG
- 52d *'ē* *'wat-rā* *mas't-ēn* *lē'ra=ē=a*  
 PROX REFL-OBJ crazy-ATTR camel=IND=VCL
- 'kan-t*  
 do.NPST-3SG

(52b) [he] grabs this one and (52c) as soon as **the Mullah** is about to grab this one, (52d) this one [the boy] makes himself a crazy camel' (MNJ.m: 52b–52d)

In the following passage, the subject, '**all three brothers**' in (8a) refers to the same person as 'they' in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the following event where the brothers find that one piece of gold is missing.

Ex. 312) S1 NP in connection with highlighting the following event

- 8a *pa* *te'lā-ān-ī* *'pāč* *dā't-en-a* *ke*  
 for gold-OBL.PL-GEN open give-INF-OBL CLM
- 'šot-an*  
 go.PST-3PL
- 8b *'ar* *sa'y-ēn* *'brās* *'pāč* *dāt-an*  
 each three-ATTR brother open give.PST-3PL
- 'ta* *'ē* *te'lā* *'do=ant*  
 MIR PROX gold two=COP.NPST.3PL

'(8a) When [they] went to dig up the gold, (8b) **all three brothers** dug [and saw] the [pieces of] gold were two'(TB.f: 8a–8b)

- S1 NP to clarify the subject

In the following passage, the subject, '**the shepherd**' in (73b) refers to the same person as 'Ø' in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The subject of (72i-73a) is not clear from the previous clauses (the last singular subjects

were the Mullah, who became a hen, and a grain of millet that became a fox and plucked off the head of the hen), so the narrator feels a need to clarify the subject to avoid confusion. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is therefore to clarify the subject.

Ex. 313) S1 NP to clarify the subject

72i	<i>'bass</i>	<i>k-ōš't-ī</i>		<i>pa</i>	<i>ne'māz-ā</i>
	just	IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG		for	prayer-OBL
73a	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>ke k-ōš't-ī</i>		<i>pa</i>	<i>ne'māz-ā</i>
	as soon as	IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG		for	prayer-OBL
73b	<i>šwā'nag=a</i>	<i>k-ōš't-ī</i>		<i>pa</i>	<i>ne'māz-ā</i>
	shepherd=VCL	IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG		for	prayer-OBL

‘(72i) then [he] stops to pray. (73a) When [he] stops to pray, (73b) the **shepherd** stops to pray’ (MNJ.m:72i–73c)

- S1 REFL in connection with emphasis

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**themselves**’ in (40b) refers to the same person as ‘Ø’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the referent over against the girl (the global VIP).

Ex. 314) S1 REFL in connection with emphasis

40a	<i>ē'š-ī</i>	<i>zā'mān-ay</i>	<i>xar'j-ā=o</i>	<i>ē'š-ī</i>
	PROX-GEN	child birth-GEN	cost-OBL=and	PROX-GEN
	<i>xar'j-ā</i>	<i>ger'd-ēn=a</i>	<i>da'y-ant</i>	
	cost-OBL	circle-ATTR=VCL	give.NPST-3PL	
40b	<i>'ē</i>	<i>je'nek-ā</i>	<i>'wat=a</i>	<i>'k-ār-an</i>
	PROX	girl-OBL	REFL=VCL	IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL

‘[they] pay (lit. give) all the costs of her child birth’s and her [other] costs; [they] **themselves** bring this girl’ (KB.f: 40a–40b)

- S1 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following example, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (22a) refers to the same person as ‘Ø’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. The intonation contour for (21) ends low, whereas that for (22a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (21) ends the previous unit, whereas (22a) begins a new narrative unit. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention since attention is still on the shepherd’s father than his uncle.

Ex. 315) S1 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

21 'š-ī 'xayle 'xo 'ayb=ē  
say.NPST-3SG very good defect=IND  
'na-dār-ī  
NEG-have.NPST-3SG

22a 'zš pīra'mard šamē'dā 'ber=a  
PROX old from.EMPH.here PREV=VCL  
gard-īt=o 'raw-Ø  
turn.NPST-3SG=and go.NPST-3SG

‘(21) [He], says, “It’s OK, no problem.” (22a) **This one**, the old man, comes back (lit. turns and goes) from there (lit. here)’ (MNJ.m:21–22b)

- S1 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**That one**’ in (72a) refers to the same person as ‘one’ in the previous clause (71g), so the context is S1. The intonation contour for (71) ends low, whereas that for (72a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (71) ends the previous unit, whereas (72a) begins a new narrative unit. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention because attention is on the Mullah who made himself a Pakir. In turn, the left-dislocated constituent ‘that [grain] which is left’ is a slowing-down device that highlights the following event (‘turns [itself into] a fox’).

Ex. 316) S1 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

71 'yak dā'nag=ē kaw'š-ay ta'lā kaw'š-ay 'čērā  
one CL=IND shoe-GEN in shoe-GEN under  
be če... kaw'š-ay 'tā ma'n-ī  
to FRAG... shoe-GEN in stay.NPST-3SG  
72a 'ā ke ma'n-īt 'ā 'wat-rā  
DIST CLM stay.NPST-3SG DIST REFL-OBJ  
ro'bā=ē=a 'kan-t  
fox=IND=VCL do.NPST-3SG

‘(71e) one [grain of the millet] is left inside a shoe, under a shoe, how... inside a shoe. (72a) **That one** [grain] which is left, that one turns into itself a fox (MNJ.m: 71e–72a)

- S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus for highlighting

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**these two brothers**’ in (2c) refers to the same person as ‘two brothers’ in the previous clause (2b), so the context is S1. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referents as the current centre of attention. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the following event where they promise to marry their children to each other.

Ex. 317) S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus for highlighting (NP)

2b 'be 'yak 'waxt=o zamā'nag=ē 'š-ī 'do  
to one time=and period=IND say.NPST-3SG two

'brās=at-ant

brother=COP.PST-3PL

2c 'ē 'do 'brās 'jan=o 'zāg 'dāšt-ant  
PROX two brother wife=and child have.PST-3PL

2d 'bād 'gō am 'ād=o pay'mān kort-ant  
then each other covenant=and agreement do.PST-3PL

ke

CLM

‘(2b) it is said, in a certain time and era, there were two brothers; (2c) **these two brothers** had wives and children; (2d) then they promised each other [one of them said] /that/ (...)’ (MNJ.m: 2b–2c)

- S1 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus to signal a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this girl**’ in (62) refers to the same person as ‘∅’ in the previous clause (61), so the context is S1. The intonation contour for (61) begins low, whereas that for (62) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (61) ends the previous unit, whereas (62) begins a new narrative unit. So the motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention. In addition, the motivation for the marked NP encoding is to signal a new narrative unit that describes what the girl did next.

Ex. 318) S1PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus to signal a new narrative unit (NP)

61 *goš't-a=∅* *'bābā* *'ta* *narā'hat*  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG father PN.2SG sad  
*'ma-b-ay* *ā-'wān-ī* *ja'wāb* *gō*  
 PROH-become-2SG DIST-OBL.PL-GEN answer with  
*'man=ent*  
 PN.1SG=COP.NPST.3SG

62 *'ē* *je'nek* *ǰwā'n-ēn* *'počč* *'pōšet-∅=o*  
 PROX girl good-ATTR cloth dress.PST-3SG=and

‘(61), [She] said “Father, do not be sad. I know how to answer them.” (62) **This girl** dressed up nicely and...’ (TB.f: 61–62)

- S1 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic plus in connection with a discontinuity

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that girl**’ in (52c) refers to the same person as ‘the girl’ in the previous clause (52b), so the context is S1. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current central of attention since the global VIP is also present. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is a discontinuity of action, since the narrator gives background information to the audience about the girl.

Ex. 319) S1 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic (DIST) in connection with a discontinuity of action (NP)

52a *ǰene'k=o* *de'ga* *'zānt-∅*  
 girl=FOC well know.PST-3SG  
 52b *de'ga* *be* *ā-ī* *'rōčč* *'ūt-∅*  
 you know to DIST-OBL day become.PST-3SG  
 52c *'ā* *ǰene'k=o* *am=ā'ī* *el'm-ā* *de'ga*  
 DIST girl=FOC EMPH=DIST.GEN knowledge-OBL as well  
*dā'r-ī*  
 have.NPST-3SG

‘(52a) Well, the girl got it; (52b), you know [she] was certain (lit. it became day for her); (52c) **that girl** had his [supernatural] knowledge as well’ (MNJ.f: 52a–52c)

- S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage for highlighting

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**[his] brother**’ in, (19a) refers to the same person as ‘[his] brother’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. Because there is falling intonation at the end of (18) and rising intonation in (19a), it is a tail-head-linkage combination. The marked NP encoding is used as a slowing-down device to highlight what happens next.

Ex. 320) S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage for highlighting what follows

18	<i>'bāndā</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>'āt-∅</i>			
	tomorrow	broher	come.PST-3SG			
19a	<i>'bāndā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>'āt-∅</i>		
	tomorrow	CLM	brother	come.PST-3SG		
19b	<i>'gošt=e</i>	<i>'lālā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>rō'č=en</i>	
	say.PST=PC.3SG	brother	PN.1SG	three	day=COP.NPST.3SG	
	<i>ke</i>	<i>k-ā-īn</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>ja'wāb-ā</i>		
	CLM	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG-GEN	answer-OBL		
	<i>'b-day-∅</i>					
	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG					

‘(18) The day after, [his] brother came [to him]. (19a) The day after, when **[his] brother** came [to him], (19b) [he] said, “Brother, it is three days /that/ I am coming [here], give me an answer (...)” (MNJ.f: 18–19)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the girl**’ in (60a) refers to the same person as ‘this girl’ in the previous clause (59b), so the context is S1. Because there is falling intonation at the end of (59b) and rising intonation at the beginning of (60a), it is a tail-head linkage combination. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the fact the bridle became a dove and flew to the sky. This is reinforced by the lengthening of the vowel of *ēš*.

Ex. 321) S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage for highlighting

59b 'bass 'ē ma'hār-ā 'wī das't-ay de'lā  
just PROX bridle-OBL REFL.GEN hand-GEN inside

'yakwa 'hop=a kan-t ha'm=ē  
suddenly blow=VCL do.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX

hāje'zag  
girl

60a **hāje'zag** ke 'hop=a kan-t  
girl CLM blow=VCL do.NPST-3SG

60b 'ēs ka'pot=ē 'b-īt=o  
PROX dove=IND become.NPST-3SG=and

60c 'bāl=a kan-t be al'lāh-ay ra'zā  
wing=VCL do.NPST-3SG by God-GEN will

‘(59b) you know, [she] suddenly blows on this bridle inside her hand, this girl. (60a) When **the girl** blows on [the bridle], (60b) this one becomes a dove and (60c) [it] flies by God’s power’ (MNJ.m: 59b–60c)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the girl**’ in (16a) refers to the same subject as ‘the girl’ in the previous clause (15d), so the context is S1. Because there is falling intonation at the end of (15d) and rising intonation at the beginning of (16a), it is a tail-head linkage combination. The motivation for the tail-head linkage and marked NP encoding is to signal a new narrative unit in which attention switches from what happened to the girl at her husband’s house to what happened at the father’s house.

Ex. 322) S1NP in connection with tail-head linkage to signal a new narrative unit

15c ē'serā 'bāz 'jat-Ø  
PROX.OBJ very hit.PST-3SG

15d je'nek 'jest=o 'šot-Ø be šap=e  
girl run-PST-3SG=and go.PST.3SG to night=IND

16a **je'nek** 'jest=o 'šot-Ø wa't-ī  
girl run-NPST-3SG=and go.PST-3SG REFL-GEN

pe's-ay ge's-ā  
father-GEN house-OBL

‘(15c) he [her husband] hit this one very much; (15d) the girl went running throughout the night. (16a) **The girl** went running to her father’s house’ (Kh.f: 15c–16a)

- S1 NP in connection with repetition as a highlighting/slowing down device

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the girl**’ in (46d) refers to the same person as ‘the girl’ in the previous clause (46c), so the context is S1. Because the intonation pattern in (46c) is repeated in (46d), it is a form of repetition. The marked NP in the repeated material is used as a slowing-down device to highlight the warning that the girl gives the boy about the Mullah’s impending arrival.

Ex. 323) S1 NP in connection with repetition as a highlighting /slowing down device

- 46b *ke 'ēr kapt-∅*  
CLM PREV fall.PST-3SG
- 46c *ǰene'k=o sar'pad 'būt-∅*  
girl=FOC aware become.PST-3SG
- 46d *ǰene'k=o sar'pad 'bū-∅*  
girl=FOC aware become.PST-3SG
- 46e *'gošt=e 'xānā xa'rāb zā'n-ay 'čōn*  
say.PST=PC.3SG house ruined know.NPST-2SG how  
*'b-kan-ay*  
SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

(46b) when he [the Mullah] came down, (46c) the girl became aware; (46d) **the girl** became aware; (46e) [she] said, “Poor fellow, do you know what to do?” (MNJ.f: 46b–46e)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**Khernesa**’ in (99b) refers to the same person as ‘Khernesa’ in the previous clause, so the context is S1. Because the intonation pattern in (99a) is repeated in (99b), it is a form of repetition, even though the events concerned took place on different days. The motivation for the marked NP in the repeated material is to highlight what follows (the importance of K’s arrival at Shamsepa).

Ex. 324) S1 in connection repetition to highlight what follows

- 99a *xērne'sa 'šot-∅*  
Khernesa go.PST.3SG
- 99b *xērne'sa 'šot-∅ ša'me 'šāhr-ā=o*  
Khernesa go.PST-3SG from.EMPH.PROX town-OBL=and
- 99c *be šamse'pā 'rast-∅*  
to Shamsepā arrive.PST-3SG

‘(99a) Khernesa went; (99b) **Khernesa** went [out] from this town and (99c) she arrived at Shamsepa’ (Kh.f: 99a–99c)

## 6.4.2. Marked encoding in S2 and motivations

The over-encodings for S2 contexts are: NP, PROX, DIST; and combinations of them: PROX+NP, DIST+NP. The following examples illustrate the forms and motivations for the different marked encodings.

- S2 NP in connection with highlighting

In the following passage, the subject ‘**the girl**’ in (91) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (90), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the speech since the contents are important.

Ex. 325) S2 NP in connection with highlighting a speech

90	<i>gwan'd-ēn</i>	<i>'gošt=e</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'dozz</i>	<i>'jwān-ēn</i>
	small-ATTR	say.PST=PC.3SG	CLM	thief	good-ATTR
	<i>'kār=ē</i>	<i>ko-∅</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ja'n-ā</i>	<i>be</i>
	deed=IND	do.PST-3SG	CLM	wife-OBL	to
	<i>mar'd=ay</i>	<i>bax'sāt-∅</i>			
	husband=PC.3SG	give.PST-3SG			
91	<b><i>je'nek</i></b>	<i>dar</i>	<i>ja'wāb=e</i>	<i>gwan'd-ēn</i>	<i>'brās-ā</i>
	girl	to	answer=EZ	small-ATTR	brother-OBL
	<i>'gošt=e</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'dozz=om</i>	
	say.PST=PC.3SG	CLM	PN.2SG	thief=ADD	
	<i>'taw=ay</i>	<i>te'lā=om</i>	<i>gō</i>		
	PN.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG	gold=ADD	with		
	<i>'ta=ent</i>				
	PN.2SG=COP.NPST.3SG				

‘(90) The youngest one said [to the girl] /that/ “The thief did a good deed, since he gave the wife to her husband.” (91) In reply to the youngest brother **the girl** said /that/, “It is you who are the thief and you have the gold”’(TB.f: 90–91)

In the following passage, the subject ‘**Sabzo’s father**’ in (21) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (18c), so the context is S2. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the thought since it is important for the rest of the story because Sabzo’s father requires money to avoid fighting with Khodanezar khan and the rest of the story develops out of this thought.

Ex. 326) S2 NP to highlight a thought

18c 'gošt=e 'ta be har ġī'matt=e ke  
say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG with every cost=IND CLM

'būt-a=∅ ke pī'rak be  
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM Pirk with

'tī ĵe'nek-a sab'zō-ī sa'rā  
PN.2SG.GEN daughter-OBL Sabzo-GEN on

ā'sex=ent=o sab'zō=om  
in love=COP.NPST.3SG=and Sabzo=ADD

ā'sex=ent  
in love=COP.NPST.3SG

21 **sab'zō-ī** 'pes 'fekr ko-∅ ke ša  
Sabzo-GEN father thought do.PST-3SG CLM from

koš't-en-ā ĉe ō'mēt=ē 'man=om ke  
kill.PST-INF-OBL what hope=IND PN.1SG=ADD CLM

'jang ∅-bay-īn 'jang 'jang-ay 'tā  
fight SBJV-become.NPST-1SG fight fight-GEN in

∅-'b-īt koš't-ag=a  
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG kill.PST-PP=VCL

bay-īn wa ša koš't-en-a  
become.NPST-1SG and from kill.PST-INF-OBL

ō'mēt=ē 'nay=ent  
hope=IND NEG=COP.NPST.3SG

22 'ta 'by-ā-∅ 'ta 'man 'yak  
PN.2SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.2SG PN.1SG one

'pekr=ē 'b-kan-īn don'yā-ā  
thought=IND SBJV-do.NPST-1SG wealth-OBL

'b-lōṭ-īn  
SBJV-want.NPST-1SG

‘(18c) he said [to Sabzo’s father], “You, at any cost, since Pirk is in love with your daughter, with Sabzo, and Sabzo is also in love [with Pirk...]” (21) **Sabzo’s father** thought; [he said] /that/, “No good will come of a fight (lit. what hope from killing); if I fight and take part in the fighting, I will be killed and no good will come of killing. (22) Let me make a decision (lit. do a thought) [to] ask for wealth”’ (SA.f: 18c–22)

- S2 NP in connection with a discontinuity

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the merchant**’ in (58a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (58a), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (57c) ends low, whereas that for (58a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (57c) ends the previous unit, whereas (58a) begins a new narrative unit. So the motivation for the marked NP encoding in (58a) is to signal a new narrative unit, one in which the merchant becomes sad and tries to handle the problem with the three brothers.

Ex. 327) S2 NP in connection with a discontinuity

57c	<i>'gošt=e</i>	<i>'drost=en</i>	<i>'māsī</i>	<i>'ta</i>	
	say.PST=PC.3SG	right=COP.NPST.3SG	mother	PN.2SG	
	<i>kō'ṭek=ē=ay</i>		<i>'ta</i>		
	illegitimate child-IND=COP.NPST.2SG		PN.2SG		
	<i>gō'lām-ay</i>	<i>'tōm=ay</i>			
	slave-GEN	offspring=COP.NPST.2SG			
58a	<i>ē'dā</i>	<i>toj'jār</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>nārā'at</i>	<i>ūt-∅=o</i>
	then	merchant	again	sad	become.NPST-3SG=and
	<i>apsor'da</i>	<i>būt-∅=o</i>			
	depressed	become.NPST-3SG=and			

‘(57c) [she] said [to the merchant], “They are right my son (lit. mother), you are an illegitimate child; you are the offspring of a male slave.” (58a) Then (lit. here) **the merchant** became sad again and [he] became depressed and...’ (TB.f: 57–58a–58b)

- S2 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**the servant**’ in (39a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (38c), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (38c) ends low, whereas that for (39a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (38c) ends the previous unit, whereas (39a) begins a new narrative unit. So the motivation for the marked NP encoding in (39a) is to signal a new narrative unit—one involving the speech of the three brothers regarding the food.

Ex. 328) S2 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

38c	<i>das'šōd-ā</i>	<i>'dēm</i>	<i>dāt-∅</i>	<i>'b-ra-∅</i>
	servant-OBL	face	give.PST-3SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG
	<i>mē'mān-ān-ī</i>	<i>das't-ān-a</i>	<i>'b-šōd-∅</i>	
	guest-OBL.PL-GEN	hand-PL-OBJ	IMPV-wash.NPST-2SG	
	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šām=a</i>	<i>war-an</i>	
	CLM	dinner=VCL	eat.NPST-3PL	
39a	<i>das'šōd</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šot-∅</i>	<i>pa das't-ay</i>
	servant	CLM	go.PST-3SG	for hand-GEN
	<i>šoš't-en-ā</i>			
	wash.PST-INF-OBL			

‘(38c) he [the merchant] sent the servant (lit. hand-washer), [and said to him], “Go [and) wash the guests’ hands, because we are going to eat.”’  
 (39a) When **the servant** went for washing the [guests’] hands’ (TB.f: 38–39)

- S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**this one**’ in (58a) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (57b), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (57b) ends low, whereas that for (58a) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (57b) ends the previous unit, whereas (58a) begins a new narrative unit. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention since attention was on the global VIP in (57a).

Ex. 329) S2 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

57a	<i>'š-ī</i>	<i>'ā=o</i>	<i>lē'rā=ē</i>	<i>'mnā</i>
	say.NPST-3SG	DIST=FOC	camel=IND	PN.1SG.OBJ
	<i>'wā-∅</i>			
	eat.NPST-3SG			
57b	<i>'š-ī</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>∅-'bar-∅=o</i>
	say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.2SG	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=and
	<i>ha'm=ē</i>	<i>ma'hār=ē</i>	<i>'by-ār-∅</i>	
	EMPH=PROX	bridle=PC.3SG	IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG	
58a	<i>'ēš=a</i>	<i>'raw-t=o</i>		
	PROX=VCL	go.NPST-3SG=and		
58b	<i>ha'm=ē</i>	<i>ma'hār=ay</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>pū'zay</i>
	EMPH=PROX	bridle=PC.3SG	from	nose.OBL.PC.3SG
	<i>'pāč=a</i>	<i>kan-t</i>		
	open=VCL	do.NPST-3SG		

‘(57a) [He] says, “It is a camel; he will eat me”; (57b) [the girl] says, “No, take [my scarf] and bring its bridle.” (58a) **This one** goes and (58b) removes this bridle from its nose’ (MNJ.m: 57a–58b)

- S2 to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that one**’ in (64h) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (64g), so the context is S2. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent (the merchant) as no longer the current centre of attention even though he had been the centre of attention in (64g). (65a) begins a new narrative unit (‘When it was morning’ marks a discontinuity of time) with attention on the Mullah, who realises that the youth (the global VIP) has made a flower which is now in the hand of the merchant. So DIST in 64h anticipates this switch of attention to the Mullah.

Ex. 330) S2 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

64f	<i>ā'erā</i>		<i>'bā-∅</i>			
	DIST.OBJ		take.NPST-3SG			
64g	<i>'dan-t</i>		<i>ke</i>		<i>'by-ā-∅</i>	<i>ġab'la=ye</i>
	give.NPST-3SG		CLM		IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	kiblah=EZ
	<i>ā'lam</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ran'g-ēn</i>	<i>'gol=ē</i>	
	universe	CLM	PROX	kind-ATTR	flower=IND	
	<i>'šē</i>	<i>'bāg-ā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ma'rōčī</i>		
	from.PROX	garden-OBL	PN.1SG	today		
	<i>dīs't-a=on</i>					
	see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG					
64h	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'bō=a</i>	<i>kašš-ī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>čō'n-ēn</i>	
	DIST	smell=VCL	pull.NPST-3SG	CLM	how-ATTR	
	<i>ġwā'n-ēn</i>	<i>'gol=ē</i>				
	beautiful-ATTR	flower=IND				

‘(64f) [he] takes and (64g) gives to that one, [he says] /that/, “Look, my lord (lit. kiblah of the universe), /that/ I have found such a flower in (lit. from) the garden today”; (64h) **that one** smells [it], [and says] /that/, “What a beautiful flower”’ (MNJ.m: 64f–64h)

- S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus to highlight

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**This merchant**’ in (73) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (72), so the context is S2. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention. Moreover, the motivation for the marked NP encoding is to highlight the speech since it is important for the rest of the story. The next part of the story develops around this speech.

Ex. 331) S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus to highlight the speech (NP)

72	<i>'gošt=e</i>	aga	<i>rās't-ēn-a</i>	<i>'sōj=a</i>		
	say.PST=PC3SG	if	truth-ATTR-OBL	question =VCL		
	<i>kan-ay</i>	<i>pāde'šā</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>ā'šex</i>	
	do.NPST-2SG	king	PN.1SG.GEN	on	in love	
	<i>ūt-a=∅</i>		<i>wa</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'man</i>	
	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		and	with	PN.1SG	
	<i>ka'rār=o</i>	<i>ma'dār</i>	<i>ešt-a=∅</i>		<i>ke</i>	
	arrangement=and	echo	leave.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		CLM	
	<i>'man</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'mē</i>	<i>sā'at-a</i>	<i>'b-rā-īn</i>	
	PN.1SG	for	EMPH.PROX	time-OBL	SBJV-go.NPST-1SG	
	<i>pāde'šā-ayā</i>	<i>'anūn</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'āt-ay</i>	
	king-LOC	now	CLM	PN.2SG	come.PST-2SG	
	<i>'tī</i>	<i>sa'lā</i>	<i>'čt=en</i>			
	PN.2SG-GEN	advice	what=COP.NPST.3SG			
73	<i>'ē</i>	<i>tā'jer</i>	<i>'gošt-∅</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dar'waxtēke</i>	<i>'ā</i>
	PROX	merchant	say.PST-3SG	CLM	when	DIST
	<i>be</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>'sarā</i>	<i>ā'šex</i>		
	to	PN.2SG.GEN	on	in love		
	<i>ūt-a=∅</i>		<i>'man=am</i>	<i>ā'šex-ā</i>		
	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		PN.1SG=ADD	in love-OBL		
	<i>be</i>	<i>ā'šex-ā</i>	<i>bax'šāt-on</i>	<i>b-rā-∅</i>		
	to	in love-OBL	give.NPST-1SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG		

‘(73) [She] said [to him], “If you want to know the truth, the king has fallen in love with me and he has made an arrangement with me that I should go to the king’s place right now; [but] now you have come; what do you advise?” (74) **This merchant** said /that/ “Now that he has fallen in love with you, I give the beloved to the lover. Go!”’ (TB. f: 73–74)

- S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic plus to signal a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**This woman**’ in (74) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (73), so the context is S2. The intonation contour for (73) ends low, whereas that for (74) begins at a higher level. This suggests that (73) ends the previous unit, whereas (74) begins a new narrative unit. The motivation for the marked NP encoding is therefore to indicate a new narrative unit. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention.

Ex. 332) S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) plus a new narrative unit (NP)

73	<i>'ē</i>	<i>tā'jer</i>	<i>'gošt-∅</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dar'waxtē ke</i>	<i>'ā</i>
	PROX	merchant	say.PST-3SG	CLM	when	DIST
	<i>be</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>'sarā</i>	<i>ā'sex</i>		
	to	PN.2SG.GEN	on	in love		
	<i>ūt-a=∅</i>			<i>'man=am</i>	<i>ā'sex-ā</i>	
	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG			PN.1SG=ADD	in love-OBL	
	<i>be</i>	<i>ā'sex-ā</i>	<i>bax'sāt-on</i>	<i>b-rā-∅</i>		
	to	in love-OBL	give.NPST-1SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG		
74	<i>'ē</i>	<i>je'nēn</i>	<i>'šot-∅</i>			
	PROX	woman	go.PST-3SG			

‘(73) This merchant said [to her] /that/ “Now that he has fallen in love with you, I give the beloved to the lover. Go!”. (74) **This woman** went’ (TB. f: 73–74)

- S2 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic in connection with a discontinuity

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that previous wife**’ in (22i) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (22h), so the context is S2. The motivation for the DIST encoding is to mark the referent as not the current centre of attention because the attention is still on the husband. The expression *ā'xerā* ‘finally’ at the beginning of the sentence indicates the passing of time from when the two women were talking to each other to when the second wife takes the man by force. The motivation for the marked NP is therefore a discontinuity of time.

Ex. 333) S2 to mark the referent as non-thematic (DIST) in connection with a discontinuity of time

22h	<i>ājē'zag</i>	<i>'gošt-∅</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'hanūn</i>	<i>'zāg</i>
	girl	say.PST-3SG	CLM	PN.1SG	now	child
	<i>'dār-īn=o</i>		<i>'ta</i>	<i>ā'da</i>		
	have.NPST-3SG=and		PN.2SG	there		
	<i>∅-b-ay=o</i>		<i>'man</i>	<i>ē'dā=on=o</i>		
	SBJV-become.NPST-2SG=and		PN.1SG	here=COP.NPST.1SG=and		
22i	<i>ā'xer-ā</i>	<i>ha'm=ē</i>	<i>mar'd-ārā</i>	<i>'ham=ā</i>		
	end-OBL	EMPH=PROX	man-OBJ	EMPH=DIST		
	<i>'dēm-ay</i>	<i>'jan</i>	<i>'zor</i>	<i>ūt</i>		
	face-GEN	wife	power	become.PST.3SG		

‘(22h) girl said [to her] /that/ “Now I have children, and you stay there [in Zahak] and I am here [in Shahrestan] (...).”; (22i) finally, **that previous wife** took this man back by force (lit. became power)’(KB.m: 22h–22i)

### 6.4.3. Marked encoding for S3 and motivations

Because the default encoding for S3 contexts is NP, there are two types of marked encoding for S3: under-encoding and over-encoding. They are considered in turn.

#### 6.4.3.1. Under-encoding

The forms of under-encoding are: ∅/PC, PROX, DIST. The following examples illustrate each form of under-encoding in turn, together with its motivation.

- S3 ∅ in connection with a VIP

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [he] in (4b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (4a), so the context is S3. Such under-encoding is possible because the referent is the global VIP and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 334) S3 Ø in connection with the global VIP

4a *xodānezar'xān*      *nākō'zāk=ē*      *'dāšt-Ø*      *be*      *'nām=e*  
 Khodanezar Khan      cousin=IND      have.PST-3SG      with      name=EZ  
*pī'rak*  
 Pirak

4b *sab'zō-ī*      *sa'rā*      *ā'sex=at-Ø*  
 Sabzo-GEN      on      in love=COP.PST-3SG

‘(4a) Khodanezar Khan had a cousin called Pirak; (4b) [he] was in love with Sabzo’ (SB.f: 4a–4b)

In the following passage, the subject ‘Ø’ [he] in (38h) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (38g), so the context is S3. The referent is the local VIP and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around him. So the storyteller can omit any overt reference to him.

Ex. 335) S3 Ø in connection with the local VIP

38g *'āp=am*      *mor'tab*      *pa*      *'ēš-ī*      *dasne'māz-ā*      *ā'māda*  
 water=ADD      always      for      PROX-OBL      ablution-OBL      ready  
*'dāšt-Ø=o*  
 have.PST-3SG=and

38h *'ēš-ā*      *'dars=am*      *'dāt-Ø*  
 PROX-OBL      lesson=ADD      give.PST-3SG

‘(38g) [the boy] always made some water available for his [the Mullah’s] ablution and (38h) [he] (i.e. the Mullah) taught him as well’ (MNJ.f: 38g–38h)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘Ø’ [the man] in (32c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (32b), so the context is S3. The reason that it is not necessary to identify him more explicitly is that only two participants are present and the non-subject (the VIP) is referred to in (32c) with clause-initial PROX.

Ex. 336) S3 Ø when the VIP interacts with an unidentified participant

32b *tā'rī*      *pē'sī*      *ka'lāk=ē*      *bo'ta=ē*  
 morning      for.PROX.OBL      bundle=EZ      bush=IND  
*hā'ort-Ø*  
 bring.NPST-3SG

32c *ē's-a*      *'nān=ē*      *'dāt-Ø*  
 PROX-OBL      bread=IND      give.NPST-3SG

‘(32b) in the morning [the boy] brought a bundle of bushes for this one; (32c) [the man] gave him some bread’ (MNJ.f: 32b–32c)

- S3 ∅ when a major participant interacts with a minor participant

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [she] in (17h) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (17g), so the context is S3. The reason that it is not necessary to identify her more explicitly is that only two participants are present and the non-subject (the VIP) is referred to in (17h) with clause-initial PROX.

Ex. 337) S3 ∅ when a major participant interacts with a minor participant

17g *'ham=ē mā'to=ē 'dāšt-∅*  
 EMPH=PROX stepmother=IND have.PST-3SG

17h *ē'serā ke 'šošt=at-∅*  
 PROX.OBJ CLM wash.PST=COP.PST-3SG

*'dīst=at-∅*  
 see.PST=COP.PST-3SG

‘(17g) you know, she had a stepmother; (17h) when [she] (i.e. the stepmother) had washed this one, she had seen (...)’ (KB.M:17g–17h)

- S3 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [they] in (73) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (72), so the context is S3. Such under-encoding is possible is because a singular participant is interacting with a plural number of participants, and the verb indicates whether the current subject is singular or plural.

Ex. 338) S3 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

72 *duz'z-ay 'dam-ā 'kapt-∅*  
 thief-GEN breath-OBL fall.PST-3SG

73 *goš't-ant ke 'ta go'jā*  
 say.PST-3PL CLM PN.2SG where

*bū't-ag=ay*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG

‘(72) She fell into the thieves’ hands. (73) [They] said, “Where have you been? (TB.m: 72–73)

- S3 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (52d) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (52c), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is the global VIP in this folktale, is also the current centre of attention rather than the Mullah (the local VIP).

Ex. 339) S3 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

52c	<i>ha'm=ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>'k-ay-t</i>	<i>ke</i>
	EMPH=PROX	CLM	Mullah	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	CLM
	<i>ē'šerā</i>	<i>'b-g-īt</i>			
	PROX.OBJ	SBJV-take.NPST-3SG			
52d	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'wat-rā</i>	<i>mas't-ēn</i>	<i>lē'ra=ē=a</i>	
	PROX	REFL-OBJ	crazy-ATTR	camel=IND=VCL	
	<i>'kan-t</i>				
	do.NPST-3SG				

‘(52c) as soon as the Mullah was about to grab this one; (52d) **this one** made himself a crazy camel’(MNJ.m: 52c–52d)

- S3 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that one**’ in (19f) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (19e), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to signal that the referent, who is the global VIP, is not the current centre of attention since the boy [Rahim] is the current centre of attention.

Ex. 340) S3 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

19e	<i>'ham=ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'lōtet-an</i>	<i>ē'šerā</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'zōr</i>
	EMPH=PROX	CLM	want.PST-3PL	PROX.OBJ	for	force
	<i>'b-day-an</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'bande=∅</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>	
	SBJV-give.PST-3PL	to	PROX	servant=EZ	God	
19f	<i>'ā</i>	<i>ša'mē</i>	<i>ge's-ā</i>	<i>'jest-∅</i>		
	DIST	from.EMPH.PROX	house-OBL	escape.PST-3SG		

‘(19e) as soon as they wanted to marry off this one to this fellow [Rahim] by force; (19f) **that one** [girl] escaped from that (lit. this) house’ (KB.m:19e–19f)

### 6.4.3.2. Over-encoding

The forms of over-encoding are as follows: PROX+NP, DIST+NP.

The following examples illustrate each form of over-encoding in turn, together with its motivation.

- S3 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this girl**’ in (59b) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (59a), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to signal that the referent, who is the local VIP is also the current central of attention rather than the boy who made himself a bridle. Note that in this passage the subject is right dislocated to clarify who blew on the bridle.

Ex. 341) S3 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

59a	<i>ha'm=ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'k-ār-īt</i>			
	EMPH=PROX	CLM	IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG			
59b	<i>'bass</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ma'hār-ā</i>	<i>'wtī</i>	<i>das't-ay</i>	<i>de'lā</i>
	just	PROX	bridle-OBL	REFL.GEN	hand-GEN	inside
	<i>'yakwa</i>	<i>'hop=a</i>	<i>kan-t</i>	<i>ha'm=ē</i>	<i>hāje'zag</i>	
	suddenly	blow=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	girl	

‘(59a) As soon as he brings [the bridle for her]; (59b) you know, suddenly [she] blew on this bridle inside her hand, **this girl**’ (MNJ.m: 59a–59b)

- S3 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that young man**’ in (22c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (22b), so the context is S3. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is the global VIP in this story, is not the current centre of attention since the participant ‘this one the old man’ in the previous clause (22a with PROX) is the current centre of attention.

Ex. 342) S3 DIST+NP to mark the referent as not-thematic

22a 'eš pīra'mard šamē'dā 'ber=a  
 PROX old man from.EMPH.here PREV=VCL

gard-īt=o 'raw-Ø  
 turn.NPST-3SG=and go.NPST-3SG

22b 'gō 'ā ja'wān-ā 'š-īt=o  
 with DIST youth-OBL say.NPST-3SG=and

22c 'ā ja'wān-ā 'nang=a 'g-īt=o  
 DIST youth-OBL zeal=VCL take.NPST-3SG=and

22d nan'g-ī=ya b-īt  
 zeal-ADJZ=VCL become.NPST-3SG

‘(22a) This one, the old man, comes back (lit. comes back and goes) from there (lit. here), and (22b) he tells that young man, and (22c) **that young man** becomes zealous (lit. zeal took that youth); (22d) he becomes zealous’ (MNJ.m: 22a–22d)

#### 6.4.4. Marked encoding in S4 and motivations

As in the S3 context, there are two kinds of marked encodings for the S4 context: under-encoding and over-encoding. They are considered in turn

##### 6.4.4.1. Under-encoding

The forms of under-encoded are as follows: Ø/PC, PROX, DIST and Ø+REFL. The following examples illustrate each form in turn, together with its motivation.

- S4 Ø in connection with a VIP

In the following passage, the subject, ‘Ø’ [he] in (37b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (37a), so the context is S4. Under-encoding is possible because the referent is the global VIP and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 343) S4 Ø in connection with the global VIP

37a bačak 'ādā ke 'šot-Ø  
 boy there CLLM go.NPST-3SG

37b je'nek=ē 'dāšt-Ø  
 daughter=IND have.NPST-3SG

37c de'gār-ay 'čērā=at-Ø  
 ground-GEN under=COP.PST-3SG

‘(37a) When the boy went there [to that town]; (37b) **[he]** (i.e. the Mullah) had a daughter; (37c) she was under the ground’ (MNJ.f: 37a–37c)



- S4 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this one**’ in (43b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (43a), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is the global VIP in this story, is also the current centre of attention rather than the Mullah.

Ex. 346) S4 PROX to mark the VIP as thematic

- 43a *'yak 'rōč̣=ē ke 'ham=ē mol'lā sā'eb*  
 one day=IND CLM EMPH=PROX Mullah Sir  
*'wāb=a b-īt*  
 asleep=VCL become.NPST-3SG
- 43b *'bass 'ēš=a 'raw-t=o ha'm=ē*  
 just PROX=VCL go.NPST-3SG=and EMPH=PROX
- 43c *ham='ēš-ān-ā ha'm=ādā šo'rū=a*  
 EMPH=PROX-OBL.PL-OBJ EMPH=there start=VCL  
*kan-t*  
 do.NPST-3SG
- 43c *ha'm=ē 'werd=o čī-'yān-a*  
 EMPH=PROX incantation=and what-OBL.PL-OBJ  
*wā'n-īt*  
 read.NPST-3SG

‘(43a) One day when this Mullah (lit. Sir Mullah) is asleep; (43b) well, **this one** goes and (43b) he starts to read them there, these incantations and things’ (MNJ.m: 43a–43b)

- S4 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject ‘**that one**’ in (54e) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (54d), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to indicate that the referent, who is the global VIP in this story, is also not the current centre of attention, since the attention is on the global VIP at this stage of the story.

Ex. 347) S4 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

- 54d *'ēš 'šāns=a 'k-ār-ī ke*  
 PROX luck=VCL IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG CLM
- 54e *'ā pa 'wtī ne'māz-ā 'k-ōšt-īt*  
 DIST for REFL.GEN prayer-OBL IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG

‘(54d) this one [the boy] is lucky; (54e) since **that one** [the Mullah] stops for his prayer’ (MNJ.m: 54d–54e)

- S4 Ø+REFL in connection with VIP plus to emphasise the referent

In the following passage, the subject, ‘Ø [he] **himself**’ in (74) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (73), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked REFL encoding is to emphasise the referent over against his uncle (the local VIP). The motivation for underencoding ‘Ø’ is that the referent is the global VIP and the hearers expect this stage of the story to be revolving around him, so the storyteller can omit any additional reference to him.

Ex. 348) S4 Ø+REFL in connection with a VIP (Ø) plus for emphasis (REFL)

73e *'čakk=a* *jan-ant* *ta* *'way* *'ēš=o*  
 turning=VCL hit.NPST-3PL MIR oh dear PROX=FOC

*ha'm=ā* *plā'n-ī* *'zāg* *šwā'nag-ay* *'zāg*  
 EMPH=DIST so and so-GEN child shepherd-GEN child

*'naen*  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

74 *'wat=a* *'š-ī* *ke* *'bale* *'čerā*  
 REFL=VCL say.NPST-3SG CLM yes yes

*'man=at-on* *'man=on*  
 PN.1SG=COP.PST-1SG PN.1SG=COP.PST.1SG

‘(73) They turn around, [they say] “Oh dear, is he not the son of so and so, the shepherd’s son?” (74) [**He**] **himself** says /that/ “Yes, I was; I am”’ (MNJ.m: 73–74)

### 6.4.4.2. Over-encoding

The forms of over-encoding are as follows: PROX+NP and DIST+NP. The following examples illustrate each form of over-encoding in turn, together with the motivation for using more than a simple NP.

- S4 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**this shepherd’s son**’ in (6j) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (6i), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked PROX encoding is to signal that the referent, who is the global VIP, is also as the current centre of attention rather than his age mates.

Ex. 349) S4 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic

- 6h *xo'dā ke ē's-ānā aw'lād 'dāt-∅=o*  
 God CLM PROX-OBL.PL-OBJ child give.PST-3SG=and
- 6i *ē's-ān-ī aw'lād 'tū būt-ant*  
 PROX-OBL.PL-GEN child big become.PST-3PL
- 6j *'yak 'rōč=ē a'm=ē šwā'nag-ay 'zūg ke*  
 one day=IND EMPH=PROX shepherd-GEN child CLM  
*'gō 'wtī pe's-ā šwāna'g-ī=ya*  
 with REFL.GEN father-OBL shepherd-NMLZ=VCL  
*ko-∅*  
 do.PST-3SG
- 6k *'wtī 'sar=o hamsa'r-ān-ā 'dīst-∅*  
 REFL.GEN head=and age mate-OBL.PL-OBJ see.PST-3SG  
*ke*  
 CLM

‘(6h) when God gave them the children and (6i) their children grew up; (6j) one day, **this shepherd’s son** who was shepherding with his father; (6k) saw /that/ his age mates’ (MNJ.m: 6h–6k)

- S4 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

In the following passage, the subject, ‘**that girl**’ in (19b) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (19a), so the context is S4. The motivation for the marked DIST encoding is to signal the referent as not the current centre of attention, even though she is the local VIP, since the attention is on the other participants; i.e., the girl’s father, mother and grandmother.

Ex. 350) S4 DIST+NP to mark the referent as non-thematic

19a	<i>o</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>pamē'sī</i>		<i>kanā'hat=a</i>
	and	just	for.EMPH.PROX.OBL		satisfaction=VCL
	<i>kan-ant</i>	<i>a'm=ē</i>	<i>'saj</i>	<i>'čār</i>	<i>na'par=o</i>
	do.NPST-3PL	EMPH=PROX	three	four	person=and
19b	<i>a'm=ā</i>	<i>je'nek=om</i>	<i>xoš'hāl=a</i>	<i>b-īt</i>	
	EMPH=DIST	girl=ADD	happy=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	

‘(19a) And you know, [they], these three and four persons, settle on this and, well; (19b) **that girl** becomes happy’ (MNJ.m: 19a–19b)

## 6.5. Conclusions on motivations for marked encoding in S1–4

So far, I have established the default encodings for the S1–4 contexts and given motivations for the different forms of marked encoding in each context. This section summaries the motivations for marked encoding in two pairs of contexts: S1–2 and S3–4 (see Sec. 4.5). Any motivations which are peculiar to a single context (e.g., tail-head linkage and repetition in S1) are noted in the respective section.

### 6.5.1. Motivations for marked encoding in S1–2

As in the other dialects being studied, the main motivations for marked encodings in S1–2 contexts in SiB are:

For NP:

- In connection with a discontinuity of time or action;
- In connection with a new narrative unit;
- To highlight the action or the following event in the story;

- To highlight a speech or thought (to date, only found in S2);
- In connection with repetition to highlight the following event (peculiar to S1);
- In connection with tail-head linkage to highlight the following event or to discontinuity (peculiar to S1);
- To clarify who the subject is.

For REFL:

- To emphasise the identity of the referent.

For PROX:

- To mark a referent as thematic.

For DIST:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic.

When combinations of marked encodings occur, the motivations for the different parts remain unchanged. Thus, the motivations for the combinations of marked encodings are:

For NP+ REFL:

- To highlight plus to emphasise the referent (to date, only found in S1).

For PROX+NP:

- To mark a referent as thematic plus to highlight or in connection with a discontinuity.

For DIST+NP:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic plus in connection with discontinuity.

## 6.5.2. Motivations for marked encodings in S3–4

As I mentioned in (Sec. 5.4.3–4) there are two types of marked encoding for the S3 and S4 contexts: under-encodings (i.e., less than NP) and over-encodings (more than a simple NP).

The motivations for under-encoding in S3 and S4 are:

For  $\emptyset$  / PC:

- The referent is a VIP;

For  $\emptyset$ :

- When a major participant interacts with a minor participant;
- In connection with a singular-plural contrast;
- In connection with contrasts between singular and plural referents and switching from plural to singular (to date, only in S4).

For PROX:

- To mark a participant as thematic plus one of the above reasons for under-encoding.

For DIST:

- To mark a referent as non-thematic plus one of the above reasons for under-encoding.

The motivations for over-encoding (more than a simple NP) are:

For PROX+NP:

- To mark a participant as thematic.

For DIST+NP:

- To mark a participant as non-thematic.

## 6.6. Summary

In the present chapter, I first identified default encodings for the S1–4 contexts for folktales and biographical tales in the Sistani Balochi dialect.

- There is no difference between folktales and biographical tales as far as default encodings are concerned. The default encoding for the S1–2 contexts is a person-marking verb suffix ( $\emptyset/PC$ ) and the default encoding for the S3–4 contexts is a simple NP.

When the default is  $\emptyset/PC$ , the marked encoding is anything more than  $\emptyset/PC$ , such as NP, PROX, DIST or combinations of NP and PROX or DIST. When the default is a simple NP, on the other hand, anything more than a simple NP is regarded as over-encoding: PROX+NP or DIST+NP. Conversely, anything less than NP is regarded as under-encoding. Thus, as in the other Balochi dialects being studied, the lightest encoding is  $\emptyset/PC$  and the heaviest encodings in this dialect are PROX+NP and DIST+NP.

The encoding hierarchy in CoB is summarised in Figure 7.

$\emptyset/PC > \text{PROX/DIST/REFL} > \text{NP} > \text{PROX+NP/DIST+NP}$

Figure 7. The encoding hierarchy in SiB

In contrast to the other Balochi dialects being studied, PN has not been attested in the present work. However, the position of PN would be located before  $\emptyset/PC$  in the hierarchy.

- The motivation for PROX and DIST, to mark a referent as thematic and non-thematic respectively, is the same in all S contexts.
- The motivation for REFL, to emphasise the identity of the subject, is the same in all S contexts.
- The motivation for over-encoding in S1-2 with NP (whether with or without PROX or DIST) is to mark the beginning of a new narrative unit, in connection with a discontinuity or to highlight (a speech, thought or event).
- Over-encoding with NP in S1 is also found for clarification, in repetitions and tail-head linkage.
- The motivations for under-encoding in S3–4 are the same. It arises when the referent is a VIP and/or under certain circumstances when no ambiguity would result (see Sec. 6.5.2).



## 7. Comparison of participant reference in Coastal Balochi (CoB)

In chapter 4, I discussed default and marked encodings for the contexts S1–4 and the motivations for over- and under-encoding. In the present chapter, I will present a comparison of participant reference in folktales and biographical tales between male and female speakers.

A study of reference to activated 3rd person participants for folktales and biographical tales is a prerequisite in order to make a comparison of gender and genre differences in participant encoding.

For preparing the conclusions about reference to activated 3rd person participants for folktales, I drew up a table for each text separately which consisted of 6 columns: context, total, default, marked, form, and motivation. I prepared two tables consisting of a summary of the two versions of the same folktale, one version told by a female narrator and the other by a male narrator, altogether four tables for two folktales. I did the same for the biographical tales (see Chaps. 8–9).

I present as a model the folktale entitled *The King's Daughter* narrated by a female speaker (KD.f). The following table presents the conclusions about reference to activated 3rd person participants in this folktale. The figures in columns 2–5 were obtained by adding together the corresponding figures in tables 38 and 39 (see Sec. 4.1). The motivations<sup>90</sup> given for marked encodings are discussed in later sections; viz., 4.4–4.5.

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<sup>90</sup> The total (occurrences and thus also percentages) in the 'motivation' column is sometimes higher than in the 'marked' column. This inconsistency arises because some forms of encoding are associated with two motivations. For example, PROX+NP has two motivations: 'thematic' for PROX and 'new narrative unit' or 'highlighting' for NP (see Chaps. 8–9).

Table 78. Reference to activated 3rd person participants for KD.f

context	total	default	marked	form	motivation
S1	252	∅/PC (200)	over-encoding 52 (21%)	PROX+NP (8) DIST+NP (2) NP+REFL (1) REFL+NP (1) NP (23) PROX (12) DIST (1) REFL (4)	New narrative unit (17) (7%) Discontinuity of action (7) (3%) Highlighting (11) (4%) Thematic (20) (8%) Non-thematic (3) (1%) Emphasis (6) (2%)
S2	69	∅(35) PC(8)	over-encoding 26	PROX+NP (4) NP (9) PROX (12) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (9) (13%) Highlighting (4) (6%) Thematic (16) (23%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)
S3	26	NP(6)	<u>under-encoding</u> 19 (73%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 1 (4%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (11) PC (1) PROX (7)  <u>over-encoding</u> DIST+NP (1)	VIP (10) (38%) Pl/Sg(1) (4%) Thematic (7) (27%) Non-thematic (1) (4%)
S4	77	NP(33)	<u>under-encoding</u> 29 (38%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 15 (19%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (18)  PROX (7) DIST (4)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (10) DIST+NP (4) REFL+NP (1)	VIP (15) (19%) Sg/Pl (3) (4%) Thematic (17) (22%) Non-thematic (8) (10%) Emphasis (1) (1%)

In the above table, the motivation for PROX is always thematic, the motivation for DIST is always non-thematic, and the motivation for REFL is always emphasis. In contrast, three motivations have been distinguished for over-encoding with NP (in the S1–2 contexts): highlighting, clarification, and new narrative unit. Similarly, two explanations have been given for under-encoding (in the S3–4 contexts): switch between plural and singular and when the referent is a VIP.

## 7.1. Male and female folktales

In the following section, I will make a comparison of participant reference in the folktales between the male and female speakers for the S1–4 contexts in turn. The purpose of this comparison is to discover if there are any significant differences in subject encoding in the folktales between the male and female speakers. The two male folktales (KS.m and BS.m) were told by the same informant, but the two female folktales (KD.f and BS.f) were told by different informants.

To facilitate the comparison, all the highlighting types (i.e., highlighting an action, an event, a speech, a thought, a countering speech, a contrary-to-expectation event, etc.) are regarded as highlighting (see Sec. 4.4 and 4.5 for discussions of each). I deal with discontinuity of action as a separate category from other discontinuity types (e.g., discontinuity of time). The reason for doing this is that a discontinuity of action involves background information, which does not help to develop the main line of the story, while a discontinuity of time helps to advance the story line.

Again, to facilitate comparison, discontinuity of time is considered as a special variety of the category “new narrative unit”. The motivation for doing this is that both categories help to develop the main line of the story (see Sec. 4.5). In addition, both marked repetition and marked tail-head linkage (see Sec. 3.12.4.2) are interpreted as motivated by either ‘discontinuity and a new narrative unit’ or ‘highlighting’, without specifying which of the two phenomena is relevant.

### 7.1.1. Context S1

Table (79) displays the results in the folktales for context S1.

Table 79. Context S1, folktales

S1	total	default	marked	form	motivation
KD.f	252	∅/PC (200) (79%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 52 (21%)	PROX+NP (8) DIST+NP (2) NP+ REFL (1) REFL+NP (1) NP (23) PROX (12) DIST (1) REFL (4)	New narrative unit (17) (7%) Discontinuity of action (7) (3%) Highlighting (11) (4%) Thematic (20) (8%) Non-thematic (3) (1%) Emphasis (6) (2%)
KD.m	180	∅/PC (136) (76%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 44 (24%)	PROX+NP (2) DIST+NP(1) NP+ REFL (2) NP (32) PROX(6) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (17) (9%) Discontinuity of action (6) (3%) Highlighting (14) (8%) Thematic (8) (4%) Non-thematic (2) (1%) Emphasis (2) (1%)
BS.f	123	∅/PC (102) (83%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 21 (17%)	PROX+NP (7) DIST+NP (2) NP (6) PROX (5) REFL (1)	New narrative unit (7) (6%) Discontinuity of action (4) (3%) Highlighting (4) (3%) Thematic (12) (10%) Non-thematic (2) (2%) Emphasis (1) (1%)
BS.m	125	∅/PC (88) (70%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 37(30%)	PROX+NP (1) DIST+NP (1) NP (24) PROX (10) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (12) (10%) Discontinuity of action (3) (2%) Highlighting (11) (9%) Thematic (11) (9%) Non-thematic (2) (2%)

Table (80) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 80. Comparison of male and female folktales, S1

S1	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.ac	emph
f	375	79; 83	17; 21	8; 10	1; 2	6; 7	3; 4	3; 3	1; 2
m	305	70; 76	24; 30	4; 9	2; 2	9; 10	8; 9	2; 3	0; 1

Table 80 shows that there is a tendency for marked encoding in the male folktales (24; 30%) to be higher than in the female ones (17; 21%). In particular, marked encoding to highlight is twice as frequent in the male folktales as in the female ones (8; 9% versus 3; 4%). The motivation for this difference is that the male speaker is an expert storyteller and tends to highlight the significant items and events in the story to make his audience aware that

they are important for the rest of the story. In contrast, the female speakers are not expert storytellers and use more default encoding, even though the items, actions and events are important for the rest of the story.

In addition, marked encoding to indicate a new narrative unit is also higher in the male stories (9; 10% versus 6; 7% in the female stories). The reason for this is that the male as an expert storyteller tends to draw the audience's attention to the participant where there is a switch from one place to another or when a new event begins in the story. In contrast, the female speakers tend to use default encoding.

Example (351) illustrates the tendency for the male storyteller to highlight and to mark new narrative units more than the female. The male uses marked encoding to highlight the subject in (19), (20) and (22b) (contrast female (24a) and (25)). The male begins a new narrative unit in (22a) (contrast female (28b)). The motivations for such marked encoding are discussed after the example.

Ex. 351) Marked encoding for highlighting and new narrative unit: male versus female (KD).

male	female
19) One of <b>the girl's</b> sandals fell off.	24a) This one of <b>her</b> shoes falls [off]; 24b) this one keeps coming.
20) The <b>girl</b> arrived home half dead (lit. brought her breath home).	25a) She [Ø] <sup>91</sup> arrives (lit. comes [and] arrives) [home]; 25b) again, she gets a fever; 25c) she stays (lit. falls down) there (lit. here); 25d) she gets scared, the poor girl.
	26) Then the father asks her [what had happened].
	27) The father asks her; she does not say anything to the father.
21) The Mullah saw that the girl's shoe is [made of] gold. One shoe is on her foot, the other one is left [here]. If she goes and tells her father, the father will cut off my neck.	
22a) You know, the <b>Mullah</b> took (lit. took and brought) that shoe in advance (i.e., before the girl arrived)	28) She does not say [anything] until the Mullah, himself, comes; 28b) <b>he</b> [Ø] takes her shoe, [and] 28c) comes.
22b) and the <b>Mullah</b> gave it to the king.	
22c) He said, "Your majesty (...)"	29) He says, "Look, you are a famous king (...)"

The following appear to be the motivations for marked encoding in the male version. The male marks the subject in (19) because the girl's sandal is a significant item for the development of the rest of the story, whereas the female does not in (24a). The male uses over-encoding in (20) to highlight the fact the girl has been running all the way to her home, while the female speaker in (24a) applies default encoding even though the event she describes is important. In addition, the male speaker uses marked encoding of the subject in (22a), because there is a switch of location from the school to the king's palace. In contrast, the female speaker in (28b) uses default encoding even though an important switch of location occurs at this stage of the story. The male speaker uses marked encoding in (22b) in order to high-

<sup>91</sup> In these comparative charts, I have only added Ø when the form of reference is relevant to the comparison.

light the following speech because it is important for the rest of the story. In contrast, the female speaker uses default encoding.

### 7.1.2. Context S2

Table (81) displays the results in the folktales for context S2.

Table 81. Context S2, folktales

S2	total	default	marked	form	motivation
KD.f	69	∅/PC (43) (62%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 26 (38%)	PROX+NP (4) NP (9) PROX (12) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (9) (13%) Highlighting (4) (6%) Thematic (16) (23%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)
KD.m	65	∅/PC (48) (74%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 17(26%)	PROX+NP (1) NP(16)	New narrative unit (9) (14%) Highlighting (8) (12%) Thematic (1) (2%)
BS.f	38	∅/PC (28) (74%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 10(26%)	PROX+NP (1) NP(6) PROX (3)	New narrative unit (4) (11%) Highlighting (3) (8%) Thematic (3) (8%)
BS.m	39	∅/PC (22) (56%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 17(44%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (11) PROX (5)	New narrative unit (7) (18%) Highlighting (5) (13%) Thematic (6) (15%)

Table (82) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 82. Comparison of male and female folktales, S2

S1	total	default	marked	them	narr	highlt
f	107	62; 74	26; 38	8; 23	11; 13	6; 8
m	104	56; 74	26; 44	2; 15	14; 18	12; 13

Table (82) shows that marked encoding to highlight the speeches is twice as frequent in the male stories as in the female stories (12; 13% versus 6; 8% in the female stories). The reason for this is that the male speaker tends to draw his audience's attention to the speeches that are important for the rest of the story by marking the subject on such occasions. In contrast, the female speakers use default encoding.

There is also a tendency in the male stories for marked encoding to indicate a new narrative unit to be higher (14; 18% versus 11; 13% in the female stories). The reason for this is that the male speaker tends to draw the audience's attention to a new episode in the story by marking the participant at its beginning. In contrast, the female speakers use default encoding.

Example (352) shows that the male speaker highlights the speech more than the female. The male highlights the speech in (6–7) because of its importance for the rest of the story, whereas the female does not (4a–4b)).

Ex. 352) Marked highlighting: male versus female (KD).

male	female
5) [They said], “Why don’t you send our sister to study, the idea is that she should read, get (lit. learn) education, learn how to speak; the idea is that, a woman should either learn sewing or [get] education”.	3b) she [Ø] says, “Your majesty, your daughter is the only one; you are protective (lit. not happy); take (lit. take, place) her to stay”
6) <b>The father and the mother</b> said, “There is no need, you know, we don’t need (lit. there is no need for us) [her to do] anything else, we just need her to walk (i.e., to be present) in our house, in this way our desires are fulfilled.”	4a) he [Ø] says, “I won’t send (lit. hold) her to study since the Mullah punishes her [and] shouts at her; so I do not like it (lit. happiness is not for me)”;
7) <b>The brothers</b> said, “No you should send her to study.”	4b) [still] she [Ø] says, “Take her.”

Example (353) illustrates the tendency for the male storyteller to mark a new narrative unit more explicitly than the female speaker. The female relies on intonation to indicate the beginning of the new narrative unit (the contour for (4b) ends low, whereas that for (5a) begins at a higher level), while PROX marks the referent as thematic. In the male version, both intonation and the presence of ‘you know’ and ‘well’ mark the beginning of a new narrative unit (the contour for (7) ends low, whereas that for (8a) begins at a higher level).

Ex. 353) New narrative unit: NP versus PROX: (KD)

male	female
7) The brothers said, “No you should send her to study.”	4b) she says, “Take her.”
8a) Well, you know, <b>the father</b> had to find a Mullah,	5a) <b>This one</b> sends her to the Mullahs,

### 7.1.3. Context S3

Table (83) displays the results in the folktales for context S3.

Table 83. Context S3, folktales

S3	total	default	marked	form	motivation
KD.f	26	NP (6) (23%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 19 (73%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 1 (4%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (11) PC (1) PROX (7) <u>over-encoding</u> DIST+NP (1)	VIP (10) (38%) Pl/Sg (1) (4%) Thematic (7) (27%) Non-thematic (1) (4%)
KD.m	30	NP (22) (73%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 8 (27%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (3) PC (1) PROX (2) DIST(2)	VIP (3) (10%) Sg/Pl (1) (3%) Thematic (2) (7%) Non-thematic (2) (7%)
BS.f	23	NP (7) ∅ (1) (35%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 13 (57%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 2 (9%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (9) PC (1) PROX(2) DIST (1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (1) DIST+NP (1)	VIP (8) (35%) Sg/Pl (2) (9%) Thematic (3) (13%) Non-thematic (2) (9%)
BS.m	27	NP (17) (63%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 8 (30%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 2 (7%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (4) PC (1) PROX(2) DIST(1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (2)	VIP (4) (15%) Sg/Pl (1) (4%) Thematic (4) (15%) Non-thematic (1) (4%)

Table (84) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 84. Comparison of male and female folktales, S3

S3	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	49	23; 35	57; 73	4; 9	13; 27	4; 9	35; 38
m	57	63;73	27; 30	0; 7	7; 15	4; 7	10; 15

Table 84 shows that there is a tendency in the female folktales for under-encoding to be higher (57; 73%) than in the male ones (27; 30%). In particular, under-encoding in connection with a VIP is more than twice as frequent in the female stories (35; 38% versus 10; 15%). The reason for the higher

use of under-encoding in the female speakers is that they appear to rely more on the audience to keep track of who is the current VIP than the male speaker. In contrast, the male speaker, as an expert storyteller, prefers default encoding and does not rely on the audience to figure out who is the current VIP.

Example (354) illustrates the tendency of the female speaker to rely more on the audience to keep track of who is the current VIP than the male speaker. In (142c) the female uses under-encoding. In contrast, the male uses NP as default encoding (113b).

Ex. 354) under-encoding: male versus female (KD)

male	female
113a) He marries this girl;	142a) He marries her;
	142b) then (lit. here), two, three years passes;
113b) <b>the woman</b> gives birth to three children,	142c) she [Ø] gives birth to two, three children.

### 7.1.4. Context S4

Table (85) displays the results in the folktales for context S4.

Table 85. Context S4, folktales

S4	total	default	marked	form	motivation
KD.f	77	NP (33) (43%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 29 (38%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 15 (19%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (18) PROX (7) DIST (4)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (10) DIST+NP (4) REFL+NP (1)	VIP (15) (19%) Sg/Pl (3) (4%) Thematic (17) (22%) Non-thematic (8) (10%)  Emphasis (1) (1%)
KD.m	47	NP (35) (74%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 8 (17%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 4 (9%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (3) PC (3) PROX (2)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP(1)	VIP (6) (13%) Thematic (5) (11%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)
BS.f	67	NP (23) ∅ (3) (39%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 34 (51%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 7 (10%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (17) PROX(7) DIST (9) REFL+∅ (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP (4)	VIP (18) (27%) Thematic (10) (15%) Non-thematic (13) (19%)  Emphasis (1) (2%)
BS.m	59	NP (35) ∅ (3) (65%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 15 (25%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 6 (10%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (6) PC(4) PROX(3) DIST(2)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (5) DIST+NP(1)	VIP (8) (14%) Sg/Pl (2) (3%) Thematic (8) (14%)  Non-thematic (3) (5%)

Table (86) presents the figures for the two male stories and the two female folktales.

Table 86. Comparison of male and female folktales, S4

S4	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP	emph
f	144	39; 43	38; 51	10; 19	15; 22	10; 19	19; 27	1; 2
m	106	65; 74	17; 25	9; 10	11; 14	2; 5	13; 14	0; 0

Table 86 shows that, as with the S3 context, there is a strong tendency in the female folktales for under-encoding to be higher (38; 51) than in the male ones (17; 25%). In particular, under-encoding in connection with a VIP is higher in the female folktales (19; 27% versus 13; 14%). The motivation for this is the same as in S3. In addition, the frequency of under-encoding to identify a participant as thematic is higher for the female speakers (15; 22%) than for the male speaker (11; 14%). The reason for this is that the male selects a single participant as the centre of attention for one or more episodes, whereas the females switch attention from one participant to another even within the same episode.

Example (355) illustrates the tendency of the male speaker to use PROX to mark a single participant as the centre of attention for a whole episode (in 17c). In contrast, the female switches attention from one participant to another within the same episode (in 13b, 13d, 13e, and 13f).

Ex. 355) Thematic: male versus female (BS)

male	female
17a) the Baloch's son came to watch the date palm;	13a) the Baloch's son came and sat by the date palm;
17b) when the ghou! cut off the cluster,	13b) when <b>this one</b> cut off the cluster,
	13c) it thought (...);
17c) <b>this one</b> was sitting under this date palm;	13d) still <b>this one</b> [the boy] was sitting under this date palm;
17d) it cut off the cluster;	13e) <b>this one</b> cut off the cluster;
17e) the boy hit it with the sword.	13f) <b>this one</b> watched for an opportunity, watched for an opportunity and hit it with the sword.

Furthermore, the frequency of under-encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic is also higher in the female stories (10; 20% versus 3; 6% in the male stories). The motivation for this is that the female tends to indicate when the VIP is not the current centre of attention. Instead, the male speaker prefers default encoding.

Example (356) illustrates the tendency of the female speaker to use DIST to mark the VIP as not the current centre of attention (74i). In contrast, the male uses default encoding (53d).

Ex. 356) Non-thematic: male versus female (BS).

male	female
53a) They pulled him up on the middle of the way;	74d) The father didn't pay attention for a little while;
53b) there was jealousy in their heart;	74e) he looked in another direction;
	74f) the oldest brother took out a knife from his pocket;
	74g) he put it under [the rope and]
53c) they cut the rope [and]	74h) he cut this rope;
53d) <b>the boy</b> fell down into the well.	74i) <b>that boy</b> fell down (lit. went) [inside the well].

## 7.2. Male and female biographical tales

So far I have studied the S1–4 contexts in the male and female versions of the folktales. Now I will make a comparison of participant reference in S1–4 between the male and female speakers for the biographical tales. The aim of this comparison is to discover if there are any differences in participant encoding in the biographical tales between the male and female speakers. The two male biographical tales (RB.m and HS.m), are told by different speakers. This is also true of the two female biographical tales (RB.f and HS.f).

## 7.2.1. Context S1

Table (87) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S1.

Table 87. Context S1, biographical tales

S1	total	default	marked	form	motivation
RB.m	122	∅/PC (90) (74%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 32 (26%)	PROX+NP (5) NP+REFL (1) NP (16) PROX (10)	New narrative unit (10) (8%) Discontinuity of action (6) (5%) Highlighting (5) (4%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (15) (12%) Emphasis (1) (1%)
RB.f	159	∅/PC (119) (75%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 40 (25%)	PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP (1) NP (9) PROX (24) DIST (3)	New narrative unit (6) (4%) Discontinuity of action (3) (2%) Highlighting (4) (3%) Thematic (27) (17%) Non-thematic (4) (3%)
HS.f	110	∅/PC (81) (74%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 29 (26%)	PROX+NP (2) NP (19) PROX (7) PN (1)	New narrative unit (4) (4%) Discontinuity of action (6) (5%) Highlighting (10) (9%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (9) (8%) Emphasis (1) (1%)
HS.m	199	∅/PC (163) (82%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 36 (18%)	NP (14) PROX (16) PROX+NP (3) DIST (1) REFL (2) PN (1)	New narrative unit (7) (4%) Discontinuity of action (4) (2%) Highlighting (5) (3%) Clarification(1) (1%) Thematic (19) (10%) Non-thematic (1) (1%) Emphasis (2) (1%)

Table (88) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 88. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S1

S1	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.ac	emph
f	269	74; 75	25; 26	8; 17	0; 3	4; 4	3; 9	2; 5	0; 1
m	321	74; 82	18; 26	10; 12	0; 1	4; 8	3; 4	2; 5	1; 1

Table (88) shows that, in contrast to the folktales, the figures between the male and female speakers are highly overlapping for the biographical tales. There is thus no gender difference for S1.

## 7.2.2. Context S2

Table (89) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S2.

Table 89. Context S2, biographical tales

S2	total	default	marked	form	motivation
RB. m	99	∅/PC (63) (64%)	over-encoding 36 (36%)	PROX+NP (4) NP (15) PROX (15) DIST (2)	New narrative unit (8) (8%) Discontinuity of action (2) (2%) Highlighting (9) (9%) Thematic (19) (19%) non-thematic (2) (2%)
RB.f	22	∅/PC (4) (18%)	over-encoding 18 (82%)	PROX+NP (2) NP (9) PROX (7)	New narrative unit (2) (9%) Discontinuity of action (1) (5%) Highlighting (8) (36%) Thematic (9) (41%)
HS.f	20	∅ (9) (45%)	over-encoding 11 (55%)	NP (8) NP (3)	New narrative unit (4) (20%) Discontinuity of action (1) (5%) Highlighting (3) (15%) Emphasise (3) (15%)
HS.m	39	∅ (26) (67%)	over-encoding 13 (33%)	DIST+NP (1) NP (7) PROX (3) DIST (1) NP (1)	New narrative unit (5) (13%) Highlighting (3) (8%) Thematic (3) (8%) Non-thematic (2) (5%) Emphasis (1) (3%)

Table (90) presents the results of combining the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 90. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S2

S2	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.ac
f	42	18; 45	55; 82	0; 41	0; 0	9; 20	15; 36	5; 5
m	138	64; 67	33; 36	8; 19	2; 5	8; 13	8; 9	0; 2

Table (90) shows that, in contrast to the S1 context, there is a tendency in the female biographical tales for marked encodings to be higher (55; 82%) than in the male ones (33; 36%). In particular, marked encoding to highlight is more than twice as frequent in the female biographical tales (15; 36% versus 8; 9%). The male speakers narrate their biographical tales similarly to the way they narrate the folktales.<sup>92</sup>

The present study also confirms that, when there are many closed conversations in the text (see ex. 196), the male speakers, who are proficient story-

<sup>92</sup> I noticed this myself during my field work. I asked a man to tell me about his father's life and he opened his narration with the formulaic phrase corresponding to "once upon a time".

tellers, choose to mark only the important speeches, thoughts, actions and new narrative units in the text. In contrast, the female narrators are narrating the biographical tales spontaneously and the role of each participant tends not to be so explicit to the audience in the narration. This could be the reason for the higher figure for marked encoding.

In addition, there is also a tendency for marked encoding to indicate a discontinuity of action to be higher in the female biographical tales (5; 5%) than in the male ones (0; 2%).

Example (357) illustrates how the female speaker uses marked encoding to highlight a speech (14a). In contrast, the male speaker does not (18).

Ex. 357) Marked highlighting: male versus female (HW)

male	female
17a) At night, he comes, he consults with her, Hawrokan, he says, “what should I do? I will go.”	13c) Kahir got fed up (has got fed up) with this village. 13d) He said, “I will go to Dashtyari again.”
18) <b>She</b> [Ø] says “[if] you go, what should I do here? I will come with you.”	14a) You know, <b>Hawrokan</b> said (lit, has said), “I will come along you.”

### 7.2.3. Context S3

Table (91) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S3.

Table 91. Context S3, biographical tales

S3	total	default	marked	form	motivation
RB.m	19	NP (14) (74%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 4 (21%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 1(5%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (2) PROX(1) DIST (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP(1)	VIP (2) (11%) Thematic (2) (11%) Non-thematic (1) (5%)
RB.f	19	NP(5) (26%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 12 (63%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 2 (11%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (4) PC (2)  PROX (2) DIST (2)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (1) DIST+NP (1)	VIP (4) (21%) VIP/Minor (2) (11%) Thematic (3) (16%) Non-thematic (3) (16%)
HS.f	20	NP (11) (55%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 6 (30%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 3 (15%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (4) PC (1) PROX (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (1) DIST+NP (2)	VIP (3) (15%) Pl/Sg (2) (10%)  Thematic (2) (10%) Non-thematic (2) (10%)
HS.m	28	NP (8) (29%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 17 (61%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 3 (11%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (13) PROX (2) DIST (2)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (2) DIST+NP(1)	VIP (11) (39%) Pl/Sg (2) (7%)  Thematic (4) (14%) Non-thematic (3) (11%)

Table (92) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 92. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S3

S3	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	39	26; 55	30; 63	11; 15	10; 16%	10; 16%	15; 21%
m	47	29; 74	21; 61	5; 11	11; 14%	5; 11%	11; 39%

Table (92) shows that, in contrast to the folktales, the figures between the male and female speakers highly overlap for under-encoding, and that this under-encoding occurs when the referent is a VIP. Thus, there is no gender difference for the S3 context.

#### 7.2.4. Context S4

Table (93) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S4.

Table 93. Context S4, biographical tales

S4	total	default	marked	form	motivation
RB.m	39	NP (22) ∅ (3) (64%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 13 (33%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 1 (3%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (4) PC(3) PROX (5) DIST (1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP(1)	VIP (7) (18%) Thematic (6) (15%) Non-thematic (1) (3%)
RB.f	50	NP (18) PC (1) (38%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 22(44%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 9 (18%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (9) PC (5) PROX (8) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (7) DIST+NP (2)	VIP (12) (24%) VIP/Minor (1) (2%) Sg/Pl (1) (2%) Thematic (15) (30%) Non-thematic (2) (4%)
HS.f	66	NP (45) ∅ (1) (70%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 14 (21%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 6 (9%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (7) PC (1) PROX (5) DIST (1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP (1) NP+ REFL (2)	VIP (8) (12%) Thematic (8) (12%) Non-thematic (2) (3%) Emphasis (2) (3%)
HS.m	84	NP (39) ∅/PC (3) (50%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 31(37%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 11 (13%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (18) PC(1) PROX (6) DIST (5) PN (1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (8) DIST+NP (3)	VIP (17) (20%) Sg/Pl (2) (2%) Thematic (14) (17%) Non-thematic (8) (10%) Emphasis (1%)

Table (94) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 94. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S4

S4	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	116	38; 70	21; 44	9; 18	12; 30	3; 4	12; 24
m	123	50; 64	33; 37	3; 13	15; 17	3; 10	18; 20

Table (94) shows that, as with S3 and in contrast to S4 in the folktales, the figures between the male and female speakers are highly overlapping for the biographical tales. Thus, there is no gender difference in S4 context for the biographical tales.

### 7.3. Comparison of the folktales and biographical tales

In sections 7.1 and 7.2, I separately compared how the male and female speakers encode references to 3rd person participants in different contexts in the folktales and biographical tales. I now consider whether the genre (folktales versus biographical tales) affects the encoding in the same contexts.

#### 7.3.1. Context S1

Table (95) compares default and marked encodings in the S1 context in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from Tables (80) and (88).

Table 95. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

	default		marked	
	f	m	f	m
folk	79; 83	70; 76	17; 21	24; 30
biog	74; 75	74; 82	25; 26	18; 26

Table (95) shows that there is a tendency for marked encoding to be higher for the females in the biographical tales than the folktales. The reverse is true for the males.

Table (95) compares the motivations for marked encoding in the S1 context in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have again been copied from Tables (80) and (88).

Table 96. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

	narr		dis.ac		highlt		them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	6; 7	9; 10	3; 3	2; 3	3; 4	8; 9	8; 10	4; 9
biog	4; 4	4; 8	2; 5	2; 5	3; 9	3; 4	8; 17	10; 12

Table (96) shows that marked encoding to indicate a new narrative unit is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales. In addition, marked encoding to highlight is higher for the males in the folktales than in the biographical tales. In contrast, marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic is higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

### 7.3.2. Context S2

Table (97) compares default and marked encoding in the S2 context in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from Tables (82) and (90).

Table 97. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S2

	default		marked	
	f	m	f	m
folk	62; 74	56; 74	26; 38	26; 44
biog	18; 45	64; 67	55; 82	33; 36

Table (97) shows that marked encoding in S2 is higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

Table (98) compares motivations for marked encoding in S2 in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have again been obtained from tables (82) and (90).

Table 98. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S2

	narr		dis.ac		highlt		them		n.them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	11; 13	14; 18	0; 0	0; 0	6; 8	12; 13	8; 23	2; 15	0; 0	0; 0
biog	9; 20	8; 13	5; 5	0; 2	15; 36	8; 9	0; 41	8; 19	0; 0	2; 5

Table (98) shows that, for the males, there is a tendency for marked encoding to indicate a new narrative unit to be higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales. For the females, marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales. In addition, marked encoding to highlight is higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales. The reverse is true for the males. Marked encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic is higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

### 7.3.3. Context S3

Table (99) compares default and marked encodings in the S3 context in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from Tables (84) and (92).

Table 99. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S3

	default		under		over	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	23; 35	63; 73	57; 73	27; 30	4; 9	0; 7
biog	26; 55	29; 74	30; 63	21; 61	11; 15	5; 11

Table (99) shows that there is a tendency among the females for over-encoding to be higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

Table (100) compares the motivations for marked encoding in the S3 context in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have again been copied from Tables (84) and (92).

Table 100. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S3

	VIP		them		n.them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	35; 38	10; 15	13; 27	7; 15	4; 9	4; 7
biog	15; 21	11; 39	10; 16	11; 14	10; 16	5; 11

Table (100) shows that, for the females, under-encoding in connection witha VIP is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales. In addition, under-encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic is higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

### 7.3.4. Context S4

Table (101) compares default and marked encodings in the S4 context in folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from Tables (86) and (94).

Table 101. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S4

	default		under		over	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	39; 43	65; 75	38; 51	17; 25	10; 19	9; 10
biog	38; 70	50; 64	21; 44	33; 37	9; 18	3; 13

Table (101) shows that there is a tendency among the males for under-encoding to be higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

Table (102) compares motivations for marked encoding in the S4 context in folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have again been copied from Tables 86 and 94.

Table 102. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S4

	VIP		them		n.them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	19; 27	13; 14	15; 22	11; 14	10; 19	2; 5
biog	12; 24	18; 20	12; 30	15; 17	3; 4	3; 10

Table (102) shows that, for the males, there is a tendency for under-encoding in connection with a VIP to be higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales. In addition, under-encoding to identify a participant as thematic for the males is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

For the females, under-encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales.

## 7.4. Summary

In this chapter, I first compared the encoding strategies among the female and male speakers for each genre separately and then between the two genres.

### 7.4.1. Gender differences

The result of comparing the male and female speakers shows that there were gender differences for all S contexts in the folktales as follows:

- In the S1 and S2 contexts, the male speaker tended to use marked encoding to indicate both highlighting and new narrative units.
- In the S3 and S4 contexts, the female speakers tended to rely on the audience's ability to identify the VIP more than the male speaker.

The gender issue was not so prominent in the biographical tales except for the S2 context.

- In the S2 context, the female speakers tended to use marked encoding more than the male speakers to indicate highlighting or discontinuity of action.

### 7.4.2. Genre differences

The result of comparing the two genres shows that there were gender differences among the folktales and biographical tales as follows:

S1 contexts:

- The females used marked encoding more frequently in the biographical tales than in the folktales.
- Marked encoding to indicate new narrative units was more frequent in the folktales than in the biographical tales for both genders.
- Marked encoding to highlight was higher for the males in the folktales than in the biographical tales.
- Marked encoding to indicate thematic participants was higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

S2 contexts:

- Marked encoding was higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales.
- New narrative units were more frequently marked by the males in the folktales than in the biographical tales.
- Discontinuity of action was more frequently marked by the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales.
- Marked encoding for highlighting was higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales. The reverse was true for the males.

S3 contexts:

- Under-encoding of reference to a VIP was higher in the folktales for the females than in the biographical tales.
- Marked encoding for non-thematic participants was higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

S4 contexts:

- Under-encoding was higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales.
- Under-encoding of references to a VIP was higher in the folktales for the males than in the biographical tales.
- Marked encoding for thematic participants was higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales.
- Marked encoding for non-thematic participants was higher for the females in the folktales than in the biographical tales.

## 7.5. Evaluation

This chapter has compared the participant reference strategies employed by male and female speakers in folktales and biographical tales in CoB, to see whether any gender or genre based differences emerge. I first evaluated the differences that relate to gender, then those that relate to genre.

It appears that gender plays an important role in the strategy of participant reference in the folktales, and that it does play a role, although a less significant one in the biographical tales (see Sec. 7.4.1).

I now consider who is a proficient storyteller in this society. As the present data confirm for this dialect, the two men involved are more proficient in narration than the four women. The reasons for this are cultural and socio-linguistic factors such as:

- Male storytellers generally have a large adult audience, which provide the conditions for them to be more proficient, because they have to be more clear and fluent in order to amuse their audience. In contrast, the audiences of the female storytellers are mainly children and women.
- In addition, it is impossible for a female storyteller to tell her stories in a formal meeting, which consists of men and women. This is not the case for the male storytellers.
- Due to cultural issues, the male storytellers are freer than the female ones to travel to different regions and tell their stories to different audiences in big formal meetings, while the narration of the female storytellers is limited to their own region and to small audiences.

These factors result in men tending to be more proficient in narration than women.

The results of comparing the two genres demonstrate that the only consistent difference between the genres was that new narrative units were marked more frequently in contexts S1 and S2 in the folktales than in the biographical tales (see Sec. 7.4.2). The similarities in participant encoding in the two genres could be due to the fact that people in this society tell the biographical tales in a similar style as the folktales.

## 8. Comparison of participant reference in KoB

In Chapter 5, I discussed default and marked encodings for the contexts S1–4 and the motivations for over- and under-encoding in KoB with examples. In the present chapter I will study gender and genre differences in this dialect.

I applied the same principles as those outlined in chapter 7 (see Sec. 7.1) for preparing the conclusions about reference to activated 3rd person participants in the folktales and biographical tales. I made four tables, consisting of two versions of the same folktale: one sversion told by a female narrator and the other by a male narrator.

I present as an example the King's Son folktale narrated by a female speaker (KS.f). The following table presents the conclusions about reference to activated 3rd person participants in this story. The figures in columns 2–5 were obtained from Table (58) (see Sec. 5.1). The motivations given for marked encoding are discussed in later sections; viz., 5.4–5.5.

Table 103. Reference to activated 3rd person participants for KS.f

context	total	default	marked	form	motivation
S1	167	∅/PC (155) (93%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 12 (7%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (4) PROX (5) DIST (2)	New narrative unit (2) (1%) Discontinuity of action (2) (1%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (6) (4%) Non-thematic (2) (1%)
S2	69	∅/PC (45) (65%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 24 (35%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (17) PROX (6)	New narrative unit (5) (7%) Highlighting (7) (10%) Additive (6) (9%) Thematic (7) (10%)
S3	32	NP (20) (62.5%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (9) (28%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (3) (9%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅/PC (7) PROX(2)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3)	VIP (5) (16%) Repeated <sup>93</sup> (1) (3%) Pl/Sg (1) (3%) Thematic (5) (16%)
S4	49	NP (35) (72%) ∅ (3)	<u>under-encoding</u> 9 (18%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 5 (10%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅/PC (7) PROX (2)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (4) DIST+NP (1)	VIP (1) (2%) Sg/Pl (1) (2%) Repeated (1) (2%) VIP/Other (1) (2%) Thematic (6) (12%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)

In Table (103), the motivation for PROX is always thematic, the motivation for DIST is always non-thematic, and the motivation for REFL is always emphasis. In contrast, five motivations have been distinguished for over-encoding with NP (in S1–2 contexts): highlighting, clarification, to mark a new narrative unit, in connection with a discontinuity of action, and additive. Similarly, four explanations have been given for under-encoding (in S3–4 contexts): singular-plural switch, action and participant repeated, when the referent is a VIP and VIP contrast with an unspecified group.

## 8.1. Male and female folktales

In the following section, I will make a comparison of participant reference in the folktales between the male and female speakers for each S context in turn. The purpose of this comparison is to discover if there are any significant differences in subject encoding in the folktales between the male and female speakers. The

<sup>93</sup> Action and participant repeated.

two male folktales (KS.m and GA.m) were told by the same informant and the same is also true for the two female folktales (KS.f and GA.f).

To facilitate the comparison, all the highlighting types (i.e., highlighting an action, an event, a speech, a thought, a countering speech, a contrary-to-expectation event, etc.) are regarded as highlighting (see Sec. 5.4 and 5.5 for discussions of each). I deal with discontinuity of action as a separate category from other discontinuity types (e.g., discontinuity of time). The reason for doing this is that a discontinuity of action involves background information, which does not help to develop the main line of the story, while a discontinuity of time helps to advance the story line.

Again, to facilitate comparison, discontinuity of time is considered as a special variety of the category “new narrative unit”. The motivation for doing this is that both categories help to develop the main line of the story (see Sec. 5.5). In addition, both marked repetition and marked tail-head linkage (see Sec. 3.12.4.2) are interpreted as motivated by either ‘discontinuity and a new narrative unit’ or ‘highlighting’, without specifying which of the two phenomena is relevant.

### 8.1.1. Context S1

Table (104) displays the results in the folktales for context S1.

Table 104. Context S1, folktales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
KS.f	167	∅/PC (155) (93%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 12 (7%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (4) PROX (5) DIST (2)	New narrative unit (2) (1%) Discontinuity of action (2) (1%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (6) (4%) Non-thematic (2) (1%)
KS.m	122	∅/PC (114) (93%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 8 (7%)	PROX+NP (2) NP (6)	New narrative unit (4) (3%) Discontinuity of action (2) (2%) Highlighting (1) (1%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (2) (2%)
GA.f	64	∅ 58 (91%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 6 (9%)	PROX+NP (1) DIST+NP (1) NP (2)  PROX (1) REFL(1)	New narrative unit (2) (3%) Discontinuity of action (1) (2%) Highlighting (1) (2%) Thematic (2) (3%) Non-thematic (1) (2%) Emphasis (1) (2%)
GA.m	52	∅ (44) (85%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 8 (15%)	NP (6)    PROX (2)	New narrative unit (3) (6%) Discontinuity of action (1) (2%) Highlighting (1) (2%) Clarification (1) (2%) Thematic (2) (4%)

Table (105) shows the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 105. Comparison of male and female folktales, S1

S1	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.ac
f	231	91; 93	7; 9	3; 4	1; 2	1; 3	0; 2	1; 2
m	306	85; 93	7; 15	2; 4	0; 0	3; 6	2; 2	2; 2

Table (105) shows that most of the figures between the male and the female speakers overlap. However, marked encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic is slightly higher for the female than for the male (1; 2% versus 0; 0). Thus, the category of non-thematic is the only category that demonstrates a small gender difference for S1.

### 8.1.2. Context S2

Table (106) displays the results in the folktales for context S2.

Table 106. Context S2, folktales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
KS.f	69	∅(45) (65%)	over-encoding 24 (35%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (17)  PROX (6)	New narrative unit (5) (7%) Highlighting (7) (10%) Additive (6) (9%) Thematic (7) (10%)
KS.m	60	∅ (43) (72%)	over-encoding 17 (28%)	PROX+NP (5) NP (9)  PROX (2) REFL (1)	New narrative unit (3) (5%) Highlighting (4) (7%) Additive (7) (12%) Thematic (7) (12%) Emphasis (1) (2%)
GA.f	23	∅ (16) (70%)	over-encoding 7 (30%)	NP (6) (26%)   PROX (1)	New narrative unit (2) (9%) Additive (4) (17%) Thematic (1) (4%)
GA.m	17	∅ (11) (65%)	over-encoding 6 (35%)	NP (6) (35%)	Highlighting (4) (24%) Additive (2) (12%)

Table (107) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 107. Comparison of male and female folktales, S2

S1	total	default	marked	them	narr	highlt	ADD
f	231	65; 70	30; 35	4; 10	7; 9	0; 10	9; 17
m	306	65; 72	28; 35	0; 12	0; 5	7; 24	12; 12

Table (107) shows that most of the figures between the male and female speakers overlap. However, marked encoding to identify a new narrative unit is higher in the stories told by the females (7; 9%) than those told by the males (0; 5%). Thus, new narrative unit is the only category where gender seems to play a role in the encoding strategy.

Example (358) illustrates the tendency for the female storyteller to mark new narrative units more than the male. The female marks a new narrative unit in (111a). In contrast, the male tends to use default encoding (118). The motivations for such marked encoding are discussed after the example.

Ex. 358) Marked encoding new narrative units: male versus female (KS)

Male	Female
115) So the king comes up and sees, yes?	109) The king goes, looks [and] sees that, Woe, they have built a palace there in one night, a huge and beautiful palace, seven floors higher than my palace.
116) There is a palace [there which] is beyond description.	110a) He gathers his ministers and others [and]
117) He says, “Well, go to him and give him whatever he wants because [otherwise] he will destroy you.”	110b) he says, “Go to this palace [and check], I want to see who it is who has built such a palace here in one night.”
118a) ∅ [ <b>They</b> ] keep going,	111a) <b>The ministers</b> go [and]
118b) until they see /that/ (...)	111b) they see /that/ (...)

The following appear to be the motivations for marked encoding in the female version. The female speaker as an expert storyteller marks the subject in (111a) since there is a switch from the place where the king is talking to his ministers to the place where the bald man and his wife are. In contrast, the male speaker uses default encoding in (118a) even though there is a switch from the king’s palace to the bald man’s palace. The reason why the female is more cautious about marking the subjects in her narration might be that she grew up in a family where she from her childhood used to listen to her father and grandmother’s narrations or it could be because of her little school education.

### 8.1.3. Context S3

Table (108) displays the results in the folktales for context S3.

Table 108. Context S3, folktales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
KS.f	32	NP (20) (62.5%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (9) (28%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (3) (9%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø/PC (7) PROX(2)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3)	VIP (5) (16%) Repeated (1) (3%) Pl/Sg (1) (3%) Thematic (5) (16%)
KS.m	26	NP (12) (54%) Ø (1) PC (1)	<u>under-encoding</u> (11) (42%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (1) (4%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (9) PROX(1) DIST (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (1)	VIP (7) (27%) Sg/Pl (1) (4%) Repetition (1) (4%) Thematic (2) (8%). Non-thematic (1) (4%)
GA.f	14	NP (11) (78%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (3) (21%) <u>over-encoding</u> 0	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (3) <u>over-encoding</u> 0	VIP (3) (21%)
GA.m	9	NP (7) (78%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (2) (22%) <u>over-encoding</u> 0	<u>Under-encoding</u> Ø (2) <u>over-encoding</u> 0	VIP (2) (22%)

Table (109) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 109. Comparison of male and female folktales, S3

S3	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	46	61; 78	21; 28	0; 9	0; 16	0; 3	16; 21
m	35	54; 78	22; 42	0; 4	0; 8	0; 4	22; 27

Table (109) shows that under-encoding in connection with a VIP in the male folktales is higher (22; 27%) than in the female ones (16; 21%). The motivation for this is that the male speaker relies more on the audience knowing who is the current VIP than the female (an expert storyteller). The difference is one of expertise.

Example (365) illustrates the tendency of the male speaker to rely more on the audience to keep track of who is the current VIP than the female. In

(98c) the male uses under-encoding. In contrast, in (100c) the female uses NP as default encoding.

Ex. 359) Under-encoding of VIP: male versus female (KS)

male	Female
98a) Then his youngest daughter cooks a head-and-trotters dish <b>for him</b>	100a) Well, the youngest daughter makes a head-and-trotters dish.
98b) [and] and brings it.	100b) and brings [it] <b>for her father</b> ,
98c) ∅ [ <b>he</b> ] keeps on refusing to eat,	100c) <b>her father</b> keeps refraining from eating,

#### 8.1.4. Context S4

Table (110) displays the results in the folktales for context S4.

Table 110. Context S4, folktales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
KS.f	52	NP(35) (72%) ∅ (3)	<u>under-encoding</u> 9 (18%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 5 (10%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅/PC (7) PROX (2)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (4) DIST+NP (1)	VIP (1) (2%) Sg/Pl (1) (2%) Repeated (1) (2%) VIP/Other (1) (2%) Thematic (6) (12%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)
KS.m	49	NP(20) (51%) ∅ (5)	<u>under-encoding</u> 16 (33%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 8 (16%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (13) PROX (2) REFL+ ∅ (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (7) DIST+NP (1)	VIP (12) (24%) Sg/Pl (1) (2%) Repeated (1) (2%) Thematic (9) (18%) Non-thematic (1) (2%) Emphasis (1) (2%)
GA.f	8	NP(4) (100%) ∅ (4)	0 (0%)	0	
GA.m	11	NP(3) (82%) ∅ (6)	<u>under-encoding</u> (18%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (2)	VIP (2) (18%)

Table (111) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 111. Comparison of male and female folktales, S4

S4	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	57	72; 100	0; 18	0; 10	0; 12	0; 2	0; 2
m	60	51; 82	18; 33	0; 16	0; 18	0; 2	18; 24

Table (111) shows that, as in S3, under-encoding in connection with a VIP is higher in the male folktales (18; 24% versus 0; 2%). This is the only category that demonstrates a gender difference.

Example (366) illustrates the tendency of the male speaker to rely more on the audience to keep track of who is the current VIP than the female. In (2b) the male uses under-encoding to refer to the VIP.

Ex. 360) Under-encoding of VIP: male versus female (KS).

Male	female
2a) A king, sir, his wife dies;	2a) After a while, his wife becomes sick and dies;
2b) <b>he</b> [Ø] goes	2b) so <b>the king</b> goes
2c) and marries another wife.	2c) and marries another woman.

## 8.2. Male and female biographical tales

So far I have studied the S1–4 contexts in the male and female versions of the folktales. Now I will make a comparison of participant reference in S1–4 between the male and female speakers for the biographical tales. The aim of this comparison is to discover if there are any differences in referent encoding in the biographical tales between the male and female speakers. Both male biographical tales (DA.m and AL.m) were told by the same speaker, and this is also true of the two female biographical tales (DA.f and AL.f).

## 8.2.1. Context S1

Table (112) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S1.

Table 112. Context S1, biographical tales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
DA.m	143	∅/PC (116) (81%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 27 (19%)	PROX+NP (2) NP+REFL (1) NP (20)  PROX (3) REFL (1)	New narrative unit (7) (5%) Discontinuity of action (4) (3%) Highlighting (5) (3%) Clarification (2) (1%) Focal S (5) (3%) Thematic (5) (3%) Emphasis (2) (1%)
DA.f	106	∅/PC (94) (89%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 12 (11%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (6)  PROX (4) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (3) (3%) Highlighting (3) (3%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (5) (5%) Non-thematic (1) (1%)
AL.m	143	∅/PC (110) (77%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 33 (23%)	PROX+NP (2) DIST+NP (1) NP (28)  PROX (2)	New narrative unit (9) (6%) Discontinuity of action (6) (4%) Highlighting (14) (10%) Clarification (2) (1%) Thematic (4) (3%) Non-thematic(1) (1%)
AL.f	78	PC (66) (85%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 12 (15%)	PROX+NP (2) NP (8)  PROX (1) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (1) (1%) Discontinuity of action (1) (1%) Highlighting (7) (9%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (3) (4%) Non-thematic (1) (1%)

Table (112) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

The default forms for the S1–2 contexts vary in one biographical tale; viz., AL.f, which lacks zero as default. The reason for this is that the narrator involves herself in the story and uses the past tense. In contrast, she does not involve herself in DA.f, nor does the male speaker involve himself in either of the biographical tales. These three tales are mostly told in the non-past tense.

Table 113. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S1

S1	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.ac	clarif
f	148	85; 89	11; 15	4; 5	1; 1	1; 3	3; 9	0; 1	1; 1
m	286	77; 81	19; 23	3; 3	0; 1	5; 6	3; 10	3; 4	1; 1

Table (113) shows that, in contrast to the folktales, marked encoding in the male biographical tales is higher (19; 23%) than in the female ones (11; 15%). In particular, marked encoding to indicate a new narrative unit is higher in the male biographical tales (5; 6% versus 1; 3%). The reason for this is that the male speaker as a professional storyteller tells both his biographical tales in the same style as the folktales (i.e., he uses a lot of tail-head linkage and repetition that includes overt reference to the subject) to mark new narrative units and for highlighting. In contrast, the female speakers tend to use default encoding in their narrations.

In addition, marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action is also higher in the male biographical tales (3; 4% versus 0; 1%). The reason for this is that the male speaker as an expert storyteller tries to make his narration clearer to his audience by referring overtly to the participants. In contrast, the female speaker, being less professional, tends to use default encoding.

Marked encoding to indicate that a referent is thematic is slightly higher in the female biographical tales (4; 5%) than in the male ones (3; 3%). The reason for this is that the female speaker tends to mark a referent as the current centre of attention even when he or she is not a VIP in the story. In contrast, the male speaker tends to only mark VIPs as the current centre of attention. Thus, there is a gender difference in S1 in the biographical tales.

Example (361) illustrates the tendency for the male storyteller to mark new narrative units more than the female. The male marks a new narrative unit in (56a) whereas the female uses default encoding (17a). The motivation for such marked encoding is discussed after the example.

Ex. 361) New narrative units: male versus female (AL)

Male	female
55b) He says, “OK, you take the animals to the meadow, when you get there, I will come (too)”.	16c) Alamdar said to his brother, “I will come tomorrow”.
56a) <b>Alamdar</b> goes before the animals (...)	17a) In the morning, <b>He</b> [Ø] went before the animals (...)

In the above passage, there is a long conversation between Alamdar and his brother during the night. Finally, Alamdar promises his brother to come to him the next day. The male speaker refers overtly to the subject in (56a) because there is a gap from the time when the two brothers are talking to the next day when Alamdar goes to his brother to help him. In contrast, the female speaker uses default encoding even though the adverbial phrase ‘in the morning’ signals the passing of time from when the brothers are talking to each other and when Alamdar goes to his brother to help him. Thus, the male speaker as a proficient teller refers overtly to the subject to indicate the beginning of a new narrative unit.

Example (362) shows that the male speaker tends to mark more discontinuities of action than the female speaker. The male speaker marks a discontinuity of action in (47d) whereas the female uses default encoding (16d). The male speaker specifies the subject of the previous clause (47c) to make it clear to his audience. In contrast, the female speaker uses default encoding.

Ex. 362) Discontinuity of action: male versus female (AL)

male	female
47c) his father lifts the man;	16c) our father lifted the man;
47d) <b>Mohammad Ali</b> , Alamdar's father, lifts the man and says, (...).	16d) he lifted the man and said, (...).
48a) The man goes and informs his family	17a) The man went and informed people in his (lit. his village)

### 8.2.2. Context S2

Table (114) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S2.

Table 114. Context S2, biographical tales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
DA.m	20	∅/PC (15) (75%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 5 (25%)	NP (4)  PROX (1)	New narrative unit (1) (5%) Discontinuity of action (1) (5%) Highlighting (1) (5%) Additive (1) (5%) Thematic (1) (5%)
DA.f	30	∅ (18) (60 %)	<u>over-encoding</u> 12 (40%)	NP (12)	New narrative unit (1) (3%) Discontinuity of action (2) (7%) Highlighting (3) (10%) Additive (6) (20%)
AL.m	43	∅/ PC (29) (67%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 14 (33%)	NP (11)  PROX (3)	New narrative unit (1) (2%) Highlighting (5) (12%) Additive (5) (12%) Thematic (3) (7%)
AL.f	13	PC (7) (54%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 6 (47%)	NP (5)  PROX (1)	New narrative unit (2) (13%) Discontinuity of action (1) (8%) Highlighting (2) (15%) Thematic (1) (8%)

Table (115) presents the figures for the two female and the two female biographical tales.

Table 115. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S2

S2	total	default	marked	them	narr	highlt	dis.ac	ADD
f	43	54; 60	40; 47	0; 8	3; 13	7; 10	7; 8	0; 20
m	63	67; 75	25; 33	5; 7	2; 5	5; 12	0; 1	1; 12

Table (115) shows that, as with CoB biographical tales, marked encoding is higher in the female biographical tales (40; 47%) than in the male ones (25; 33%). The reason for this is that the stories told by the female contain few closed conversations with two or more reported speeches (e.g., X says, Y (Ø) says, X (Ø) says). Consequently, the number of instances of default encoding in S2 is less in the stories told by the female, which in turn results in a higher percentage of instances of marked encoding, as in the following passages.

Ex. 363) Close conversation: male versus female (AL)

male	female
51a) So Alamdar's brother comes home and	16a) his brother came home
51b) says to his brother, "Brother, today a person beat me."	16b) He [PC] said (to Alamdar), "Today a man beat me";
52) (he says) "Why did he beat you?"	
53) his brother says (...).	
54) Well, so Alamdar says, (...).	
55a) Then he says, (...).	
55b) he says, (...).	16c) Alamdar said to his brother, (...).
56a) Alamdar goes before the animals (...).	17a) In the morning, he [Ø] went before the animals (...).

In addition, marked encoding to indicate discontinuities of action is also higher in the female biographical tales (7; 8% versus 0; 1%). Thus, there is a gender differences in S2 in the biographical tales.

### 8.2.3. Context S3

Table (116) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S3.

Table 116. Context S3, biographical tales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
DA.m	19	NP (14) (74%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 4 (21%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 1 (5%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅/PC (2) PROX(1) REFL (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> NP+ REFL (1)	VIP (1) (5%) Repetition (1) (5%) Thematic (1) (5%)  Emphasis (1) (5%)
DA.f	15	NP (4) (73%) ∅ (7)	<u>under-encoding</u> 3(20%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (7%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (1) REFL+∅ (1) PROX (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (1)	VIP (2) (13%) Thematic (2) (13%) Emphasis (1) (7%)
AL.m	20	NP (12) (60%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 7 (35%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 1 (5%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (6) PROX (1)  <u>Over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (1)	VIP (6) (30%) Thematic (2) (10%)
AL.f	21	NP (8) (38%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 13 (62%)	<u>under-encoding</u> PC (5) ∅ (6) PROX (2)	VIP (11) (52%)  Thematic (2) (10%)

Table (117) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 117. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S3

S3	total	default	under	over	them	emph	VIP
f		38; 73	20; 62	0; 7	10; 13	0; 7	13; 52
m	39	35; 74	21; 35	5; 5	5; 10	0; 5	5; 30

Table (117) shows that, in contrast to the folktales, the figures between the male and female speakers are highly overlapping. Thus, there is no gender difference for context S3.

## 8.2.4. Context S4

Table (118) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S4.

Table 118. Context S4, biographical tales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
DA.m	54	NP (30) ∅ (12) (78%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 7 (13%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 5 (9%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅/PC (2) PROX (3) DIST (2) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (4) DIST+NP (1)	VIP (2) (4%) Thematic (6) (11%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)
DA.f	39	NP (24) ∅ (7) (80%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 4 (10%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 4 (10%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (1) PROX (1) DIST (2) <u>Over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3) NP+ REFL (1)	VIP (1) (3%) Thematic (4) (10%) Non-thematic (2) (5%) Emphasis (1) (3%)
AL.m	60	NP (43) (87%) ∅ (9)	<u>under-encoding</u> 8 (13%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (6) PROX (1) REFL+∅ (1)	VIP (7) (12%) Thematic (1) (2%) Emphasis (1) (2%)
AL.f	27	NP (15) ∅ (1) (59%)	<u>under-encoding</u> 10 (37%)  <u>over-encoding</u> 1 (4%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (6) PROX (4) <u>Over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (1)	VIP (6) (22%) Thematic (5) (19%)

Table (119) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 119. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S4

S4	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	66	59; 80	10; 37	4; 10	10; 19	0; 5	3; 22
m	114	78; 87	13; 13	0; 9	2; 11	0; 2	4; 12

Table (119) shows that, as with S3, the figures between the male and female speakers are highly overlapping. Thus there is no gender difference for context S4.

### 8.3. Comparison of the folktales and biographical tales

In sections 8.1 and 8.2, I separately compared how the male and female speakers encode references to 3rd person participants in different contexts in the folktales and biographical tales. I now consider whether the genre (folktales versus biographical tales) affects the encoding in the same contexts.

#### 8.3.1. Context S1

Table (120) compares default and marked encodings in the S1 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from tables (105) and (113).

Table 120. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

	default		marked	
	f	m	f	m
folk	91; 93	85; 93	7; 9	7; 15
biog	85; 89	77; 81	11; 15	19; 23

Table (120) shows that marked encoding is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

Table (121) compares the motivations for marked encoding in the S1 context in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have again been copied from tables (105) and (113).

Table 121. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

	narr		dis. ac		highlt		clarify		them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	1; 3	3; 6	1; 2	2; 2	0; 2	2; 2	0; 1	1; 2	3; 4	1; 4
biog	1; 3	5; 6	0; 1	3; 4	3; 9	3; 10	1; 1	1; 1	4; 5	3; 3

Table 122. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

	n.them	
	f	m
folk	1; 2	0; 0
biog	1; 1	0; 1

In Tables (121) and (122) show that marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action is higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales. In addition, marked encoding to highlight is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

### 8.3.2. Context S2

Table (123) compares default and marked encodings in the S2 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from tables (107) and (115).

Table 123. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S2

	default		marked	
	f	m	f	m
folk	65; 70	28; 35	30; 35	28; 35
biog	54; 60	75; 67	40; 47	25; 33

Table (123) shows that marked encoding is higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

Table (124) compares the motivations for marked encoding in the S1 context in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have again been copied from tables (107) and (115).

Table 124. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S2

	narr		ADD		highlt		dis.ac		them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	7; 9	0; 5	9; 17	12; 12	0; 10	7; 24	0; 0	0; 0	4; 10	0; 12
biog	3; 15	2; 5	0; 20	1; 12	7; 15	5; 12	7; 8	1; 12	0; 4	10; 13

Table (124) shows that marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

### 8.3.3. Context S3

Table (125) compares default and marked encodings in the S3 context in the folktales and biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from tables (109) and (117).

Table 125. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S3

	default		under		over	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	62.5; 78	54; 78	21; 28	22; 42	0; 9	0; 4
biog	38; 73	35; 74	20; 62	21; 35	0; 7	5; 5

Table (125) shows that, for the males, over-encoding is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

Table (125) compares the motivations for marked encoding in the S3 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have again been copied from tables (109) and (117).

Table 126. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S3

	VIP		them		n.them		emph	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	16; 21	22; 27	0; 16	0; 8	0; 0	0; 4	0; 0	0; 0
biog	13; 52	5; 30	10; 13	5; 10	0; 0	0; 0	0; 7	0; 5

Table (126) shows that the figures between the male and female speakers are highly overlapping. Thus, there is no gender and genre difference for context S3.

### 8.3.4. Context S4

Table (127) compares default and marked encodings in the S4 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from tables (111) and (119).

Table 127. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S4

	default		under		over	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	72; 100	51; 82	0; 18	18; 33	0; 10	0; 16
biog	59; 80	78; 87	10; 37	13; 13	4; 10	0; 9

Table (127) shows that there is a tendency for under-encoding to be higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales. The reverse is true for the males. So, there is a gender distinction between the biographical tales and the folktales.

Table (128) compares the motivations for marked encoding in the S4 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have again been copied from tables (111) and (119).

Table 128. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S4

	VIP		them		n.them		emph	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	0; 2	18; 24	0; 12	0; 18	0; 2	0; 2	0; 0	0; 0
biog	3; 22	4; 12	10; 19	2; 11	0; 5	0; 2	0; 3	0; 2

Table (128) shows that there is a tendency for under-encoding in connection with a VIP to be higher for the females in the biographical tales than in the folktales. The reverse is true for the male speakers.

## 8.4. Summary

In this chapter, I first compared the encoding strategies among the female and male speakers for each genre separately and then between the two genres.

### 8.4.1. Gender differences

The result of comparing the male and female speakers showed that the categories of non-thematic (in the S1 context) and new narrative unit (in the S2 context) showed a gender difference. Gender differences were slightly more prominent in the folktales in the S3–4 contexts.

- In the S1 context, the female speaker used more marked encodings to identify a participant as non-thematic than the male speaker.
- In the S2 context, the female speaker used more marked encodings for a new narrative unit than in the male speaker.
- In the S3 and S4 contexts, the male speaker tended to rely on the audience's ability to identify the VIP more than the female speaker.

In contrast to the folktales, gender difference was more significant in the biographical tales.

- In the S1 context, the frequency of marked encoding was higher for the male speaker than for the female speaker. In addition:
- Marked encoding in connection with a new narrative unit was higher for the male than for the female.
- Marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action was higher for the male than for the female.
- Marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic was higher for the female speaker than for the male speaker.
- In the S2 context, the frequency of the marked encoding was higher for the female speaker than for the male speaker. In addition:
- Marked encoding in connection with a new narrative unit was higher for the female than for the male.

- Marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action was also higher for the female than for the male.
- In the S3 and S4 contexts, the female speaker tended to rely on the audience's ability to identify the VIP more than the male speaker.

In summary, the most noteworthy differences between the genders was that the females consistently marked categories more often than the males. The contexts and categories were as follows:

- In the S1 context, marking of a participant as non-thematic in the folktales, and marking of a participant as thematic in the biographical tales;
- In the S2 context, marking of new narrative units in both the folktales and the biographical tales.

The following were some inconsistencies between the genders:

- In the S1 context, marking of discontinuities of action was higher for the males than for the females in the biographical tales whereas, in the S2 context, it was higher for the females than for the males.
- In the S3 and S4 contexts, under-encoding of references to a VIP was higher for the males than for the females in the folktales whereas, in the biographical tales it was higher for the females than for the males.

#### 8.4.2. Genre differences

The result of comparing the two genres showed that there were gender differences between the folktales and the biographical tales as follows:

- In the S1 context, the frequency of marked encoding was higher in the biographical tales than the folktales. In addition:
- Marked encoding to highlight was higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales for both the males and the females.
- Marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action was higher in the biographical for the males than for the females.
- In the S2 context, the frequency of marked encoding was higher in the biographical tales for the female speakers than in the folktales. In addition:

- Marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action was higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales for both the males and the females.
- In the S3 context, the frequency of over-encoding was higher in the biographical tales for the male speakers than in the folktales.
- In the S4 context, the frequency of under-encoding when the referent was a VIP was higher for the female speakers in the biographical tales than in the folktales. The reverse was true for the male speakers.

When a genre difference has been noted, it is almost always the case that the biographical tales have more marked encoding than the folktales. The motivation for this could be that since the biographical tales are narrated spontaneously, the storytellers need to specify the participants more clearly for their audiences. In contrast, participants in the folktales have predictable roles and/or the stories are well enough known that it is not necessary to be too explicit.

## 8.5. Evaluation

This chapter compared the participant reference strategies employed by male and female speakers in the folktales and in the biographical tales in KoB to see whether any gender or genre based differences emerged. This section first evaluates the differences that relate to gender, then those that relate to genre.

Section 8.4.1 identified three consistent gender-related differences, all of which involved the females marking the category more often than the males. They were as follows: in the S1 context, the marking of a participant as thematic in both genres and as non-thematic in the folktales; and in the S2 context, the marking of new narrative units in both genres.

I again consider who is a proficient storyteller in this society. It is a bit hard to provide a realistic answer, because the Korosh are a multilingual community and they prefer to do their narrations in the other two languages they are proficient in (Persian and Qašqā'i). I found in my fieldwork that it was easier to find men to narrate in Koroshi than women. Normally, my female informants were hesitant to tell a story in Koroshi. The results of comparing the two genres indicate that the only consistent difference between the genres were:

- Highlighting was marked more frequently in S1 contexts in the biographical tales than in the folktales (see Sec. 8.4.2).

- Discontinuities of action were marked more frequently in S2 contexts in the biographical tales than in the folktales (see Sec. 8.4.2).

When a genre difference has been noted, it is almost always the case that the biographical tales have more marked encoding than the folktales.

## 9. Comparison of participant reference in SiB

In Chapter 6, I discussed default and marked encodings in SiB for the contexts S1–4 and the motivations for over- and under-encoding with examples. In the present chapter I will study gender and genre differences in this dialect.

I applied the same principles that are outlined in chapter 7 (see Sec. 7.1). I prepared four tables consisting of two versions of the same folktale, one version told by a female narrator and the other by a male narrator.

I present as a model the folktale entitled *Mullah Neykadar Jan* narrated by a male speaker (MNJ.m). The following table presents the conclusions about reference to activated 3rd person participants in this folktale. The figures in columns 2–5 were obtained by adding together the corresponding figures in Table (68) (see Sec. 6.1). The motivations given for marked encoding are discussed in later sections; viz., 6.4–6.5.

Table 129. Reference to activated 3rd person participants for Mullah Neykadar Jan (MNJ) (M)

context	total	default	marked	form	motivation
S1	146	∅ (114) (78%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 32 (22%)	PROX+NP (2) NP (10) PROX (18) DIST (2)	New narrative unit (2) (1%) Discontinuity of action (3) (2%) Highlighting (6) (4%) clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (20) (14%) Non-thematic (2) (1%)
S2	45	∅ (35) (78%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 10 (22%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (3) PROX (5) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (1) (2%) Discontinuity of action (1) (2%) Highlighting (2) (4%) Thematic (6) (13%) Non-thematic (2%)
S3	20	NP (9) (45%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (7) (35%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (4) (20%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (2) PROX (5)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP(1)	VIP (2) (10%) Thematic (8) (40%) Non-thematic (1) (5%)
S4	54	NP (22) ∅ (1) (43%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (20) (37%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (11) (20%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅/PC (7) PROX (7) DIST (5) REFL+∅ (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (8) DIST+NP (3)	VIP (8) (15%) Thematic (15) (28%) Non-thematic (8) (15%) Emphasis (1) (2%)

In the above table, the motivation for PROX is always thematic, the motivation for DIST is always non-thematic, and the motivation for REFL is always emphasis. In contrast, four motivations have been distinguished for over-encoding with NP (in S1–2 contexts): highlighting, clarification, to mark a new narrative unit and in connection with a discontinuity of action. Similarly, one explanation has been given for under-encoding (in S3–4 contexts): when the referent is a VIP.

## 9.1. Male and female folktales

In the following section, I will make a comparison of participant reference in folktales between the male and female speakers for each S context in turn. The purpose of this comparison is to discover if there are any significant differences in subject encoding in folktales between the male and female speakers. The two male folktales (MNJ.m and TB.m) were told by different speakers. The same is true for the two female folktales (MNJ.f and TB.f).

To facilitate the comparison, all the highlighting types (i.e., highlighting an action, an event, a speech, a thought, a countering speech, a contrary-to-expectation event, etc.) are regarded as highlighting (see Sec. 6.4 and 6.5 for discussions of each). I deal with discontinuity of action as a separate category from other discontinuity types (e.g., discontinuity of time). The reason for doing this is that a discontinuity of action involves background information, which does not help to develop the main line of the story, while a discontinuity of time helps to advance the story line.

Again, to facilitate comparison, discontinuity of time is considered as a special variety of the category “new narrative unit”. The motivation for doing this is that both categories help to develop the main line of the story (see Sec. 6.5). In addition, both marked repetition and marked tail-head linkage (see Sec. 3.12.4.2) are interpreted as motivated by either ‘discontinuity and a new narrative unit’ or ‘highlighting’, without specifying which of the two phenomena is relevant.

### 9.1.1. Context S1

Table (130) displays the results in the folktales for context S1.

Table 130. Context S1, folktales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
MNJ.m	146	∅ (114) (78%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 32 (22%)	PROX+NP (2) NP (10) PROX (18) DIST (2)	New narrative unit (2) (1%) Discontinuity of action (3) (2%) Highlighting (6) (4%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (20) (14%) Non-thematic (2) (1%)
MNJ.f	156	∅ (122) (78%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 34 (22%)	PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP (2) NP (12) PROX (9) DIST (7) REFL (1)	New narrative unit (6) (4%) Discontinuity of action (5) (3%) Highlighting (5) (3%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (12) (8%) Non-thematic (9) (6%) Emphasis (1) (1%)
PS.m	50	∅ (36) (72%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 14 (28%)	PROX+NP (5) NP (7) PROX (1) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (6) (12%) Discontinuity of action (3) (6%) Highlighting (2) (4%) Clarification (1) (2%) Thematic (6) (12%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)
TB.f	77	∅ (61) (79%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 16 (21%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (13) PROX (2)	New narrative unit (6) (8%) Discontinuity of action (2) (3%) Highlighting (6) (8%) Thematic (3) (4%)

The different forms of default encoding (∅/PC) in this folktale are interesting. The non-past tense dominates, in contrast to the other SiB folktales, which are told mainly in the past tense. Normally, past is the default tense in narrations in SiB (see Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 286–391). One may wonder why the non-past tense dominates in this folktale. It could be due either to this speaker being less educated than other speakers or to individual preference.

Table (131) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 131. Comparison of male and female folktales, S1

S1	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.ac	clarif
f	233	78; 79	21; 22	4; 8	0; 6	4; 8	3; 8	3; 3	0; 1
m	196	72; 78	22; 28	14; 12	1; 2	1; 12	4; 4	2; 6	1; 2

Table (131) shows that the male folktales mark referents as thematic more frequently than the female ones (14; 12% versus 4; 8%). Thematic is the only category where gender seems to play a role in the encoding strategy, while all other categories show individual preference in the S1 context.

Example (370) shows that the male speaker uses the PROX<sup>94</sup> encoding to mark a participant as thematic in (3b), whereas the female applies default encoding (2c). The motivation may be that, because the male speaker has just introduced the three sons, he feels the need to indicate that attention still remains on the old man, rather than on them.

Ex. 364) Thematic: male versus female (TB)

male	female
2) A certain old man had three sons.	2a) There was an old man;
3a) Ø [he] had three sons and	2b) Ø [he] had three sons, and
3b) <b>this</b> old man had three [pieces of] gold [as his] assets.	2c) Ø [ <b>he</b> ] had three [pieces of] gold.

<sup>94</sup> In fact, the encoding is PROX+NP. The effect of over-encoding with NP is to highlight the following information.

### 9.1.2. Context S2

Table (132) displays the results in the folktales for context S2.

Table 132. Context S2, folktales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
MNJ.m	45	∅ (35) (78%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 10 (22%)	PROX+NP (1) NP (3) PROX (5) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (1) (2%) Discontinuity of action (1) (2%) Highlighting (2) (4%) Thematic (6) (13%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)
MNJ.f	50	∅ (41) (82%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 9 (18%)	PROX+NP (2) NP (2) PROX (5)	New narrative unit (2) (4%) Discontinuity of action (1) (2%) Highlighting (1) (2%) Thematic (7) (14%)
TB.m	47	∅ (36) (77%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 11 (23%)	NP (9) DIST (2)	New narrative unit (6) (13%) Highlighting (3) (6%) Non-thematic (2) (4%)
TB.f	39	∅ (23) (59%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 16 (41%)	PROX+NP (9) NP (7)	New narrative unit (6) (15%) Discontinuity of action (1) (3%) Highlighting (9) (23%) Thematic (9) (23%)

Table (133) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 133. Comparison of male and female folktales, S2

S2	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.ac
f	89	59; 82	18; 41	14; 23	0; 0	4; 15	2; 23	2; 3
m	92	77; 78	22; 23	0; 13	0; 4	2; 13	4; 6	0; 2

Table (133) shows that the female folktales mark a referent as thematic more frequently than the male ones (14; 23% versus 0; 13%). Thematic is the only category where gender seems to play a role in the encoding strategy in the S2 context.

Example (365) illustrates that the female speaker tends to use marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic more than the male. The female speaker marks the referent as thematic in (92), whereas the male speaker does not in (82c). The motivation is probably that attention temporarily

switches to the youngest brother (with his reference to the girl being unmarried) before it switches back to the girl in 92.

Ex. 365) Thematic: male versus female

male	female
81) the girl [Ø] said: “You are certainly the thief, as for the (piece of) gold, your father’s, you have it.”	91) In reply to the youngest brother the girl said /that/, “It is you who are the thief and you have the gold.”
82c) <b>he</b> [Ø] said: “As for you, you are a woman, you are a girl, [and] you are not a man.”	92) Then, <b>this one</b> said /that/ “Sure, I am thief and I have the gold, [then] you are a girl and you dress in men’s clothes, you are unmarried as well.”

### 9.1.3. Context S3

Table (134) displays the results in the folktales for context S3.

Table 134. Context S3, folktales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
MNJ.m	20	NP (9) (45%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (7) (35%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (4) (20%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (2) PROX(5) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP(1)	VIP (2) (10%) Thematic (8) (40%) Non-thematic (1) (5%)
MNJ.f	18	NP (6) (33%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (12) (67%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (8) PROX (4)	VIP (7) (39%) VIP/Other (1) (6%) Thematic (4) (22%)
TB.m	7	NP (5) (72%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (1) (14%) <u>over-encoding</u> (1) (14%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (1)	Sg/Pl (1) (14%) Thematic (1) (14%)
TB.f	6	NP (2) (33%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (2) (33%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (2) (33%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (1) PROX (1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (2)	VIP (1) (17%) Thematic(3)(50%)

Table (135) presents the figures for the two male folktales and the two female folktales.

Table 135. Comparison of male and female folktales, S3

S3	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	24	33; 33	33; 67	0; 33	23; 50	0; 0	17; 39
m	27	54; 72	14; 35	14; 20	14; 40	0; 5	0; 10

Table (135) shows that there are great variations between the two speakers of the same gender when it comes to under- and over-encoding. This may be due to the fact that the figures for S3 are rather low. It is therefore hard to make a clear comparison between male and female speakers for S3. However, the female folktales under-encode references to a VIP more often than the male ones (17; 39% versus 0; 10%). This suggests that the female speakers rely on the audience's knowledge to figure out who is the current VIP. In contrast, the male speakers as proficient storytellers do not rely on the audience's knowledge to the same extent and use default encoding instead.

### 9.1.4. Context S4

Table (136) displays the results in the folktales for context S4.

Table 136. Context S4, folktales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
MNJ.m	54	NP (22) ∅ (1) (43%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (20) (37%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (11) (20%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅/PC (7) PROX (7) DIST (5) REFL+∅ (1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (8) DIST+NP (3)	VIP (8) (15%) Thematic (15) (28%) Non-thematic (8) (15%) Emphasis (1) (2%)
MNJ.f	71	NP (34) ∅ (1) (49%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (29) (41%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (7) (10%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (16) PROX (9) DIST (4)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (6) DIST+NP (1)	VIP (15) (21%) Main/Minor (1) (1%) Thematic (15) (21%) Non-thematic (5) (7%)
TB.m	32	NP (20) ∅ (1) (66%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (9) (28%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (2) (6%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (5) PROX (4)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (2)	VIP (5) (16%) Thematic (6) (19%)
TB.f	30	NP (20) ∅ (2) (74%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (4) (13%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (4) (13%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (2) DIST (1) PROX (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (4)	VIP (2) (7%) Thematic (5) (17%) Non-thematic (1) (3%)

Table (137) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 137. Comparison of male and female folktales, S4

S4	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	101	49; 74	13; 41	10; 13	23; 50	3; 7	7; 21
m	86	43; 66	28; 37	6; 20	19; 28	0; 15	15; 16

Table (137) shows that the figures are highly overlapping. Thus, there are no observable gender differences for context S4.

## 9.2. Male and female biographical tales

So far I have studied the S1–4 contexts in the male and female versions of the folktales. Now I will make a comparison of participant reference in S1–4 between the male and female speakers for the biographical tales. The aim of this comparison is to discover if there are any differences in participant encoding in the biographical tales between the male and female speakers. The two male biographical tales (SA.m and KB.m) were told by different speakers. This is also true of the two female biographical tales (SA.f and KB.f).

### 9.2.1. Context S1

Table (138) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S1.

Table 138. Context S1, biographical tales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
SA.f	41	∅ (36) (88%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 5 (12%)	NP (5)	New narrative unit (4) (10%) Highlighting (1) (2%)
SA.m	49	∅ (39) (80%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 10 (20%)	NP (9) PROX (1)	New narrative unit (3) (6%) Highlighting (6) (12%) Thematic (1) (2%)
KB.f	97	∅ (87) (90%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 10 (10%)	NP (9) +∅ (1)	New narrative unit (3) (3%) Discontinuity of action (1) (1%) Highlighting (2) (2%) Clarification (3) (3%) Emphasis (1) (1%)
KB.m	95	∅ (78) (82%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 17 (18%)	PROX+NP (3) NP (9)  PROX (4) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (1) (1%) Discontinuity of action (5) (5%) Highlighting (5) (5%) Clarification (1) (1%)  Thematic (7) (7%) Non-thematic (1) (1%)

Table (139) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 139. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S1

S1	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.ac	clarif
f	138	88; 90	10; 12	0; 0	0; 0	3; 10	2; 2	0; 1	0; 3
m	144	80; 82	18; 20	2; 7	0; 1	1; 6	5; 12	0; 5	0; 1

Table (139) shows that marked encoding in the male biographical tales is higher (18; 20%) than in the female ones (10; 12%). The reason for this is that the males draw the audience's attention to an important thought or event in the story often than the females.

In particular, marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic is significantly more frequent in the male biographical tales (2; 7%) than in the female ones (0; 0). The motivation for this is that the male speakers tend to markVIPs as the current centre of attention.

Similarly, marked encoding to highlight is significantly more frequent in the male biographical tales (5; 12%) than in the female ones (2; 2%). All other categories show individual preference in the S1 context.

Example (366) illustrates that the male speaker tends to use marked encoding to highlight more than the female speaker. The motivation for such marked encoding is discussed after the example.

Ex. 366) Marked encoding for highlighting: male versus female (SA)

male	female
117) Khodanazar Khan's days were up and Khodanazar Khan died.	36d) Khodanazar khan's life ended (lit. was completed) and Khodanazar Khan died.
118) When <b>Khodanazar Khan</b> died,	
119) Pirak became mad out of grief for Khodanazar Khan.	37) Pirak became insane out of grief for Khodanazar Khan.

In the above passage, the male speaker as an professional storyteller uses a tail head-linkage combination in (118) to highlight the following event in (119); viz., 'what will happen to Pirak after Khodanazar Khan's death', in order to draw his audience's attention to the next important event in the story. In contrast, the female speaker does not highlight this event (37), even though it is important.

## 9.2.2. Context S2

Table (140) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S2.

Table 140. Context S2, biographical tales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
SA.f	9	∅ (3) (33%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 6 (67%)	NP (6)	New narrative unit (1) (11%) Highlighting (5) (56%)
SA.m	8	∅ (5) (63)	<u>over-encoding</u> 3 (37,5)	NP (2) DIST (1)	Discontinuity of action (1) (13%) Highlighting (1) (13%) Non-thematic (1) (13%)
KB.f	24	∅ (20) (83%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 4 (17%)	NP (2) PROX (1) DIST (1)	New narrative unit (2) (8%) Thematic (1) (4%) Non-thematic (1) (4%)
KB.m	41	∅ (25) (61%)	<u>over-encoding</u> 16 (39%)	PROX+NP (1) DIST+NP (1) NP (7) PROX (3) DIST (4)	New narrative unit (1) (2%) Discontinuity of action (1) (2%) Highlighting (7) (17%) Thematic (4) (10%) Non-thematic (5) (12%)

Table (141) presents the figures for the two female and the two male biographical tales.

Table 141. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S2

S2	total	default	marked	them	n.them	narr	highlt	dis.act
f	33	33; 83	17; 67	0; 4	0; 4	8; 11	0; 56	0; 0
m	49	61; 63	38; 39	0; 10	12; 13	0; 2	13; 17	2; 13

Table (141) shows that the male biographical tales mark a participant as non-thematic more frequently than the female ones (12; 13% versus 0; 4%). Similarly, the male biographical tales indicate a discontinuity of action more frequently than the female ones (2; 13% versus 0; 0).

The female biographical tales mark new narrative units more frequently than the male ones (8; 11% versus 0; 2%). All other categories show individual preference in the S2 context.

Example (367) illustrates that the female speaker tends to use marked encoding to indicate new narrative units more than the male speaker.

Ex. 367) Marked encoding of a new narrative unit: male versus female (SA)

Male	female
89) He said, "Here [are your] seventy camels. Now tell your son-in-law to divorce Sabzo. Do not make the drums silent. Let the drum(s), now, let the drum play (lit. turn) for Pirak."	27) Khodanazar Khan said to Sabzo's father /that/"Now go [and] tell your son-in-law to divorce Sabzo since I will marry her off to Pirak and not to stop the music (lit. drum) because this marriage is Pirak's.
	28) The drum just like the way it is playing and the party that is happening let it be for Pirak."
90) <b>He</b> [Ø] got Sabzo's divorce and	29) <b>Sabzo's father</b> went to receive the camels, the seventy camels.

### 9.2.3. Context S3

Table (142) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S3.

Table 142. Context S3, biographical tales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
SA.f	7	NP (3) ∅ (1) (57%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (3) (43%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (3)	VIP (3) (43%)
SA.m	6	NP(4) (67%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (2) (33%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (1) PROX (1)	VIP (1) (17%) Thematic (1) (17%)
KB.f	16	NP (4) (25%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (10) (62)  <u>over-encoding</u> (2) (13)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (7) PROX (3)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (2)	VIP (7) (44%) Thematic (5) (31%)
KB.m	26	NP (11) (42%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (12) (46%)  <u>over-encoding</u> (3) (12%)	<u>under-encoding</u> ∅ (7) PROX (4) DIST (1)  <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (3)	VIP (6) (23%) Major versus minor (1) (4%) Thematic (7) (27%) Non-thematic (1) (4%)

Table (143) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 143. Comparison of male and female folktales, S3

S3	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	23	25; 57	43; 62	0; 13	0; 31	0; 0	43; 44
m	32	42; 67	33; 46	0; 12	17; 27	0; 4	17; 23

Table (143) shows that, unlike the folktales, under-encoding when the referent is a VIP is higher in the female biographical tales than in the male ones (43; 44% versus 17; 23%). This is the only category where gender seems to play a role in the encoding strategy. All the other categories show individual preference in the S3 context.

Example (368) illustrates that the female speaker tends to use under-encoding when the referent is a VIP more than the male speaker. The probable reason for this is that the female speaker relies more than the male on the audience's ability to identify who is the current VIP.

Ex. 368) under-encoding when the referent is a VIP: male versus female (SA)

male	female
6) His cousin's name was Pirak.	4a) Khodanazar Khan had a cousin called Pirak.
7) <b>Pirak</b> had fallen in love with Sabzo.	4b) Ø [ <b>he</b> ] was in love with Sabzo.

## 9.2.4. Context S4

Table (144) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S4.

Table 144. Context S4, biographical tales

text	total	default	marked	form	motivation
SA.f	14	NP (12) (86%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (2) (14%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (1) PROX (1)	VIP (1) (7%) Thematic (1) (7%)
SA.m	19	NP (16) (84%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (3) (16%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (3)	VIP (3) (16%)
KB.f	57	NP (34) Ø (6) (70%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (9) (16%) <u>over-encoding</u> (8) (14%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (5) PROX (4) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (6) DIST+NP (2)	VIP (5) (9%) Thematic (10) (18%) Non-thematic (2) (4%)
KB.m	57	NP (24) Ø (8) (56%)	<u>under-encoding</u> (15) (26%) <u>over-encoding</u> (10) (18%)	<u>under-encoding</u> Ø (7) PROX (7) DIST (1) <u>over-encoding</u> PROX+NP (6) DIST+NP (4)	VIP (7) (12%) Thematic (13) (23%) Non-thematic (5) (9%)

Table (145) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 145. Comparison of male and female biographical tales, S4

S4	total	default	under	over	them	n.them	VIP
f	71	70; 86	14; 16	0; 14	7; 18	0; 4	7; 9
m	76	56; 84	16; 26	0; 18	0; 23	0; 9	12; 16

Table (145) shows that the figures are highly overlapping between the male and female speakers. However, under-encoding when the referent is a VIP is higher in the male biographical tales than in the female ones (12; 16% versus 7; 9%). This is the only category where gender seems to play a role in the encoding strategy. All the other categories show individual preference in S4 context.

### 9.3. Comparison of the folktales and biographical tales

In sections 9.1 and 9.2, I separately compared how the male and female speakers encoded references to 3rd person participants in different contexts in the folktales and biographical tales. I now investigate whether the genre (folktales versus biographical tales) affects the encoding in the same contexts.

#### 9.3.1. Context S1

Table (146) compares default and marked encodings in the S1 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from tables (131) and (139).

Table 146. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

	default		marked	
	f	m	f	m
folk	78; 79	72; 78	21; 22	22; 28
bio	88; 90	80; 82	10; 12	18; 20

Table (146) shows that marked encoding is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales.

Table 145 compares motivations for marked encoding in the S1 context in the two genres. The percentages have again been copied from tables (131) and (139).

Table 147. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

	narr		dis.ac		highlt		them		n.them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	4; 8	1; 12	3; 3	2; 6	3; 8	4; 4	4; 8	12; 12	0; 6	1; 2
biog	3;10	1; 6	0; 1	0; 5	2; 2	5; 12	0; 0	2; 7	0; 0	0; 1

Table 148. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

	clarif		emph	
	f	m	f	m
folk	0; 1	1; 2	0; 1	0; 0
biog	0; 1	0; 1	0; 1	0; 0

Tables (147) and (148) show that marked encoding to identify participants as thematic is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales. The motivation for this might be that there are more participants on the stage in folktales than in the biographical tales (see Sec. 9.5 for further discussion of this point). There is no consistent difference between the genres for the other categories (e.g., marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action or to highlight is higher for the females in the folktales than in the biographical tales, but the reverse is true for the males).

### 9.3.2. Context S2

Table (149) compares default and marked encoding in the S2 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from tables (133) and (141).

Table 149. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S2

	default		marked	
	f	m	f	m
folk	59; 82	77; 78	18; 41	22; 23
biog	33; 83	61; 63	17; 67	38; 39

Table (149) shows that marked encoding is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales. The motivation for this could be that participants in the biographical tales do not have predictable roles, so it is necessary for the narrators to be more explicit.

Table (150) compares motivations for marked encoding in the S2 context in the two genres. The percentages have again been copied from Tables (133) and (141).

Table 150. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S2

	narr		dis. ac		hight		them		n.them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	4; 15	2; 13	2; 3	0; 2	2; 23	4; 6	14; 23	0; 13	0; 0	0; 4
biog	8; 11	0; 2	0; 0	2; 13	0; 56	13; 17	0; 4	0; 10	0; 4	12; 13

Table (150) shows that there is no consistent difference between the genres when it comes to the motivations for marked encoding in context S2. Rather,

the differences are gender-based. In particular, marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action or to identify a participant as thematic is higher for the females in the folktales than in the biographical tales. Marked encoding to highlight or to identify a participant as non-thematic is higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

### 9.3.3. Context S3

Table1 (151) compares default and marked encodings in the S3 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from tables (135) and (143).

Table 151. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S3

	default		under		over	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	33; 33	45; 72	33; 67	14; 35	0; 33	14; 20
biog	25; 57	42; 67	43; 63	33; 46	0; 13	0; 12

Table (151) shows that the only genre difference in the S3 context is that over-encoding is higher for the males in the folktales than in the biographical tales. This is the only genre difference in the folktales and biographical tales in the S3 contexts.

Table (152) compares motivations for marked encoding in the S3 context in the two genres. The percentages have again been copied from tables (135) and (143).

Table 152. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S3

	VIP		them		n.them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	17; 39	0; 10	22; 50	14; 40	0; 0	0; 5
biog	43; 44	17; 23	0; 31	17; 27	0; 0	0; 4

Table (152) shows that under-encoding when the referent is a VIP is higher in the in the two genres.

### 9.3.4. Context S4

Table (153) compares default and marked encodings in the S4 context in the folktales and the biographical tales. The percentages have been copied from tables (137) and (145).

Table 153. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S4

	default		under		over	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	49; 74	43; 66	13; 41	28; 37	10; 13	6; 20
biog	70; 86	56; 84	14; 16	16; 26	0; 14	0; 18

Table (153) shows that the only genre difference in the S4 context is that under-encoding is higher for the males in the folktales than in the biographical tales.

Table (154) compares motivations for marked encoding in S4 in the two genres. The percentages have again been copied from tables (137) and (145).

Table 154. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S4

	VIP		them		n.them	
	f	m	f	m	f	m
folk	7; 21	15; 16	17; 21	19; 28	3; 7	0; 15
biog	7; 9	12; 16	7; 18	0; 23	0; 4	0; 9

Table (154) shows that the figures between the male and female speakers are highly overlapping. Thus, there is no genre difference for context S4.

## 9.4. Summary

In this chapter, I first compared the encoding strategies among the female and male speakers for each genre separately and then between the two genres.

### 9.4.1. Gender differences

The result of comparing the male and female speakers shows that there were gender differences for all S contexts in the folktales as follows:

- In the S1 context, marked encoding to identify a referent as thematic was higher for the males than the females.
- In the S2 context, in contrast, marked encoding to identify a referent as thematic was higher for the females than the males.

In contrast to the folktales, there was a gender difference in the biographical tales in all S1–4 contexts:

- In the S1 context, marked encoding was higher for the males than the females. In particular,
  - the males used marked encoding more often to identify a participant as thematic and for highlighting.
- In the S2 context, marked encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic or in connection with a discontinuity of action was higher for the females than the males. In contrast,
  - New narrative units were marked more often by the males than the females.
- In the S3 context, the female speakers tended to rely on the audience's ability to identify the VIP more than the male speakers.
- In the S4 context, in contrast, the male speakers tended to rely on the audience's ability to identify the VIP more than the female speakers.

#### 9.4.2. Genre differences

The result of comparing the two genres shows that there were gender differences among the folktales and the biographical tales as follows:

- In the S1 context: marked encoding was higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales for both genders. In particular, thematic participants were marked more often in the folktales than in the biographical tales. There were no other consistent genre-based differences in S1. Rather, the differences only apply to one gender. In particular,
  - Discontinuities of action were marked more often by the females in the folktales than in the biographical tales.
  - Marked encoding to highlight was more frequent for the females in the folktales than in the biographical tales. The opposite was true for the males.
- In the S2 context: marked encoding was more frequent for both genders in the biographical tales than in the folktales. There were no other con-

sistent genre-based differences in S2. Rather, the differences are gender based. In particular,

- Discontinuities of action were marked more often by the females in the folktales than in the biographical tales.
  - Marked encoding to highlight was more frequent for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales.
  - Marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic was higher for the females in the folktales than in the biographical tales.
  - Marked encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic was higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales.
- In the S3 context, under-encoding of references to the VIP was higher for the males in the biographical tales than in the folktales. However, over-encoding was higher for the males in the folktales than in the biographical tales.
  - In the S4 context, in contrast, under-encoding was higher for the males in the folktales than in the biographical tales.

## 9.5. Evaluation

This chapter has compared the participant reference strategies employed by the male and the female speakers in the folktales and the biographical tales in SiB, to see whether any gender or genre based differences emerged. This final section first evaluates the differences that relate to gender, then those that relate to genre.

It appears that gender does not play an important role in the strategy of participant reference in either the folktales or the biographical tales (see Sec. 9.4.1–2). In the folktales, the only difference involved the marking of a participant as thematic in S1 and S2. It is not obvious, though, why the males would mark a participant as thematic more often in S1, whereas the females would mark it more often in S2. A similar question could be asked about the biographical tales as, this time the females marked a participant as non-thematic more often than the males.

As for under-encoding of references to a VIP in S3 and S4, it is unclear why, in S3, the female speakers under-encoded more frequently than the males, whereas the reverse was true in S4. Further research is needed to determine whether these differences are simply the result of analysing a small number of texts.

Once again, I consider who is a proficient storyteller in this society. This is a hard question to respond to since the tradition of storytelling in SiB is dying out. People have almost forgotten the narration tradition due to factors such as education, TV and the Internet. However, as the present data confirm for this dialect, the men whose texts have been analysed are more proficient narrators than the women. The reasons for this are cultural and sociolinguistic factors, such as:

- The male speakers generally have more chances to travel and tell stories in different places.
- The male speakers have adult audiences, which provide conditions for them to become more proficient, because they have to be clearer and more fluent in order to entertain their audience. In contrast, the audiences of the female storytellers are mainly children.

The results of comparing the two genres demonstrate that one consistent difference between the genres was that participants were marked as thematic more frequently in S1 in the folktales than in the biographical tales. As I suggested earlier, this could be because, usually, there are more participants in the folktales than in the biographical tales. In the SB.f biographical tale, for example, there are four specific participants: Sabzo, Pirak, Khodanazar Khan, and Sabzo's father; whereas, in MNJ.m, there are 11 participants: the shepherd, his wife and son, the merchant, his mother-in-law and daughter, the old man, Mullah Neykadar Jan and his daughter, the little boy, and the gardener (I have not counted the generic references in either text). One may wonder why this is only true for S1 (and S2.f); however, although the figures for S2.m, S3 and S4 overlap, there is still a tendency for them to be higher for the folktales than for the biographical tales.

## 10. Comparison of participant reference in CoB, KoB and SiB

In Chapters 7–9, I compared how the male and female speakers refer to participants in four contexts in two genres in each of the three dialects being studied: CoB, KiB and SiB. I then studied whether the genre (folktales versus biographical tales) affects the encoding in the same contexts for each dialect in turn. In this chapter, I will compare participant reference in the S1–4 contexts between the three dialects, first between the male and female speakers for the two genres, and then between the two genres themselves.

### 10.1. Male and female folktales

In this section, I compare how the male and female speakers refer to participants in the folktales in the three dialects. The aim of this comparison is to discover if there is any difference in subject encoding in folktales between the males and females across the dialects.

#### 10.1.1. Context S1

Tables (155) and (156) display the results of comparing the two male and two female folktales for context S1 between the three dialects. The figures have been obtained from tables (80), (105) and (131).

Table 155. Comparison of marked encoding in percentages, S1

	total	marked		total	marked
f			m		
CoB	375	17; 20	CoB	306	25; 30
KoB	231	7; 9	KoB	306	7; 15
SiB	233	21; 22	SiB	196	22; 28

Table 156. Comparisons of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S1<sup>95</sup>

	new narrative unit	discontinuity	highlighting	thematic	non-thematic
f					
CoB	6; 7	3; 3	3; 4	8; 10	1; 2
KoB	1; 3	1; 2	0; 2	3; 4	1; 2
SiB	4; 8	3; 3	3; 8	4; 8	0; 6
m					
CoB	9; 10	2; 3	8; 9	4; 9	2; 2
KoB	3; 6	2; 2	2; 2	1; 4	0; 0
SiB	1; 12	2; 6	4; 4	12; 12	1; 2

Marked encoding for both the male and the female speakers is less in KoB than in CoB, which in turn is less than in SiB (females only). In particular, marked encoding is less in KoB than CoB or and SiB for highlighting, to identify a participant as thematic and (females only) to indicate a new narrative unit.

### 10.1.2. Context S2

Tables (157) and (158) display the result of comparing the two male and two female folktales for context S2 between the three dialects. The figures have been obtained from tables (82), (107) and (133).

Table 157. Comparison of marked encoding in percentages, S2

	total	marked		total	marked
f			m		
CoB	107	26; 38	CoB	104	26; 44
KoB	231	30; 35	KoB	306	28; 35
SiB	89	18; 41	SiB	92	22; 23

Table 158. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S2

	new narrative unit	highlighting	additive	thematic
f				
CoB	11; 13	6; 8		8; 23
KoB	7; 9	0; 10	9; 17	4; 10
SiB	4; 15	2; 23		14; 23
m				
CoB	14; 18	12; 13		2; 15
KoB	0; 5	7; 24	12; 12	0; 12
SiB	2; 13	4; 6		0; 13

<sup>95</sup> Where marked encoding for a particular motivation was found in only one dialect, it has not been included in these tables.

Tables (157) and (158) show that the only significant difference between the dialects in context S2 is the use of the additive in KoB (see Sec.8.1.2). However, there are some gender differences for marked encodings: marked encoding to identify a new narrative unit is higher for the males in CoB than in KoB or SiB. Marked encoding to highlight is lower for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB.

### 10.1.3. Context S3

Tables (159) and (160) display the result of comparing the two male and two female folktales for context S3 between the three dialects. The figures have been obtained from tables (84), (109) and (135).

Table 159. Comparison of marked encoding

	total	under	over		total	under	over	
f					m			
CoB	49	57; 73	4; 9		CoB	57	27; 30	0; 7
KoB	46	21; 28	0; 9		KoB	35	22; 42	0; 4
SiB	24	33; 67	0; 33		SiB	27	14; 35	14; 20

The above table shows that there are no consistent differences in marked encoding between the dialects in context S3. However, there are a few gender-specific differences. Under-encoding is less for the females in KoB than in CoB or SiB. In addition, over-encoding is higher for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB.

Table 160. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S3

	VIP	them	n.them		VIP	them	n.them	
f					m			
CoB	35; 38	13; 27	4; 9		CoB	10; 15	7; 15	4; 7
KoB	16; 21	0; 16	0; 3		KoB	22; 27	0; 8	0; 4
SiB	17; 39	23; 50	0; 0		SiB	0; 10	14; 40	0; 5

Table (160) shows that marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic is higher for both the male and female speakers in SiB than in CoB or KoB. Marked encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic is higher for both the male and female speakers in CoB than in KoB or SiB.

Marked encoding when the referent is a VIP is less for the females in KoB than in CoB, which in turn is less than in SiB. Marked encoding when the referent is a VIP is higher for the males in KoB than CoB or SiB.

### 10.1.4. Context S4

Tables (161) and (162) display the result of comparing the two male and two female folktales for context S2 between three dialects. The figures have been obtained from tables (86), (111) and (137).

Table 161. Comparison of marked encoding in percentages, S4

	total	under	over		total	under	Over
f				m			
CoB	144	38; 51	10; 19	CoB	106	17; 25	9; 10
KoB	57	0; 12	0; 10	KoB	60	18; 33	0; 16
SiB	101	13; 41	10; 13	SiB	86	28; 37	6; 20

Table (161) shows that there are no consistent differences in marked encoding between the dialects in context S4. However, there are gender-specific differences. Under-encoding is less for the females in KoB than in CoB or SiB. Under-encoding is less for the males in CoB than in KoB or SiB. Over-encoding is less for the females in KoB than in CoB or SiB. Over-encoding is less for the males in KoB than in CoB or SiB.

Table 162. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S4

	VIP	them	n.them		VIP	them	n.them
f				m			
CoB	19; 27	15; 22	10; 19	CoB	13; 14	11; 14	2; 5
KoB	0; 2	0; 12	0; 2	KoB	18; 24	0; 18	0; 2
SiB	7; 21	23; 50	3; 7	SiB	15; 16	19; 28	0; 15

Table (162) shows that marked encoding in the VIP, thematic and non-thematic categories is less for the females in KoB than in CoB or SiB. In addition, marked encoding when the referent is a VIP is higher for the males in KoB than in CoB or SiB. Marked encoding to identify a referent as thematic is higher for the males in CoB than in KoB or SiB.

### 10.1.5. Conclusions

The only consistent differences between the dialects for folktales were:

- In the S1 context: marked encoding was less in KoB than in CoB or SiB. In addition, marked encoding for highlighting, to mark new narrative units and (females only) to identify a referent as thematic were less in in KoB than in CoB or SiB.
- In the S2 context: the use of the additive in KoB.

- In the S3 and S4 contexts, there were no consistent differences for the marked encodings between the dialects. However, there were a few gender-specific differences.
- In S3, marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic was higher for both the male and female speakers in SiB than in CoB or KoB. In S4, it was higher for the males in CoB than in KoB or SiB and, for the females, it was lower in KoB than in CoB or SiB.
- In S3, marked encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic was higher for both the male and female speakers in CoB than in KoB or SiB. In S4, it was again lower for the females in KoB than in CoB or in SiB.
- In both S3 and S4, marked encoding when the referent was a VIP was lower in females in KoB than in CoB or SiB. For males, was higher in KoB than in CoB or SiB.

## 10.2. Male and female biographical tales

In section 10.1, I compared participant reference in S1–4 contexts between the male and the female speakers for the folktales across the dialects. Now I make a comparison of participant reference in the S1–4 contexts between the male and female speakers for the biographical tales across the dialects.

### 10.2.1. Context S1

Tables (163) and (164) display the result of comparing the two male and two female biographical tales for context S1 between the three dialects. The figures have been obtained from tables (88), (113) and (139).

Table 163. Comparison of marked encoding in percentages, S2

	total	marked		total	marked
f			m		
CoB	269	25; 26	CoB	321	18; 26
KoB	148	11; 15	KoB	286	19; 23
SiB	138	10; 12	SiB	144	18; 20

Table 164. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S1

	narr	dis.ac	highlt	them	n.them	clarif
f						
CoB	4; 4	2; 5	3; 9	8; 17	0; 3	0; 1
KoB	1; 3	0; 1	3; 9	4; 5	1; 1	1; 1
SiB	3; 10	0; 1	2; 2	0; 0	0; 0	0; 3
m						
CoB	4; 8	2; 5	3; 4	10; 12	0; 1	1; 1
KoB	5; 6	3; 4	3; 10	3; 3	0; 1	1; 1
SiB	1; 6	0; 5	5; 12	2; 7	0; 1	0; 1

Marked encoding is higher in CoB than in KoB or SiB in several areas: to identify a participant as thematic and, for the females, both overall and in connection with discontinuities of action. In contrast, marked encoding to highlight is higher for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB.

### 10.2.2. Context S2

Table (165) and (166) display the result of comparing the two male and two female biographical tales for context S2 between the three dialects. The figures have been obtained from tables (90), (115) and (141).

Table 165. Comparison of marked encoding in percentages, S2

	total	marked		total	marked
f			m		
CoB	42	55; 82	CoB	138	33; 36
KoB	43	40; 47	KoB	63	25; 33
SiB	33	17; 67	SiB	49	38; 39

Table (165) shows that marked encoding is higher for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB.

Table 166. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S2

	narr	dis.ac	highlt	them	n.them	ADD
f						
CoB	9; 20	5; 5	15; 36	0; 41	0; 0	0; 0
KoB	3; 13	7; 8	7; 10	0; 8	0; 0	0; 20
SiB	8; 11	0; 0	0; 56	0; 4	0; 4	0; 0
m						
CoB	8; 13	0; 2	8; 9	8; 19	2; 5	0; 0
KoB	2; 5	0; 1	5; 12	5; 7	0; 0	1; 12
SiB	0; 2	2; 13	13; 17	0; 10	12; 13	0; 0

Table (166) shows that marked encoding is higher for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB. Marked encoding to indicate a new narrative unit is higher for the males in CoB than in KoB or SiB. Marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action is higher for the females in KoB than in CoB or SiB. Marked encoding for the males is higher in SiB than in KoB or SiB both overall and in the highlighting and non-thematic categories.

As in the folktales a significant difference between the dialects in context S2 is the use of the additive in KoB (see Sec. 8.2.2).

### 10.2.3. Context S3

Tables (167) and (168) display the result of comparing the two male and two female biographical tales for context S3 between the three dialects. The figures have been obtained from tables (92), (117) and (143).

Table 167. Comparison of marked encoding in percentages, S3

	total	under	over		total	under	over
f				m			
CoB	39	30; 63	11; 15	CoB	47	21; 61	5; 11
KoB	36	20; 62	0; 7	KoB	39	21; 35	5; 5
SiB	23	43; 63	0; 13	SiB	32	33; 46	0; 12

Table (167) shows that the figures for both under-encoding and over-encoding overlap a lot. Thus, there is no genre difference across the dialects for marked encoding in the S3 context.

Table 168. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S3

	VIP	them	n.them		VIP	them	n.them
f				m			
CoB	15; 21	10; 16	10; 16	CoB	11; 39	11; 14	5; 11
KoB	13; 52	10; 13	0; 0	KoB	5; 30	5; 10	0; 0
SiB	43; 44	0; 31	0; 0	SiB	17; 23	17; 27	0; 4

Table (168) shows that marked encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic is higher in CoB than in KoB or SiB. In contrast, marked encoding to identify a referent as thematic is higher for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB.

### 10.2.4. Context S4

Tables (169) and (170) display the result of comparing the two male and two female biographical tales for context S4 between the three dialects. The figures have been obtained from tables (94), (119) and (145).

Table 169. Comparison of marked encoding in percentages, S4

	total	under	over		total	under	over
f				m			
CoB	116	21; 44	9; 18	CoB	123	33; 37	3; 13
KoB	66	10; 37	4; 10	KoB	114	13; 13	0; 9
SiB	71	14; 16	0; 14	SiB	76	16; 26	0; 18

Table (169) shows that under-encoding is higher in CoB for the males than in KoB or SiB.

Table 170. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S4

	VIP	them	n.them		VIP	them	n.them
f				m			
CoB	12; 24	12; 30	3; 4	CoB	18; 20	15; 17	3; 10
KoB	3; 22	10; 19	0; 5	KoB	4; 12	2; 11	0; 2
SiB	7; 9	7; 18	0; 4	SiB	12; 16	0; 23	0; 9

Table (170) shows that under-encoding when the referent is a VIP is higher for the males in CoB than in KoB or SiB.

### 10.2.5. Conclusions

The only significant differences between the dialects for biographical tales were:

- In the S1 context: marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic was higher in CoB than in KoB or SiB.
- In the S2 context: use of the additive in KoB.
- In the S3 context: marked encoding to identify a participant as non-thematic was higher in CoB than in KoB or SiB.

The following differences were gender-specific:

In the S1 context:

- Marked encoding in general and to identify a discontinuity of action was higher for the females in CoB than in KoB or SiB.
- Marked encoding to highlight was higher for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB.

In the S2 context:

- Marked encoding was higher for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB.

In the S3 context:

- marked encoding to identify a participant as thematic was higher for the males in SiB than in CoB or KoB.

In the S4 context:

- Under-encoding was higher in CoB for the males than in KoB or SiB.
- Under-encoding when the referent was a VIP was higher for the males in CoB than in KoB or SiB.

### 10.3. Comparison of the folktales and biographical tales

In sections 10.1 and 10.2, I separately compared how the male and female speakers encoded references to third person participants in different contexts in the folktales and biographical tales across the dialects. Here I investigate whether the genre (folktales versus biographical tales) affects the encoding in the same contexts across the dialects.

#### 10.3.1. Context S1

Tables (171) and (172) compare default and marked encodings in the S1 context in the folktales and biographical tales between the three dialects. The figures have been copied from Tables (95), (120) and (146).

Table 171. Frequencies of marked encoding in S1 in percentages, S1

	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	17; 20	25; 26	25; 30	18; 26
KoB	7; 9	11; 15	7; 15	19; 23
SiB	21; 22	10; 12	22; 28	18; 20

Table (171) shows that marked encoding in KoB is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales (both f and m). The same is true in CoB (females only). In contrast, marked encoding in SiB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales (both f and m).

Table (172) compares motivations for marked encoding in the S1 context in the folktales and biographical tales between the three dialects. The figures have been copied from Tables (96), (121–122) and (147–148).

Table 172. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S1

	new narrative unit				discontinuity of action			
	f		m		f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	6; 7	4; 4	8; 9	4; 8	3; 3	2; 5	2; 3	2; 5
KoB	1; 3	1; 3	3; 6	5; 6	1; 2	0; 1	2; 2	3; 4
SiB	4; 8	3; 10	1; 12	1; 6	3; 3	0; 1	3; 3	0; 5

Table 173. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S1

	highlighting				thematic			
	f		m		f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	3; 4	3; 9	8; 9	3; 4	8; 10	8; 17	4; 9	10; 5
KoB	0; 2	3; 9	2; 2	3; 10	3; 4	4; 5	1; 4	3; 3
SiB	3; 8	2; 2	4; 4	5; 12	4; 8	0; 0	12; 12	2; 7

Table (172) and (173) show that marked encoding to identify a new narrative unit in CoB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales, for the females.

Marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action in KoB and SiB is lower in the biographical tales than in the folktales for the females. The opposite is true in KoB for the males.

In addition, marked encoding to highlight in KoB is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales (both f and m). The same is true for the males in SiB. However, marked encoding to highlight in SiB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales for the females. The same is true for the males in CoB.

Marked encoding for thematicity in SiB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales (both m and f).

### 10.3.2 Context S2

Table (174) compares default and marked encodings in the S2 context in the folktales and biographical tales between the three dialects. The figures have been copied from tables (97), (123) and (149).

Table 174. Frequencies of marked encoding in percentages, S2

	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	26; 38	55; 82	26; 44	33; 36
KoB	30; 35	40; 47	28; 35	25; 33
SiB	18; 41	17; 67	22; 23	38; 39

Table (174) shows that the figures for marked encoding in both CoB and KoB are higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales for the females. The same is true in SiB for the males.

Tables (175) and (176) compare motivations for marked encoding in the S2 context in the folktales and biographical tales between the three dialects. The figures have been copied from tables (98), (124) and (150).

Table 175. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S2

	new narrative unit				discontinuity of action			
	f		m		f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	11; 13	9; 20	14; 18	8; 13	0; 0	5; 5	0; 0	0; 2
KoB	7; 9	3; 15	0; 5	2; 5	0; 0	7; 8	0; 0	1; 12
SiB	4; 15	8; 11	2; 13	0; 2	2; 3	0; 0	0; 2	2; 13

Table 176. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S2

	highlighting				additive			
	f		m		f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	6; 8	15; 36	12; 13	8; 9	-	-	-	-
KoB	0; 10	7; 15	7; 24	5; 12	9; 17	0; 20	12; 12	1; 12
SiB	2; 23	0; 56	4; 6	13; 17	-	-	-	-

Table 177. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S2

	thematic			
	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	8; 23	0; 41	2; 15	8; 19
KoB	4; 10	0; 4	0; 12	10; 13
SiB	14; 23	0; 4	0; 13	0; 10

Tables (175), (176) and (177) show that marked encoding to identify a new narrative unit in CoB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical for the males.

Marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action in KoB is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales (both f and m). The same is true in CoB for the females. The reverse is true in SiB for the females.

Marked encoding to highlight in CoB and SiB is higher in the biographical tales than the folktales for the females. The reverse is true in CoB for the males.

Marked encoding for thematicity in SiB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales for the females.

### 10.3.3. Context S3

Tables (178) and (179) compare under-encoding and over-encoding in the S3 context in the folktales and biographical tales between the three dialects. The figures have been copied from tables (99), (125) and (151).

Table 178. Frequencies of under-encoding in percentages, S3

	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	57; 73	30; 63	27; 30	21; 61
KoB	21; 28	20; 62	22; 42	21; 35
SiB	33; 67	43; 63	14; 35	33; 46

Table (178) shows that the figures for under-encoding are highly overlapping in S3.

Table 179. Frequencies of over-encoding in percentages, S3

	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	4; 9	11; 15	0; 7	5; 11
KoB	0; 9	0; 7	0; 4	5; 5
SiB	0; 33	0; 13	14; 20	0; 12

Table (179) shows that the frequency of over-encoding in CoB is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales for the females. The same is true in KoB for the males. In contrast, the frequency of over-encoding in SiB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales for the males.

Tables (180) and (181) compare motivations for marked encoding in the S3 context in the folktales and biographical tales between the three dialects. The figures have been copied from tables (100), (126) and (152).

Table 180. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S3

	VIP				thematic			
	f		m		f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	35; 38	15; 21	10; 15	11; 39	13; 27	10; 16	7; 15	11; 14
KoB	16; 21	13; 52	22; 27	5; 30	0; 16	10; 13	0; 8	5; 10
SiB	17; 39	43; 44	0; 10	17; 23	22; 50	0; 31	14; 40	17; 27

Table 181. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S3

	non-thematic			
	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	4; 9	10; 16	4; 7	5; 11
KoB	0; 0	0; 0	0; 4	0; 0
SiB	0; 0	0; 0	0; 5	0; 4

Tables (180) and (181) show that under-encoding when the referent is a VIP in CoB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales for the females. In contrast, under-encoding when the referent is a VIP in SiB is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales for both the females and the males.

Under-encoding to identify a referent as non-thematic in CoB is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales for the females.

#### 10.3.4. Context S4

Tables (182) and (183) compare under-encoding and over-encoding in the S4 context in the folktales and biographical tales between the three dialects. The figures have been copied from tables (101), (127) and (153).

Table 182. Frequencies of under-encoding marked in percentages, S4

	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	38; 51	21; 44	17; 25	33; 37
KoB	0; 12	10; 37	18; 33	13; 13
SiB	13; 41	14; 16	28; 37	16; 26

Table 183. Frequencies of over-encoding marked in percentages, S4

	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	10; 19	9; 18	9; 10	3; 13
KoB	0; 10	4; 10	0; 16	0; 9
SiB	10; 13	0; 14	6; 20	0; 18

Tables (182) and (183) show that the frequency of under-encoding in both KoB and SiB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales for the males. The reverse is true in CoB for the males.

Tables (184) and (185) compare motivations for marked encoding in the S4 context in the folktales and biographical tales between the three dialects. The figures have been copied from tables (102), (128) and (154).

Table 184. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S4

	VIP				thematic			
	f		m		f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	19; 27	12; 24	13; 14	18; 20	15; 22	12; 30	11; 14	15; 17
KoB	0; 2	3; 22	18; 24	4; 12	0; 12	10; 19	0; 18	2; 11
SiB	7; 21	7; 9	15; 16	12; 16	17; 21	7; 18	19; 28	0; 23

Table 185. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S4

	non-thematic			
	f		m	
	folk	biog	folk	biog
CoB	10; 19	3; 4	2; 5	3; 10
KoB	0; 2	0; 5	0; 2	0; 2
SiB	3; 7	0; 4	0; 15	0; 9

Tables (184) and (185) show that marked encoding when the referent is a VIP in KoB is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales for the females. The same is true in CoB for the males. However, the reverse is true in KoB for the males.

Marked encoding to identify a referent as thematic in CoB is higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales for the males.

Marked encoding to identify a referent as non-thematic in CoB is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales for the females.

### 10.3.5. Conclusions

The only significant genre-related differences between the dialects were:

In the S1 context:

- Marked encoding in KoB was higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales. The reverse was true in SiB. These differences arose in part because marked encoding to highlight in KoB was higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales, whereas marked encoding for thematicity in SiB was higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales.

In the S2 context:

- Marked encoding in connection with a discontinuity of action in KoB was higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

In the S3 context:

- Under-encoding when the referent is a VIP in SiB was higher in the biographical tales than in the folktales.

It is noteworthy that no significant difference was identified in the frequency of marked encoding between the folktales and the biographical tales in CoB. In other words, the CoB storytellers used marked encoding in similar ways in the two genres.

## 10.4. Dialectal differences and conclusions

In the present chapter I compared the frequency of marked encoding between the two genders and the two genres across the dialects. First I made a comparison between the males and the females in the folktales (see Sec. 10.1), then in the biographical tales (see Sec. 10.2). After that I made a comparison between the folktales and the biographical tales (see Sec. 10.3). This final section considers whether these comparisons have revealed any consistent differences in the frequency of marked encoding between the three dialects.

The only dialectal difference that holds for the male and female speakers of both the folktales and the biographical tales is that, in the S2 context, KoB uses the additive enclitic ‘*ham*’ and an overt reference to the speaker to introduce expected responses to the stimulus expressed in the previous reported speech (see Secs.10.1.2 and 10.2.2). In the other dialects,<sup>96</sup> the norm is to introduce the response without *ham* and with no reference to the speaker.

The only other dialectal difference of a general nature is that marked encoding in S3 to identify a participant as non-thematic was higher in CoB than in KoB or SiB. However, there was overlap in the figures for folktales told by the males (see Table 181). Furthermore, there was no evidence that in other contexts the CoB speakers were marking participants as non-thematic more frequently than in the other dialects (with the exception of the folktales told by the females in S4—see Table 185). All the other dialectal differences were specific to either the folktales or the biographical tales.

In the S1 context, marked encoding in general and marked encoding to highlight and to indicate new narrative units were less in the KoB folktales than in the CoB or SiB folktales. However, the same could not be claimed for the biographical tales.

Similarly, marked encoding in S1 to identify a participant as thematic was higher in the CoB biographical tales than in the KoB or SiB biographical tales. However, the same could not be claimed for the folktales.

I conclude that, apart from the use of additive *ham* in context S2 in KoB, there were no systematic differences between the dialects in their use of marked encoding in either the folktales or the biographical tales.

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<sup>96</sup> One of the interesting differences among the three dialects involves speech orienters in S2 contexts in CoB. In contrast to the other Balochi dialects being studied, there is a tense alternation in the speech orienters in both genres. Speech orienters are sometimes in non-past tense (e.g., *go'sī/o'sī/'sī* ‘he/she says’) and sometimes in past tense (e.g., *'go'sī* /*'go* ‘he/she said’). The non-past tense is used for reported speeches that “are not an end in themselves; rather, they lead up and point forward to the later speeches or non-speech events that form the theme line of the narrative. They are simply intermediate steps en route to the goal of the conversation.” (Levinsohn 2015:112)

The above tense alterations are not found in SiB and KoB, as the selection of past versus non-past tense in speech orienters depends on the dominant tense used in the narration of oral stories. The dominant tense in Sistani narratives is the past (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 95), so speech orienters are normally in past tense, too. The dominant tense in folktales and biographical tales set in the distant past in KoB is the non-past, while the dominant tense in contemporary biographical tales depends on the gender of the speaker, with the males preferring the non-past and the females preferring the past. Consequently, speech orienters in KoB are normally in the past only in contemporary biographical tales narrated by females.

## 11. General conclusions

The aim of the present study was to investigate how men and women in three Iranian Balochi dialects, Coastal Balochi, Koroshi Balochi and Sistani Balochi, refer to participants in narratives of two genres, folktales and biographical tales.

I began by studying the case system and types of alignment and found that each of the three Balochi dialects demonstrated a different type of alignment, which in turn affected the ways the participants are referred to. CoB, the most conservative one in the present study, demonstrated canonical ergative alignment for transitive verbs in the past domain and accusative alignment for all other finite verbs. KoB presented accusative alignment for both domains along with two different sets of person-marking endings: one for transitive verbs in the past domain (person-marking clitics) and the other for transitive verbs in the non-past domain and for intransitive verbs (person-marking verb suffixes). SiB demonstrated accusative alignment and basically the same set of agreement markers (person-marking suffixes) in both domains, although the person-marking clitic sporadically occurred in the 3rd person singular.

After considering the advantages and disadvantages of different approaches to the analysis of participant reference, I applied Levinsohn's approach to my corpus. This approach involves identifying default encoding values in four discourse contexts (S1–4), then identifying motivations for instances of marked encoding (under-encoding or over-encoding). The results of my analysis indicated that there was no difference in the default encodings except that, in the S2 context in CoB, the default encodings were different in ergative and accusative alignments in the biographical tales. Default encoding in contexts S1–2 (excluding ergative alignments in S2) was minimal ( $\emptyset$  and PC), whereas default encoding in S3–4 (plus ergative alignments in S2) was NP.

When I studied the verbs in these three dialects, I discovered that each dialect had a different strategy toward the person-marking suffixes for the transitive verbs in the past domain.

KoB used PC as a minimal encoding of the subject of transitive verbs in the past domain. The PC has become grammaticalised and is used as an agreement marker for past transitive verbs and in the possessive construction (see Sec.1.4.2.3).

SiB and CoB used both  $\emptyset$  and PC as minimal encodings of the subject of transitive verbs in the past domain. However, the PC has developed differently in the two dialects.

SiB, during its transition from ergative to accusative alignment, developed PC as agreement markers in the past domain, but has replaced most of them by the agreement markers of the intransitive verbs except for the 3rd person singular PC in the past domain. The PC has become a facultative person-marking suffix of transitive verbs alternating with the zero ending of the 3rd person singular, which has been copied from intransitive verbs. It seems that, in contrast to the other person-marking suffixes, the zero ending of intransitive verbs was not considered an optimal substitution of the transitive form. That was presumably why in the 3rd person singular the old transitive paradigm could be continued alongside the intransitive one. So Sistani speakers have two choices: either they choose the PC as an explicit person-marking suffix which precisely marks the 3rd person singular, or they follow the intransitive pattern of  $\emptyset$  ending.

The situation of transitive verbs in the past domain in CoB is different from SiB. The frequency of PCs is higher than the instances of zero marking in the texts. Furthermore, like the person-marking verb suffixes in KoB and SiB, the PC regularly appears on the verb, and the high frequency of PCs matches the frequency of agreement marking in accusative alignment (i.e.,  $\emptyset$ ). Thus, the use of the PC resembles the use of the agreement marker.

With respect to the general shift of ergative alignment to accusative alignment in other Balochi dialects (i.e., SiB, Afghan and Turkmen Balochi), this can be seen as a sign of grammaticalisation of PCs as agreement markers (just as with KoB). The reason for the two alternative encodings in CoB, PC/ $\emptyset$ , could be that the PC (encoding the agent) was not fully grammaticalised as an agreement marker yet, in contrast to KoB (see Sec. 1.4.2.3). The narrator's decision for employing PC/ $\emptyset$  could depend on whether or not an agreement marker was present on the verb that refers to the object. When there was no person-marking suffix on the verb, the slot was free to be filled by the PC. This observation might be interesting for the study of fading ergativity, particularly for the question as to how the PC became an agreement marker. As my survey of the data suggests, the PC's journey toward an agreement marker may start with topical agreement, which means that the agent appears as NP in the oblique case, together with the PC, cross-referencing the agent NP, on the verb (see Sec.1.4.1.4.3).

Returning to my analysis of default and marked encoding in the three dialects, when the default was  $\emptyset$ /PC, then the marked encoding was anything more than  $\emptyset$ /PC; e.g., NP, PROX, DIST or combinations of them. When the default was a simple NP, on the other hand, anything more than a simple NP was regarded as over-encoding; e.g., PROX+NP or DIST+NP. Conversely, anything less than NP was under-encoding. Thus, the lightest encoding was

either  $\emptyset$ /PC and the heaviest encoding in these dialects was a PROX+NP and DIST+NP.

The encoding hierarchy in the three Balochi dialects is summarised in Figure 8.

$\emptyset$ /PC>pronouns>REFL>demonstrativepronouns>NP>PROX+NP/DIST+NP

Figure 8. The encoding hierarchy in the three Balochi dialects

The motivations for over encoding in the S1–2 contexts were the same for both genders and genres. The motivations for under-encoding in S3–4 and in ergative alignment in S2 (CoB biographical tales) were almost the same, too.

For both genres in all dialects:

- The use of PROX and DIST to mark a referent as thematic and non-thematic respectively was the same in all the S contexts;
- The use of REFL or PN to emphasise the identity of the subject was also the same in all the S contexts;
- The motivations for over-encoding in S1 or S2 with NP (whether with or without PROX or DIST) were to mark the beginning of a new narrative unit, in connection with a discontinuity, and to highlight a speech or event;
- Over-encoding with NP in S1 was also found for clarification, in repetitions and in tail-head linkage;
- Under-encoding in the S3–4 contexts arose when the referent was a VIP or under certain circumstances when no ambiguity would result.

The present study of these three Balochi dialects identified a pattern in which S1–S2 references used minimal coding material, whereas S3–S4 references used a full NP. There was one exception to this general pattern in S2 contexts in the biographical tales in the ergative alignment, which used a full NP. Both of these patterns have been attested for other languages as well (see Levinsohn 2015: 127–128).

When I studied the cultural background of the storytellers in the three dialects, I discovered that they demonstrated three different degrees of orality. As with the alignment system, CoB was the most conservative one in the present study and presented orality in all social contexts. KoB preserved orality in prose with language switching for narration. In SiB oral storytelling was almost forgotten, except for the reciting of songs, which was still common among the older generation. SiB society has switched from an oral

style to a more written style (Chap. 2). This observation suggests a strong correlation between the fading of orality and the fading of ergativity in Balochi. In the dialect that has preserved ergativity (CoB), orality is a living art. In the dialects that have lost ergativity (KoB and SiB), the state of orality was not so prominent.

Among the three dialects, the most proficient storytellers are found in CoB; my focus will thus be on this dialect. In addition, my male speaker, Rahimbaksh, who has no formal education, is one of the best-known storytellers in this area. I recorded about 200 long and short stories told by him. In spite of the presence of TV as a new source of entertainment, a lot of people are still interested in listening to his narrations (see Sec.1.1). From what I have observed, his audiences are young people and mainly men.

From studying his folktales and biographical tales, I established the following features as prototypical features of a proficient storyteller. A prototypical storyteller is one who:

(1) Produces a semantically and syntactically coherent text. A syntactically coherent text uses unmarked repetition and tail head linkage with default subject encoding (see Sec. 2.6.4);

(2) Highlights important features such as speeches, thoughts, actions, events and items, in order to draw the audience's attention to what is important for the rest of the story;

(3) Uses marked repetition and tail-head linkage to highlight climaxes in the story;

(4) Marks new narrative units and discontinuities of time in the story through marked subject encoding, especially in places where there is a long time gap;

(5) Uses thematic versus non-thematic encoding to refer to a single participant (a VIP) within an episode, and does not use thematic/non-thematic encoding to mark switches of attention from one participant to another;

(6) Uses default encoding rather than under-encoding when referring to the VIP.

(7) Marks changes of scene or attention explicitly with expressions such as "Let's leave X and get back to Y" or "Now the story concerns X";

(8) Expresses emotion when describing happy or sad events during the narration;

(9) Relates to the audience by asking questions such as "do you understand what this means" throughout the story.

When I studied which gender might be more proficient at storytelling, I found that the males generally were more proficient than the females across

the dialects. One reason for this could be that the male storytellers generally have a large adult audience, which puts pressure on them to be more proficient in order to amuse their audience. In contrast, the audiences of the female storytellers are mainly children and women. My investigation also revealed that both the males and the females from CoB were more proficient in storytelling than those from KoB or SiB. This may be because oral storytelling is still a live art in CoB (see above).

After establishing the default and marked encodings in both the folktales and the biographical tales for each dialect, I made a comparative study between the genders and the genres for each dialect in turn.

The results for CoB revealed that gender played an important role in the strategy of participant reference in the folktales, and that it did play a role, although a less significant one, in the biographical tales. The only consistent difference between the genres was that new narrative units were marked more frequently in contexts S1 and S2 in the folktales than in the biographical tales (see Sec. 7.4.2).

The results for KoB revealed only slight gender and genre differences. There were three consistent gender-related differences, all of which involved the females marking a category more often than the males (see Sec.8.5). The genre-related differences involved more frequent marking in the biographical tales than in the folktales (see Sec. 8.4.2).

The results for SiB showed that gender did not play an important role in the strategy of participant reference in either the folktales or the biographical tales (see Sec. 9.4.1–2). Only two consistent genre-related differences were observed (see Sec. 9.4.2).

When I drew a comparison between the genders and the genres cross the dialects, I found that the only dialectal difference that held for both genders and genres was that, in the S2 context, KoB used the additive particle ‘*ham*’ and an overt reference to the speaker to introduce expected responses to the stimulus expressed in the previous reported speech. The more frequent use of ‘*ham*’ could be due to Persian influence. In the other dialects, the norm was to introduce the response without ‘*ham*’ and with no reference to the speaker (see Sec. 10.1.2 and 10.2.2).

The question might be asked why there was no consistent gender difference cross the dialects. There do not have to be any gender differences, of course and, in fact, the only dialect which showed a consistent gender difference was CoB for the folktales. It could be that social-cultural factors play an important role in this society. For example, it seems that in this area some tales are more natural to one gender than to the other (see Sec. 2.3.2.1). The tales which I collected for the present work would normally be told by the females, not the males. This gender-related difference might also have arisen because of the different audiences which the storytellers have. In this area audiences still select which tales should be told by the storytellers. Normally

the females have only children and female audiences; the males have only adult audiences (in formal meetings).

The main reason why there was no consistent genre difference cross the dialects may be that people in these regions treat both folktales and biographical tales as basically the same genre. In CoB, for instance, my storytellers used the same tense strategy in both genres. The same was true of all but one of the SiB narrators.

The last question which might be asked is whether there are any genre-related differences in the female version that are not found in the male version and vice versa. The following are the genre-related differences for each dialect:

- In KoB, one of the female speakers personally involved herself in the biographical tale, unlike the male speaker, who told the story as if it were a folktale, by using a lot of tail head linkage and repetitions in the non-past tense. This difference relates to the issue of 'evidentiality' in this dialect, so that the texts that are told from the point of view of an eye-witness are likely to differ from those in which the source is hearsay. In the biographical tale in which the female was personally involved, she was an eye-witness for some parts of the story, but relied on hearsay for other parts.
- In CoB, one of the male speakers mainly used non-past tense in his narrations but, when he involved himself in the story, he used the past tense. It does appear that the male speaker was using the tenses systematically: non-past tense when there was no specific time in the past to which the events related, and past tense when he was able to relate the events to a specific time in the past. Consequently, he did not differentiate between the folktales and those parts of the biographical tales in which he had no involvement.
- In SiB, one of the male speakers used the non-past tense in the folktales, whereas the female speaker used the past tense. Normally one would expect the folktales to be told in non-past tense, since there is no specific time in the past to which they relate. It therefore seems that the female was telling the story as though she were describing real events from the past.

## 11.1. Suggestions for further research

The corpus which I analysed in detail only encompassed folktales and biographical tales. Further studies could include a narrative genre for contemporary events, as they may well differ more from folktales than biographical tales do.

My observations regarding the pathways of orality to written style could usefully form the basis for more extensive research on that topic. Balochi would provide a formidable test case for such research as it is clear that a shift is currently taking place and Balochi dialects have proceeded along this path in various ways and to various degrees.

The “fading of orality” seems to show a strong correlation with the “fading of ergativity”. Incorporating orality and discourse patterns into the discussion of ergativity and its development could give new insights into the linguistic mechanisms at work. A minor point of my research; viz., the use of pronominal clitics either as pronouns or as agreement markers, is of great importance for the ongoing discussion of how pronominal reference and agreement, often taken together nowadays as cross-referencing or indexing, are to be distinguished.

The corpus that I have compiled can further be used to investigate topic and focus strategies in Balochi.

## 11.2. Suggestions for methodological development

Since my study was based on the approach presented in Levinsohn (2015), it is within this methodological framework that I will make some suggestions that could usefully be incorporated in the approach.

The content of reported speeches is usually viewed as its complement. Therefore, it is considered to be “embedded in the overall structure of the narrative” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 128). In line with this, the content of verbs of perception, etc., should be treated in the same way as the content of reported speeches, since they function as the complement of their verb.

Levinsohn’s approach analyses reference to subjects in connection with four contexts (S1–4), together with an extension to S1+ where “the subject and other participants in the action of the previous clause are included in a plural subject in the next clause” (ibid.: 126). The present work suggests two further extensions: S2+ and S3+. S2+ refers to a context where “the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence and other active participants are included in a plural subject in the next clause” (Levinsohn, personal communication), while S3+ concerns a context where “the non-subject in the previous sentence and other active participants are included in a plural subject in the next clause” (Levinsohn, personal communication).

Another issue which should be taken into consideration relates to Levinsohn's (2015: 13) recommendation that the texts to be analysed should be properly edited or "well-formed". When working with unedited texts, as has been the case with the present research, certain issues arise which Levinsohn does not address. For instance, it is quite common for a storyteller to be interrupted in his or her narration because someone arrives or because of background noise. As a result, the narrator may use repetition when resuming the narration after the interruption. This leads, in turn, to the need to recognise additional motivations for over-encoding. Levinsohn identifies two broad motivations for over-encoding with NP: either for highlighting or to signal a new narrative unit. Because I was working with unedited texts, I also needed to deal with interruptions and clarifications, etc. as motivations for over-encoding with NP.

Finally, some comments about the value of listening to recordings in connection with the analysis of oral texts. Levinsohn notes (*ibid.*: 33) that, "Between groupings in an *oral* text, it is common to find ... a change in the pitch of the intonation contour. Typically, the previous contour will have drifted downwards, whereas the new contour resumes a higher pitch range." The present research has not only used such intonational evidence to identify new narrative units, even in the absence of signals of discontinuity such as sentence-initial time expressions. It has also recognised different intonational patterns that are associated with highlighting and clarifications, particularly in connection with different types of tail-head linkage and repetition.

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## Appendix A

### Interlinearized Balochi texts

I have transcribed and glossed two texts consisting of one folktale and one biographical tale from each dialect for publication. The texts *The King's Daughter* (KD) and *The Story of Rahimbaksh* (RB) belong to the Coastal Balochi dialect, *The King's Son* (KS) and *The Story of Dastan* (DA) belong to the Koroshi Balochi dialect, and *Mullah Neykadar Jan* (MNJ) and *The Story of Sabzo* (SA) belong to the Sistani Balochi dialect.

There is one systematic difference between the way verb forms are translated in the rest of this work and in the corpus found in Appendix A. In the rest of the work the verb forms are translated according to their grammatical form, whereas in Appendix A they are translated into the past tense, the default tense of narration of past events in English.



## A. Text Corpus

### A.1 Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

#### The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi Bādšāhay Ĵanek

*recounted by Zinat Jadgal*

##### KD.f:1

<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>rōz'gāre</i>	<i>'bī</i>	<i>bād'sāhē</i>	<i>bād'sāhe</i>
rōč=e	rōzgār=e	b-ī	bādšāh=e	bādšāh=e
day=IND	time=IND	become.NPST-3SG	king=IND	king=PC.3SG

<i>ba'yā</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>ĵa'nē 'čok...</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>mar'dē 'čok</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ĵa'nē 'čoke</i>
bay-ā	hapt	ĵanēčok	hapt	mardēčok	ya	ĵanēčok=e
become.NPST-3PL	seven	daughter	seven	son	one	daughter=IND

Once upon a time there was a king; the king had seven daughters... seven sons and a daughter (lit. there were seven sons and a daughter for the king).

##### KD.f:2

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ĵa'nē 'čoke</i>	<i>'yake</i>	<i>'šāht</i>	<i>'nabīte</i>
ē	ĵanēčok=e	yak=e	šāht	na-b-īt=e
PROX	daughter=PC.3SG	one=IND	happy	NEG-become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

<i>'nayāpte</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'yake</i>	<i>ĵa'nē</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>mar'dē 'čok</i>
nayāpt=e	ke	yak=e	ĵanē	hapt	mardēčok
valuable=PC.3SG	CLM	one=IND	daughter	seven	son

*ā*

=ā

=COP.NPST.3PL

This girl of his [was] the only girl; he was very protective (lit. he is not happy); she was valuable to him since he had only one girl [and] seven sons.

## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:3

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'šo</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>'māta</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>ko</i>
nī	šo-∅	ya	rōč=ē	māt-a	habar	ko-∅
now	go.PST-3SG	one	day=IND	mother-OBL	word	do.PST-3SG

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>'yake</i>
goš-ī	bādšāh	to	ē	janek	tī	yak=e
say.NPST-3SG	king	PN.2SG	PROX	daughter	PN.2SG.GEN	one=IND

<i>'šāht</i>	<i>'nabī</i>	<i>'bare</i>
šāht	na-b-ī	∅-bar-∅=e
happy	NEG-become.NPST-3SG	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

<i>nen'dēne</i>	<i>wā'nagā</i>
∅-nendēn-∅=e	wān-ag-ā
IMPV-place.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG	read.NPST-INF-OBL

You know, one day the mother went [to the father and] talked, she said, “Your majesty, this your daughter is the only one; you are protective (lit. not happy); take (lit. take, place) her to study.”

### KD.f:4

<i>'goštī</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'nadārā</i>	<i>wā'nagā</i>	<i>ke</i>
gošt=ī	man	na-dār-ā	wān-ag-ā	ke
say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.1SG	NEG-hold.NPST-1SG	read.NPST-INF-OBL	CLM

<i>mollā</i>	<i>ja'nante</i>	<i>hak'kal</i>	<i>dayante</i>	<i>'manā</i>
mollā	jan-ant=e	hakkal	day-ant=e	man-ā
Mullah	hit.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG	shouting	give.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ

<i>'šāht</i>	<i>'nabī</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'barī</i>
šāht	na-b-ī	š-ī	∅-bar-∅=ī
happy	NEG-become.NPST-3SG	say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

He said, “I won’t send (lit. hold) her to study since the Mullah punishes her [and] shouts at her; so I do not like it (lit. happiness is not for me).”; [still] she said, “Take her.”

### KD.f:5

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'ba</i>	<i>nendē'nīte</i>	<i>'hamōdā</i>	<i>mollā'yānī</i>
ē	ba-∅	nendēn-īt=e	ham=ōdā	mollā-yānī
PROX	take.NPST-3SG	place.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	EMPH=there	Mullah-GEN.PL

<i>ker'rā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>nendē'nīte</i>	<i>'hamōdā</i>
kerrā	ē	ke	nendēn-īt=e	ham=ōdā
beside	PROX	CLM	place.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	EMPH=there

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

<i>wā'nage</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>'ančē</i>	<i>ze'renge...</i>	<i>sak'kē</i>
wān-ag-e	wāstā	ančē	zereng=e	sakk-ē
read.NPST-INF-GEN	for the sake of	such.ATTR	clever=IND	very-ATTR

<i>ze'renge</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>saj'jē</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>wā'nagā</i>	<i>'ē</i>
zereng=e	b-ī	sajjē	janek	wān-ag-ā	ē
clever=IND	become.NPST-3SG	all.ATTR	girl	read.NPST-INF-OBL	PROX

<i>dros'tān</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>zereng'ter</i>	<i>ē</i>
drost-ān	če	zereng-ter	=ē
all-OBL.PL	from	clever-CMP	=COP.NPST.3SG

This one took (lit. takes and places) her there to the Mullahs; when this one took her there to study, she [proved to be] very clever... she was very clever; this one was the cleverest of all the girl students.

**KD.f:6**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'ešīa</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>ke...</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>čār'et...</i>	<i>mollā</i>
nī	ešīa	goš-ī	ke	janek	čāret	mollā
now	PROX.OBL	say.NPST-3SG	CLM	girl	look.PST	Mullah

<i>čār'ī</i>	<i>zeren'gēnē</i>
čār-ī	zereng-ēn=ē
look.NPST-3SG	clever-ATTR=IND

Once this one... it says /that/,... the girl looked... the Mullah found (lit. looked) [that] she was clever.

**KD.f:7**

<i>ya</i>	<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>neš'ta</i>	<i>dros'tā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'dā</i>
ya	rōč=ē	nešt-a=∅	drost-ā	sabak	dā-∅
one	day=IND	sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	all-OBL.PL	lesson	give.NPST-3SG

<i>'ešīa</i>	<i>'nadā</i>
ešīa	na-dā-∅
PROX.OBL	NEG-give.NPST-3SG

One day, he was sitting [and] teaching all the students, [but] he did not teach this one.

**KD.f:8**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'beday</i>
ē	goš-ī	mnā	sabak	be-day-∅
PROX	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	lesson	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'mnī</i>	<i>wa'tī</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'yād</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'ta</i>
mnī	wat-ī	sabak	yād	=ē	ta
PN.1SG.GEN	REFL-GEN	lesson	know	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG

<i>'mnā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'naday</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>ya</i>
mnā	sabak	na-d-ay	goš-ī	to	ya
PN.1SG.OBJ	lesson	NEG-give.NPST-2SG	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	one

<i>'barē</i>	<i>'sabr</i>	<i>'kā</i>
bar=ē	sabr	∅-kā-∅
time=IND	patience	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

This one said, “Teach me; I know my lesson; [why] don’t you teach me?”; he said, “Wait a little.”

### KD.f:9

<i>saj'jē</i>	<i>ǰane'kā</i>	<i>tā'tīl</i>	<i>dā</i>
sajjē	ǰanek-ā	tātil	dā-∅
all.ATTR	girl-OBL.PL	dismissal	give.NPST-3SG

He dismissed all the girls.

### KD.f:10

<i>mol'lāhe</i>	<i>'del</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>da'gā</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>ǰa'neka</i>
mollā-he	del	nī	daḡā	=ē	gō	ǰanek-a
Mullah-GEN	heart	now	cheating	=COP.NPST.3SG	with	girl-OBL

You know, the Mullah was cheating the girl.

### KD.f:11

<i>'nī</i>	<i>o'sī</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'sabr</i>	<i>'kā</i>	<i>ran'dā</i>
nī	oš-ī	ta	sabr	∅-kā-∅	randā
now	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	patience	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	after

<i>'tarā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>da'yā</i>
ta-rā	sabak	day-ā
PN.2SG-OBJ	lesson	give.NPST-1SG

Then he said, “You wait; later I will teach you.”

### KD.f:12

<i>'nī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>saj'jē</i>	<i>ǰa'nek</i>	<i>tā'tīl</i>	<i>ka'nā</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>	<i>'nī</i>
nī	ke	sajjē	ǰanek	tātil	kan-ā	raw-ā	nī
now	CLM	all.ATTR	girl	dismissal	do.NPST-3PL	go.NPST-3PL	now

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

<i>'hame</i>	<i>ya...</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>'paš</i>	<i>ka'pī</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'kay</i>
ham=e	ya	yak	paš	kap-ī	nī	k-ay-∅
EMPH=PROX	one	one	behind	fall.NPST-3SG	now	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

<i>'ešī</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>'ešī</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>'ē</i>
ešī	sabak	dā-∅	ešī	sabak	dā-∅	ē
PROX.OBL	lesson	give.NPST-3SG	PROX.OBL	lesson	give.NPST-3SG	PROX

<i>wā'nī</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>go'rā</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'kay</i>
wān-ī	raw-t	goṛā	nī	k-ay-∅
read.NPST-3SG	go.NPST-3SG	then	now	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

<i>ge'rīī</i>	<i>'dastā</i>
ger-īt=ī	dast-ā
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	hand-OBL

Then, when all the girls were dismissed [and] went away; only this one [girl] was left [in the class]; he came [and] taught her; he taught her; this one read [and] went on; then he came and touched her hand.

**KD.f:13**

<i>ge'rīī</i>	<i>'dastā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'dast</i>	<i>'nadantī</i>
ger-īt=ī	dast-ā	ē	dast	na-dan-t=ī
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	hand-OBL	PROX	hand	NEG-give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

<i>ta'čī</i>	<i>mol'lāe</i>	<i>ker'rā</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>ta'čī</i>
tač-ī	mollā-e	kerrā	če	tač-ī
run.NPST-3SG	Mullah-GEN	beside	from	run.NPST-3SG

<i>'kay</i>
k-ay-∅
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

He touched her hand [but] this one did not give him [her] hand [and] she came running (lit. runs, runs, comes) [home] from the Mullah's.

**KD.f:14**

<i>'kay</i>	<i>'hame</i>	<i>'pete</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>'peta</i>
k-ay-∅	ham=e	pet-e	lōg-ā	pet-a
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	father-GEN	house-OBL	father-OBL

<i>'gō</i>	<i>'nām</i>	<i>'nagerī</i>
gō	nām	na-ger-ī
with	name	NEG-take.NPST-3SG

She came to her father's house; she did not tell [her] father.

## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:15

<i>'nagerī</i>	<i>ta'pīg</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>nād'rā</i>	<i>bī</i>
na-ger-ī	tapīg	b-ī	nādrā	b-ī
NEG-take.NPST-3SG	feverish	become.NPST-3SG	sick	become.NPST-3SG

<i>tā</i>	<i>'čenčo</i>	<i>rō'ča</i>
tā	čenčo	rōč-a
until	several	day-OBL

She did not tell [her father]; she got a fever; she fell ill for several days.

### KD.f:16

<i>'padā</i>	<i>'māt</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>o'sī</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>'rōč</i>
padā	māt	habar	kan-t	oš-ī	čok	do	rōč
again	mother	word	do.NPST-3SG	say.NPST-3SG	child	two	day

<i>ē</i>	<i>ta'pīg</i>	<i>bīta</i>	<i>'to</i>
=ē	tapīg	bīt-a=∅	to
=COP.NPST.3SG	feverish	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG

<i>'naborta</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>wās'ta</i>	<i>'bebarī</i>
na-bort-a	čī	wāsta	be-bar-∅=ī
NEG-take.PST-PP	what	for the sake of	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

Again the mother spoke [to her father] she said, “The girl has had a fever for two days; why haven’t you taken her [to school]; take her!

### KD.f:17

<i>'bebarī</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'bārī</i>
be-bar-∅=ī	padā	pet	bār-t=ī
IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG	again	father	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Take her!” Again, the father took her.

### KD.f:18

<i>'padā</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'bārī</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>hap'tage</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>hap'tage</i>
padā	pet	bār-t=ī	dāke	haptag=e	do	haptag=e
again	father	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	then	week=IND	two	week=IND

<i>'padā</i>	<i>wā'nī</i>	<i>ša'rīye</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>
padā	wān-ī	šar-ī-ye	sarā
again	read.NPST-3SG	good-NMLZ-GEN	on

Again, the father took her, then she studied well for one or two weeks.

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:19**

<i>wā'nīt</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>'hančō</i>	<i>'kant</i>
wān-īt	ē	padā	ya	rōč=ē	hančō	kan-t
read.NPST-3SG	PROX	again	one	day=IND	like this	do.NPST-3SG

*ē*  
=ē  
=COP.NPST.3SG

She studied, again, this one did the same thing [to the girl].

**KD.f:20**

<i>'hančō</i>	<i>dros'tā̃</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'ešīa</i>	<i>'nadā</i>
hančō	drost-ā̃	sabak	dā-∅	ešīa	na-dā-∅
like this	all-OBL.PL	lesson	give.NPST-3SG	PROX.OBL	NEG-give.NPST-3SG

<i>čā'rī</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>ko'sī</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>'wālla</i>
čār-ī	ē	mnā	koš-ī	mnā	wālla
look.NPST-3SG	PROX	PN.1SG.OBJ	kill.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	by God

<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'de</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'torsa</i>	<i>de'lāp</i>	<i>ē</i>
sabak	∅-de-∅	ē	nī	tors-a	delāp	=ē
lesson	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	PROX	now	fear-OBL	scared	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'zāna</i>	<i>'bezān</i>	<i>'tāl</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>rō'čī</i>
zāna	be-zān-∅	tāl	=ē	ā	rōč-ī
you know	IMPV-know.NPST-2SG	proud	=COP.NPST.3SG	DIST	day-ADJZ

<i>'manā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'nadātagī</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>mar'čī</i>
man-ā	sabak	na-dāt-ag=ī	nī	padā	marčī
PN.1SG-OBJ	lesson	NEG-give.PST-PP=PC.3SG	now	again	today

<i>'manā</i>	<i>sa'bak</i>	<i>'nadāī</i>
man-ā	sabak	na-dāt=ī
PN.1SG-OBJ	lesson	NEG-give.PST=PC.3SG

Like this, he taught all [his students] [but] he did not teach this one; she thought (lit. saw) this one would kill her; by God teach me! this one was very scared; [she said to herself] “Well, you know, he is proud; that day he didn’t teach me; now again, he didn’t teach me today.”

**KD.f:21**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'dēr</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>saǰǰē̃</i>	<i>ǰa'nek</i>	<i>tā'tīl</i>	<i>kanā</i>
ē	nī	dēr	=ē	saǰǰē̃	ǰanek	tātil	kan-ā
PROX	now	late	=COP.NPST.3SG	all.ATTR	girl	dismissal	do.NPST-3PL

## A. Text Corpus

'ešīā          sa'bak   'dā  
 ešīā          sabak   dā-∅  
 PROX.OBL   lesson   give.NPST-3SG

Now it was late; all the girls were dismissed [and then] he taught this one.

### KD.f:22

'ē          'raw          'padā  
 ē          raw-∅          padā  
 PROX   go.NPST-3SG   again

Again this one went.

### KD.f:23

'raw          ge'rīī          'dastā          'ē          'dast  
 raw-∅          ger-īt=ī          dast-ā          ē          dast  
 go.NPST-3SG   take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG   hand-OBL   PROX   hand

'nadanī          'padā   ta'čī          ta'čī  
 na-dan-t=ī          padā   tač-ī          tač-ī  
 NEG-give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG   again   run.NPST-3SG   run.NPST-3SG

ta'čī          'kawnše   'tāe          ka'pīt          ē  
 tač-ī          kawňš-e   tā=e          kap-īt          =ē  
 run.NPST-3SG   shoes-GEN   match=PC.3SG   fall.NPST-3SG   =COP.NPST.3SG

She went [and] he touched her hand; this one did not give him [her] hand; again she kept running (lit. runs, runs, runs) [home]; one of her shoes fell [off].

### KD.f:24

'ē          'kawnše   'tā          ka'pīt          ē          'e  
 ē          kawňš-e   tā          kap-īt          =ē          e  
 PROX   shoes-GEN   match   fall.NPST-3SG   =COP.NPST.3SG   PROX

'kay          'kay  
 k-ay-∅          k-ay-∅  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG   IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

This one of her shoes fell [off]; this one kept coming.

### KD.f:25

'kay          ra'sī          mē'taga          'padā   ta'pīg  
 k-ay-∅          ras-ī          mētag-a          padā   tapīg  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG   arrive.NPST-3SG   village-OBL   again   feverish

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

<i>bī</i>	<i>ka'pī</i>	<i>'hameda</i>	<i>de'lāp</i>	<i>bī</i>
b-ī	kap-ī	ham=eda	delāp	b-ī
become.NPST-3SG	fall.NPST-3SG	EMPH=here	scared	become.NPST-3SG

*baz'zag*  
bazzag  
poor

She arrived (lit.comes [and] arrives) [home]; again, she got a fever; she stayed (lit. falls down) there (lit. here); she got scared, the poor girl.

**KD.f:26**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'jos</i>	<i>kante</i>
nī	pet	jōs	kan-t=e
now	father	question	do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Then the father asked her [what had happened].

**KD.f:27**

<i>'pet</i>	<i>'jostī</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>'peta</i>	<i>gō̄</i>	<i>'heč</i>
pet	jost=ī	kā-∅	pet-a	gō̄	heč
father	question=PC.3SG	do.NPST-3SG	father-OBL	with	anything

*'nagošī*  
na-goš-ī  
NEG-say.NPST-3SG

The father asked her; she did not say anything to the father.

**KD.f:28**

<i>'nagošī</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>'kawnše</i>
na-goš-ī	dāke	mollā	wat	k-ay-∅	kawnš-e
NEG-say.NPST-3SG	then	Mullah	REFL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	shoes-GEN

<i>'tāe</i>	<i>zī'rī</i>	<i>'kay</i>
tā=e	zīr-ī	k-ay-∅
match=PC.3SG	take.NPST-3SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

She did not say [anything] until the Mullah himself came; he took her shoe [and] came.

**KD.f:29**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'byā</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>bād'sāhē</i>	<i>maza'nē</i>
goš-ī	by-ā-∅	taw	bādšāh=ē	mazan-ē
say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	king=IND	big-ATTR

## A. Text Corpus

*nām'dārē mol'kānī bad'sāh ay ta'ī ja'nek*  
 nāmdār=ē molk-ānī badšāh =ay ta-ī ja'nek  
 famous=IND land-GEN.PL king =COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG-GEN daughter

*čo'sě kāre ran'dā ē*  
 čoš-ě kār-e randā =ě  
 such-ATTR work-GEN after =COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “Look, you are a famous king, king over [many] countries; your daughter is doing such and such a thing.

### KD.f:30

*ta'ī ja'nek čo'sě 'kārē... pe'lān 'jāh 'mā*  
 ta-ī ja'nek čoš-ě kār-ē pelān jāh mā  
 PN.2SG-GEN daughter such-ATTR work-GEN so and so place PN.1SG

*d'ī'ta 'mā ra'nda kapta 'eš ē 'kawnše*  
 dīt-a mā randa kapt-a eš =ě kawnš-e  
 see.PST-PP PN.1SG after fall.PST-PP PROX =COP.NPST.3SG shoes-GEN

*'tā hā kap'tagī*  
 tā hā kapt-ag=ī  
 match ADD fall.PST-PP=PC.3SG

Your daughter [is doing] such and such a thing; I have seen her in such and such a place; I followed her; here is her shoe that fell [off].”

### KD.f:31

*'ē 'pet 'hančō pare'sān bī ja'nek yake 'mā*  
 ē pet hančō parešān bī-∅ ja'nek yak=e mā  
 PROX father very sad become.PST-3SG daughter one=IND PN.1SG

*'nī če'taw 'bekanā 'nī lōṭā'ēnī brā'tā*  
 nī četaw be-kan-ā nī lōṭāēn-ī brāt-ā  
 now how SBJV-do.NPST-1SG now call.NPST-3SG brother-OBL.PL

This father got very sad; [he said to himself] “She is [my] only daughter; what should I do now?” Then he called the brothers.

### KD.f:32

*'goštī 'byā ē ja... go'hāra o'īga*  
 gošt=ī by-ā-∅ ē ja gohār-a oṭīg-a  
 say.PST=PC.3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PROX FRAG sister-OBL yours-OBL

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

<i>'bare</i>	<i>'hančẽ</i>	<i>ǰā'hīya</i>	<i>ko'se</i>
Ø-bar-e	hančẽ	ǰāh=i-ya	Ø-koš-e
IMPV-take.NPST-2PL	such.ATTR	place=IND-OBL	IMPV-kill.NPST-2PL

<i>'dawr</i>	<i>dayetī</i>	<i>ṭēla'gã</i>	<i>kaš'se</i>
dawr	Ø-day-et=i	ṭēlag-ã	Ø-kašš-e
throwing	IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG	eye-OBL.PL	IMPV-pull.NPST-2PL

<i>'byāre</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>da'yetī</i>
by-ār-e	man-ā	Ø-day-et=i
IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL	PN.1SG-OBJ	IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

He said, “Come this gi... take your sister to such a place; kill her [and] throw her away; pull her eyes out; bring [and] give them to me.”

**KD.f:33**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'brāt</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>na'par</i>	<i>ba'yā</i>
nī	brāt	say	napar	bay-ā
now	brother	three	person	become.NPST-3PL

You know, the brothers were three persons.

**KD.f:34**

<i>brā'tã</i>	<i>'šāht</i>	<i>'nabī</i>	<i>ya'kẽ</i>	<i>go'hārē</i>
brāt-ã	šāht	na-b-i	yak-ẽ	gohār=e
brother-OBL.PL	happy	NEG-become.NPST-3SG	one-ATTR	sister=PC.3PL

<i>zīr'antī</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>gyā'banīyā</i>
zīr-ant=i	raw-ā	raw-ā	ya	gyāban=i-yā
take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG	go.NPST-3PL	go.NPST-3PL	one	desert=IND-OBL

The brothers were very protective (lit. not happy for the brothers); they had [only] one sister; they took her; they kept going [with her] to a desert.

**KD.f:35**

<i>'ḍannīyā</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>
ḍann=i-yā	raw-ā
desert=IND-OBL	go.NPST-3PL

They went to a desert.

**KD.f:36**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>ǰa'nekā</i>	<i>zī'rī</i>	<i>zī'rā</i>	<i>ya'las</i>	<i>dayā</i>
nī	ǰanek-ā	zīr-i	zīr-ā	yalas	day-ā
now	girl-OBL	take.NPST-3SG	take.NPST-3PL	released	give.NPST-3PL

## A. Text Corpus

*ko'narē čan'dā*  
 konar=ē čanḍ-ā  
 Jujube=IND shake.NPST-3PL

You know, they left her [in the desert] (lit. they take the girl, they take [and] release her); they shook a Jujube-tree.

### KD.f:37

*'ē lag'gī ko'nare če'nagā o'sī*  
 ē lagg-ī konar-e čen-ag-ā oš-ī  
 PROX start.NPST-3SG Jujube-GEN pick.NPST-INF-OBL say.NPST-3SG

*to 'hamdā ko'nar 'čen 'mā re'hē*  
 to hamḍā konar Ø-čen-Ø mā re-hē  
 PN.2SG EMPH.here Jujube IMPV-pick.NPST-2SG PN.1PL go.NPST-1PL

*'ā ko'nara čan'dē*  
 ā konar-a čanḍ-ē  
 DIST Jujube-OBL shake.NPST-1PL

This one started to pick Jujube-fruits; [one of them] said, “Pick Jujube-fruits here; we will go [and] shake that [other] Jujube-tree.

### KD.f:38

*'to 'hamdā 'čen 'ē*  
 to hamḍā Ø-čen-Ø ē  
 PN.2SG EMPH.here IMPV-pick.NPST-2SG PROX

*če'nagē 'ē 'brāt ta'čā*  
 čen-ag=ē ē brāt tač-ā  
 pick.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG PROX brother run.NPST-3PL

Pick them up here.” This one was picking [them] up; these brothers ran away.

### KD.f:39

*ra'wā ge'rā ya 'āskē 'āska ko'sā 'padā*  
 raw-ā ger-ā ya āsk=ē āsk-a koš-ā padā  
 go.NPST-3PL take.NPST-3PL one deer=IND deer-OBL kill.NPST-3PL again

*'āske ṭela'gā kaš'sā kā'rā da'yā*  
 āsk-e ṭelag-ā kašš-ā k-ār-ā day-ā  
 deer-GEN eye-OBL.PL pull.NPST-3PL IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL give.NPST-3PL

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

'peta  
pet-a  
father-OBL

They went [and] took a deer; they slaughtered the deer; then they pulled out the deer's eyes; brought [them], [and] gave [them] to the father.

**KD.f:40**

'pet	'jos	kante		o'sī	'mā	'košt
pet	jos	kan-t=e		oš-ī	mā	košt-∅
father	question	do.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL		say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	kill.PST-3SG

ʔe'lag	kašš'ta	'zāna	'hameš	ē	ār'ta
ʔelag	kaššt-a	zāna	ham=eš	=ē	ārt-a
eye	pull.PST-PP	you know	EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG	bring.PST-PP

'trā	dā'tagan
trā	dāt-ag-an
PN.2SG.OBJ	give.PST-PP-3PL

The father asked them; [One of them] said, “We have killed [her] [and] pulled [her] eyes out; you know, here they (lit. these are) we have brought [them] [and] given [them] to you.”

**KD.f:41**

ya	'do	'say	'waht	ke	gwa'zī	'ē	ja'nek	'hamōdā
ya	do	say	waht	ke	gwaz-ī	ē	janek	ham=ōdā
one	two	three	time	CLM	pass.NPST-3SG	PROX	girl	EMPH=there

baz'zag	bī		āzī'yat	bī	'hamē
bazzag	b-ī		āzīyat	b-ī	ham=ē
miserable	become.NPST-3SG		bothering	become.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX

ko'nare	čē'rā	ko'nar	'čent	o	'wā	'āp
konar-e	čērā	konar	čen-t	=o	wā-∅	āp
Jujube-GEN	under	Jujube	pick.NPST-3SG	=and	eat.NPST-3SG	water

'čent	baz'zag	'hamōdā	hā	'wā	'dega	'heč
čen-t	bazzag	ham=ōdā	hā	wā-∅	dega	heč
pick.NPST-3SG	poor	EMPH=there	ADD	eat.NPST-3SG	other	anything

wa'rag	'ešīe	'lāpā	'naraw
warag	ešīe	lāp-ā	na-raw-∅
food	PROX.GEN	stomach-OBL	NEG-go.NPST-3SG

After some time (lit. two three), this girl was miserable there; she was uncomfortable under that (lit. this) Jujube-tree; she picked Jujube-fruit and ate; the poor girl drank

## A. Text Corpus

(lit. picks) water there; she didn't eat anything else (lit. no other food goes into her stomach).

### KD.f:42

<i>'naraw</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'sālē</i>	<i>gwa'zī</i>	<i>'ešīe</i>	<i>'god</i>	<i>'mod</i>
na-raw-Ø	dāke	sāl=ē	gwaz-ī	ešīe	god	mod
NEG-go.NPST-3SG	then	year=IND	pass.NPST-3SG	PROX.GEN	cloth	echo

<i>'jān</i>	<i>de'rā</i>	<i>jānda'rā</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>'hamōdā</i>	<i>ko'nare</i>
jān	der-ā	jāndarā	b-ī	ham=ōdā	konar-e
body	tear.NPST-3PL	naked	become.NPST-3SG	EMPH=there	Jujube-GEN

*čē'rā*  
čērā  
under

She did not eat (lit. it does not go); until one year passed; her clothes were torn; she was naked there under the Jujube-tree.

### KD.f:43

<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'dege</i>	<i>bā'zāre</i>	<i>'dege</i>	<i>'molke</i>	<i>'dege</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>bād'sāhe</i>
dāke	dege	bāzār-e	dege	molk-e	dege	ya	bādšāh=e
then	another	market place-GEN	another	land-GEN	another	one	king=IND

*'kay*  
k-ay-Ø  
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

[This was the situation] until from another town, from another country, another king came.

### KD.f:44

<i>'kay</i>	<i>gen'dīte</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>en'sānē</i>
k-ay-Ø	gend-īt=e	ē	ensān=ē
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	see.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	PROX	human=IND

<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'čīyē</i>	<i>'edā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'otī</i>
mardom=ē	ē	čī=yē	edā	ē	raw-Ø	padā	otī
people=IND	PROX	what=IND	here	PROX	go.NPST-3SG	again	REL.GEN

*'lōgā*  
lōg-ā  
house-OBL

He came, [and] saw her; [he said to himself], “Is this one a human?; A person?; What is this one here?”; This one went back to his house.

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:45**

<i>'raw</i>	<i>wa'rag</i>	<i>'aḍa</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>kā'rī</i>
raw-Ø	warag	aḍ=a	kā-Ø	k-ār-ī
go.NPST-3SG	food	make=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

<i>īrānī</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>	<i>'kā</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>ko'nare</i>	<i>čē'rā</i>	<i>'ēr</i>
īrān-ī	tōkā	kā-Ø	nī	konar-e	čērā	ēr
dish-GEN	in	do.NPST-3SG	now	Jujube-GEN	under	PREV

<i>kante</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>lap'pī</i>
kan-t=e	wat	raw-Ø	lapp-ī
do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	REFL	go.NPST-3SG	hide.NPST-3SG

He went [and] cooked food [and] brought [it] and put [it] into a dish; then he left it under the Jujube-tree; he himself went [and] hid.

**KD.f:46**

<i>'wat</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>lap'pī</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'kay</i>
wat	raw-Ø	lapp-ī	ē	k-ay-Ø
REFL	go.NPST-3SG	hide.NPST-3SG	PROX	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

He himself went [and] hid; this one came.

**KD.f:47**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>'hame</i>	<i>īrānī</i>	<i>da'pā</i>	<i>'pāč</i>
ē	k-ay-Ø	ham=e	īrān-ī	dap-ā	pāč
PROX	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	dish-GEN	lid-OBL	open

<i>kā</i>	<i>lag'gī</i>	<i>grē'wagā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'lāle</i>
kā-Ø	lagg-ī	grēw-ag-ā	goš-ī	lāle
do.NPST-3SG	start.NPST-3SG	cry.NPST-INF-OBL	say.NPST-3SG	brother

<i>'manī</i>	<i>'pete</i>	<i>'māte</i>	<i>wa'rag</i>	<i>'hančē</i>
man-ī	pet-e	māt-e	warag	hančē
PN.1SG-GEN	father-GEN	mother-GEN	food	such.ATTR

<i>bī'tagā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>wār'tagā</i>	<i>lag'gī</i>
bīt-ag=ā	mā	wārt-ag-ā	lagg-ī
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	PN.1SG	eat.PT-PP-3PL	start.NPST-3SG

*grē'wagā*  
grēw-ag-ā  
cry.NPST-INF-OBL

This one came, [and] opened the dish [and] started to cry; she said, “Oh dear, (lit. brother) my father’s and mother’s food were like this [and] I ate it”; she started to cry.

## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:48

<i>grē'wagā</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>doz'zīya</i>
grēw-ag-ā	dāke	ā	k-ay-∅	bādšāh	dozzī-ya
cry.NPST-INF-OBL	until	DIST	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	king	stealing-OBL

<i>balā'hē</i>	<i>čā'derē</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>o'tagī</i>	<i>čā'dera</i>	<i>ke</i>
balāh-ē	čāder=ē	gō	ot-ag=ī	čāder-a	ke
big-ATTR	chador=IND	with	become.PST-PP=PC.3SG	chador-OBL	CLM

<i>'per</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>ge'rītī</i>
per	dā-∅	ger-it=ī
PREV	give.NPST-3SG	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

[She started] to cry, until, that one, the king, came in secret; he had a large chador with him; when he covered her with the chador he [also] captured her.

### KD.f:49

<i>ge'rītī</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>en'sānē</i>	<i>e</i>
ger-it=ī	goš-ī	to	ensān=ē	=e
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	human=IND	=COP.NPST.2SG

<i>'to</i>	<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'jennī</i>	<i>e</i>
to	mardom=ē	=e	to	ǰenn=ī	=e
PN.2SG	people=IND	=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG	genie=IND	=COP.NPST.2SG

<i>'čīye</i>	<i>'harčī</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>'bogoš</i>
čī=ye	harčī	=ye	bo-goš-∅
what=COP.NPST.2SG	whatever	=COP.NPST.2SG	IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

<i>'manā</i>
man-ā
PN.1SG-OBJ

He captured her; he said, “Are you a human?; Are you a person?; Are you a genie?; What are you ?; Whatever you are tell me?”

### KD.f:50

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'hančē</i>	<i>en'sāne</i>	<i>ā</i>
goš-ī	mā	hančē	ensān=e	=ā
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	such.ATTR	human=IND	=COP.NPST.1SG

<i>ta'ī</i>	<i>ran'gē</i>
ta-ī	rang-ē
PN.2SG-GEN	kind-ATTR

She said, “I am a human like you.”

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:51**

'nī	zī'rī	'bārte	'otī	'molkā
nī	zīr-ī	bār-t=e	otī	molk-ā
now	take.NPST-3SG	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	REL.GEN	land-OBL

Then he took (lit. takes and takes) her to his country.

**KD.f:52**

'otī	'molkā	'bārī	'hamōdā
otī	molk-ā	bār-t=ī	ham=ōdā
REL.GEN	land-OBL	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	EMPH=there

dā'rī	bal'lokē	'bī
dār-īt=ī	ballok=ē	b-īt=ī
hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	grandmother=IND	become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

bal'loka	'dantī	'oštī	'ešīa
ballok-a	dan-t=ī	ošt=ī	ešīa
grandmother-OBL	give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	PROX.OBL

'dār

∅-dār-∅

IMPV-hold.NPST-2SG

He brought her to his country; he kept her there; he had a grandmother (lit. there is a grandmother for him); he gave her to the grandmother [to take care of her] [and] said, "Take care of this one."

**KD.f:53**

'ē	bal'lok	'jān	'māna	šō'dī	'ē	'god
ē	ballok	jān	mān-a	šōd-īt=ī	ē	god
PROX	grandmother	body	echo-OBL	wash.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	PROX	cloth

gwa'rā	dantī	'sara	ran'dī
gwar-ā	dan-t=ī	sar-a	rand-īt=ī
chest-OBL	give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	head-OBL	comb.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

This grandmother washed her body; this one dressed her up [and] combed her hair (lit. head).

**KD.f:54**

'nī	'harčī	'jost	kanī	'to	'kayī	'čok
nī	harčī	jost	kan-t=ī	to	kay-ī	čok
now	whatever	question	do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	PN.2SG	who-GEN	child

## A. Text Corpus

*e*                    *'nagošī*  
 =e                    na-goš-ī  
 =COP.NPST.2SG   NEG-say.NPST-3SG

Then, however much she asked her whose daughter (lit. child) she was; she did not tell.

### KD.f:55

*'harkada*        *ḡost*        *kanante*                    *'čōbī*        *'gošī*        *'na*  
 harkada        ḡost        kan-ant=e                    čōbī        goš-ī        na  
 however much   question   do.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG   you know   say.NPST-3SG   no

However much they asked her; you know, she did not tell (lit. she said no).

### KD.f:56

*'nī*    *'hame*            *bād'sāh*    *'padā*    *ne'kā*        *kanī*  
 nī    ham=e            bādšāh    padā    nekā        kan-t=ī  
 now   EMPH=PROX   king        again    betrothal   do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Then, after this, this king married her.

### KD.f:57

*ne'kā*        *kanī*                    *'sīr*        *kā*            *'hame*  
 nekā        kan-t=ī                    sīr        kã-∅        ham=e  
 betrothal   do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG   wedding   do.NPST-3SG   EMPH=PROX

*ḡa'neka*    *gō*  
 ḡanek-a    gō  
 girl-OBL   with

He married her; he married this girl.

### KD.f:58

*'hame*            *ḡa'neka*    *'čōbī*        *'do*    *'say*    *'čok*  
 ham=e            ḡanek-a    čōbī        do    say    čok  
 EMPH=PROX   girl-OBL   you know   two   three   child

*'bīī*  
 b-īt=ī  
 become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

You know, this girl gave birth to two, three children (lit. there are two three children for this girl).

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:59**

'say	'čok	ke	'bī		'sōbe	'ṭēmā	bād'sāh
say	čok	ke	b-ī		sōb-e	ṭēm-ā	bādsāh
three	child	CLM	become.NPST-3SG		morning-GEN	time-OBL	king

'raw		ne'māza	'ā	'dēm	ne'māza	če	tar'rī
raw-∅		nemāz-a	ā	dēm	nemāz-a	če	tarr-ī
go.NPST-3SG		pray-OBL	DIST	face	pray-OBL	from	turn.NPST-3SG

'kay		neš'ta		'čoke	'gōn
k-ay-∅		nešt-a=∅		čok=e	gōn
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		child=PC.3SG	with

ā		grē'wag	ē
=ā		grēw-ag	=ē
=COP.NPST.3PL		cry.NPST-INF	=COP.NPST.3SG

When she had three sons, in the morning, the king went to pray; when he came back (lit. returns, comes) from there, prayer; [he saw that] she was sitting; her children were with her; she was crying.

**KD.f:60**

'ē	'lōge	'tāke	da'pa	če	'gōš	dārī
ē	lōg-e	tāk-e	dap-a	če	gōš	dār-ī
PROX	house-GEN	window-GEN	mouth-OBL	from	ear	hold.NPST-3SG

This one listened from [behind] the window.

**KD.f:61**

'gōš	dārī	grē'wag	ē
gōš	dār-ī	grēw-ag	=ē
ear	hold.NPST-3SG	cry.NPST-INF	=COP.NPST.3SG

He listened [and] she was crying.

**KD.f:62**

'ē	ke	'kay	gwa'zī	'lōga	ars'ā
ē	ke	k-ay-∅	gwaz-ī	lōg-a	ars-ā
PROX	CLM	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	pass.NPST-3SG	house-OBL	tear-OBL.PL

'pāk	kā	'nī	lag'gī	jos'ta	'šī
pāk	kā-∅	nī	lagg-ī	jost-a	š-ī
clean	do.NPST-3SG	now	start.NPST-3SG	question-OBL	say.NPST-3SG

'bogoš		'manī	'māta	'trā	ja'ta
bo-goš-∅		man-ī	māt-a	trā	jat-a
IMPV-say.NPST-2SG		PN.1SG-GEN	mother-OBL	PN.2SG.OBJ	hit.PST-PP

## A. Text Corpus

<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>bal'loka</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>kota</i>
habar	kot-a	ballok-a	trā	habar	kot-a
word	do.PST-PP	grandmother-OBL	PN.2SG.OBJ	word	do.PST-PP

<i>go'hāra</i>	<i>ma'nīngā</i>	<i>'harčiyā</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>kota</i>
gohār-a	manīng-ā	harčī-yā	trā	habar	kot-a
sister-OBL	mine-OBL	whatever-OBL	PN.2SG.OBJ	word	do.PST-PP

<i>'manā</i>	<i>'bogoš</i>
man-ā	bo-goš-∅
PN.1SG-OBJ	IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

When this one came (lit. comes, passes) into the house, she cleaned her tears; then he started to ask, he said, “Tell me, has my mother beaten you?; has she argued [with you]?; has my grandmother argued with you?; [has] my sister [argued with you]?; whatever [human being] has argued with you, tell me.”

### KD.f:63

<i>go'šī</i>	<i>'mana</i>	<i>'hečkasa</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>'nakota</i>
goš-ī	man-a	hečkas-a	habar	na-kot-a
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	no one-OBL	word	NEG-do.PST-PP

She said, “No one has argued with me.”

### KD.f:64

<i>go'šī</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>'hatman</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>parešā'nīye</i>	<i>tan'gīye</i>
goš-ī	trā	hatman	ya	parešānī=ye	tangī=ye
say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG.OBJ	sure	one	sadness=IND	trouble=IND

<i>'manā</i>	<i>'bogoš</i>
man-ā	bo-goš-∅
PN.1SG-OBJ	IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

He said, “For sure, you have a problem, [a] trouble (lit. there is a problem, sadness for you); tell me.”

### KD.f:65

<i>go'šī</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'heč</i>	<i>'dega</i>	<i>'nē</i>
goš-ī	man-ā	heč	dega	nē
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	anything	other	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'mana</i>	<i>za'hīr</i>	<i>kanag</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'otī</i>
man-a	zahīr	kan-ag	=ē	otī
PN.1SG-OBJ	homesickness	do.NPST-INF	=COP.NPST.3SG	REL.GEN

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

'pete            'māte            wās'tā  
 pet-e            māt-e            wāstā  
 father-GEN    mother-GEN    for the sake of

She said, “I do not have any problem; I miss my father and mother.”

**KD.f:66**

'šī                    'šarr    ē                                    'tī                    'pet    'kay  
 š-ī                    šarr    =ē                                    tī                    pet    kay  
 say.NPST-3SG    fine    =COP.NPST.3SG    PN.2SG.GEN    father    who

ē                                    'šī                    pe'lān            bād'sāh    ē  
 =ē                                    š-ī                    pelān            bādsāh    =ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG    say.NPST-3SG    so and so    king    =COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “Alright, who is your father?”; she said, “It is king so-and-so.”

**KD.f:67**

o'sī                    'ē            o                    'manī            dōs'tē            mar'domē    'to  
 oš-ī                    ē            =o                    man-ī            dōst-ē            mardom=ē    to  
 say.NPST-3SG    PROX    =FOC    PN.1SG-GEN    friend-ATTR    people=IND    PN.2SG

'goṛā    pē'sara    'čīye            wās'tā            'mana            'nagošta  
 goṛā    pēsara    čī-ye            wāstā            man-a            na-gošt-a  
 then    before    what-GEN    for the sake of    PN.1SG-OBJ    NEG-say.PST-PP

'berē                    'tra                    'barā  
 be-r-ē                    tra                    bar-ā  
 SBJV-go.NPST-1PL    PN.2SG.OBJ    take.NPST-1SG

He said, “This one is my friend, why haven’t you told me before?; let’s go; I will take you.”

**KD.f:68**

'goštī                    'šar    ē                                    'berē  
 gošt=ī                    šar    =ē                                    be-r-ē  
 say.PST=PC.3SG    fine    =COP.NPST.3SG    SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

She said, “Alright, let’s go.”

**KD.f:69**

'ē                    'odā    če                    'dar    kay  
 ē                    odā    če                    dar    k-ay-∅  
 PROX    there    from    PREV    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

This one left (lit. comes out) from there.

## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:70

<i>'dar</i>	<i>kay</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>bā...</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>'dega</i>
dar	k-ay-∅		ya	bā	ē	bādšāh	wat	dega
PREV	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	one	FRAG	PROX	king	REFL	other	

<i>naw'kare</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>	<i>go'lāme</i>	<i>zī'rī</i>	<i>gō̄</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'dega</i>
nawkar=e	čōbī	golām=e	zīr-ī	gō̄	=o	dega
servant=IND	you know	male slave=IND	take.NPST-3SG	with	=and	other

<i>ya</i>	<i>mol'lāe</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>mol'kīgī</i>	<i>zī'rī</i>
ya	mollā=e	ē	molk-īg-ī	zīr-ī
one	Mullah=IND	PROX	land-ADJZ-GEN	take.NPST-3SG

He left, one ki... this king, took a servant with him, you know, a slave, and he took a Mullah from that (lit. this) country.

### KD.f:71

<i>'ē</i>	<i>gen'dī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mol'lāe</i>	<i>'gōn ē</i>	<i>'ešīe</i>
ē	gend-ī	ke	mollā=e	gōn =ē	ešīe
PROX	see.NPST-3SG	CLM	Mullah=IND	with =COP.NPST.3SG	PROX.GEN

<i>'bas</i>	<i>'dele</i>	<i>na'pas</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>baz'zage</i>
bas	del-e	napas	raw-∅	bazzag-e
just	heart-GEN	breath	go.NPST-3SG	poor-GEN

When this one saw that a Mullah was with them, immediately she, the poor girl, got scared (lit. this one heart's breath goes).

### KD.f:72

<i>'raw</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'ōdā</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>kāyā</i>
raw-∅	nī	ōdā	če	dar	k-ā-yā
go.NPST-3SG	now	there	from	PREV	IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

<i>kā'yā</i>	<i>'sak</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'pete</i>	<i>'molk</i>	<i>'dīr</i>
k-ā-yā	sak	goš-ī	ē	pet-e	molk	dīr
IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	very	say.NPST-3SG	PROX	father-GEN	land	far

*ē*  
=ē  
=COP.NPST.3SG

She got scared (lit. goes); now they left from there; it is said this father's country was very far away.

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:73**

'ē	rā'ha	ba'yā	ya	'jāhīya	'šap
ē	rāh-a	bay-ā	ya	jāh=i-ya	šap
PROX	way-OBL	become.NPST-3PL	one	place=IND-OBL	night

ge'rīte	ša'pā	dā'rā
ger-īt=e	šap-ā	dār-ā
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL	night-OBL	hold.NPST-3PL

These were on their way; night fell at a [certain] place; they stopped overnight.

**KD.f:74**

ša'pā	dā'rā	'sōb	bī	'čōbī	mar'dom
šap-ā	dār-ā	sōb	b-ī	čōbī	mardom
night-OBL	hold.NPST-3PL	morning	become.NPST-3SG	you know	people

'hāl	kanā	go'sī	bād'sāh	bād'sāhe	'lōg	ja'nag
hāl	kan-ā	goš-ī	bād'sāh	bād'sāh-e	lōg	jan-ag
news	do.NPST-3PL	say.NPST-3SG	king	king-GEN	house	hit.NPST-INF

bītagā  
 bīt-ag=ā  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

They stopped overnight you know; it was in the morning; the people informed [the king]; [one of them] said, “Your majesty, there was a burglary in the king’s houses.

**KD.f:75**

bād'sāhe	'lōg	ja'nag	bītagā	'hamā
bād'sāh-e	lōg	jan-ag	bīt-ag=ā	ham=ā
king-GEN	house	hit.NPST-INF	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	EMPH=DIST

'marde	'mard	tar'rī	'goštī	mol'lāya
mard=e	mard	tarr-ī	gošt=ī	mollā-ya
husband=PC.3SG	husband	turn.NPST-3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	Mullah-OBL

go'sī	go'lāma	'goštī	ja'nēna
goš-ī	golām-a	gošt=ī	janēn-a
say.NPST-3SG	male slave-OBL	say.PST=PC.3SG	wife-OBL

'bare	pe'lān	'jāhā	ra'sēnete
∅-bar-e	pelān	jāh-ā	∅-rasēn-et=e
IMPV-take.NPST-2PL	so and so	place-OBL	IMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

## A. Text Corpus

'mā ra'wā̃  
 mā raw-ā̃  
 PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG

There was a burglary in the king's houses.”; that husband of hers, the husband came back; he said to the Mullah; he said to the slave; he said, “Take [my] wife to such and such a place; I will go [back].”

### KD.f:76

'ē ra'wā̃ ra'wā̃ 'dega ya men'zeleya dā'rā̃  
 ē raw-ā̃ raw-ā̃ dega ya menzel=e-ya dār-ā̃  
 PROX go.NPST-3PL go.NPST-3PL other one stop=IND-OBL hold.NPST-3PL

These kept going (lit.go [and] go), and stopped [at night] in another [certain] place.

### KD.f:77

dā'rā̃ šap bī  
 dār-ā̃ šap b-ī  
 hold.NPST-3PL night become.NPST-3SG

They stopped; it was night.

### KD.f:78

men'zeleyā dā'rā̃ 'nī 'kay bād'sāh...  
 menzel=e-yā dār-ā̃ nī k-ay-∅ bādšāh  
 stop=IND-OBL hold.NPST-3PL now IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG king

'šapā wap'sā̃ mol'lā 'kay ja'nēne  
 šap-ā̃ waps-ā̃ mollā k-ay-∅ janēn-e  
 night-OBL sleep.NPST-3PL Mullah IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG woman-GEN

ker'rā̃  
 kerrā̃  
 beside

They stopped in a [certain] place, you know; the king came... they slept at night; the Mullah came to the woman.

### KD.f:79

'nī 'oštī 'manā 'bel  
 nī ošt=ī man-ā̃ b-el-∅  
 now say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-allow.NPST-2SG

You know, he said, “Allow me.”

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:80**

*ja'nēn go'sī 'na na'zīka 'mayā*  
 janēn goš-ī na nazīk-a may-ā-∅  
 woman say.NPST-3SG no near-OBL PROH-come.NPST-3SG

*'goštī 'tī 'čoka ko'sā̃ go'sī*  
 gošt=ī tī čok-a koš-ā̃ goš-ī  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG.GEN child-OBL kill.NPST-1SG say.NPST-3SG

*'hanī 'bekošī*  
 hanī be-koš-∅=ī  
 right now SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

The woman said, “No, do not come close [to me].”; he said, “I will kill your child.”; she said, “Kill him right now.”

**KD.f:81**

*ya 'čoke ko'sītī*  
 ya čok=e koš-īt=ī  
 one child=PC.3SG kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

He killed one of her children.

**KD.f:82**

*'čoke ke ko'sītī 'kay do'mī*  
 čok=e ke koš-īt=ī k-ay-∅ do-mī  
 child=PC.3SG CLM kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG two-ORD

*men'zela*  
 menzel-a  
 stop-OBL

When he had killed (lit. kills) her child, he came to the second stop.

**KD.f:83**

*do'mī men'zela 'hančō 'padā 'čē 'kantī 'padā*  
 do-mī menzel-a hančō padā čē kan-t=ī padā  
 two-ORD stop-OBL like this again what do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG again

*'dege 'čokī ko'sī 'manī ġay'rata čē...*  
 dege čok=ī koš-ī man-ī ġayrat-a čē  
 another child=PC.3SG kill.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN honour-OBL from

*'mana 'otī ġay'rat dōst'ter ē ča*  
 man-a otī ġayrat dōst-ter =ē ča  
 PN.1SG-OBJ REL.GEN honour friend-CMP =COP.NPST.3SG from

## A. Text Corpus

č'o'kã  
 čok-ã  
 child-OBL.PL

At the second stop, again he did what... again he killed another child of hers; [she said] “Because of my honour, I love my honour more than my children.”

### KD.f:84

'padā	'kay	say'mī	men'zela	say'mī	'čokā
padā	k-ay-∅	say-mī	menzel-a	say-mī	čok-ā
again	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	three-ORD	stop-OBL	three-ORD	child-OBL

ko'sītī  
 koš-īt=ī  
 kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Again they (lit. he) came to the third stop; he killed her third son.

### KD.f:85

'nī	bī	čār'mī	men'zel
nī	b-ī	čār-mī	menzel
now	become.NPST-3SG	four-ORD	stop

Then it was the fourth stop.

### KD.f:86

'nī	'drō	moč'čẽ	wap'tagã	'nī
nī	drō	močč-ẽ	wapt-ag=ã	nī
now	all	all-ATTR	sleep.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	now

'kay	'ešīe	gwa'rā	'goštī	'šarr
k-ay-∅	ešīe	gwarā	gošt=ī	šarr
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	PROX.GEN	by	say.PST=PC.3SG	fine

ẽ	'ta	'waps	'mã	ra'wã...
=ẽ	ta	∅-waps-∅	mã	raw-ã
=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG	IMPV-sleep.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	go.NPST-1SG

'mã	kã'yã	'hanī	'manī	jã'hãnī	sa'rã
mã	k-ã-yã	hanī	man-ī	jãh-ãnī	sarã
PN.1SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG	right now	PN.1SG-GEN	place-GEN.PL	on

'waps	'mã	'hanī	kã'yã
∅-waps-∅	mã	hanī	k-ã-yã
IMPV-sleep.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	right now	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

Now everyone was asleep you know; then he came near her; she said, “Alright, you

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

lie down, I will go... I will come; now lie down in my bed; I will come right now.”

**KD.f:87**

'ē	ja'nēn	'čōbī	'dar	kay		
ē	janēn	čōbī	dar	k-ay-∅		
PROX	woman	you know	PREV	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		

You know, this woman went (lit. comes) out.

**KD.f:88**

'ē	ja'nēn	'dar	kay		'rawt	'otī
ē	janēn	dar	k-ay-∅		raw-t	otī
PROX	woman	PREV	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		go.NPST-3SG	REL.GEN

'sarā	zī'rī
sar-ā	zīr-ī
head-OBL	take.NPST-3SG

This woman went (lit. comes) out [and] went all alone (lit. takes her head and goes).

**KD.f:89**

'rawt	'rawt	'dā	ya	'molkē	ge'rī	'āda
raw-t	raw-t	dā	ya	molk=ē	ger-ī	āda
go.NPST-3SG	go.NPST-3SG	until	one	land=IND	take.NPST-3SG	there

'pād	'kay	'sōbā	'nī	go'lāmā	'dāke	'ā
pād	k-ay-∅	sōb-ā	nī	golām-ā	dāke	ā
foot	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	morning-OBL	now	male slave-OBL	then	DIST

dege	'drō	o'sī	mol'lā	go'sī	'byāe
dege	drō	oš-ī	mollā	goš-ī	by-ā-e
other	all	say.NPST-3SG	Mullah	say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2PL

do'sī	'say	mēn'zela	'say	'čok	bād'sāhe	jen'nā
došī	say	mēnzela-a	say	čok	bādšāh-e	jenn-ā
last night	three	stop-OBL	three	child	king-GEN	genie-OBL.PL

gay'bā	koš'tagā	mar'čī	'jende	bor'ta
gayb-ā	košt-ag-ā	marčī	jend=e	bort-a
fairy-OBL.PL	kill.PST-PP-3PL	today	self=PC.3PL	take.PST-PP

She kept going (lit.goes, goes) until she arrived (lit. takes) in a country; there in the morning, they (lit. he) got up; it is said; the Mullah said, to the slave, you know, the others, all, the Mullah said, “Look, last night... , at three [nightly] stops, the genii, the fairies have killed the king’s three children [and] today they have taken her herself.”

## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:90

'nī 'ē ja'nēn 'padā 'ā dega'rā̃ 'gap 'nakā  
 nī ē janēn padā ā degar-ā̃ gap na-kā-Ø  
 now PROX woman again DIST other-OBL.PL talk NEG-do.NPST-3SG

Well, again this woman did not tell the others.

### KD.f:91

'dāke 'ē janēn 'kay 'kay ya  
 dāke ē janēn k-ay-Ø k-ay-Ø ya  
 you know PROX woman IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG one

'čātē 'bī 'ēr kapī 'čāte tō'kā  
 čāt=ē b-ī ēr kap-ī čāt-e tōkā  
 well=IND become.NPST-3SG PREV fall.NPST-3SG well-GEN in

o'tī 'sāyā dā'rī  
 o'tī sā-yā dār-ī  
 REL.GEN breath-OBL hold.NPST-3SG

Then, this woman kept coming (lit.comes, comes); there was a well; she went inside the well; she saved herself (lit. she holds her breath).

### KD.f:92

dā'rī 'dāke 'sōb 'bī 'ā 'nī  
 dār-ī dāke sōb b-ī ā nī  
 hold.NPST-3SG until morning become.NPST-3SG DIST now

čā'rā 'sar 'sar ja'nā ja'nā  
 čār-ā sar sar jan-ā jan-ā  
 look.NPST-3PL head head hit.NPST-3PL hit.NPST-3PL

'nagendantī  
 na-gend-ant=ī  
 NEG-see.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

She hid [herself] until it was morning, you know; those looked; they kept looking for [her] (lit. look, look), [but] they did not find her.

### KD.f:93

'nī 'sōb 'bī 'kay ya ra'magīyē  
 nī sōb b-ī k-ay-Ø ya ramagī=yē  
 now morning become.NPST-3SG IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG one shepherd=IND

Then, in the morning (lit. it becomes morning), a shepherd came.

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:94**

*ya ra'magīyē 'kay čā'rī 'ēdā 'čāte*  
*ya ramagī=yē k-ay-∅ čār-ī ēdā čāt-e*  
 one shepherd=IND IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG look.NPST-3SG here well-GEN

*tō'kā mar'domē neš'ta*  
*tōkā mardom=ē nešt-a=∅*  
 in people=IND sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

A shepherd came, he looked [and saw that] a person was sitting there (lit. here) inside the well.

**KD.f:95**

*'nī sa'rok kā čā'rī 'jostī*  
*nī sar-ok kā-∅ čār-ī jost=ī*  
 now head-DIM do.NPST-3SG look.NPST-3SG question=PC.3SG

*kā go'sī 'to čō'nēne ay*  
*kā-∅ goš-ī to čōn-ēn=e =ay*  
 do.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG what kind-ATTR=IND =COP.NPST.2SG

*'goštī 'mā an'čē mar'dome en'sānē*  
*gošt=ī mā ančē mardom=e ensān=ē*  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG such.ATTR people=IND human=IND

*ā*  
*=ā*  
 =COP.NPST.1SG

You know, he looked [inside the well]; he looked; he asked her; he said, “What are you?”; she said, “I am such a person, a human.”

**KD.f:96**

*'šī 'šarr ē 'tra 'māt o go'hār*  
*š-ī šarr =ē tra māt =o gohār*  
 say.NPST-3SG fine =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG.OBJ mother =and sister

*mar'dom ha 'ē rama'gī go'sī 'drō*  
*mardom ha=∅ ē ramagī goš-ī drō*  
 people be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG PROX shepherd say.NPST-3SG all

*'manā ha*  
*man-ā ha=∅*  
 PN.1SG-OBJ be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

She said, “Fine, do you have a mother, sister, relative?”; this shepherd said, “I have all of them.”



A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:102**

<i>'hame</i>	<i>ya'kē</i>	<i>bā'zār</i>	<i>ē</i>
ham=e	yak-ē	bāzār	=ē
EMPH=PROX	one-ATTR	market place	=COP.NPST.3SG

It was in the same town.

**KD.f:103**

<i>'hame</i>	<i>bā'zāra</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>bal'loke</i>
ham=e	bāzār-a	nī	raw-∅	ballok-e
EMPH=PROX	market place-OBL	now	go.NPST-3SG	grandmother-GEN

<i>ker'rā</i>	<i>bal'loka</i>	<i>dā'rītī</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'bīs</i>	<i>'šap</i>
kerrā	ballok-a	dār-it=ī	nī	bīs	šap
beside	grandmother-OBL	hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	now	twenty	night

In the same town, [now] she went to the old lady; the old lady took care of her, you know, [for] twenty nights.

**KD.f:104**

<i>'ā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>kā'yā</i>	<i>ra'sā</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>
ā	hā	dāke	k-ā-yā	ras-ā	čōbī
DIST	ADD	then	IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	arrive.NPST-3PL	you know

<i>'hame</i>	<i>bād'sāhe</i>	<i>mē'tagā</i>	<i>'mard</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>go'lām</i>	<i>'padā</i>
ham=e	bādśāh-e	mētag-ā	mard	ham	golām	padā
EMPH=PROX	king-GEN	village-OBL	man	ADD	male slave	again

<i>'mard</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>tarre'tā</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'dega</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>'drō</i>	<i>'padā</i>
mard	padā	tarret-ā	ā	dega	mollā	drō	padā
husband	again	turn.PST-3PL	DIST	other	Mullah	all	again

<i>kā'yā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'pete</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>'ē</i>
k-ā-yā	ē	pet-e	lōg-ā	ē
IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	PROX	father-GEN	house-OBL	PROX

<i>'nagošā</i>	<i>'odā</i>	<i>'nām</i>	<i>'nagerī</i>	<i>'mard</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'mā</i>
na-goš-ā	odā	nām	na-ger-ī	mard	ke	mā
NEG-say.NPST-3PL	there	name	NEG-take.NPST-3SG	husband	CLM	PN.1SG

<i>'čīye</i>	<i>wās'tā...</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>tar'raga</i>
čī-ye	wāstā	š-ī	mā	wat	tarr-ag-a
what-GEN	for the sake of	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	REFL	turn.NPST-INF-OBL

## A. Text Corpus

*at'kagē*  
 atk-ag=ē  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL

When they arrived (lit.come [and] arrive) you know in this king's place, the husband, the slave then the husband came back; that other Mullah [came back]; everyone, they came to this father's house; these did not say [anything] there; the husband did not mention why they (lit. we) [had come]... he said, "We ourselves have come to pay a visit."

### KD.f:105

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>tar'raga</i>	<i>at'kagē</i>
š-ī	mā	tarr-ag-a	atk-ag=ē
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	turn.NPST-INF-OBL	come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL

He said, "We have come to pay a visit."

### KD.f:106

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'šap</i>	<i>bī</i>
nī	šap	b-ī
now	night	become.NPST-3SG

Then it became night.

### KD.f:107

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'goštī...</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>lōṭā'enī</i>	<i>saj'jēn</i>
nī	gošt=ī	ham=ā	bādsāh	lōṭāēn-ī	sajjēn
now	say.PST=PC.3SG	EMPH=DIST	king	call.NPST-3SG	all.ATTR

<i>mē'tage</i>	<i>bā'zāre</i>	<i>mardo'mā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
mētag-e	bāzār-e	mardom-ā	goš-ī
village-GEN	market place-GEN	people-OBL.PL	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'byāe</i>	<i>kes'saw</i>	<i>'jane</i>
by-ā-e	kessaw	∅-jan-e
IMPV-come.NPST-2PL	story	IMPV-hit.NPST-2PL

Then he said... that king called all the people of the village, the town, [and] said, "Come [and] tell stories.

### KD.f:108

<i>'byāe</i>	<i>kes'saw</i>	<i>'jane</i>	<i>'nī</i>
by-ā-e	kessaw	∅-jan-e	nī
IMPV-come.NPST-2PL	story	IMPV-hit.NPST-2PL	now

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

<i>'hamešē</i>		<i>saj'jēn</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>rom'bā</i>		
ham=eš=ē		sajjēn	mardom	romb-ā		
EMPH=PROX=COP.NPST.3SG		all.ATTR	people	move in group.NPST-3PL		

<i>ra'wā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'janek</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'ballo</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'hā</i>
raw-ā	ē	janek	goš-ī	ballo	mā	hā
go.NPST-3PL	PROX	girl	say.NPST-3SG	grandmother	PN.1SG	ADD

*ra'wā*  
raw-ā  
go.NPST-1SG

Come [and] tell stories”. Well, all the people went in [large] groups; this girl said, “Grandmother, I will go too.”

**KD.f:109**

<i>'sī</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>ja'nēnē</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o'sī</i>
š-ī	to	janēn=ē	=e	oš-ī
say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	woman=IND	=COP.NPST.2SG	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'mā</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>nemā'sage</i>	<i>go'dā</i>	<i>'de</i>
mā	otī	nemāsag-e	god-ā	Ø-de-Ø
EMPH.DIST	REL.GEN	grandson-GEN	cloth-OBL.PL	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

<i>mardē'nīya</i>	<i>'per</i>	<i>kanā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>
mardēn-ī-ya	per	kan-ā	mā	hā	raw-ā
man-ADJZ-OBL	PREV	do.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG	ADD	go.NPST-1SG

<i>'manā</i>	<i>han'čē</i>	<i>kes'sawē</i>	<i>'hastē</i>
man-ā	hančē	kessaw=ē	hast=ē
PN.1SG-OBJ	such.ATTR	story=IND	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

She said, “You are a girl (lit. woman)”; she said, “Give me those clothes of your grandson ; I will dress up as a man [and] go too; I have such a story (lit. there is such a story for me).”

**KD.f:110**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>mardēnī'ē</i>	<i>go'dā</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>kā</i>
ē	mardēn-ī-ē	god-ā	gwarā	kā-Ø
PROX	man-ADJZ-ATTR	cloth-OBL.PL	on	do.NPST-3SG

This one dressed up as a man.

## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:111

*gwa'rā kā 'raw*  
*gwarā kā-∅ raw-∅*  
 on do.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG

She dressed up [and] went.

### KD.f:112

*'raw saǰǰē mar'dom 'otī kessa'wā ǰa'nā*  
*raw-∅ saǰǰē mardom otī kessaw-ā ǰan-ā*  
 go.NPST-3SG all.ATTR people REL.GEN story-OBL.PL hit.NPST-3PL

*'nī āke'rī na'par bī 'goštī 'sabr*  
*nī āker-ī napar b-ī gošt=ī sabr*  
 now end-ATTR person become.NPST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG patience

*kanet tā ya'barē 'mā hā ya kes'sawē*  
*∅-kan-et tā yabar=ē mā hā ya kessaw=ē*  
 IMPV-do.NPST-2PL until moment=IND PN.1SG ADD one story=IND

*ǰa'nā 'harkasā ke 'pād āya'gīē*  
*ǰan-ā harkas-ā ke pād ā-yag-ī=ē*  
 hit.NPST-1SG whoever-OBL CLM foot come.NPST-INF-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

*'hanī 'pād 'byāyet ta 'mā ke kes'sawē*  
*hanī pād by-ā-yet ta mā ke kessaw-e*  
 right now foot IMPV-come.NPST-2PL when PN.1SG CLM story-GEN

*kaš'saga lag'getā 'heč 'kasā eǰā'za*  
*kašš-ag-a lagget-ā heč kas-ā eǰāza*  
 pull.NPST-INF-OBL beat.PT-1SG anything person-OBL permission

*'nēstē 'pād byāyā 'pād*  
*nēst=ē pād by-ā-yā pād*  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG foot SBJV-come.NPST-3PL foot

*'mayāyā*  
*may-ā-yā*  
 PROH-come.NPST-3PL

She went; all the people told their stories; then she was the last person; she said, “Wait for a moment; I will tell a story too; whoever wants to leave, leave right now [since] when I start to tell the story no one is allowed to stand up [and leave]; they should not stand up [and leave].”

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:113**

*bād'sāhā 'mardā 'petā 'čōbī 'goštī 'pād*  
*bād'sāh-ā mard-ā pet-ā čōbī gošt=ī pād*  
 king-OBL man-OBL father-OBL you know say.PST=PC.3SG foot

*ā'yag 'heč 'kasa eĵā'za 'nē*  
*ā-yag heč kas-a eĵāza nē*  
 come.NPST-INF anything person-OBL permission NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

*ham'ešī 'pet ē'lām kā 'harkasā 'pād*  
*ham=ešī pet ēlām kā-∅ harkas-ā pād*  
 EMPH=PROX.GEN father announcement do.NPST-3SG whoever-OBL foot

*ā'yagīē 'hanī 'pād ay*  
*ā-yag-ī=ē hanī pād ∅-ay-∅*  
 come.NPST-INF-ADJZ=COP.NPST.3SG right now foot SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

*'pād 'nayay 'randā 'pād ā'yag*  
*pād nay-ay-∅ randā pād ā-yag*  
 foot NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-3SG after foot come.NPST-INF

*'nē 'nī 'hamē do'ē mollā*  
*nē nī ham=ē do-ē mollā*  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG now EMPH=PROX two-ATTR Mullah

*neš'tagā 'nī 'watī kes'sawe 'otī sa'ra*  
*nešt-ag=ā nī wat-ī kessaw-e otī sara*  
 sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL now REFL-GEN story-GEN REL.GEN on

*at'kag e 'nī lag'gī kaš'saga*  
*atk-ag=∅ e nī lagg-ī kašš-ag-a*  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX now start.NPST-3SG pull.NPST-INF-OBL

You know, the king, the husband, the father said, “No one is allowed to leave.”; you know, well, her father declared, “Whoever wants to leave should leave right now [if] he doesn't leave [right now], later he won't be allowed to leave (lit. there is no standing up).”; you know, now these two Mullahs were sitting [there]; then she started to tell her story, [what] had happened to her.

**KD.f:114**

*'goštī 'rōčē rōz'gāre 'bī ya bād'sāhē*  
*gošt=ī rōč=ē rōzgār=e bī-∅ ya bād'sāh=ē*  
 say.PST=PC.3SG day=IND time=IND become.PST-3SG one king=IND

She said, “Once upon a time (lit. there was a day, a time), there was a king.

## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:115

*bād'sāha bī'ta* *'hapt mar'dē 'čok ya*  
*bād'sāh-a bīt-a=∅* *hapt mardēčok ya*  
 king-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG seven son one

*ja'nē 'čokē,*  
*janēčok=ē*  
 daughter=IND

The king had seven sons [and] one daughter.

### KD.f:116

*'ē ja'nek 'heča po 'šāhte*  
*ē janek heč-a po šāht=e*  
 PROX girl anything-OBL for happy=PC.3SG

*'nabūta* *'ē ja'nek na'yāpt*  
*na-bīt-a=∅* *ē janek nayāpt*  
 NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX girl valuable

*bī'tagī*  
*bīt-ag=ī*  
 become.PST-PP=PC.3SG

He was very protective (lit. he is not happy for anything); this girl was an only child (lit. valuable) to him.

### KD.f:117

*'ē šo'ta mol'lāe ker'rā*  
*ē šot-a=∅ mollā-e kerrā*  
 PROX go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Mullah-GEN beside

*nen'dēntī*  
*nendēn-t=ī*  
 place.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

This one went (lit. has gone) [and] placed her at the Mullah's [to study].

### KD.f:118

*'ē mol'lāya bor'ta... han'čē ze'reng*  
*ē mollā-ya bort-a hančē zereng*  
 PROX Mullah-OBL take.PST-PP such.ATTR clever

*būta* *dros'tē šāger'dā če*  
*bīt-a=∅* *drost-ē šāgerd-ā če*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG all-ATTR student-OBL.PL from



## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:121

'dāke dā... hap'tagē ta'pīg bīta  
 dāke dā haptag=ē tapīg bīt-a=∅  
 until until week=IND feverish become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

You know, until... she got (lit. has been) a fever for a week.

### KD.f:122

'padā 'māta ha'bar kota 'nī bād'sāh hay'rā  
 padā māt-a habar kot-a nī bādšāh hayrā  
 again mother-OBL word do.PST-PP now king wondering

bī ē pa 'manī 'sarā kes'saw  
 bī-∅ ē pa man-ī sar-ā kessaw  
 become.PST-3SG PROX for PN.1SG-GEN head-OBL story

'jatī 'ā mol'lā 'hanī lar'zagē  
 jat=ī ā mollā hanī larz-ag=ē  
 hit.PST=PC.3SG DIST Mullah now tremble.NPST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

de'lāp ē  
 delāp =ē  
 scared =COP.NPST.3SG

Again, the mother talked (lit. has talked); then the king was wondering, [thinking that] this one was telling about him; now that Mullah was trembling; he was scared.

### KD.f:123

'nī 'padā 'bītī... 'goštī 'padā 'peta  
 nī padā bīt=ī gošt=ī padā pet-a  
 now again become.PST=PC.3SG say.PST=PC.3SG again father-OBL

bor'ta  
 bort-a  
 take.PST-PP

You know, it happened like this...; [the mother] told [the father to take the girl to the Mullah and] again the father took (lit. has taken) her.

### KD.f:124

'padā do'bāre 'hančo mol'lāha sa'bak 'nadāta 'hančō  
 padā dobāre hančo mollā-ha sabak na-dāt-a hančō  
 again again like this Mullah-OBL lesson NEG-give.PST-PP like this

baz'zag āzī'yat kota 'hančō gep'tagī 'padā  
 bazzag āzīyat kot-a hančō gept-ag=ī padā  
 miserable bothering do.PST-PP like this take.PST-PP=PC.3SG again



## A. Text Corpus

<i>mardě'čokã</i>	<i>'goštī</i>	<i>'bareti</i>	<i>pe'lã</i>
marděčok-ã	gošt=ī	∅-bar-et=ī	pelã
son-OBL.PL	say.PST=PC.3SG	IMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG	so and so

<i>'jāha</i>	<i>'koše</i>	<i>'dawr</i>	<i>dayeti</i>
jāh-a	∅-koš-e	dawr	∅-day-et=ī
place-OBL	IMPV-kill.NPST-2PL	throwing	IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

<i>ṭela'gã</i>	<i>'kašše</i>	<i>'byāre</i>	<i>'manā</i>
ṭelag-ã	∅-kašš-e	by-ār-e	man-ā
eye-OBL.PL	IMPV-pull.NPST-2PL	IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL	PN.1SG-OBJ

*day'eti*  
 ∅-da-yet=ī  
 IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

You know, this one gave (lit. has given) the girl to his sons; he said “Take her to such and such place, kill her [and] throw away [her body]; pull out her eyes; bring [and] give them to me.”

### KD.f:126

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>bor'ta</i>	<i>'hameš</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>
ē	janek	bort-a	ham=eš	=ē	ē	janek
PROX	girl	take.PST-PP	EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	girl

<i>brā'tã</i>	<i>'šāht</i>	<i>'nabīta</i>
brāt-ã	šāht	na-bīt-a=∅
brother-OBL.PL	happy	NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They took this girl; you know, the brothers were very protective (lit. have not been happy) of this girl.

### KD.f:127

<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>'šāht</i>	<i>'nabīta</i>	<i>brā'tã</i>
janek	šāht	na-bīt-a=∅	brāt-ã
girl	happy	NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	brother-OBL.PL

<i>'hameš</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>brā'tã</i>	<i>bor'ta</i>	<i>ya'las</i>
ham=eš	=ē	brāt-ã	bort-a	yalas
EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG	brother-OBL.PL	take.PST-PP	released

<i>dā'ta</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>ko'narēe</i>	<i>čē'rā</i>
dāt-a	yak	konar=ē-e	čērā
give.PST-PP	one	Jujube=IND-GEN	under

The brothers were very protective (lit. have not been happy) of the girl; well the brothers left (lit. have taken [and] have released) her under a Jujube-tree.

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:128**

'brāt 'wat tat'kā šota'gā.  
brāt wat tatk-ā šot-ag=ā  
brother REFL run.PST-3PL go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

The brothers themselves ran away (lit. ran, have gone).

**KD.f:129**

ja'nek 'hameš ě bor'ta 'hamōdā 'dawr  
janek ham=eš =ě bort-a ham=ōdā dawr  
girl EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG take.PST-PP EMPH=there throwing

dā'tagī 'čōbī ya'las dā'tagī 'wat  
dāt-ag=ī čōbī yalas dāt-ag=ī wat  
give.PST-PP=PC.3PL you know released give.PST-PP=PC.3PL REFL

šota'gā tat'kā 'brāt 'padā 'otī 'molkā  
šot-ag=ā tatk-ā brāt padā otī molk-ā  
go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL run.PST-3PL brother again REL.GEN land-OBL

'peta 'hameš ě goš'ta ke em...  
pet-a ham=eš =ě gošt-a ke em  
father-OBL EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG say.PST-PP CLM FRAG

You know, they took (lit. has taken) the girl [and] left (lit. have thrown away) her there; you know, they released (lit. have released) her [and] they themselves went away (lit. have gone, ran) to their town; the brothers, you know, they told /that/,...

**KD.f:130**

'nī 'hameš ě 'dawr dā'tae  
nī ham=eš =ě dawr dāt-a=e  
now EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG throwing give.PST-PP=PC.3PL

'čōbī 'brāt šo'tagā  
čōbī brāt šot-ag=ā  
you know brother go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

You know, they left her (lit. have thrown her away); you know, the brothers went away (lit. have gone).

**KD.f:131**

'brāt šo'tagā 'randā 'hameš ě  
brāt šot-ag=ā randā ham=eš =ě  
brother go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL after EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG

## A. Text Corpus

'ē	ja'nek	'hamodā	'hamē	ko'nare	čē'ra
ē	janek	ham=odā	ham=ē	konar-e	čēra
PROX	girl	EMPH=there	EMPH=PROX	Jujube-GEN	under

*bī'ta*

bīt-a=∅

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

The brothers went away (lit. have gone); well after that, this girl was (lit. has been) there under this Jujube-tree.

### KD.f:132

<i>bī'ta</i>		'dāke	'hamīngo	baz'zag
bīt-a=∅		dāke	ham=īngo	bazzag
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	until	EMPH=here	miserable	

<i>bī'ta</i>	āzī'yat	<i>bī'ta</i>
bīt-a=∅	āzīyat	bīt-a=∅
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	bothering	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'ešī	jāna	'god	der'tagā	'sarī	'pōnĵ	pa'lānĵ
ešī	jān-a	god	dert-ag-ā	sar=ī	pōnĵ	palānĵ
PROX.GEN	body-OBL	cloth	tear.PST-PP-3PL	head=PC.3SG	untidy	echo

<i>bī'tagī</i>	'randā	ke	'nī	'dega	'molkēa	čē
bīt-ag=ī	randā	ke	nī	dega	molk=ē-a	čē
become.PST-PP=PC.3SG	after	CLM	now	other	land=IND-OBL	from

<i>bād'sāh</i>	at'ka		ko'nare	čē'ra	ya	mar'domē
bād'sāh	atk-a=∅		konar-e	čēra	ya	mardom=ē
king	come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	Jujube-GEN	under	one	people=IND	

<i>pū'rō</i>	tar'ragē		'ešīa	'dīr	dī'ta
pūrō	tarr-ag=ē		ešīa	dīr	dīt-a
real	turn.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX.OBL	far	see.PST-PP	

<i>čāre'ta</i>	'padā	šo'ta
čāret-a	padā	šot-a=∅
look.PST-PP	again	go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

She was (lit. has been) [there] and (lit. until) she was (lit. has been) sad; she was (lit. has been) in trouble, [and] her clothes were torn (lit. have been), her hair was (lit. has been) untidy, you know; after a while, a king from another country came (lit. has come) [and saw that] a real human being was walking around under the Jujube-tree; this one saw (lit. has seen) [this] from afar, looked (lit. has looked); after that he went (lit. has gone).

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:133**

<i>šo'ta</i>		<i>'oī</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>'hameš</i>
šot-a=Ø		otī	lōg-ā	ham=eš
go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		REL.GEN	house-OBL	EMPH=PROX

<i>ē</i>	<i>wa'rag</i>	<i>ma'rag</i>	<i>'aḏī</i>	<i>kota</i>
=ē	warag	marag	aḏ=ī	kot-a
=COP.NPST.3SG	food	echo	make=PC.3SG	do.PST-PP

*āwor'tagī*  
 āwort-ag=ī  
 bring.PST-PP=PC.3SG

He went (lit. has gone) to his house, you know; he cooked (lit. has cooked) some food [and] brought (lit. has brought) [it].

**KD.f:134**

<i>āwor'ta</i>	<i>'ērī</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>ko'nare</i>	<i>čērā</i>	<i>'wat</i>
āwort-a	ēr=ī	kot-a	konar-e	čērā	wat
bring.PST-PP	PREV=PC.3SG	do.PST-PP	Jujube-GEN	under	REFL

*lappe'ta*  
 lappet-a  
 hide.PST-PP

He brought (lit. has brought) [it]; left (lit. has left) [it] under the Jujube-tree [and] he himself hid (lit. has hidden).

**KD.f:135**

<i>lappe'ta</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>zor'ta</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ko'nar...</i>	<i>'ē</i>
lappet-a	nī	ē	bādšāh	zort-a	ē	konar	ē
hide.PST-PP	now	PROX	king	take.PST-PP	PROX	Jujube	PROX

<i>šo'ta</i>		<i>wara'gānī</i>	<i>ker'rā</i>	<i>ī'rānī</i>	<i>'pāč</i>
šot-a=Ø		warag-ānī	kerrā	īrān=ī	pāč
go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		food-GEN.PL	beside	dish=PC.3SG	open

<i>kota</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'lāle</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>māte</i>	<i>'pete</i>
kot-a	š-ī	lāle	man-ī	māt-e	pet-e
do.PST-PP	say.NPST-3SG	brother	PN.1SG-GEN	mother-GEN	father-GEN

<i>'baṭṭ ā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'našamoštagā</i>
baṭṭ =ā	mā	na-šamošt-ag=ā
rice	=COP.NPST.3PL	PN.1SG NEG-forget.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

He hid (lit. has hidden); then, this king took (lit. has taken) this Jujube-tree... this one went (lit. has gone) towards the food, opened (lit. has opened) the dish [and]

## A. Text Corpus

said, “Oh my dear, (lit.brother), I haven’t forgotten my mother’s, father’s rice .”

### KD.f:136

<i>'pade</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'hameš</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>
pade	nī	ham=eš	=ē	ē	bādšāh
again	now	EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	king

*'kay*

k-ay-∅

IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

Again, you know, this king came.

### KD.f:137

<i>ge'rītī</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'jost</i>	<i>kantē</i>
ger-īt-ī	nī	bādšāh	jost	kan-t=ē
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	now	king	question	do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>čō'nē</i>	<i>'kasē</i>	<i>e</i>
goš-ī	taw	čōn-ē	kas=ē	=e
say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	what kind-ATTR	person=IND	=COP.NPST.2SG

<i>'bogoš</i>	<i>o'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>en'sānē</i>
bo-goš-∅	oš-ī	mā	mardom=ē	ensān=ē
IMPV-say.NPST-2SG	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	people=IND	human=IND

*ā*

=ā

=COP.NPST.1SG

He captured her; then the king asked her, he said, “Who are you? tell me”; she said, “I am a person, a human.”

### KD.f:138

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>'berē</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>
š-ī	goṛā	be-r-ē	mā	ta-rā
say.NPST-3SG	then	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	PN.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ

*ba'rā*

bar-ā

take.NPST-1SG

He said, “Then let’s go; I will take you [with me].”

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:139**

'hameš            ē                            zīr'tīī  
ham=eš            =ē                            zīr-it=ī  
EMPH=PROX    =COP.NPST.3SG    take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

'bārī                            'otī            bal'loka...            bal'lokē  
bār-t=ī                            otī            ballok-a            ballok=ē  
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    REL.GEN    grandmother-OBL    grandmother=PC.3SG

'dante                            'goštī                            'ballo            'to  
dan-t=e                            gošt=ī                            ballo            to  
give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    say.PST=PC.3SG    grandmother    PN.2SG

'dārī  
Ø-dār-Ø=ī  
IMPV-hold.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

Well he took her with him [lit. he takes and brings) to his grandmother...; he gave her to his grandmother [to take care of her]; he said, “Grandmother, take care of her.

**KD.f:140**

'ešīā                            'dār                            'dāke    maz'zan...            'čī  
ešīā                            Ø-dār-Ø                            dāke    mazzan            čī  
PROX.OBL    IMPV-hold.NPST-2SG    until    big            FRAG

kanay...                            'eš            bal'loke                            gwa'rā    bī  
Ø-kan-ay                            eš            ballok-e                            gwarā    b-ī  
SBJV-do.NPST-2SG    PROX    grandmother-GEN    by            become.NPST-3SG

dā'rīī    bal'lok                            šō'dīte                            'jān  
dār-it=ī    ballok                            šōd-it=e                            jān  
hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    grandmother    wash.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    body

'māna            'sar    'mara            ran'dīī    baz'zag    'nī    'jos  
mān-a            sar    mar-a            rand-it=ī    bazzag    nī    jos  
echo-OBL    head    echo-OBL    comb.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    poor    now    question

'pors            kante    bal'lokā                            gō    'nagošī  
pors            kan-t=e    ballok-ā                            gō    na-goš-ī  
question    do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    grandmother-OBL    with    NEG-say.NPST-3SG

ke    'mā            pelā'nīe    'čok    ā    bād'sāh  
ke    mā            pelān-ī-e    čok    =ā    bādšāh  
CLM    PN.1SG    so and so-NMLZ-GEN    child    =COP.NPST.1SG    king

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'josī</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>bā'zārī</i>	<i>'jos</i>
jost=ī	kā-∅	mardom	bāzār=ī	jos
question=PC.3SG	do.NPST-3SG	people	market place=PC.3SG	question

<i>kanā</i>	<i>'eš</i>	<i>'asan</i>	<i>'namannī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'mā</i>
kan-ā	eš	asan	na-mann-ī	ke	mā
do.NPST-3PL	PROX	actually	NEG-accept.NPST-3SG	CLM	PN.1SG

<i>'kaye</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>ā</i>
kay-e	čok	=ā
who-GEN	child	=COP.NPST.1SG

Take care of this one until she grows... what should..." This one was with the grandmother; she took care of her; the grandmother washed her body, [and] she combed her hair (lit. head), the poor one, then she asked the girl [who she was]; she did not tell the grandmother /that/, I am such and such person's daughter (lit. child); the king asked her; the people of the town asked her; this one did not tell at all /that/, whose daughter she was (lit. I am).

### KD.f:141

<i>'dā</i>	<i>bā'dšāh</i>	<i>ne'kā</i>	<i>kantī</i>
dā	bādšāh	nekā	kan-t=ī
until	king	betrothal	do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

After that, the king married her.

### KD.f:142

<i>ne'kā</i>	<i>'kantī</i>	<i>'eda</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>gwa'zī</i>	<i>'do</i>
nekā	kan-t=ī	eda	do	say	sāl	gwaz-ī	do
betrothal	do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	here	two	three	year	pass.NPST-3SG	two

<i>'say</i>	<i>'čokē</i>	<i>bī</i>
say	čok=ē	bī-∅
three	child=PC.3SG	become.PST-3SG

He married her; then (lit. here), two, three years passed; she gave birth to two, three children.

### KD.f:143

<i>'nī</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>a'yāla</i>	<i>ka'pī</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
nī	ya	rōč=ē	ayāl-a	kap-ī	goš-ī
now	one	day=IND	imagination-OBL	fall.NPST-3SG	say.NPST-3SG

<i>lag'gī</i>	<i>grē'waga</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>ne'māza</i>	<i>'ā</i>
lagg-ī	grēw-ag-a	bādšāh	raw-∅	nemāz-a	ā
start.NPST-3SG	cry.NPST-INF-OBL	king	go.NPST-3SG	pray-OBL	DIST

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

<i>dē'ma</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>'kay</i>		<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'gōš</i>	<i>dā'rī</i>
dēm-a	če	k-ay-∅		dāke	gōš	dār-ī
face-OBL	from	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		then	ear	hold.NPST-3SG

<i>'manī</i>	<i>ja'nē</i>	<i>grē'wagē</i>
man-ī	janē	grēw-ag=ē
PN.1SG-GEN	wife	cry.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

Then, one day she remembered; it is said she started to cry; the king went to pray; [when] he returned from there, prayer, then, he listened [and heard that] his wife was crying.

**KD.f:144**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'grēt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>zahī'rīg</i>	<i>jā</i>	<i>'grēt</i>	<i>'nī</i>
ē	grē-t	=o	zahīrīg	jā-∅	grē-t	nī
PROX	cry.NPST-3SG	=and	sad song	hit.NPST-3SG	cry.NPST-3SG	now

<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'kay</i>		<i>gwa'zī</i>	<i>'bas</i>	<i>kā</i>
bādšāh	k-ay-∅		gwaz-ī	bas	kā-∅
king	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		pass.NPST-3SG	finish	do.NPST-3SG

This one cried and sang sad songs; she cried, then the king came (lit. comes, passes) [inside]; she stopped [crying].

**KD.f:145**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>sā'eb</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>'to</i>
nī	bādšāh	sāeb	goš-ī	čī	wāstā	to
now	king	majesty	say.NPST-3SG	what	for the sake of	PN.2SG

<i>grē'wag</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'bogoš</i>
grēw-ag	=e	to	bo-goš-∅
cry.NPST-INF	=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG	IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

Then his majesty the king said, “Why are you crying?; tell me.”

**KD.f:146**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>'nagrēta</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
goš-ī	mā	wa	na-grēt-a=∅	goš-ī
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	FOC	NEG-cry.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	say.NPST-3SG

<i>to</i>	<i>grē'wagā</i>	<i>bī'tage</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'hatman</i>
to	grēw-ag-ā	bīt-ag=e	to	hatman
PN.2SG	cry.NPST-INF-OBL	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG	sure

## A. Text Corpus

<i>ya</i>	<i>ha'barē</i>	<i>'yakēya</i>	<i>gō̄</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>aga</i>
ya	habar=ē	yak=ē-ya	gō̄	ta	habar	kot-a	aga
one	word=IND	one=IND-OBL	with	PN.2SG	word	do.PST-PP	if

<i>ja'ta</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'mana</i>	<i>'bogoš</i>	<i>'šī</i>
jat-a	to	man-a	bo-goš-∅	š-ī
beat.PST-PP	PN.2SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	IMPV-say.NPST-2SG	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'mana</i>	<i>'hečkasa</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>'nakota</i>	<i>'mana</i>
man-a	hečk-as-a	habar	hā	na-kot-a	man-a
PN.1SG-OBJ	no one-OBL	word	ADD	NEG-do.PST-PP	PN.1SG-OBJ

<i>'najata</i>	<i>'mana</i>	<i>za'hīr</i>	<i>bīt...</i>
na-jat-a	man-a	zahīr	bīt-∅
NEG-beat.PST-PP	PN.1SG-OBJ	homesickness	become.PST-3SG

<i>'bayagē</i>	<i>mar'cī</i>	<i>'peta</i>	<i>pō</i>
bay-ag=ē	marčī	pet-a	pō
become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	today	father-OBL	for

She said “I have not cried.”; he said, “You were crying; for sure someone has argued with you, or [if someone] has beaten you; tell me?”; she said, “No one has argued with me or beaten me; I miss... today, my father.”

### KD.f:147

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>ē</i>
š-ī	šarr	tī	pet	kay	=ē
say.NPST-3SG	fine	PN.2SG.GEN	father	who	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'šī</i>	<i>pe'lān</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>way</i>
š-ī	pelān	bādšāh	=ē	š-ī	way
say.NPST-3SG	so and so	king	=COP.NPST.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	oh

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>dōs'tē</i>	<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>'berē</i>
ē	man-ī	=o	dōst-ē	mardom=ē	be-r-ē
PROX	PN.1SG-GEN	=FOC	friend-ATTR	people=IND	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

<i>'tarā</i>	<i>ba'rā</i>
ta-rā	bar-ā
PN.2SG-OBJ	take.NPST-1SG

He said, “Alright, who is your father?”; she said, “It is king so-and-so.”; he said, “Oh this one is my friend; let’s go, I will take you [to him].”

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:148**

*bād'sāh ya mol'lāē go'lāmē čō*  
*bād'sāh ya mollā=ē golām=ē čō*  
 king one Mullah=IND male slave=IND you know

*zī'rīī 'say 'čār na'par ba'yā 'ōdā čē*  
*zīr-īt=ī say čār napar bay-ā ōdā čē*  
 take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG three four person become.NPST-3PL there from

*'dar kāyā*  
*dar k-ā-yā*  
 PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

The king took a Mullah, a slave, you know; they were three, four persons; they left from there.

**KD.f:149**

*'dar kāyā kā'yā ya men'zelē*  
*dar k-ā-yā k-ā-yā ya menzel=ē*  
 PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL one stop=IND

*dā'rā 'padā a 'ōdā čē 'hāl kay*  
*dār-ā padā a ōdā čē hāl k-ay-∅*  
 hold.NPST-3PL again from there from news IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

*bād'sāha 'goštī 'tī lōg pros... prō'sag*  
*bād'sāh-a gošt=ī tī lōg pros prōš-ag*  
 king-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG.GEN house FRAG break.NPST-INF

*bī'tagā jā'nag bī'tagā*  
*bīt-ag=ā jan-ag bīt-ag=ā*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL hit.NPST-INF become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

*'taw 'byā*  
*taw by-ā-∅*  
 PN.2SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

They left ( lit. leave, come); they stopped in a certain place; then, from there news came [and a messenger] said to the king, “Your houses were broken into; there was a burglary, come.”

**KD.f:150**

*bād'sāh 'pada tar'rī 'raw 'ešān*  
*bād'sāh pada tarr-ī raw-∅ eš-ān*  
 king again turn.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG PROX-OBL.PL

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'dante</i>	<i>o'sī</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>ja'nē</i>	<i>'šome</i>
dan-t=e	oš-ī	man-ī	janē	šome
give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	wife	PN.2PL.GEN

<i>ma'yār ē</i>	<i>ba'retī</i>	<i>'petā</i>
mayār =ē	∅-bar-et=ī	pet-ā
honour =COP.NPST.3SG	IMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG	father-OBL

*rasē'netī*  
 ∅-rasēn-et=ī  
 IMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

Then, the king returned (lit. returns, goes) [and] gave her to them; he said, “My wife’s honour is in your hands (lit. my wife is your honour); take her to her father.”

### KD.f:151

<i>'ā</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>zī'rante</i>
ā	bādšāh	raw-∅	ē	zīr-ant=e
DIST	king	go.NPST-3SG	PROX	take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

<i>kā'yā</i>	<i>'molk</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'sak</i>	<i>'dīr</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>
k-ā-yā	molk	=o	sak	dīr	=ē	čōbī
IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	land	=FOC	very	far	=COP.NPST.3SG	you know

<i>'do</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>men'zel</i>	<i>šī</i>	<i>dā'rag</i>	<i>lō'ī</i>
do	say	menzel	š-ī	dār-ag	lōt-ī
two	three	stop	say.NPST-3SG	hold.NPST-INF	want.NPST-3SG

<i>šā'pā</i>	<i>dā'rā</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>mol'lāh</i>	<i>'kay</i>
šap-ā	dār-ā	nī	mollāh	k-ay-∅
night-OBL	hold.NPST-3PL	now	Mullah	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>dros'tā</i>	<i>'hameš</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>hamrā'hā</i>
goš-ī	drost-ā	ham=eš	=ē	hamrāh-ā
say.NPST-3SG	all-OBL.PL	EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG	travel-mate-OBL.PL

<i>wāb'band</i>	<i>kā</i>
wābband	kā-∅
put to sleep	do.NPST-3SG

That king went; these came with her (lit. take, come); the country was very far away, you know; it is said it was necessary to [make] two, three [overnight] stops; they stopped at night you know; the Mullah came [to the woman], it is said, you know, he put all the travel-mates to sleep [magically].

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:152**

<i>'ā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>wāb'band</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>ja'neka</i>
ā	ke	wābband	kā-∅	nī	goš-ī	janek-a
DIST	CLM	put to sleep	do.NPST-3SG	now	say.NPST-3SG	girl-OBL

<i>go'sī...</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>ja'neke</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>ja'neka</i>	<i>gō</i>
goš-ī	k-ay-∅	janek-e	gwarā	janek-a	gō
say.NPST-3SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	girl-GEN	to	girl-OBL	with

<i>ar'cī</i>	<i>'kā</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>na'zīka</i>
arcī	kā-∅	janek	goš-ī	mnī	nazīk-a
whatever	do.NPST-3SG	girl	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG.GEN	near-OBL

*'mayā*  
 may-ā-∅  
 PROH-come.NPST-2SG

When that one put [them] to sleep, then, he said to the girl... it is said, he came to the girl; whatever he did with the girl; the girl said, “Do not come close to me.”

**KD.f:153**

<i>o'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>'čokē</i>	<i>ko'sā</i>
oš-ī	mā	tī	čok=ē	koš-ā
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	PN.2SG.GEN	child=IND	kill.NPST-1SG

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>ġay'rata</i>	<i>čē...</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>ġay'rat</i>
š-ī	man-ī	ġayrat-a	čē	man	otī	ġayrat
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	honour-OBL	from	PN.1SG	REL.GEN	honour

<i>čē</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>dōs'ter</i>	<i>ē</i>
čē	čok	dōs-ter	=ē
from	child	friend-CMP	=COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “I will kill one of your children.”; she said, “From my honour... I love my honour more than my children.”

**KD.f:154**

<i>'bas</i>	<i>'čokā</i>	<i>ko'sītī</i>
bas	čok-ā	koš-īt=ī
just	child-OBL	kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

So he killed her child.

**KD.f:155**

<i>ko'sītī</i>	<i>sō'bā</i>	<i>ma'law</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>mardo'mā</i>	<i>wa</i>
koš-īt=ī	sōb-ā	malaw	čok	mardom-ā	wa
kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	morning-OBL	early	child	people-OBL.PL	REFL

## A. Text Corpus

*mol'lā 'pād kã go'sī 'pād āye*  
 mollā pād kã-∅ goš-ī pād ∅-ā-ye  
 Mullah foot do.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG foot SBJV-come.NPST-2PL

*dō'sī 'jenn bī'tagã 'gayb*  
 dōšī jenn bīt-ag=ã gayb  
 last night genie become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL fairy

*bī'tagã bād'sāhe ya 'čokē ko'sag*  
 bīt-ag=ã bādšāh-e ya čok=ē koš-ag  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL king-GEN one child=IND kill.NPST-INF

*bī'ta jen'nã koš'ta*  
 bīt-a=∅ jenn-ã košt-a  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG genie-OBL.PL kill.PST-PP

He killed her child; early in the morning, himself, the Mullah, woke the children [and] the people up; he said, “Get up; last night, there were genii; there were fairies [here]; one of the king’s child was killed; the genii killed [him].”

### KD.f:156

*'ē 'nī 'hamedā 'jā 'dapnī ka'nā 'dar*  
 ē nī ham=edā jā dapn=ī kan-ā dar  
 PROX now EMPH=here place burial=PC.3SG do.NPST-3PL PREV

*kāyā 'ē ja'nē 'padā 'nām 'nagerī*  
 k-ā-yā ē janē padā nām na-ger-ī  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL PROX woman again name NEG-take.NPST-3SG

*'ā hamrā'hã gō*  
 ā hamrāh-ã gō  
 DIST travel-mate-OBL.PL with

Then, these buried him there (lit. here); they left; again this woman did not tell those travel-mates [anything].

### KD.f:157

*ra'wã dī'ge men'zelē*  
 raw-ã dīge menzel=ē  
 go.NPST-3PL another stop=IND

They went to another stop.

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:158**

*dī'ge men'zelē 'hančō 'padā dros'tā wāb'band kā*  
*dīge menzel=ē hančō padā dros-tā wābband kā-∅*  
 another stop=IND like this again all-OBL.PL put to sleep do.NPST-3SG

*hamrā'hā*  
*hamrāh-ā*  
 travel-mate-OBL.PL

Another stop, in the same way again he put all the travel-mates to sleep.

**KD.f:159**

*wāb'band kā 'kay 'ē ja'nēne*  
*wābband kā-∅ k-ay-∅ ē janēn-e*  
 put to sleep do.NPST-3SG IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG PROX woman-GEN

*gwa'rā ja'nēna o'sī 'mā 'tī de'ge*  
*gwarā janēn-a oš-ī mā tī dege*  
 to woman-OBL say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN another

*'čokē ko'sā ja'nēna goš'ta 'manī 'čoka*  
*čok=ē koš-ā janēn-a gošt-a man-ī čok-a*  
 child=IND kill.NPST-1SG woman-OBL say.PST-PP PN.1SG-GEN child-OBL

*'bekoš 'bale 'manī naz'zīka 'mayā*  
*be-koš-∅ bale man-ī nazzīk-a may-ā-∅*  
 IMPV-kill.NPST-2SG but PN.1SG-GEN near-OBL PROH-come.NPST-2SG

He put them to sleep; he came to this woman; he said to the woman, “I will kill another one of your sons.”; the woman said (lit. has said), “Kill my son, but do not come close to me.”

**KD.f:160**

*'padā 'ē 'čokā ko'sītī*  
*padā ē čok-ā koš-īt=ī*  
 again PROX child-OBL kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Again, this one killed her child.

**KD.f:161**

*ko'sītī 'padā 'bī say'mī men'zel*  
*koš-īt=ī padā bī-∅ say-mī menzel*  
 kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG again become.PST-3SG three-ORD stop

He killed him; again, it was the third stop.

## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:162

<i>say'mī</i>	<i>'čoka</i>	<i>hã</i>	<i>'padã</i>	<i>ko'sĩĩĩ</i>	
say-mī	čok-a	hã	padã	koš-ĩt=ĩ	
three-ORD	child-OBL	ADD	again	kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	

Then he killed the third child too.

### KD.f:163

<i>'padã</i>	<i>say'mī</i>	<i>'čokã</i>	<i>ko'sĩĩĩ</i>	<i>'nĩ</i>	<i>'hančẽ</i>
padã	say-mī	čok-ã	koš-ĩt=ĩ	nĩ	hančẽ
again	three-ORD	child-OBL	kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	now	such.ATTR

<i>'bĩ</i>	<i>čãr'mĩ</i>	<i>men'zel</i>	<i>'sar</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>'nĩ</i>
b-ĩ	čãr-mĩ	menzel	sar	k-ay-∅	nĩ
become.NPST-3SG	four-ORD	stop	head	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	now

<i>'hameš</i>	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ja'nẽna...</i>	<i>'kay</i>	
ham=eš	=ẽ	janẽn-a	k-ay-∅	
EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG	woman-OBL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	

<i>ja'nẽne</i>	<i>gwa'rã</i>	<i>ja'nẽn</i>	<i>o'sĩ</i>	<i>'wasp</i>
janẽn-e	gwarã	janẽn	oš-ĩ	∅-wasp-∅
woman-GEN	to	woman	say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-sleep.NPST-2SG

<i>'manĩ</i>	<i>jã'hãnĩ</i>	<i>sa'rã</i>	<i>'mã</i>	<i>'hanĩ</i>	<i>kã'yã</i>
man-ĩ	jãh-ãnĩ	sarã	mã	hanĩ	k-ã-yã
PN.1SG-GEN	place-GEN.PL	on	PN.1SG	right now	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

Then he killed the third child, you know; the story goes on; the fourth stop was left , you know, to the woman... he came to the woman; the woman said, "Lie down in my bed, I will come right now."

### KD.f:164

<i>ja'nẽ</i>	<i>'hamedã</i>	<i>wap'sĩ</i>
janẽ	ham=eda	waps-ĩ
woman	EMPH=here	sleep.NPST-3SG

The woman lay down (lit. here)...

### KD.f:165

<i>'jane...</i>	<i>'ã</i>	<i>wap'sĩ</i>	<i>ja'nẽ</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>'otĩ</i>	<i>sa'ra</i>
jane	ã	waps-ĩ	janẽ	raw-t	otĩ	sar-a
FRAG	DIST	sleep.NPST-3SG	woman	go.NPST-3SG	REL.GEN	head-OBL

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

<i>zī'rūt</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>dā̃</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>bā'zāra</i>
zīr-īt	raw-t	raw-t	dā̃	ya	bāzār-a
take.NPST-3SG	go.NPST-3SG	go.NPST-3SG	until	one	market place-OBL

<i>'hamā</i>	<i>bā'zāre</i>	<i>na'zīka</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>'hamē</i>
ham=ā	bāzār-e	nazīk-a	raw-Ø	ham=ē
EMPH=DIST	market place-GEN	near-OBL	go.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX

*ba'zāra*  
 bazār-a  
 market place-OBL

The wom... that one lay down; the woman left; she kept going (lit. goes, goes) all alone (lit. she takes her head), to a town, close to that (lit. this) town.

**KD.f:166**

<i>'hamodā</i>	<i>naz'zīka</i>	<i>'čātē</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>kapī</i>	<i>'čāte</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>
ham=odā	nazzīk-a	čāt=ē	ēr	kap-ī	čāt-e	tōkā
EMPH=there	near-OBL	well=IND	PREV	fall.NPST-3SG	well-GEN	in

[There was] a well near there; she went inside the well.

**KD.f:167**

<i>'čāte</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>ka'pī</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'sōb</i>
čāt-e	tōkā	ēr	kap-ī	ā	nī	sōb
well-GEN	in	PREV	fall.NPST-3SG	DIST	now	morning

<i>'bī</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>kāyā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
b-ī	dar	k-ā-yā	goš-ī
become.NPST-3SG	PREV	IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'byāe</i>	<i>dō'sī</i>	<i>bād'sāhe</i>	<i>ja'nē</i>	<i>jen'nā</i>	<i>bor'ta</i>
by-ā-e	dōšī	bādšāh-e	janē	jenn-ā	bort-a
IMPV-come.NPST-2PL	last night	king-GEN	wife	genie-OBL.PL	take.PST-PP

She went inside the well, you know; in the morning (lit. it becomes morning) they left; [the Mullah] said, “Look last night, the genii have taken the woman.

**KD.f:168**

<i>jen'nā</i>	<i>bor'ta</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'hančō</i>	<i>parē'sā</i>	<i>ba'yā</i>
jenn-ā	bort-a	mardom	hančō	parēšā	bay-ā
genie-OBL.PL	take.PST-PP	people	like this	sad	become.NPST-3PL

<i>'mā</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>'dayē</i>	<i>bād'sāhe</i>	<i>sa'yē</i>	<i>'čok</i>
mā	čī	jawāb	Ø-da-yē	bādšāh-e	say-ē	čok
PN.1PL	what	answer	SBJV-give.NPST-1PL	king-GEN	three-ATTR	child

## A. Text Corpus

<i>ko'sag</i>	<i>bī'tā</i>	<i>bād'sāhe</i>	<i>ja'nē</i>	<i>'gār</i>	<i>'bī</i>	<i>'nī</i>
koš-ag	bīt-ā	bādšāh-e	janē	gār	bī-∅	nī
kill.NPST-INF	become.PST-3PL	king-GEN	wife	lost	become.PST-3SG	now

<i>'mā</i>	<i>'ōdā</i>	<i>'če</i>	<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>'dayē</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>	<i>'nī</i>
mā	ōdā	če	jawāb	∅-day-ē	nī	raw-ā	nī
PN.1PL	there	what	answer	SBJV-give.NPST-1PL	now	go.NPST-3PL	now

<i>'ē</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>lar'zag</i>	<i>ē</i>
ē	mollā	hā	larz-ag	=ē
PROX	Mullah	ADD	tremble.NPST-INF	=COP.NPST.3SG

The genii have taken [her]”; the people became very sad, [and they said] “What should we tell (lit. answer) [since] the king’s three children were killed, the king’s wife disappeared; now what should we tell [the king] there”; then they went; Now this Mullah was trembling too.

### KD.f:169

<i>'zānt</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>'eš</i>	<i>ē</i>
zān-t	ē	habar	man-ī	sarā	eš	=ē
know.NPST-3SG	PROX	word	PN.1SG-GEN	on	PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'aḍ</i>	<i>bī'ta</i>
aḍ	bīt-a=∅
make	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

You know, he knew that the (lit. this) story was about him.

### KD.f:170

<i>'ē</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>lar'zagē</i>
ē	mollā	hā	larz-ag=ē
PROX	Mullah	ADD	tremble.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

This Mullah was trembling too.

### KD.f:171

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'bīt</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>'kayt</i>
nī	b-īt	=ē	nī	k-ay-t
now	become.NPST-3SG	=COP.NPST.3SG	now	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

<i>'sōbe</i>	<i>sa'ra</i>	<i>rama'gīē</i>
sōb-e	sara	ramagī=ē
morning-GEN	on	shepherd=IND

Now it so happened that in the morning, a shepherd came.



## A. Text Corpus

### KD.f:174

<i>'e</i>	<i>rama'gī</i>	<i>kaš'sī</i>	<i>'bārte</i>	<i>'oī</i>
e	ramagī	kašš-ī	bār-t=e	oī
PROX	shepherd	pull.NPST-3SG	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	REL.GEN

<i>bal'loke</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>
ballok-e	lōg-ā
grandmother-GEN	house-OBL

This shepherd pulled her up [and] took her to his grandmother's place.

### KD.f:175

<i>bal'loke</i>	<i>lō'ga</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>bal'lok</i>	<i>'hameš</i>
ballok-e	lōg-a	ā	ballok	ham=eš
grandmother-GEN	house-OBL	DIST	grandmother	EMPH=PROX

<i>ē</i>	<i>neš'ta</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>hā</i>
=ē	nešt-a=∅	ā	bādšāh	hā
=COP.NPST.3SG	sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	DIST	king	ADD

<i>'kayt</i>	<i>ra'sīt</i>	<i>bād'sā</i>	<i>hā</i>
k-ay-t	ras-īt	bādšā	hā
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	arrive.NPST-3SG	king	ADD

<i>at'ka</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>ras'ta</i>	<i>'ē</i>
atk-a=∅	nī	rast-a=∅	ē
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	now	arrive.PT-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX

<i>bād'sāhe</i>	<i>mol'ka</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>'drō</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>ja...</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'pād</i>
bādšāh-e	molk-a	ā	mollā	drō	nī	ja	bādšāh	pād
king-GEN	land-OBL	DIST	Mullah	all	now	FRAG	king	foot

<i>kay</i>	<i>'pet</i>
k-ay-∅	pet
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	father

To his grandmother's place, you know; that grandmother was sitting [there]; that king (i.e. the husband-king) arrived (lit. comes, arrives), and now the king came (lit. has come, has arrived) to this king's country; now that Mullah, all wo... the king stood up, the father.

### KD.f:176

<i>'pet</i>	<i>'pād</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>gōlā'ešī</i>	<i>kā</i>
pet	pād	k-ay-∅	nī	gōlāeš=ī	kā-∅
father	foot	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	now	embrace=PC.3SG	do.NPST-3SG

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

'gošī	'ē	kes'saw	'to	'kojā	če	āwor'ta
gošt=ī	ē	kessaw	to	kojā	če	āwort-a
say.PST=PC.3SG	PROX	story	PN.2SG	where	from	bring.PST-PP

The father stood up; now he hugged her; he said, “From where have you brought this story?”

**KD.f:177**

'gošī	'mana	'bele	'jos
gošt=ī	man-a	b-el-e	jos
say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	IMPV-allow.NPST-2PL	question

'makane  
ma-kan-e  
PROH-do.NPST-2PL

She said, “Leave me alone; don’t ask me.”

**KD.f:178**

go'sī	'bogoš	'e	kes'saw	'manī	'sar
goš-ī	bo-goš-∅	e	kessaw	man-ī	sar
say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-say.NPST-2SG	PROX	story	PN.1SG-GEN	head

ē	'nī	'mard	ham	'pād	kay
=ē	nī	mard	ham	pād	k-ay-∅
=COP.NPST.3SG	now	man	ADD	foot	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

'šī	'šarr	ē	'to	'kay	ay	'ē
š-ī	šarr	=ē	to	kay	=ay	ē
say.NPST-3SG	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG	who	=COP.NPST.2SG	PROX

kes'saw	ē	kes'saw	'mē	do'ēnānī	sa'ra
kessaw	ē	kessaw	mē	do-ēn-ānī	sara
story	PROX	story	PN.1PL.GEN	two-ATTR-GEN.PL	on

at'ka  
atk-a=∅  
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “Tell me, this story has happened to me (lit. this story is on my head)”; then her husband stood up; he said, “Alright, who are you?; this story, this story, has happened to both of us.”

**KD.f:179**

'gošī	'e	kes'saw	'some	do'ēnānī	sa'ra
gošt=ī	e	kessaw	šome	do-ēn-ānī	sara
say.PST=PC.3SG	PROX	story	PN.2PL.GEN	two-ATTR-GEN.PL	on

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'nayaṭka</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'watī</i>	<i>sa'ra</i>
nay-atk-a=∅	man-ī	wat-ī	sara
NEG-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	REFL-GEN	on

*at'ka*  
atk-a=∅  
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

She said, “This story has not happened to the two of you; it has happened to me.”

### KD.f:180

<i>'mā...</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>bād'sāha</i>	<i>'eṣī</i>	<i>'peta</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
mā	ham=ā	bādšāh-a	eṣī	pet-a	goš-ī
PN.1SG	EMPH=DIST	king-OBL	PROX.GEN	father-OBL	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'mā</i>	<i>'taī</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>ã</i>
mā	ta-ī	čok	=ã	janek	=ã
PN.1SG	PN.2SG-GEN	child	=COP.NPST.1SG	daughter	=COP.NPST.1SG

<i>'e</i>	<i>'ḍawl</i>	<i>'e</i>	<i>'ḍawlā</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>'hameš</i>
e	ḍawl	e	ḍawl-ā	to	gošt-a	ham=eš
PROX	manner	PROX	manner-OBL	PN.2SG	say.PST-PP	EMPH=PROX

<i>ã</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>do'ẽ</i>	<i>'neštagã</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'pād</i>
=ã	mollā	do-ẽ	nešt-ag=ã	nī	pād
=COP.NPST.3PL	Mullah	two-ATTR	sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	now	foot

<i>kāyã</i>	<i>'mard...</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'mard</i>	<i>'pād</i>
k-ā-yã	mard	do	pet	=o	mard	pād
IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	man	two	father	=and	man	foot

<i>kāyã</i>	<i>do'ẽ</i>	<i>mollā'yã</i>	<i>ge'rã</i>
k-ā-yã	do-ẽ	mollā-yã	ger-ã
IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	two-ATTR	Mullah-OBL.PL	take.NPST-3PL

<i>ge'rã</i>	<i>zī'rã</i>	<i>sa'ra</i>	<i>do'ē'nānī</i>	<i>bor'rã</i>
ger-ã	zīr-ã	sar-a	do-ēn-ānī	borr-ã
take.NPST-3PL	take.NPST-3PL	head-OBL	two-ATTR-GEN.PL	cut.NPST-3PL

I ... she said to that king, her father, “I am your child, your daughter; you told [that things should be] this this way, you know, both Mullahs are sitting [here].”; then they stood up, the man... both the father and husband stood up; they took both Mullahs; they cut off (lit. take, take, cut off) the heads of both of them.

A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

**KD.f:181**

<i>bor'rā</i>	<i>ba'rā</i>	<i>ča'gal</i>	<i>dayante</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'padā</i>
borr-ā	bar-ā	čagal	day-ant=e	nī	padā
cut.NPST-3PL	take.NPST-3PL	throwing	give.NPST-3PL=PC.3PL	now	again

<i>'pet</i>	<i>bād'sāh</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'sīr</i>	<i>'dante</i>	<i>'hame</i>
pet	bādšāh	padā	sīr	dan-t=e	ham=e
father	king	again	wedding	give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	EMPH=PROX

<i>bād'sāhā</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'sīrī</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>ker'rā</i>
bādšāh-ā	gō	sīr-ī	dā-∅	otī	kerrā
king-OBL	with	wedding=PC.3SG	give.NPST-3SG	REL.GEN	beside

<i>dā'rīī</i>	<i>'bas</i>
dār-ī=ī	bas
hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	finish

They cut them off [and] threw them away; then, the father, the king again married her off to that (lit. this) king; he married her off [and] kept her at his [own place]; that's all.

A.2 Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi**

**Rahimbakshe Kessaw**

*recounted by Rahim Shakalzahi*

**RB.m:1**

<i>yak</i>	<i>'mardē</i>	<i>'hasta</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>zamā'nagē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>	<i>'nām</i>
<i>yak</i>	<i>mard=ē</i>	<i>hast=a</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>zamānag=ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>āī</i>	<i>nām</i>
<i>one</i>	<i>man=IND</i>	<i>be.NPST=COP.PST</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>time=IND</i>	<i>CLM</i>	<i>DIST.GEN</i>	<i>name</i>

<i>a</i>	<i>rahīm'bakš</i>
<i>=a-∅</i>	<i>rahīmbakš</i>
<i>=COP.PST-3SG</i>	<i>Rahimbaksh</i>

Once, there was a man who was called (lit. that his name was) Rahimbaksh.

**RB.m:2**

<i>yak</i>	<i>sa'kē</i>	<i>garī'bē</i>	<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ban'de</i>
<i>yak</i>	<i>sak-ē</i>	<i>garīb-ē</i>	<i>mardom=ē</i>	<i>=a-∅</i>	<i>bande-∅</i>
<i>one</i>	<i>very-ATTR</i>	<i>poor-ATTR</i>	<i>people=IND</i>	<i>=COP.PST-3SG</i>	<i>servant-EZ</i>

*xo'dāyā*  
*xodā-yā*  
*God-OBL*

He was a very poor man, [that] fellow

**RB.m:3**

<i>ya</i>	<i>mes'kīn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mo'menē</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>lāga'rēn</i>
<i>ya</i>	<i>meskīn</i>	<i>=o</i>	<i>momen=ē</i>	<i>=at-∅</i>	<i>=o</i>	<i>lāgar-ēn</i>
<i>one</i>	<i>indigent</i>	<i>=and</i>	<i>believer=IND</i>	<i>=COP.PST-3SG</i>	<i>=and</i>	<i>thin-ATTR</i>

<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>bēho'nar</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>bē'retk</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>bē'rāh</i>
<i>mardom=ē</i>	<i>=at-∅</i>	<i>=o</i>	<i>bēhonar</i>	<i>=o</i>	<i>bēretk</i>	<i>=o</i>	<i>bērāh</i>
<i>people=IND</i>	<i>=COP.PST-3SG</i>	<i>=and</i>	<i>straight</i>	<i>=and</i>	<i>straight</i>	<i>=and</i>	<i>simple</i>

<i>o</i>	<i>bē'če</i>	<i>sāda'hē</i>	<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ban'de</i>
<i>=o</i>	<i>bēče</i>	<i>sādah-ē</i>	<i>mardom=ē</i>	<i>=at-∅</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>bande-∅</i>
<i>=and</i>	<i>FRAG</i>	<i>simple-ATTR</i>	<i>people=IND</i>	<i>=COP.PST-3SG</i>	<i>PROX</i>	<i>servant-EZ</i>

<i>xo'dāye</i>	<i>zende'gī...</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>sāda'hē</i>	<i>zende'gī</i>
<i>xodā-ye</i>	<i>zendegī</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>sādah-ē</i>	<i>zendegī</i>
<i>God-GEN</i>	<i>life</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>simple-ATTR</i>	<i>life</i>

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

*gwāzēn'agāya*

gwāzēn-ag-ā=ya-∅

spend.NPST-INF-OBL=COP.PST-3SG

He was indigent and a [good] believer; he was a thin person, straight [and] truthful;... he was a simple person; this fellow's life... he was leading a simple life.

**RB.m:4**

<i>'bale</i>	<i>'čonke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ka'sān</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'wakt</i>	<i>ka'sān</i>
bale	čonke	ē	kasān	=a-∅	ā	wakt	kasān
but	since	PROX	young	=COP.PST-3SG	DIST	time	young

<i>a</i>	<i>ē'sīe</i>	<i>'omr</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>'hapt</i>	<i>'sāl</i>
=a-∅	ēšīe	omr	hapt	sāl	=at-∅	hapt	sāl
=COP.PST-3SG	PROX.GEN	age	seven	year	=COP.PST-3SG	seven	year

<i>a</i>	<i>ē'sīe</i>	<i>'omr</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>'pet...</i>	<i>'har</i>	<i>'wahde</i>
=a-∅	ēšīe	omr	goṛā	ēšī	pet	har	wahde=e
=COP.PST-3SG	PROX.GEN	age	then	PROX.GEN	father	every	time=IND

<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'petā</i>	<i>ham'rāh</i>	<i>bī'ta</i>
ke	ē	gō	pet-ā	hamrāh	bīt-a=∅
CLM	PROX	with	father-OBL	companion	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'pet</i>	<i>'har</i>	<i>jā'gaha</i>	<i>neš'ta</i>	<i>kes'sāi</i>	<i>jata</i>
pet	har	jāgah-a	nešt-a=∅	kessā=i	jat-a
father	every	place-OBL	sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	story=PC.3SG	hit.PST-PP

<i>ba'talī</i>	<i>jata</i>	<i>'gapī</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>dī'wānī</i>
batal=i	jat-a	gap=i	kot-a	dīwān=i
proverb=PC.3SG	hit.PST-PP	talk=PC.3SG	do.PST-PP	meeting=PC.3SG

<i>kota</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'hamēša</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>ē'sā</i>	<i>'hōr</i>	<i>a</i>
kot-a	ē	hamēša	gō	ēš-ā	hōr	=a-∅
do.PST-PP	PROX	always	with	PROX-OBL.PL	together	=COP.PST-3SG

<i>'sak</i>	<i>mohe'bat</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'sak</i>	<i>dōs'tī</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'ī</i>	<i>kessāčī'nā</i>	<i>o</i>
sak	mohebat	=o	sak	dōstī	gō	ī	kessāčīn-ā	=o
very	love	=and	very	friendship	with	PROX	storyteller-OBL.PL	=and

<i>gō</i>	<i>gapwā'lā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>dī'wā</i>	<i>pasan'dē</i>
gō	gapwālā	=o	gō	dīwā	pasand-ē
with	good speaker.OBL.PL	=and	with	meeting	admiring-ATTR

## A. Text Corpus

<i>mardo'mã</i>	<i>'sak</i>	<i>'bãz</i>	<i>ẽ'sĩe</i>	<i>dõs'tĩ</i>	<i>'hasta</i>
mardom-ã	sak	bãz	ẽšĩe	dõstĩ	hast=a-∅
people-OBL.PL	very	many	PROX.GEN	friendship	be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG

But since this one was young, at that time he was young; this one was seven years old; this one was seven years old; then this one's father... whenever this one was (lit. has been) with [his] father, wherever [his] father sat (lit. has sat) [and] told (lit. has told) a story, he told (lit. has told) a proverb; he talked (lit. has talked); he chatted (lit. has chatted); this one was always with him (lit. them); he was (lit. has been) very interesting and fascinated with these storytellers, good speakers, and the organizer [those who love assembling to gather] of the meetings; he was very interested in them.

### RB.m:5

<i>yak</i>	<i>'rõčẽ</i>	<i>'bĩt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>lag'ge</i>	<i>kes'sae</i>
yak	rõč=ẽ	bĩt-∅	=o	pet	lagge	kessa=e
one	day=IND	become.PST-3SG	=and	father	start.PST	story=IND

<i>řana'gã</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>'řot</i>	<i>'hamõdã</i>	<i>dĩ'wãnã</i>	<i>'neřt</i>
řan-ag-ã	čok	řot-∅	ham=õdã	dĩwãn-ã	neřt-∅
hit.NPST-INF-OBL	child	go.PST-3SG	EMPH=there	meeting-OBL	sit.PST-3SG

One day (lit. there was a day and), the father started to tell a story; the son went [and] sat down there in the meeting.

### RB.m:6

<i>čẽ'limẽ</i>	<i>'per</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'petã</i>	<i>'dãt</i>	<i>'čãĩ</i>
čẽlim=ẽ	per	ko	pet-ã	dãt	čã=ĩ
waterpipe=PC.3SG	PREV	do.PST	father-OBL	give.PST	tea=PC.3SG

<i>'petã</i>	<i>'dãt</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>'pete</i>	<i>gwa'rã</i>	<i>'gap</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>dĩ'wãnĩ</i>
pet-ã	dãt	ã	pet-e	gwarã	gap	=o	dĩwãn=ĩ
father-OBL	give.PST	DIST	father-GEN	by	talk	=and	meeting=PC.3SG

<i>kotat</i>	<i>'petã</i>	<i>hã</i>	<i>'dõs</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ban'de</i>
kot=at	pet-ã	hã	dõs	=a-∅	bande-∅
do.PST=COP.PST	father-OBL	ADD	friend	=COP.PST-3SG	servant-EZ

*xo'dãya*  
xodã-ya  
God-OBL

He prepared a water pipe and gave [it] to the father; he gave tea to the father; he had talked with that father, [and] the father, poor fellow (lit. the servant of God) liked it.

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**RB.m:7**

*yak 'rōčē bī 'petā 'go 'bābā 'taw 'har*  
 yak rōč=ē bī-∅ pet-ā go bābā taw har  
 one day=IND become.PST-3SG father-OBL say.PST father PN.2SG every

*wah'dā ke 'mā rawa'gāyā 'taw 'har*  
 wahd-ā ke mā raw-ag-ā=yā taw har  
 time-OBL CLM PN.1SG go.NPST-INF-OBL=COP.NPST.1SG PN.2SG every

*jā'gah 'manī 'randā ye 'har jā'gah 'manī*  
 jāgah man-ī randā =ye har jāgah man-ī  
 place PN.1SG-GEN behind =COP.NPST.2SG every place PN.1SG-GEN

*'randā 'mabay*  
 randā ma-bay-∅  
 behind PROH-become.NPST-2SG

One day (lit. there was a day) the father said, “My dear (lit. father) whenever I am going, you are following me everywhere; do not follow me everywhere.”

**RB.m:8**

*go'sī 'bābā 'mā 'čī 'tī ham'rāh*  
 goš-ī bābā mā čī tī hamrāh  
 say.NPST-3SG father PN.1SG why PN.2SG.GEN companion

*'mabā*  
 ma-b-ā  
 PROH-become.NPST-1SG

He said, “Father why shouldn't I follow you?”

**RB.m:9**

*go'sī 'taw no'kī 'manī daw'lā*  
 goš-ī taw nok-ī man-ī dawl-ā  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG new-ADVZ PN.1SG-GEN manner-OBL

*kessawā'lāyē 'nabay šēr wā'lāe 'nabay*  
 kessawālā=yē na-b-ay šēr wālā=e na-b-ay  
 story teller=IND NEG-become.PST-2SG poet=PC.3SG NEG-become.PST-2SG

*batal'gūye mar'domē 'nabay 'taw 'čīyā*  
 batalgū-ye mardom=ē na-b-ay taw čī-yā  
 teller of idiom-GEN people=IND NEG-become.PST-2SG PN.2SG why-OBL

## A. Text Corpus

o'tī        'daste        'kār    bor'ta  
 o'tī        dast-e        kār    bort-a  
 REL.GEN   hand-GEN   work   take.PST-PP

He said, “You will not be like me, a storyteller, a poet, a teller of idioms; why are you wasting your time?”

### RB.m:10

'šī                'goṛā    par'wā    'nēsten                                'manā  
 š-ī                goṛā    parwā    nēst=en                                man-ā  
 say.NPST-3SG   then    fear       NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG   PN.1SG-OBJ

o'tī                hamrā'hīyā                                'makoš                                'na  
 o'tī                hamrāhī-yā                                ma-koš-∅                                na  
 REL.GEN    companionship-OBL    PROH-kill.NPST-2SG    no

He said, “Well, it is no problem; do not prevent me from coming with you (lit. do not kill me in your company), alright?”

### RB.m:11

'šī                'šarr    ě  
 š-ī                šarr    =ě  
 say.NPST-3SG   fine    =COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “Alright.”

### RB.m:12

'pet    o        'čok    'har    jā'gah    ham'rāh    ant                                o        'pet  
 pet    =o        čok    har    jāgah    hamrāh    =ant                                =o        pet  
 father    =and    child    every    place    companion    =COP.NPST.3PL    =and    father

'kāra        kant                                o        'čok    'kāra        kant                                o  
 kār=a        kan-t                                =o        čok    kār=a        kan-t                                =o  
 work=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    =and    child    work=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    =and

o'tī                'tēmā        'pās        kana'gāyā  
 o'tī                tēm-ā        pās        kan-ag-ā=yā  
 REL.GEN    time-OBL    passing    do.NPST-INF-OBL=COP.NPST.3PL

The father and the son were together everywhere, and the father was working and the son was working, and they were spending their time.

### RB.m:13

'dā        'čok    'rost                                o        ma'zan    bīt                                o        ja'wān  
 dā        čok    rost-∅                                =o        mazan    bīt-∅                                =o        jawān  
 until    child    grow up.PST-3SG    =and    mature    become.PST-3SG    =and    young

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

<i>bī</i>	<i>'āxer</i>	<i>'petā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'čo</i>	<i>'nī</i>
bī-∅	āxer	pet-ā	go	ke	man-ī	čo	nī
become.PST-3SG	end	father-OBL	say.PST	CLM	PN.1SG-GEN	child	now

<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'sīr</i>	<i>da'yā̃</i>
mā	ta-rā	sīr	day-ā̃
PN.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	wedding	give.NPST-1SG

Then (lit. until) the son grew up and matured, and became a young [man]; finally the father said /that/, “My son, now I will marry you off.”

**RB.m:14**

<i>'čokā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>'manā</i>
čok-ā	go	šarr	=ē	taw	aga	man-ā
child-OBL	say.PST	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG	if	PN.1SG-OBJ

<i>'sīr</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>jā'gahē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'tae</i>
sīr	∅-d-ay	ham=ā	jāgah=ē	ke	ta=e
wedding	SBJV-give.NPST-2SG	EMPH=DIST	place=IND	CLM	PN.2SG=EZ

<i>'manī</i>	<i>'petā</i>	<i>'dōs</i>	<i>'bī</i>	<i>par'wā</i>
man-ī	pet-ā	dōs	∅-b-ī	parwā
PN.1SG-GEN	father-OBL	friend	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	fear

<i>'nēstē</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'har</i>	<i>jā'gah</i>	<i>'sīr</i>
nēst=ē	man-ā	har	jāgah	sīr
NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	every	place	wedding

<i>day</i>	<i>'sīr</i>	<i>day</i>
∅-day-∅	sīr	∅-day-∅
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	wedding	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

The son said, “Alright; if you marry me off, to anyone (lit. in that place) /that/, you, my father, like, no problem, marry me off to anyone (lit. that place where) you like, marry me off.”

**RB.m:15**

<i>'petā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>hamzā'mātē</i>	<i>'hasta</i>
pet-ā	yak	hamzāmāt=ē	hast=a-∅
father-OBL	one	brother-in-law=IND	be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG

<i>hamzā'māta</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>'čokē</i>	<i>'hasta</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>
hamzāmāt-a	yak	čok=ē	hast=a-∅	ēšīā
brother-in-law-OBL	one	child=IND	be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG	PROX.OBL

## A. Text Corpus

'bort o zā'māt ko  
 bort =o zāmāt ko  
 take.PST =and engaged do.PST

The father had a brother-in-law (lit. there was a brother-in-law [a husband of a sister of his wife] for the father); the brother-in-law had a daughter (lit. there was a daughter for him); this one got him engaged [to her] (lit. took and engaged).

### RB.m:16

'hamī rahīm'bakšī 'bort o zā'māt ko  
 ham=ī rahīmbakš=ī bort =o zāmāt ko  
 EMPH=PROX Rahimbaksh=PC.3SG take.PST =and engagment do.PST

rahīm'bakšā ja'nek 'nadītaga je'nekā ba'čak  
 rahīmbakš-ā janek na-dīt-ag=a jenek-ā bačak  
 Rahimbaksh-OBL girl NEG-see.PST-PP=COP.PST girl-OBL boy

'nadītaga  
 na-dīt-ag=a  
 NEG-see.PST-PP=COP.PST

He took this Rahimbaksh and got engaged him [to her]; Rahimbaksh had not seen the girl [and] the girl had not seen Rahimbaksh (lit. the boy).

### RB.m:17

'čobī ē'sānī... ā yak 'dawrī  
 čobī ēš-ānī ā yak dawr=ī  
 you know PROX-GEN.PL DIST one time=IND

bī'ta han'čē ke ba'čakā ja'nek  
 bīt-a=∅ hančē ke bačak-ā janek  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG such.ATTR CLM son-OBL girl

'nadīta ja'nekā ba'čak 'nadīta ā'hānī sāngban'dī  
 na-dīt-a janek-ā bačak na-dīt-a ā-hānī sāngbandī  
 NEG-see.PST-PP girl-OBL boy NEG-see.PST-PP DIST-GEN.PL betrothal

kota yak 'waktē bī'ta  
 kot-a yak wakt=ē bīt-a=∅  
 do.PST-PP one time=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

You know their... there was (lit. has been) such a time that the boy did not see (lit. has not seen) the girl and the girl did not see (lit. has not seen) the boy; [the parents] married them off (lit. have married off); there was (lit. has been) [such a] time.

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**RB.m:18**

<i>'čan</i>	<i>mo'datā</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>'pēš</i>	<i>'sī</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>sī'pan</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>'pēš</i>
čan	modat-ā	če	pēš	sī	sāl	sīpan	sāl	pēš
some	time-OBL	from	ago	thirty	year	thirty-five	year	ago

<i>'hamē</i>	<i>'rangā</i>	<i>bī'ta</i>		<i>ha'nī</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>ha'nī</i>
ham=ē	rang-ā	bī-t-a=∅		hanī	na	hanī
EMPH=PROX	kind-OBL	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		now	no	now

<i>bā'yed</i>	<i>'harka</i>	<i>'begendī</i>	<i>'yaktā</i>	<i>do'mīgā</i>	<i>'sāng</i>
bāyed	harka	be-gend-ī	yak=ī-ā	do-mī-gā	sāng
must	evryone	SBJV-see.NPST-3SG	one=IND-OBL	two-ORD-OBL	betrothal

*bekā*  
be-kā-∅  
SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

Some years ago, thirty years, thirty-five years ago, it was (lit. has been) like this; not nowadays; nowadays everyone must see each other [and then] get married.

**RB.m:19**

<i>yak</i>	<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>'bīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'petā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'nī</i>
yak	rōč=ē	bīt-∅	=o	pet-ā	go	ke	nī
one	day=IND	become.PST-3SG	=and	father-OBL	say.PST	CLM	now

<i>'tī</i>	<i>'sīre</i>	<i>prog'rām</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'tī</i>
tī	sīr-e	progrām	=ē	tī
PN.2SG.GEN	wedding-GEN	plan	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG.GEN

<i>'sīre</i>	<i>barnā'mah</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'pūl</i>	<i>'pūl</i>	<i>hā</i>
sīr-e	barnāmah	=ē	pūl	pūl	hā
wedding-GEN	plan	=COP.NPST.3SG	money	money	ADD

<i>'nēstē</i>		<i>ā'xerā</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>zamā'nagā</i>	<i>pēsa'rā</i>
nēst=ē		āxer-ā	ā	zamānag-ā	pēsarā
NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG		end-OBL	DIST	time-OBL	in former times

<i>šo'tā</i>	<i>bejā'rīye</i>	<i>kotat</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>ke</i>
šot-ā	bejārī=ye	kot=at	yak	mardom=ē	ke
go.PST-3PL	contribution=PC.3PL	do.PST=COP.PST	one	people=IND	CLM

<i>'yakēā</i>	<i>bejā'rī</i>	<i>dātat</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>
yak=ē-ā	bejārī	dāt=at	dega	mardom
one=IND-OBL	contribution	give.PST=COP.PST	another	people

## A. Text Corpus

<i>bejārī</i>	<i>kotat</i>		<i>bejārī</i>	<i>čīn'čok</i>	<i>ē</i>	
bejārī	kot=at		bejārī	čīnčok	=ē	
contribution	do.PST=COP.PST		contribution	how much	=COP.NPST.3SG	

<i>pan'jā</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>'sad</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>pan'jā</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>'sad</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>o</i>
panjā	tomō	sad	tomō	panjā	tomō	sad	tomō	=o
fifty	toman	hundred	toman	fifty	toman	hundred	toman	=and

<i>mes'xāle</i>	<i>te'lāhe</i>	<i>kī'mat</i>	<i>čīn'čok</i>	<i>ē</i>		<i>'sad</i>	<i>to'mō</i>
mesxāl-e	telāh-e	kīmat	čīnčok	=ē		sad	tomō
meskal-GEN	gold-GEN	price	how much	=COP.NPST.3SG		hundred	toman

One day (lit. there was a day and), the father said /that/, “It is time (lit. plan) for your wedding; it is time (lit. plan) for your wedding, [but] the money, [but] there is no money.”; you know, in past times, they went (lit. have gone) and did (lit. had done) *bejārī*; [there was] someone who gave *bejārī* to someone; someone else asked for *bejārī*; how much was the *bejārī*?; It [was] fifty toman, one hundred toman, fifty toman, one hundred toman; What is the price of a meskal of gold?; one hundred toman.

### RB.m:20

<i>'ā</i>	<i>wā'dī</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>ha'zār</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>šo'wāz</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'sī</i>	<i>mes'xāl</i>
ā	wād-ī	say	hazār	tomō	šowāz	ko	sī	mesxāl
DIST	time-ADVZ	three	thousand	toman	collected	do.PST	thirty	meskal

<i>te'lā</i>	<i>'zo</i>
telā	zo
gold	buy.PST

At that time he collected three thousand toman, [and] bought thirty meskal of gold.

### RB.m:21

<i>'sī</i>	<i>mes'xāl</i>	<i>te'lā</i>	<i>'zo</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'čār</i>	<i>'panč</i>	<i>'hazār</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>čes</i>
sī	mesxāl	telā	zo	=o	čār	panč	hazār	tomō	čes
thirty	meskal	gold	buy.PST	=and	four	five	thousand	toman	up

<i>kot</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>je'neke</i>	<i>mārī'ya</i>	<i>'dāt</i>	<i>o</i>
kot	=o	ham=ā	jenek-e	mārīya	dāt	=o
do.PST	=and	EMPH=DIST	girl-GEN	dowry	give.PST	=and

<i>go'dānī</i>	<i>'mard</i>	<i>'bort</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'sīr</i>	<i>dāt</i>
god-ān-ī	mard	bort	=o	sīr	dāt
cloth-OBL.PL=PC.3SG	man	take.PST	=and	wedding	give.PST

He bought thirty meskal of gold and gave (lit. lifted and gave) five thousand toman for the girl's dowry and clothes; they married off the man (lit. took and married off the man).

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**RB.m:22**

'wakte 'bort o 'sīre dāt 'mard ho'sāl  
 wakte bort =o sīr=e dāt mard hošāl  
 when take.PST =and wedding=PC.3PL give.PST man happy

'bī gō wa'tī ja'nēnā 'nešt 'hamā  
 bī-∅ gō wat-ī janēn-ā nešt-∅ ham=ā  
 become.PST-3SG with REFL-GEN wife-OBL sit.PST-3SG EMPH=DIST

garī'bē zende'gīā 'mard gwāzē'nagē  
 garīb-ē zendeḡī-ā mard gwāzēn-ag=ē  
 poor-ATTR life-OBL man spend.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

When they married him off (lit. took and married him off), the man became happy [and] settled down with his wife; the man was (lit. is) leading that poor life.

**RB.m:23**

'do 'say sā'lā ċe 'bād ē'sīā 'bī 'ya  
 do say sāl-ā ċe bād ēšīā bī-∅ ya  
 two three year-OBL from after PROX.OBL become.PST-3SG one

'ċokē 'ċok ja'nekē 'bī  
 ċok=ē ċok janek=ē bī-∅  
 child=IND child daughter=PC.3SG become.PST-3SG

After two, three years, he got a child (lit. there was a child for him); the child was a daughter.

**RB.m:24**

'ċok ja'nekē 'bī 'ham hanċ'ē šar'rē  
 ċok janek=ē bī-∅ ham hanċē šarr-ē  
 child daughter=PC.3SG become.PST-3SG ADD such.ATTR fine-ATTR

'ċokē 'bīt o 'ċonke 'pet aga 'šarr  
 ċok=ē bīt-∅ =o ċonke pet aga šarr  
 child=IND become.PST-3SG =and because father if fine

'bebīt o 'māt 'šarr 'bī 'gorā  
 be-b-īt =o māt šarr ∅-b-ī gorā  
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG =and mother fine SBJV-become.NPST-3SG then

'ċok ak'sar 'xod be 'xod xo'dāī 'šarra 'kā de'ya  
 ċok aksar xod be xod xodā=ī šarr=a kā-∅ deya  
 child most spontaneously God=PC.3SG fine=VCL do.NPST-3SG you know

The child was a daughter; she was also a very nice child because if the father is nice and the mother is nice, then God will mostly make the child nice spontaneously, you

## A. Text Corpus

know.

### RB.m:25

<i>'čok</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>'bī</i>	
čok	šarr	bī-∅	
child	fine	become.PST-3SG	

The child was nice.

### RB.m:26

<i>'čok</i>	<i>'bort</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>dabes'tānā</i>	<i>ra'sēnt</i>	<i>o</i>
čok	bort-∅	=o	dabestān-ā	rasēnt-∅	=o
child	take.PST-3SG	=and	primary school-OBL	send.PST-3SG	=and

<i>dabes'tāna</i>	<i>lag'ge</i>	<i>wā'nagā</i>	<i>'čok</i>
dabestān-a	lagge-∅	wān-ag-ā	čok
primary school-OBL	start.PST-3SG	read.NPST-INF-OBL	child

He sent (lit. took and sent) the child to school and the child started studying at school.

### RB.m:27

<i>'do</i>	<i>sā'lā</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>sā'lā</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>'rand</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>mardē'čokē</i>
do	sāl-ā	say	sāl-ā	če	rand	dega	yak	mardēčok=e
two	year-OBL	three	year-OBL	from	after	another	one	son=IND

*'bīe*  
bīt-∅=e  
become.PST-3SG=PC.3SG

After two years, three years, he got (lit. gets) (lit. there is an another child to him) another [child], a son.

### RB.m:28

<i>yak</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>neš'tagatā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>'mard</i>
yak	rōč	ē	nešt-ag=at-ā	=o	ham=e	mard
one	day	PROX	sit.PST-PP=COP.PST-3PL	=and	EMPH=PROX	man

<i>neš'taga</i>	<i>rahīm'bakš</i>	<i>neš'taga</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>ke</i>
nešt-ag=a-∅	rahimbakš	nešt-ag=a-∅	dā	ke
sit.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG	Rahimbaksh	sit.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG	until	CLM

<i>'say</i>	<i>pa'kīr</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>pay'dāg</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>kalanda'rī</i>
say	pakīr	=ā	paydāg	=ā	kalandarī
three	fakir	=COP.NPST.3PL	visible	=COP.NPST.3PL	Kalandari

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

ã  
=ã  
=COP.NPST.3PL

One day these were sitting, and this man was sitting; Rahimbaksh was sitting; then (lit. until) there were three fakirs; they were coming; they were Kalandari.

**RB.m:29**

<i>e'sã</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>rahīm'bāxš</i>	<i>'dī</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>
eš-ã	ke	rahīmbakš	dī	goš-ī	mā
PROX-OBL.PL	CLM	Rahimbaksh	see.PST	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL

<i>'tarā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>jā'gahē</i>	<i>dī'ta</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'kojā</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>
ta-rā	yak	jāgah=ē	dīt-a	goš-ī	kojā	šomā
PN.2SG-OBJ	one	place=IND	see.PST-PP	say.NPST-3SG	where	PN.2PL

<i>'manā</i>	<i>dī'ta</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>zamā'nagē</i>	<i>'mā</i>
man-ā	dīt-a	goš-ī	mā	yak	zamānag=ē	mā
PN.1SG-OBJ	see.PST-PP	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	one	time=IND	PN.1PL

<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>pe'lānā</i>	<i>pe'lānē</i>	<i>jā'gah</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>ka'sā</i>
šomā	pelān-ā	pelān=ē	jāgah	to	kasā
PN.2PL	so and so-OBL	so and so=IND	place	PN.2SG	young

<i>bī'tage</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>dī'ta</i>	<i>o</i>
bīt-ag=e	mā	ta-rā	dīt-a	=o
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.1PL	PN.2SG-OBJ	see.PST-PP	=and

<i>'mā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>īnčok'ē</i>	<i>'čīzē</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>rī'dūē</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>zap'tokē</i>
mā	yak	īnčok-ē	čīz=ē	yak	rīdū=ē	yak	zapt-ok=ē
PN.1PL	one	such-ATTR	thing=IND	one	radio=IND	one	recorder-DIM=IND

<i>gwan'dokē</i>	<i>lō'te'ta</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'mārā</i>	<i>'čes</i>	<i>kota</i>
gwanḍ-ok=ē	lōtet-a	to	mā-rā	čes	kot-a
small-DIM=IND	want.PST-PP	PN.2SG	PN.1PL-OBJ	up	do.PST-PP

<i>dā'ta</i>	<i>'byā</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'mārā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>'zaptē</i>
dāt-a	by-ā-Ø	to	mā-rā	yak	zapt=ē
give.PST-PP	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	PN.1PL-OBJ	one	recorder=IND

<i>dā'ta</i>	<i>mar'čī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>hanč'ē</i>	<i>'čīzē</i>
dāt-a	marčī	mā	ta-rā	yak	hančē	čīz=ē
give.PST-PP	today	PN.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	one	such.ATTR	thing=IND

## A. Text Corpus

<i>da'yā</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>	<i>ta'rā</i>	<i>'panč</i>	<i>mardē'čok</i>	<i>'dā</i>
day-ā	xodā	ta-rā	panč	marděčok	dā-∅
give.NPST-1SG	God	PN.2SG-OBJ	five	son	give.NPST-3SG

When these saw Rahimbaksh, [one of them] said, “We have seen you somewhere.”; he said, “Where have you seen me?”; he said, “Once when you were (lit. have been) young, we saw (lit. have seen) you in a certain place, and we asked (lit. have asked) for something, a radio, a small recorder; you gave (lit. have lifted up, given) [it] to us; look, you gave (lit. have given) us a recorder; today I give you something (lit. such a thing); God will give you five sons.”

### RB.m:30

<i>'ē</i>	<i>rahīm'bakš</i>	<i>hay'rā</i>	<i>'bī</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>ē</i>
ē	rahimbakš	hayrā	bī-∅	šarr	=ē
PROX	Rahimbaksh	confused	become.PST-3SG	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG

This Rahimbaksh was surprised; [he said], “Alright.”

### RB.m:31

<i>ā'īā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>gwanđo'kē</i>	<i>negē'naē</i>	<i>'čest</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'dātī</i>
āīā	yak	gwanđ-ok-ē	negēna=ē	čest	ko	dātī
DIST.OBL	one	small-DIM-ATTR	stone=IND	up	do.PST	give.PST=PC.3SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>han'čē</i>	<i>monderī'kānī</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>	<i>ka'nā</i>	<i>'hamī</i>
ke	hančē	monderīk-ānī	tōkā	kan-ā	ham=ī
CLM	such.ATTR	ring-GEN.PL	in	do.NPST-3PL	EMPH=PROX

<i>negē'naī</i>	<i>'čes</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'dāt</i>	<i>zar'dē</i>	<i>negē'naī</i>	<i>o</i>
negēna=ī	čes	ko	dāt	zard-ē	negēna=ī	=o
stone=PC.3SG	up	do.PST	give.PST	yellow-ATTR	stone=IND	=and

<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>zar'dē</i>	<i>negē'na</i>	<i>'zort</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ārt</i>
ēšīā	ham=ī	zard-ē	negēna	zort	=o	ārt
PROX.OBL	EMPH=PROX	yellow-ATTR	stone	take.PST	=and	bring.PST

<i>o'tī</i>	<i>jan'enā</i>	<i>'dāt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'janen</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>'dastā</i>
o'tī	janen-ā	dāt	ke	janen	ēšīā	dast-ā
REL.GEN	wife-OBL	give.PST	CLM	woman	PROX.OBL	hand-OBL

<i>'kā</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>pakī'rā</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>
∅-kā-∅	bale	ē	pakīr-ā	man-ā	gošt-a
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	you know	PROX	fakīr-OBL.PL	PN.1SG-OBJ	say.PST-PP

<i>xo'dā</i>	<i>ta'rā</i>	<i>'panč</i>	<i>mardē'čoka</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ja'neke</i>
xodā	ta-rā	panč	marděčok-a	dā-∅	ē	janek-e
God	PN.2SG-OBJ	five	son-OBL	give.NPST-3SG	PROX	girl-GEN

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

*poš'tā*  
poštā  
after

That one gave him [Rahimbaksh] a small stone [gem], similar to the stone they put on a ring; he gave (lit. lifted and gave) this stone to him [Rahimbaksh], a yellow stone, and this one took this yellow stone, brought [it] and gave [it] to his wife; [he said] /that/, “Woman, wear this [since] these fakirs said (lit. have told me), “God will give you five sons after this girl.”

**RB.m:32**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>pakī'rānī</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>'rāst</i>	<i>ā</i>
goš-ī	pakīr-ānī	habar	rāst	=ā
say.NPST-3SG	fakir-GEN.PL	word	right	=COP.NPST.3PL

She said, “Are the fakirs’ words right?”

**RB.m:33**

<i>'bale</i>	<i>goš'tage</i>	<i>'rāst</i>	<i>'bā</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>'drōg</i>
bale	gošt-ag=e	rāst	∅-b-ā	šarr	drōg
well	say.PST-PP=PC.3PL	right	SBJV-become.PST-3PL	fine	lie

<i>'bā</i>	<i>'šarr</i>
∅-b-ā	šarr
SBJV-become.NPST-3PL	fine

[He said], well, they said (lit. have said); [if] they are right, it does not matter; [if] they are wrong (lit. lie) it does not matter.”

**RB.m:34**

<i>kod'rat</i>	<i>al'lāhe</i>	<i>'jan</i>	<i>čel'lag</i>	<i>'bī</i>	<i>'ārtī</i>
kodrat	allāh-e	jan	čellag	bī-∅	ārt=ī
power	God-GEN	woman	delivery	become.PST-3SG	bring.PST=PC.3SG

*mardē'čokē*  
mardēčok=e  
son=IND

By the will of God, the woman gave birth to a son (lit. delivered [and] gave birth).

**RB.m:35**

<i>'do</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>sā'lā</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>'rand</i>	<i>ja'nēnā</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'čokē</i>	<i>'ārt</i>
do	say	sāl-ā	če	rand	janēn-ā	dega	čok=e	ārt
two	three	year-OBL	from	after	wife-OBL	another	child=IND	bring.PST

After two, three years, the woman gave birth to an another son.

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:36

<i>tagrī'bā</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>pakī'rānī</i>	<i>'gape</i>	<i>motā'begā</i>	<i>'panč</i>
tagrībā	ham=ā	pakīr-ānī	gap-e	motābeg-ā	panč
almost	EMPH=DIST	fakir-GEN.PL	talk-GEN	according-OBL	five

<i>mardē'čok</i>	<i>xo'dāyā</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mardā</i>
mardēčok	xodā-yā	dā	ē	mard-ā
son	God-OBL	give.PST	PROX	man-OBL

More or less according to those fakirs' word God gave five sons to this man.

### RB.m:37

<i>'mard</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>zende'gīyā</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>šā'ker</i>	<i>'bī</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>
mard	otī	zendegī-yā	gō	šaker	bī-∅	ēšīā
man	REL.GEN	life-OBL	with	grateful	become.PST-3SG	PROX.OBL

<i>'dwā</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>'xodāye</i>	<i>'pāk</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ga'rībe</i>	<i>'čok</i>
dwā	ko	yā	xodā=ye	pāk	to	ē	garīb-e	čok
praying	do.PST	Oh	God=EZ	holy	PN.2SG	PROX	poor-GEN	child

<i>kota'gā</i>	<i>e'sānī</i>	<i>'hēcgonā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'hastē</i>
kot-ag-ā	eš-ānī	hēcgonā	ke	hast=ē
do.PST-PP-3PL	PROX-GEN.PL	in no way	CLM	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>tak'līpe</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>	<i>ne'sāīe</i>	<i>'makā</i>	<i>garī'bīyā</i>
taklīp-e	tōkā	nešāī=e	ma-kā-∅	garībī-yā
trouble-GEN	in	addicted=IND	PROH-do.NPST-2SG	poverty-OBL

<i>'bele</i>	<i>ga'rīb</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>ne'sāī</i>
b-el-∅=e	garīb	=ā	bale	nešāī
SBJV-allow.NPST-2SG=PC.3PL	poor	=COP.NPST.3PL	you know	addicted

<i>o</i>	<i>harām'wār</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'dozz</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>dā'kū</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>drōg'band</i>
=o	harām'wār	=o	dozz	=o	dākū	=o	drōgband
=and	usurer	=and	thief	=and	robber	=and	liar

*'mabā*

ma-b-ā

PROH-become.NPST-3PL

The man was grateful with his life; this one prayed, O [my] holy Lord, you made (lit. have made) these the sons of a poor man, in any way, [do not put] them in trouble; do not make them addicted; let them be poor but do not let them be addicts, usurers, thieves, robbers and liars.

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**RB.m:38**

*kod'ratā al'lāhā 'bāz ke 'hastē 'ehsā̃ ko*  
 kodrat-ā allāh-ā bāz ke hast=ē ehsā̃ ko  
 power-OBL God-OBL many CLM be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG favour do.PST

*e'sīe sa'rā e'sī 'čok ham 'šarr bītā o*  
 ešīe sarā ešī čok ham šarr bīt-ā =o  
 PROX.GEN on PROX.GEN child ADD fine become.PST-3PL =and

*e'sī janen'čok 'ya janen'čokī a 'hamē*  
 ešī janenčok ya janenčok=ī =a-∅ ham=ē  
 PROX.GEN daughter one daughter=PC.3SG =COP.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX

*'mardā yak go'hārē 'hasta go'hārā 'go*  
 mard-ā yak gohār=ē hast=a-∅ gohār-ā go  
 man-OBL one sister=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG sister-OBL say.PST

*'byā 'ta o'tī 'čokā gō 'man... 'mā*  
 by-ā-∅ ta otī čok-ā gō man mā  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.2SG REL.GEN child-OBL with PN.1SG PN.1SG

*o'tī 'čokā 'tī zā'māt kanā̃ e'sīā*  
 otī čok-ā tī zāmāt kan-ā̃ ešīā  
 REL.GEN child-OBL PN.2SG.GEN engaged do.NPST-1SG PROX.OBL

*'go 'šarr ē*  
 go šarr =ē  
 say.PST fine =COP.NPST.3SG

You know, by the will of God, God gave so many blessings to him; his children became (lit. have become) nice too, and his daughter was only one; this man had a sister (lit. there was a sister for this man); the sister said, “Look, you [marry off] your child with my... I’ll marry off my son (lit. child) to (with) your daughter (lit. child).”; this one said, “Alright.”

**RB.m:39**

*'to 'čī 'lōṭay e'sīā 'go 'harčī 'to*  
 to čī lōṭ-ay ešīā go harčī to  
 PN.2SG what want.NPST-2SG PROX.OBL say.PST whatever PN.2SG

*'bedayay*  
 be-day-ay  
 SBJV-give.NPST-2SG

[She said] “What do you want?”; this one said, “Whatever you give”.

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:40

'harčē 'to 'bogošay 'gorā gohāra o'tī 'čok  
 harčē to bo-goš-ay goṛā gohār-a oṭī čok  
 whatever PN.2SG SBJV-say.NPST-2SG then sister-OBL REL.GEN child

gō e'stā zā'māt ko  
 gō eštā zāmāt ko  
 with PROX.OBL engaged do.PST

Whatever you say.” Then, the sister had her son engaged to this [daughter].

### RB.m:41

'āxer lōtā'ēnt 'hamē maj'lese tō'kā ke 'ta  
 āxer lōṭāēnt-∅ ham=ē majles-e tōkā ke ta  
 end call.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX meeting-GEN in CLM PN.2SG

'o'tī hak'kā o ma'harā 'bogoš  
 oṭī hakk-ā =o mahar-ā bo-goš-∅  
 REL.GEN right-OBL =and dowry-OBL IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

You know, she called him in this meeting; [she said], /that/; “Tell your right and marriage portion.”

### RB.m:42

e'stā o'tī go'hār 'go mas'ter 'manī ham 'taw  
 eštā oṭī gohār go mas-ter man-ī ham taw  
 PROX.OBL REL.GEN sister say.PST big-CMP PN.1SG-GEN ADD PN.2SG

ay 'harčī ke 'to 'manā 'day  
 =ay harčī ke to man-ā ∅-d-ay  
 =COP.NPST.2SG whatever CLM PN.2SG PN.1SG-OBJ SBJV-give.NPST-2SG

'mana de'ga ete'rāzē 'nēstē  
 man-a dega eterāz=ē nēst=ē  
 PN.1SG.OBJ another objection=IND NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

This one said to his sister, “You are my lawyer (lit. my chief) too; whatever you give me, I will not have any objection.”

### RB.m:43

go'hārā 'go 'mā 'tarā 'sī 'panč mes'kāl te'lāh  
 gohār-ā go mā ta-rā sī panč meskāl telāh  
 sister-OBL say.PST PN.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ thirty five meskal gold

da'yā bā'kī 'tarā 'sad o pan'jā ha'zār to'mō  
 day-ā bākī ta-rā sad =o panjā hazār tomō  
 give.NPST-1SG rest PN.2SG-OBJ hundred =and fifty thousand toman

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

'tī	go'dānī	'tarā	da'yā̃
tī	god-ānī	ta-rā	day-ā̃
PN.2SG.GEN	cloth-GEN.PL	PN.2SG-OBJ	give.NPST-1SG

The sister said, “I will give you thirty five meskal of gold and the rest, I will give you one hundred and fifty thousand toman for your [daughter’s] clothes.”

**RB.m:44**

ē'sīā	'go	mas'ter	'ta	'wat	ay
ēšīā	go	mas-ter	ta	wat	=ay
PROX.OBL	say.PST	big-CMP	PN.2SG	REFL	=COP.NPST.2SG

This one said, “You can decide (lit. you are bigger).”

**RB.m:45**

xolā'se	'čīzē	mod'data	če	'bād	mardo'mānī	'sīre
xolāse	čīz=ē	moddat-a	če	bād	mardom-ānī	sīr-e
you know	thing=IND	time-OBL	from	after	people-GEN.PL	wedding-GEN

prōg'rām	'bī	ē'sīe	ē'sīe	'čoke	'sīre
prōgrām	bī-∅	ēšīe	ēšīe	čok-e	sīr-e
plan	become.PST-3SG	PROX.GEN	PROX.GEN	child-GEN	wedding-GEN

prōg'rām	'bī	bar'nāma	'bī	ba'le
prōgrām	bī-∅	barnāma	bī-∅	bale
plan	become.PST-3SG	plan	become.PST-3SG	but

'goštī	'mā	bā'nōrā	kā'rā̃	o'tī
gošt=ī	mā	bānōr-ā	k-ār-ā̃	otī
say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.1SG	bride-OBL	IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG	REL.GEN

lō'gā  
lōg-ā  
house-OBL

You know, after some time, it was time for the people’s wedding celebration; hers, it was her son’s wedding celebration (lit. plan); it was the celebration, but she [the sister] said, “I will bring the bride to my home.”

**RB.m:46**

'ay	'bābā	bā'nōr	o	janē'čokē	'ta	če'taw
ay	bābā	bānōr	=o	janēčok=ē	ta	četaw
oh	father	bride	=FOC	daughter=IND	PN.2SG	how

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'kāre</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'bas</i>	<i>'mā</i>
k-ār-e	oṭī	lōg-ā	goš-ī	bas	mā
IMP.k-bring.NPST-2SG	REL.GEN	house-OBL	say.NPST-3SG	just	PN.1SG

<i>kā'rāne</i>	<i>ja'nēne</i>	<i>'zedd</i>	<i>kon'nat</i>
k-ār-ān=e	janēn-e	zedd	konnat
IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG	woman-GEN	insistence	insistence

<i>ja'nēnā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>kon'nat</i>	<i>'pūro</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'hame</i>	<i>bā'nōr</i>
janēn-ā	oṭī	konnat	pūro	kot	=o	ham=e	bānōr
woman-OBL	REL.GEN	insistence	filled	do.PST	=and	EMPH=PROX	bride

<i>'hamā</i>	<i>janenčo'kīyā</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>go'dā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>poč'čā</i>
ham=ā	janenčok-ī-yā	gō	god-ā	=o	počč-ā
EMPH=DIST	daughter-ADJZ-OBL	with	cloth-OBL.PL	=and	clothes-OBL.PL

<i>'čes</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'ārt</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>'jole</i>	<i>ko</i>
čes	ko	ārt	oṭī	lōg-ā	jol=e	ko
up	do.PST	bring.PST	REL.GEN	house-OBL	bridal chamber=PC.3SG	do.PST

[He said] “Dear (lit. O father), the bride is a virgin (lit. daughter); how will you bring her to your home?”; she said, “That’s all, I will bring her.”; the woman’s insistence, the woman won (lit. filled her insistence), and brought (lit. lifted, and brought) the bride, the virgin, with her things to her home, [and] put her in the bridal chamber.

### RB.m:47

<i>bā'nōre</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>bečā'ra</i>	<i>tar'ragē</i>
bānōr-e	pet	bečāra	tarr-ag=ē
bride-GEN	father	poor	turn.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

The poor bride’s father was walking around.

### RB.m:48

<i>ā'hā</i>	<i>bā'nōr</i>	<i>jo'lā</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>
ā-hā	bānōr	jol-ā	ko	oṭī	lōg-ā
DIST-OBL.PL	bride	bridal chamber-OBL	do.PST	REL.GEN	house-OBL

<i>o</i>	<i>'sīre</i>	<i>dāt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'nēkāe</i>	<i>dāt</i>	<i>o</i>
=o	sīr=e	dāt	=o	nēkā=e	dāt	=o
=and	wedding=PC.3SG	give.PST	=and	betrothal=PC.3SG	give.PST	=and

<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'šokr</i>	<i>alamdol'lāh</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>janen'čokē</i>	<i>a</i>
ēšīā	go	šokr	alamdollāh	ya	janenčok=ē	=a-∅
PROX.OBL	say.PST	thank	thanks God	one	daughter=IND	=COP.PST-3SG

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

'hamī ya'kē j̄anen'čok de'ga j̄ā'gā o 'nakapt  
 ham=ī yak-ē j̄anenčok dega j̄āgā =o na-kapt-∅  
 EMPH=PROX one-ATTR daughter another place =FOC NEG-fall.PST-3SG

gō w'tī 'lōg o j̄ā'gaā kap'ta  
 gō wī lōg =o j̄āga-ā kapt-a=∅  
 with REFL.GEN house =and place-OBL.PL fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Those put the bride in the bridal chamber [in their own] home, and [the Mullah] gave her in marriage, and [the Mullah] declared the formal marriage contract and, this one (i.e. the bride's father) said, "Thank God, there was only one daughter; she, this one daughter did not marry someone else (lit. she did not fall in another place); she married her own relative (lit. has fallen with her house and place).

**RB.m:49**

'ē 'čok o mar'dē ā 'ē mardē'čoke 'ge  
 ē čok =o mardē =ā ē mardēčok=e ge  
 PROX child =FOC man =COP.NPST.3PL PROX son=PC.3SG take.PST

ke 'bača 'trā zā'māt kanā 'sīr dayā  
 ke bača trā zāmāt kan-ā sīr day-ā  
 CLM son PN.2SG-OBJ engaged do.NPST-1SG wedding give.NPST-1SG

These children are the boys."; He asked (lit. took) this son /that/, "I will get you engaged [and] marry you off."

**RB.m:50**

ē'sīā 'go 'manī 'pet da'nīgā 'mā ka'sān  
 ēsīā go man-ī pet danīgā mā kasān  
 PROX.OBL say.PST PN.1SG-GEN father still PN.1SG young

ā  
 =ā  
 =COP.NPST.1SG

He (lit. this) said, "My father, I am still young."

**RB.m:51**

do'mī 'čoke 'go 'bābā šo'mā 'har yakī 'bīs  
 do-mī čok=e go bābā šomā har yak=ī bīs  
 two-ORD child=PC.3SG say.PST father PN.2PL every one=IND twenty

'sī 'bīs 'pā 'sāl 'omr e 'bīs 'sāl mar'dome  
 sī bīs pā sāl omr =e bīs sāl mardom-e  
 thirty twenty five year age =COP.NPST.2PL twenty year people-GEN

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'omr e</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>'byāe</i>	<i>'sīr</i>
omr =e	šomā	by-ā-e	sīr
age =COP.NPST.2PL	PN.2PL	IMPV-come.NPST-2PL	wedding

*kanet*  
 Ø-kan-et  
 IMPV-do.NPST-2PL

He said to his second son, “My dear (lit. father), each of you, are twenty, thirty, twenty five years old, twenty years old; get married (lit. come [and] get married).”

### RB.m:52

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'me</i>	<i>'yabare</i>	<i>sī're</i>	<i>barnā'meyā</i>
goš-ī	na	me	yabare	sīr-e	barnāme-yā
say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.1PL.GEN	for now	wedding-GEN	plan-OBL

*'makā*  
 ma-kā-Ø  
 PROH-do.NPST-2SG

He said, “No, for now, do not talk about our wedding plans.”

### RB.m:53

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>ē</i>
goš-ī	šarr	=ē
say.NPST-3SG	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “Alright.”

### RB.m:54

<i>'hamī</i>	<i>rahīm'bakš</i>	<i>tar'rā</i>	<i>tar'rā</i>	<i>tar'rā</i>
ham=ī	rahīmbakš	tarr-ā	tarr-ā	tarr-ā
EMPH=PROX	Rahimbaksh	turn.NPST-3PL	turn.NPST-3PL	turn.NPST-3PL

<i>tar'rā</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'šot</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>'molkēā</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'lātē</i>
tarr-ā	dāke	šot-Ø	yak	molk=ē-ā	dā	lāt-ē
turn.NPST-3PL	then	go.PST-3SG	one	land=IND-OBL	until	some-ATTR

<i>'syād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>wā'rese</i>	<i>'asta</i>	<i>mar'dome</i>
syād	=o	wāres=e	ast=a-Ø	mardom=e
relative	=and	relative=IND	be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG	people=PC.3SG

*atā*  
 =at-ā  
 =COP.PST-3PL

This Rahimbaksh kept travelling (lit, turing,turing, turing, turing) until he went to a

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

town, you know, [where] he had some relatives (lit. there were some relatives and friends to him); he had [some] friends [there] (lit. there were some friends to him).

**RB.m:55**

'āt	sa'lām a'layk	wā	alay'kosa'lām	jo'dī	ḍa'dī
āt-∅	salām alayk	wā	alaykosalām	joḍ-ī	ḍaḍ-ī
come.PT-3SG	greeting	and	greeting	fine-NMLZ	fine-NMLZ

'bīt	o	ē'sānī	gwa'rā	'gap	o	dī'wā
bīt-∅	=o	ēš-ānī	gwarā	gap	=o	dīwā
become.PST-3SG	=and	PROX-GEN.PL	by	talk	=and	meeting

'bīt  
bīt-∅  
become.PST-3SG

He came [and] exchanged greetings, and he participated in their meeting and talked with them.

**RB.m:56**

'hamī	mardo'mā	'goṛā	'jos	ko	'to	'dīr
ham=ī	mardom-ā	goṛā	jos	ko	to	dīr
EMPH=PROX	people-OBL.PL	then	question	do.PST	PN.2SG	far

ē	'nayātkagay	'to
=ē	nay-ātk-ag=ay	to
=COP.NPST.3SG	NEG-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG

tarra'gāay	'to	'me	'molke	tō'kā
tarr-ag-ā=ay	to	me	molk-e	tōkā
turn.NPST-INF-OBL=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG	PN.1PL.GEN	land-GEN	in

yak	'sāngē	'bekotē	yak	ja'nēnē
yak	sāng=ē	be-kot-ē	yak	janēn=ē
one	betrothal=IND	SBJV-do.PST-PSBJV	one	wife=IND

'begeptē	'mā	'sak	rā'zīg	'bītagatē
be-gept-ē	mā	sak	rāzīg	bīt-ag=at-ē
SBJV-take.PST-PSBJV	PN.1PL	very	satisfied	become.PST-PP=COP.PST-1PL

Then these people said, “You have not come [here] for a long time; you are travelling around... ; [if] you married in our place, took a wife, we would be very happy.”

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:57

<i>ē'stā</i>	<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'zar</i>
ēštā	jawāb	dāt	ke	man-ā	na	zar
PROX.OBL	answer	give.PST	CLM	PN.1SG-OBJ	no	money

<i>'hast</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'pūl</i>	<i>'hast</i>	<i>o</i>
hast=∅		=o	na	pūl	hast=∅	=o
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG		=and	no	money	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	=and

<i>'heč</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'nēstē</i>		<i>če'taw</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>
heč	man-ā	nēst=ē		četaw	šomā
anything	PN.1SG-OBJ	NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG		how	PN.2PL

<i>mop'ta</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>zī'ret</i>
mopt-a	man-ā	zīr-et
free-OBL	PN.1SG-OBJ	take.NPST-2PL

This one answered /that/, “I have neither money, nor gold, and I have nothing; how can you accept me without money (lit. free)?”

### RB.m:58

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>zī'rē</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>o'tī</i>
goš-ī	mā	ta-rā	zīr-ē	taw	o'tī
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	PN.2SG-OBJ	take.NPST-1PL	PN.2SG	REL.GEN

<i>'gapā</i>	<i>'bekā</i>
gap-ā	be-kā-∅
talk-OBL	SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

He said, “We will accept you; you propose (lit. you say your word).”

### RB.m:59

<i>'čōbī</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>rahīm'bakš</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>pe'lāna</i>
čōbī	ham=ē	rahīmbakš	go	ke	šomā	pelān-a
you know	EMPH=PROX	Rahimbaksh	say.PST	CLM	PN.2PL	so and so-OBL

<i>mar'dome</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>'gap</i>	<i>'bekanet</i>	<i>agar</i>	<i>'wakteke</i>
mardom-e	gwarā	gap	be-kan-et	agar	wakteke
people-GEN	to	talk	IMPV-do.NPST-2PL	if	when

<i>zī'rī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>zī'rānē</i>
zīr-ī	mā	zīr-ān=ē
take.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	take.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG

You know, this Rahimbakash said /that/, “Propose for me to such a person; if she accepts me, I will accept her.”

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**RB.m:60**

'wāĵa mar'dom 'ātkā 'hāl dātā ke  
wāĵa mardom ātk-ā hāl dāt-ā ke  
sir people come.PST-3PL news give.PST-3PL CLM

'byā 'ē čo'sē čo'sē mar'domē 'ē  
by-ā-∅ ē čoš-ē čoš-ē mardom=ē ē  
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PROX such-ATTR such-ATTR people=IND PROX

lō'ī 'sāngē 'bekā  
lōī-ī sāng=ē be-kā-∅  
want.NPST-3SG betrothal=IND SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

Sir, people came [and] gave the news /that/, “Look, this one [ is] such and such a person, this one wants to get married.”

**RB.m:61**

'ā o go'sī 'bečā 'mārā 'dōst  
ā =o goš-ī be-čā-∅ mā-rā dōst  
DIST =FOC say.NPST-3SG IMPV-look.NPST-2SG PN.1PL-OBJ friend

'bī aga bī'pūlē bēpay'sāē 'bale  
b-ī aga bīpūl=ē bēpaysā=ē bale  
become.NPST-3SG if without money=IND without money=IND but

nešā'ī o taryā'kī o čar'sīē mar'dom  
nešāī =o taryākī =o čarsī-ē mardom  
addicted =and opium-smoker =and cannabis-ATTR people

'nahē bāehterā'mē 'mardē 'mā 'āī  
nahē bāehterām-ē mard=ē mā āī  
NEG.COP.NPST.3SG respectful-ATTR man=IND PN.1PL DIST.OBL

zī'rē  
zīr-ē  
take.NPST-1PL

That one said, “Look we like him, even though, he has no money; [even] if he has no money, but he is not addicted, an opium-smoker, and a cannabis-smoker he is a respectful [good] person; we will accept him.

**RB.m:62**

'bale 'ē ĵa'nekā deš'tārē ha deš'tār  
bale ē ĵanek-ā deštār=ē ha=∅ deštār  
but PROX girl-OBL fiancé=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG fiancé

## A. Text Corpus

*darā'madē*  
darāmad=e  
stranger=IND

But this girl has a fiancé; the fiancé is a foreigner.”

### RB.m:63

<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>dāt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>deš'tār</i>
goṛā	ēšīā	jawāb	dāt	ke	šarr	=ē	deštār
then	PROX.OBL	answer	give.PST	CLM	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG	fiancé

<i>aga</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>darā'made</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dāš'tage</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>čī</i>
aga	ke	darāmad=e	ke	dāšt-ag=e	goṛā	šomā	čī
if	CLM	stranger=IND	CLM	hold.PST-PP=PC.3SG	then	PN.2PL	what

<i>'goše</i>	<i>go'se</i>	<i>'mārā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'dōst</i>
goš-e	goš-e	mā-rā	ē	mardom	dōst
say.NPST-2PL	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL-OBJ	PROX	people	friend

*'nabī*  
na-b-ī  
NEG-become.NPST-3SG

Then this one answered /that/, “Alright, if the fiancé is a foreigner, and you have accepted him so what do you think (lit. say)?; why have [you] accepted (lit. held) him?; then, what do you think (lit. say)?”; he said, “We do not like this person.”

### RB.m:64

<i>šo'mārā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'dōst</i>	<i>'nabī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>
šomā-rā	ke	dōst	na-b-ī	=ē	goṛā
PN.2PL-OBJ	CLM	friend	NEG-become.NPST-3SG	=COP.NPST.3SG	then

<i>'brē</i>	<i>ja'wābī</i>	<i>'bedīē</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
b-r-ē	jawāb=ī	be-dī-ē	goš-ī
IMPV-go.NPST-2PL	answer=PC.3SG	IMPV-give.NPST-2PL	say.NPST-3SG

<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>da'yag</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>'nabī</i>
jawāb	day-ag	hā	na-b-ī
answer	give.NPST-INF	ADD	NEG-become.NPST-3SG

[He said] “When you do not like [him], then go and reject him (lit. give his answer)”; he said, “We can not reject him either.”

### RB.m:65

<i>ā'xer</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>'mardā</i>	<i>lōṭā'ēnt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>'ē</i>
āxer	ham=e	mard-ā	lōṭāēnt-∅	ke	bābā	taw	ē
end	EMPH=PROX	man-OBL	ask.PST-3SG	CLM	father	PN.2SG	PROX

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>ta'ṭ</i>		<i>'taw</i>	<i>ē'sānī</i>	<i>'syād</i>	<i>'naye</i>
mardom	ta-ṭ		taw	ēš-ānī	syād	naye
people	PN.2SG-GEN		PN.2SG	PROX-GEN.PL	relative	NEG.COP.NPST.2SG
<i>wā'res</i>	<i>'naye</i>		<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'naye</i>		<i>'taw</i>
wāres	naye		mardom	naye		taw
relative	NEG.COP.NPST.2SG		people	NEG.COP.NPST.2SG		PN.2SG
						<i>'wakteke</i>
						wakteke
						when
<i>'lōṭay</i>	<i>'ēdā</i>	<i>sāngban'dī</i>	<i>'bekanay</i>		<i>'to</i>	<i>'ē</i>
lōṭ-ay	ēdā	sāngbandī	be-kan-ay		to	ē
want.NPST-2SG	here	betrothal	SBJV-do.NPST-2SG		PN.2SG	PROX
<i>ja'nēnā</i>	<i>'zīre</i>		<i>'ray</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'molkīyā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>
janēn-ā	zīr-e		r-ay	dega	molk=i-yā	otī
woman-OBL	take.NPST-2SG		go.NPST-2SG	another	land=IND-OBL	REL.GEN
<i>'molkī</i>	<i>'baray</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>'molkā</i>
molk=i	bar-ay	ē	janek	dega	tī	molk-ā
land=PC.3SG	take.NPST-2SG	PROX	girl	another	PN.2SG.GEN	land-OBL
<i>'nayayt</i>	<i>ē</i>		<i>'taw</i>	<i>mehrabā'nī</i>		
nay-ay-t	=ē		taw	mehrabānī		
NEG-come.NPST-3SG	=COP.NPST.3SG		PN.2SG	kindness		
<i>'kā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>'māl</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dāta'gā</i>		<i>o'tī</i>
Ø-kā-Ø	otī	māl	ke	dāt-ag-ā		otī
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	REL.GEN	animal	CLM	give.PST-PP-3PL		REL.GEN
<i>mā'lā</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>o'tīgā</i>	<i>'bezīr</i>			
māl-ā	padā	otīg-ā	be-zīr-Ø			
animal-OBL.PL	again	yours-OBL	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG			

Finally, this man [Rahimbakhsh] called him; [he said] /that/, “My dear (lit. father), these people [are not] your... you are not their relative, and you are not their family; you are not of their people; when you want to marry here; then you take (lit. take and go) this girl to another place (lit. land); you take her to your place; you know, this girl will not come to your place; please (lit. do kindness), take your money back that you have given [to them].”

**RB.m:66**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ke</i>
goš-ī	goṛā	ā	mardom	kay	=ē	ke
say.NPST-3SG	then	DIST	people	who	=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM

## A. Text Corpus

'sāngī                    'ka  
 sāng=ī                    Ø-ka-Ø  
 betrothal=PC.3SG    SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

He said, “Well, who is that man who would marry her?”

### RB.m:67

ē'sīa                    'go                    ke                    'man                    ā̃    č'e'taw                    'to  
 ēšīa                    go                    ke                    man                    =ā̃    četaw                    to  
 PROX.OBL    say.PST    CLM    PN.1SG    =COP.NPST.1SG    how                    PN.2SG

'sāngī                    kanay                    go'sī                    'mā                    han'čō  
 sāng=ī                    kan-ay                    goš-ī                    mā                    hančō  
 betrothal=PC.3SG    do.NPST-2SG    say.NPST-3SG    PN.1SG    like this

'daste                    he'nī                    ka'nā̃                    'pāde                    he'nī                    kanā̃  
 dast=e                    henī                    kan-ā̃                    pād=e                    henī                    kan-ā̃  
 hand=PC.3SG    henna    do.NPST-1SG    foot=PC.3SG    henna    do.NPST-1SG

go'dā̃                    gwa'rā                    ka'nā̃                    ra'wā̃                    bā'nōre                    gwa'rā  
 god-ā̃                    gwar-ā                    kan-ā̃                    raw-ā̃                    bānōr-e                    gwarā  
 cloth-OBL.PL    breast-OBL    do.NPST-1SG    go.NPST-1SG    bride-GEN    beside

nen'dā̃                    'goṛā                    go'sī                    'to                    ge'ray                    ē'sīa  
 nend-ā̃                    goṛā                    goš-ī                    to                    ger-ay                    ēšīa  
 sit.NPST-1SG    then    say.NPST-3SG    PN.2SG    take.NPST-2SG    PROX.OBL

'go                    'haw                    'mā                    ge'rāne  
 go                    haw                    mā                    ger-ān=e  
 say.PST    yes    PN.1SG    take.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG

This one [Rahimbaksh] said /that/, “It’s me.”; [he said] “How will you marry her?”; he said, “Like this; I will put Henna on her hands; I will put Henna on her feet; I will dress her up; [then] I will go and sit beside the bride.”; he said, “Will you marry her?”; this one said, “Yes I will marry her.”

### RB.m:68

'šarrē                    'to                    'begere                    'goṛā  
 šarr=ē                    to                    be-ger-Ø=e                    goṛā  
 fine=COP.NPST.3SG    PN.2SG    IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG    then

'tarā                    čā'rā̃  
 ta-rā                    čār-ā̃  
 PN.2SG-OBJ    look.NPST-1SG

[He said], “Alright, if you marry her, I will kill you (lit. I will look at you).”

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**RB.m:69**

'šarr ē  
 šarr =ē  
 fine =COP.NPST.3SG

He [Rahimbakhsh] said, “Alright.”

**RB.m:70**

ā'xerā 'pet o 'mātī 'jos kotā 'petā  
 āxer-ā pet =o māt=ī jos kot-ā pet-ā  
 end-OBL father =and mother=PC.3SG question do.PST-3PL father-OBL

o 'mātā 'goštī 'mā 'tarā 'dōst  
 =o māt-ā gošt=ī mā ta-rā dōst  
 =and mother-OBL say.PST=PC.3PL PN.1PL PN.2SG-OBJ friend

'bī  
 b-ī  
 become.NPST-3SG

At the end, he (Rahimbakhsh) asked her father and mother; the father and mother said, “We like you.”

**RB.m:71**

'dōst 'bī šo'mā o'tī ja'hāzā 'begošet  
 dōst b-ī šomā otī jahāz-ā be-goš-ēt  
 friend become.NPST-3SG PN.2PL REL.GEN dowry-OBL IMPV-say.NPST-2PL

go'sī 'harčī ke 'taw zā'nay  
 goš-ī harčī ke taw zān-ay  
 say.NPST-3SG whatever CLM PN.2SG know.NPST-2SG

[He said], “[If] you like, [then] tell your dowry.”; He said, “Whatever you wish (lit. know).”

**RB.m:72**

'harčī ke 'to 'mārā 'day 'māe  
 harčī ke to mā-rā Ø-d-ay mā=e  
 whatever CLM PN.2SG PN.1PL-OBJ SBJV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1PL=PC.3SG

lō'ē  
 lōt-ē  
 want.NPST-1PL

Whatever you give to us, we will accept (lit. want) it.”

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:73

*ē'stā* 'padā ham 'čāret ke 'nī 'heč 'rāhē  
 ēštā padā ham čāret-∅ ke nī heč rāh=ē  
 PROX.OBL again ADD look.PST-3SG CLM now no way=IND

'nēstē 'ē mar'dom 'tarā  
 nēst=ē ē mardom ta-rā  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG PROX people PN.2SG-OBJ

*zīra'gā* yā 'bale bā'rē ja'nēn gō  
 zīr-ag-ā =yā bale bārē janēn gō  
 take.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.3PL but question word girl with

'ta zende'gī 'kot 'ka yā 'nakā 'ē ja'nek  
 ta zendegī kot ka-∅ yā na-kā-∅ ē janek  
 PN.2SG life do.PST do.NPST-3SG or NEG-do.NPST-3SG PROX girl

Again, this one [Rahimbakhsh] thought /that/, now there is no choice; these people are accepting you, but will the girl be able to live with you or not, this girl.

### RB.m:74

*masa'la* jene'keg ē ja'nēn janēn'čok ē  
 masala jenek-eg =ē janēn janēnčok =ē  
 issue girl-PRED.GEN =COP.NPST.3SG woman daughter =COP.NPST.3SG

*agar* 'wakteke 'rāst ē ke janēn'čok ē  
 agar wakteke rāst =ē ke janēnčok =ē  
 if when right =COP.NPST.3SG CLM daughter =COP.NPST.3SG

*bale* mar'čī don'yā tō'kā ha'zār moš'kel o māme'lā  
 bale marčī donyā tōkā hazār moškel =o māmela  
 but today world in thousand problem =and deal

'hastē  
 hast=ē  
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

The issue is the girl; the girl (lit. woman) is a virgin (lit. daughter); now that it is true that she is a virgin, but today, there are a thousand problems and deals in the world.”

### RB.m:75

'goṛā 'ē 'mardā lōtā'ēnt 'hamē ja'nek ke 'taw  
 goṛā ē mard-ā lōtāēnt-∅ ham=ē janek ke taw  
 then PROX man-OBL ask.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX girl CLM PN.2SG

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

'byā                      šar'yat ham go'sī                      kā'nūn ham  
 by-ā-∅                      šaryat ham goš-ī                      kânūn ham  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG sharia ADD say.NPST-3SG law ADD

go'sī                      'hak ham go'sī                      xo'dā ham go'sī                      ke  
 goš-ī                      hak ham goš-ī                      xodā ham goš-ī                      ke  
 say.NPST-3SG right ADD say.NPST-3SG God ADD say.NPST-3SG CLM

ja'nekā    'jos                      'bekā                      ba'čak ba'čakā    ja'nek    'jos  
 janek-ā    jos                      be-kā-∅                      bačak bačak-ā    janek    jos  
 girl-OBL question SBJV-do.NPST-3SG boy boy-OBL girl question

'bekā  
 be-kā-∅  
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

Then, this man called this girl; [he said] /that/, “Look (lit. come); religion says, the law says, the right says, God says /that/, the boy should ask the girl, and the girl should ask the boy.

**RB.m:76**

'aya ja'nēn    'taw    aga    'manī                      'sānga                      ka'nay  
 aya janēn    taw    aga    man-ī                      sāng-a                      kan-ay  
 if woman PN.2SG if PN.1SG-GEN betrothal-OBL do.NPST-2SG

'mā    hā    'hamēš                      ā̃  
 mā    hā    ham=eš                      =ā̃  
 PN.1SG ADD EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.1SG

If you, the girl, want to marry me, I am this [person].

**RB.m:77**

'manī                      'rangā                      hā    genda'gā                      ye  
 man-ī                      rang-ā                      hā    gend-ag-ā                      =ye  
 PN.1SG-GEN colour-OBL ADD see.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.2SG

'manī                      'omrā                      hā    genda'gā                      ye  
 man-ī                      omr-ā                      hā    gend-ag-ā                      =ye  
 PN.1SG-GEN age-OBL ADD see.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.2SG

'manī                      'kadā                      hā    genda'gā                      ye  
 man-ī                      kad-ā                      hā    gend-ag-ā                      =ye  
 PN.1SG-GEN height-OBL ADD see.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.2SG

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'manī</i>	<i>bā'lādā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>genda'gā</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>zende'gī</i>
man-ī	bālād-ā	hā	gend-ag-ā	=ye	zende'gī
PN.1SG-GEN	height-OBL	ADD	see.NPST-INF-OBL	=COP.NPST.2SG	life

<i>hā</i>	<i>genda'gā</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>ʔjan</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ʔčok</i>
hā	gend-ag-ā	=ye	man-ā	ʔjan	=o	čok
ADD	see.NPST-INF-OBL	=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	wife	=and	child

<i>hā</i>	<i>'hastē</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>sā'lōnkā</i>	<i>'hamē</i>
hā	hast=ē	ham=ī	sālōnk-ā	ham=ē
ADD	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	EMPH=PROX	bridegroom-OBL	EMPH=PROX

<i>'mardā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ro...</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>je'nekī</i>	<i>'hamē</i>
mard-ā	ke	ro	ham=ē	ʔenek=ī	ham=ē
man-OBL	CLM	FRAG	EMPH=PROX	girl=PC.3SG	EMPH=PROX

<i>je'nēne</i>	<i>ente'kāb</i>	<i>kota</i>
ʔenēn=e	entekāb	kot-a
woman=PC.3SG	choice	do.PST-PP

You are seeing my face; you are seeing my age; you are seeing my height; you are seeing my height; you are seeing my life; I have wife and children too.”; this bridegroom, this man who... has chosen this girl, this woman.

### RB.m:78

<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>ka'būl</i>
goṛā	ēšīā	hā	go	mā	ta-rā	kabūl
then	PROX.OBL	ADD	say.PST	PN.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	accepting

*ē*  
=ē  
=COP.NPST.3SG

So she said, “I accept you.”

### RB.m:79

<i>'tarā</i>	<i>ka'būl</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'haw</i>
ta-rā	kabūl	=ē	goš-ī	haw
PN.2SG-OBJ	accepting	=COP.NPST.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	yes

[He said] “Do you accept [me]?”; she said, “Yes.”

### RB.m:80

<i>'taw</i>	<i>ʔčī</i>	<i>'day</i>	<i>'goštī</i>	<i>'harčī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'to</i>
taw	čī	d-ay	gošt=ī	harčī	ke	to
PN.2SG	what	give.NPST-2SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	whatever	CLM	PN.2SG

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

'wat zā'nay  
wat zān-ay  
REFL know.NPST-2SG

[He said], “What do you want (lit. give)?”; she said, “Whatever you wish (lit. know).”

**RB.m:81**

'mard 'ātk mē'tagā 'tā čā'rī 'mard  
mard ātk-Ø mētag-ā tā čār-ī mard  
man come.PST-3SG village-OBL you know look.NPST-3SG man

'mardā ke'rē 'nēstē ke mā'sīnā 'swār  
mard-ā kerē nēst=ē ke māšin-ā swār  
man-OBL fare NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG CLM car-OBL riding

'bī o de'ga ja'nēne ge'rage  
Ø-b-ī =o dega janēn-e ger-ag-e  
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG =FOC another wife-GEN take.NPST-INF-GEN

wās'tā ha'nī janē'nānī ge'rage wās'tā  
wāstā hanī janēn-ānī ger-ag-e wāstā  
for the sake of right now wife-GEN.PL take.NPST-INF-GEN for the sake of

'bāz 'pūla lō'ī  
bāz pūl=a lōt-ī  
many money=VCL need.NPST-3SG

The man came home to [his] village, you know; he, the man thought, the man does not [even] have [lit. there is no money for the man] any money for his fare to go by car, but nowadays a lot of money is needed to take another wife.

**RB.m:82**

'hamē 'mardā yak ra'pīkē san'gātē 'hasta  
ham=ē mard-ā yak rapīk=ē sangāt=ē hast=a-Ø  
EMPH=PROX man-OBL one friend=IND friend=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG

'go 'byā 'mā zā'māt ā 'bale  
go by-ā-Ø mā zāmāt =ā bale  
say.PST IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.1SG bridegroom =COP.NPST.1SG but

'manā 'pūl 'nī ē'sīā 'go  
man-ā pūl nī ēšīā go  
PN.1SG-OBJ money NEG.COP.NPST.3SG PROX.OBL say.PST

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'byā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'wāmē</i>	<i>ge'rē</i>	<i>da'yē</i>
by-ā-∅	ta-rā	wām=ē	ger-ē	day-ē
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	loan=IND	take.NPST-1PL	give.NPST-1PL

This man had a friend (lit. there was a friend for this man); he said, “Look I am engaged but I have no money.”; this one said, “Look, we will apply (lit. take) for a loan [and] give [it] to you.”

### RB.m:83

<i>'ča</i>	<i>'kojā</i>	<i>če</i>
ča	kojā	če
from	where	from

[He said], “From where?”

### RB.m:84

<i>'šī</i>	<i>masa'la</i>	<i>kome'tayā</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>'bāke</i>	<i>se'pāyā</i>	<i>yā</i>
š-ī	masala	kometa-yā	yā	bāk=e	sepā-yā	yā
say.NPST-3SG	for example	Komite-OBL	or	bank=EZ	Sepah-OBL	or

<i>de'ga</i>	<i>jā'gahē</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'wāmē</i>	<i>ge'rē</i>	<i>da'yē</i>
dega	jāgah=ē	ta-rā	wām=ē	ger-ē	day-ē
another	place=IND	PN.2SG-OBJ	loan=IND	take.NPST-1PL	give.NPST-1PL

He said, “For example, from Komite the [Imam khomini Relief] Foundation from the Sepah Bank or from somewhere else; we will take a loan and give it to you.”

### RB.m:85

<i>'šarr</i>	<i>če'taw</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>ge'ray</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'day</i>
šarr	četaw	to	ger-ay	man-ā	d-ay
fine	how	PN.2SG	take.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	give.NPST-2SG

[He said], “Alright, how will you get it [and] give [it] to me?”

### RB.m:86

<i>go'šī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'hančō</i>	<i>ge'rā</i>	<i>da'yā</i>
goš-ī	mā	hančō	ger-ā	day-ā
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	like this	take.NPST-1SG	give.NPST-1SG

He said, “Well, I will get and give [it] to you like this.

### RB.m:87

<i>'taw</i>	<i>šas'tīyē</i>	<i>'naye</i>
taw	šast-ī=yē	naye
PN.2SG	sixty-ADJZ=IND	NEG.COP.NPST.2SG

Are you not [in] of sixty [year olds] group?”

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**RB.m:88**

*go'sī*                    *'enna*  
 goš-ī                    enna  
 say.NPST-3SG    no

He said, “No.”

**RB.m:89**

*'to*            *kome'teīyē*            *'naye*  
 to            komete-ī=yē            naye  
 PN.2SG    Komite-ADJZ=IND    NEG.COP.NPST.2SG

(He said), “Are not you a member of the Relief Foundation?”

**RB.m:90**

*go'sī*                    *'enna*  
 goš-ī                    enna  
 say.NPST-3SG    no

He said, “No.”

**RB.m:91**

*'šarr*    *'šī*                    *ya*    *'ḍawlē*            *ka'nene*  
 šarr    š-ī                    ya    ḍawl=ē            kan-en=e  
 fine    say.NPST-3SG    one    manner=IND    do.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG

Well, he said, “We will do it in some way.”

**RB.m:92**

*yak*    *'tawrīya*                    *ke*    *yak*    *kā'gadē*            *lōṭā'ēnt*  
 yak    tawr=ī-ya                    ke    yak    kāgad=ē            lōṭāēnt-Ø  
 one    manner=IND-OBL    CLM    one    letter=IND    ask.PST-3SG

Its happened that he asked for a letter.

**RB.m:93**

*yak*    *go'hārī*            *'nāme*            *sa'rā*    *'hamī*                    *'wām*    *'mardā*    *naweš'ta*  
 yak    gohār-ī            nām-e            sarā    ham=ī                    wām    mard-ā    nawešta  
 one    sister-GEN    name-GEN    on    EMPH=PROX    loan    man-OBL    writing

*kot*            *o*            *'čes*    *ko*            *dā*            *go'sī*                    *'boro*  
 kot            =o            čes    ko            dāt            goš-ī                    bo-ro-Ø  
 do.PST    =and    up    do.PST    give.PST    say.NPST-3SG    IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

## A. Text Corpus

*pe'lāne jā'gah yak zamā'natē 'dar gēj*  
 pelān-e jāgah yak zamānat=ē dar Ø-gēj-Ø  
 so and so-GEN place one guaranty=IND PREV IMPV-find.NPST-2SG

The man applied for (lit. wrote) this loan by (lit.on) one sister's name and gave (lit. lifted and gave) it [to him]; he said, "Go to such and such place; find a guaranty."

### RB.m:94

*'ē 'šo masa'la zamā'natē 'dar getk*  
 ē šo-Ø masala zamānat=ē dar getk  
 PROX go.PST-3SG you know guaranty=IND PREV find.PST

This one went, you know; he found a guaranty.

### RB.m:95

*zamā'nata naweš'ta ko 'čes ko dā kod'ratā*  
 zamānat-a nawešta ko čes ko dā kodrat-ā  
 guaranty-OBL writing do.PST up do.PST give.PST power-OBL

*ē'sīe 'pūl rase'tā 'pūle ke rase'tā*  
 ēšīe pūl raset-ā pūl=e ke raset-ā  
 PROX.GEN money arrive.PT-3PL money=PC.3SG CLM arrive.PT-3PL

*'cāre 'zarr o 'manā rasta'gā ē'sī*  
 cāre zarr =o man-ā rast-ag-ā ēšī  
 look.PST gold =FOC PN.1SG-OBJ arrive.PT-PP-3PL PROX.OBL

*'šot pa jā'nekā 'gošt... 'goštī 'janen 'goštī*  
 šot-Ø pa jānek-ā gošt gošt=ī janen gošt=ī  
 go.PST-3SG for girl-OBL say.PST say.PST=PC.3SG woman say.PST=PC.3SG

*ā 'goštī 'enčō 'enčō 'pūl 'manā ras'ta*  
 ā gošt=ī enčō enčō pūl man-ā rast-a  
 yes say.PST=PC.3SG this much this much money PN.1SG-OBJ arrive.PT-PP

*'mā lō'tā 'sīr 'bekañā 'to 'čī*  
 mā lōt-ā sīr be-kan-ā to čī  
 PN.1SG want.NPST-1SG wedding SBJV-do.NPST-1SG PN.2SG what

*go'say 'to baje'tagay 'bogo*  
 goš-ay to bajet-ag=ay bo-go-Ø  
 say.NPST-2SG PN.2SG regret.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

*'mā baje'tagā aga 'nabajetagay*  
 mā bajet-ag=ā aga na-bajet-ag=ay  
 PN.1SG regret.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG if NEG-regret.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

'ē	'pūl	ā		'manā	gōn	ā̃		'mā
ē	pūl	=ā		man-ā	gōn	=ā̃		mā
PROX	money	=COP.NPST.3PL		PN.1SG-OBJ	with	=COP.NPST.1SG		PN.1SG

'sīra		delmā'nag	ā̃
sīr-a		delmānag	=ā̃
wedding-OBL	wish		=COP.NPST.1SG

[Someone] wrote the letter of guaranty and gave (lit. lifted and gave) [it]; by the will of God, this one's money arrived; when his money arrived, he thought, I have got the money (lit. the money has arrived to me); he went to the girl; he said... he said, "Woman."; she said, "Yes."; he said, I got this much money; I want to get married; what do you think?; [If] you have changed your mind, tell me, [if] you have changed your mind; if you have not changed your mind, this is the money I have (lit. with me); I want to marry."

**RB.m:96**

go'sī	'šarr	ē		'boroē
goš-ī	šarr	=ē		bo-ro-ē̃
say.NPST-3SG	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG		SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

She said, "Alright, let's go."

**RB.m:97**

'mard	'bīt		'hamā	ja'neke	yak	go'hārē
mard	bīt-∅		ham=ā	janek-e	yak	gohār=ē
man	become.PST-3SG		EMPH=DIST	girl-GEN	one	sister=IND

'zortī		dā'rag	'āt	čo'sē̃	bā'zārē	ke
zort=ī		dārag	āt-∅	čoš-ē̃	bāzār=ē	ke
take.PST=PC.3SG	again		come.PT-3SG	such-ATTR	market place=IND	CLM

čaba'hāregā		čaba'hāre	bā'zār	ē		'go
čabahār-eg-ā		čabahār-e	bāzār	=ē		go
Chabahar-PRED.GEN-OBL		Chabahar-GEN	town	=COP.NPST.3SG		say.PST

'harčī	zī'ray		'bezīray
harčī	zīr-ay		be-zīr-ay
whatever	buy.NPST-2SG		SBJV-buy.NPST-2SG

The man took one of that girl's sisters (lit. It was the man, he took one of the girl's sister); again he came to a bazaar like Chabahar's; in the Chabahar bazaar; he said, "You should buy (lit. take) it, whatever you wish."

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:98

<i>'ešā</i>	<i>'god</i>	<i>'zort</i>	<i>čam'pale</i>	<i>'zort</i>	<i>odko'lone</i>	
ēš-ā	god	zort	čampal=e	zort	odkolon=e	
PROX-OBL.PL	cloth	buy.PST	sandle=PC.3PL	buy.PST	perfume=PC.3PL	
<i>'zort</i>	<i>'bōpē</i>	<i>'zort</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>sar'jāhē</i>	<i>'zort</i>	<i>o</i>
zort	bōp=e	zort	=o	sarjāh=e	zort	=o
buy.PST	blanket=PC.3PL	buy.PST	=and	pillow=PC.3PL	buy.PST	=and
<i>pa'tū</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>tak'yā</i>	<i>'harčīzē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ē'sānī</i>	<i>de'lā</i>
patū	=o	takyā	harčīz=e	ke	ēš-ānī	del-ā
blanket	=and	pillow	whatever=IND	CLM	PROX-GEN.PL	heart-OBL
<i>'lōtet</i>	<i>'pūle</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>'pūle</i>	
lōt-et	pūl=e	=o	gō	=a-∅	pūl=e	
want.NPST-2PL	money=PC.3PL	=FOC	with	=COP.PST-3SG	money=PC.3PL	
<i>zor'tant</i>	<i>te'lāhe</i>	<i>'zortant</i>	<i>'čestī</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>bā'nōre</i>	
zort-ant	telāh=e	zort-ant	čest=ī	ko	bānōr-e	
take.PST-3PL	gold=PC.3PL	take.PST-3PL	up=PC.3SG	do.PST	bride-GEN	
<i>go'hārā</i>	<i>'dātanī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>'boro</i>	<i>'taw</i>	
gohār-ā	dāt-ant=ī	ke	taw	bo-ro-∅	taw	
sister-OBL	give.PST-3PL=PC.3SG	CLM	PN.2SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	
<i>'boro</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>'sar</i>	<i>kawl</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'padā</i>
bo-ro-∅	mā	sar	kawl	=on	mā	padā
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	head	promise	=COP.NPST.1SG	PN.1SG	again
<i>'wata</i>	<i>kā'yā</i>					
wat=a	k-āy-ā					
REFL=VCL	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG					

These bought fabric, bought sandals; bought perfume; bought a blanket; bought a pillow; bought a blanket, and pillows and whatever they wanted; they had money; they took the money [and] bought gold; he gave (lit. took and gave) them to the bride's sister; [he said] "Go, go I will keep my promise; I will come later myself."

### RB.m:99

<i>'māle</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>'rāh</i>	<i>dā'tant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'marde</i>	<i>'jend</i>
māl=e	otī	rāh	dāt-ant	=o	mard-e	jend
stuff=PC.3SG	REL.GEN	way	give.PST-3PL	=and	husband-GEN	self
<i>'ātk</i>	<i>'ātk</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>ja'nēn</i>		
ātk-∅	ātk-∅	lōg-ā	goš-ī	janēn		
come.PST-3SG	come.PST-3SG	house-OBL	say.NPST-3SG	woman		

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'hā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'byā</i>	<i>'manā</i>	
goš-ī	hā	goš-ī	by-ā-∅	man-ā	
say.NPST-3SG	yes	say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	
<i>'āpē</i>	<i>'beday</i>	<i>'čā</i>	<i>'beday</i>	<i>mar'čī</i>	<i>'mā</i>
āp=ē	be-day-∅	čā	be-day-∅	marčī	mā
water=IND	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	tea	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	today	PN.1SG
<i>šo'tā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>'sīre</i>	<i>sā'mā</i>	<i>'drō</i>	<i>zor'tagā</i>
šot-ā	otī	sīr-e	sāmā	drō	zort-ag-ā
go.PST-1SG	REL.GEN	wedding-GEN	stuff	all	buy.PST-PP-3PL

He sent his [wedding] things; and the man, himself came, came home; he said, “Hey wife.”; she said, “Yes.”; [he said], “Come and give me some water; give me some tea; today I went [and] bought (lit. have bought) all my wedding things.”

**RB.m:100**

<i>ja'nēn</i>	<i>bā'wār</i>	<i>'nakanagē</i>	<i>ja'nē</i>	<i>bā'wār</i>	
janēn	bāwar	na-kan-ag=ē	janē	bāwar	
woman	belief	NEG-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	woman	belief	
<i>'nabūt</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'zarr</i>	<i>'kayā</i>	<i>dā'ta</i>	<i>ke</i>
na-būt-∅	ta-rā	zarr	kay-ā	dāt-a	ke
NEG-become.PST-3SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	money	who-OBL	give.PST-PP	CLM
<i>'to</i>	<i>'sīr</i>	<i>ka'nay</i>			
to	sīr	∅-kan-ay			
PN.2SG	wedding	SBJV-do.NPST-2SG			

The woman did not believe, she did not believe; [she said], “Who has given money you to marry.”

**RB.m:101**

<i>'hamī</i>	<i>kā'gad</i>	<i>mā'gad</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>pāk'tor</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ma'rdā</i>
ham=ī	kāgad	māgad	ham=ī	pāktor	ke	mard-ā
EMPH=PROX	letter	letter	EMPH=PROX	receipt	CLM	man-OBL
<i>gep'ta</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>kam'balānī</i>	<i>pa'tūānī</i>	<i>te'lāhānī</i>		
gept-a	ham=ī	kambal-ānī	patū-ānī	telāh-ānī		
take.PST-PP	EMPH=PROX	blanket-GEN.PL	blanket-GEN.PL	gold-GEN.PL		
<i>dros'tē</i>	<i>pāk'torī</i>	<i>ja'nēne</i>	<i>'dēmā</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>kotā</i>	
drost-ē	pāktor=ī	janēn-e	dēmā	ēr	kot-ā	
all-ATTR	receipt=PC.3SG	woman-GEN	in front of	PREV	do.PST-3PL	

The man put all the receipts, all the receipts for the blankets, the blankets, the gold, in front of the woman.

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:102

*ja'nēn* 'ē *pāk'torā* 'ē *te'lāhā* *zor'tā* 'to  
 janēn ē pāktor-ā ē telāh-ā zort-ā to  
 woman PROX receipt-OBL.PL PROX gold-OBL.PL buy.PST-3PL PN.2SG

*'byā* 'mnā 'čāē 'āpē  
 by-ā-∅ mnā čā=ē āp=ē  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.1SG.OBJ tea=IND water=IND

*'beday* *ja'nēn* *lag'ge* *kan'dagā*  
 be-day-∅ janēn lagge-∅ kand-ag-ā  
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG woman start.PST-3SG laugh.NPST-INF-OBL

*'šo* 'čāē 'āpē 'čes *ko* 'dāte  
 šo-∅ čā=ē āp=ē čes ko dāt=e  
 go.PST-3SG tea=PC.3SG water=PC.3SG up do.PST give.PST=PC.3SG

*ja'nē* *bā'wār* 'nakanagē  
 janē bāwar na-kan-ag=ē  
 woman belief NEG-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

[He said] “Woman, these receipts, this gold that I bought; come and give me some tea [or] water.”; the woman started to laugh; she went, gave (lit. lifted and gave) him some water [some] tea; the woman did not believe (lit. is not believing).

### RB.m:103

*ša'pā* 'mard 'wapt 'sōbe *sa'rā* 'pād ātk  
 šap-ā mard wapt-∅ sōb-e sarā pād ātk-∅  
 night-OBL man sleep.PST-3SG morning-GEN on foot come.PST-3SG

*o* 'ātk *de'ge* 'māte *o* *go'hāre* *gwa'rā*  
 =o ātk-∅ dege māt-e =o gohār-e gwarā  
 =and come.PST-3SG you know mother-GEN =and sister-GEN to

*'byā* 'māt *gohā'rā* *šo'mā* 'sīrā  
 by-ā-∅ māt gohār-ā šomā sīr-ā  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG mother sister-OBL.PL PN.2PL wedding-OBL

*kā'yet* *gō* *aga* 'nayāe *gō*  
 k-ā-yet gō aga nay-ā-e gō  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-2PL with or NEG-come.NPST-2PL with

The man slept at night; in the morning he got up and came to his mother and sister; [he said] “Look, mother, sister, would you like to come to the wedding celebration or not?”

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

**RB.m:104**

<i>'māt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>gohār'ā</i>	<i>go'sā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>če'taw</i>	<i>'sīrā</i>
māt	=o	gohār-ā	goš-ā	mā	četaw	sīr-ā
mother	=and	sister-OBL.PL	say.NPST-3PL	PN.1PL	how	wedding-OBL

<i>kā'yē</i>		<i>gō</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>go'sē</i>	<i>'janē</i>
k-ā-yē		gō	mā	trā	goš-ē	jan=e
IMP.k-come.NPST-1PL		with	PN.1PL	PN.2SG.OBJ	say.NPST-1PL	wife=IND

<i>'mager</i>		<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>če'taw</i>	<i>'jane</i>
ma-ger-∅		goš-ī	mā	četaw	jan=e
PROH-take.NPST-2SG		say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	how	wife=IND

<i>'nagerā</i>		<i>'mā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'pūl</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'paysā</i>	<i>o</i>
na-ger-ā		mā	=o	pūl	=o	paysā	=o
NEG.SBJV-take.NPST-1SG		PN.1SG	=FOC	money	=and	money	=and

<i>'māl</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>te'lāh</i>	<i>'drō</i>	<i>'čes</i>	<i>ko'ta</i>	<i>dā'tagā</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>pa'kā</i>
māl	=o	telāh	drō	čes	kot-a	dāt-ag-ā	nī	pakā
animal	=and	gold	all	up	do.PST-PP	give.PST-PP-3PL	now	only

<i>'do</i>	<i>'čīz</i>	<i>'sar</i>	<i>āt'ka</i>	<i>do'ē</i>	<i>'čīz</i>	<i>'hameš</i>
do	čīz	sar	ātk-a	do-ē	čīz	ham=eš
two	thing	head	come.PST-PP	two-ATTR	thing	EMPH=PROX

<i>ā</i>		<i>'brenj</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'gōšt</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>'brenj</i>	<i>o</i>
=ā		brenj	=o	gōšt	=ā	brenj	=o
=COP.NPST.3PL		rice	=and	meat	=COP.NPST.3PL	rice	=and

<i>'gōštā</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>jā'gā</i>	<i>'kār</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>jā'gā</i>
gōšt-ā	=om	xodā	dā-∅	ē	jāgā	kār	ē	jāgā
meat-OBL	=ADD	God	give.NPST-3SG	PROX	place	work	PROX	place

<i>āt'ka</i>		<i>ras'ta</i>
ātk-a=∅		rast-a=∅
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		arrive.PT-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

The mother and the sister said, “How should we come for wedding?; we are telling you, do not take another wife.”; he said, “Why (lit. how) should I not take another wife; I gave (lit.have given) the money, the money, the money (lit. animal) and the gold; I have given it all to them; now just two things are left; these two things are the rice and the meat; God gives the rice and the meat, now that the event has reached (lit. come and reached) [this stage].”

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:105

'nī 'mātā hā ja'wāb dā go'hārā hā ja'wāb  
 nī māt-ā hā jawāb dāt-∅ gohār-ā hā jawāb  
 now mother-OBL ADD answer give.PST-3SG sister-OBL ADD answer

dā brā'tā ham ja'wāb dāt 'mārā 'kār  
 dāt brāt-ā ham jawāb dāt mā-rā kār  
 give.PST brother-OBL ADD answer give.PST PN.1PL-OBJ work

ne 'tarā 'kār 'ne 'šarr  
 ne ta-rā kār ne šarr  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG-OBJ work NEG.COP.NPST.3SG fine

ē  
 =ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG

Now the mother answered, the sister answered, the brother answered, “It is none of our business.”; [he said] “It is none of our business; it’s OK.”

### RB.m:106

'ē 'ātk o sa'wār 'bī mā'šīnīyā o  
 ē ātk-∅ =o sawār bī-∅ māšīn=ī-yā =o  
 PROX come.PST-3SG =and rider become.PST-3SG car=IND-OBL =and

'šo 'dēm pa sī'rā  
 šo-∅ dēm pa sīr-ā  
 go.PST-3SG face for wedding-OBL

This one took (lit. came and took) a car and went to the wedding.

### RB.m:107

'ēdā 'wakteke 'ātk ā'yā 'jos ko 'hā 'brenj  
 ēdā wakteke ātk-∅ ā-yā jos ko hā brenj  
 here when come.PST-3SG DIST-OBL.PL question do.PST yes rice

go'sī 'brenj om xo'dā 'dant 'ē 'šo  
 goš-ī brenj =om xodā dan-t ē šo-∅  
 say.NPST-3SG rice =ADD God give.NPST-3SG PROX go.PST-3SG

dokān'dārī gwa'rā 'say kī'sā 'brenjī 'zo 'do  
 dokāndārī-∅ gwarā say kīsā brenj=ī zo do  
 shopkeeper-GEN to three bag rice=PC.3SG buy.PST two

'pasī 'zo 'bīs 'dāna 'morgī 'zort  
 pas=ī zo bīs dāna morg=ī zort  
 sheep=PC.3SG buy.PST twenty CLAS chicken=PC.3SG buy.PST

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

'ātk	o	'sīr	marde'kāye	šo'rū	'bī
āt-∅	=o	sīr	mard-ek-ā-ye	šorū	bī-∅
come.PST-3SG	=and	wedding	man-DIM-OBL-GEN	start	become.PST-3SG

marde'kāye	'sīr	šo'rū	'bīt	o	marde'kā
mard-ek-ā-ye	sīr	šorū	bīt-∅	=o	mard-ek-ā
man-DIM-OBL-GEN	wedding	start	become.PST-3SG	=and	man-DIM-OBL

'sīr	ko
sīr	ko-∅
wedding	do.PST-3SG

When he arrived there (lit. here); those asked, “Yes, the rice.”; he said, “God gives the rice as well.”; this one went to the shopkeeper; he bought three sacks of rice; he bought two sheep; he bought twenty chickens [and] came back, and the wedding celebration of the man started; the wedding celebration of the man started, and the man got married.

**RB.m:108**

nendā'rēnte	čāre'mī	rō'čā	'padā	sa'wār	'bīt	o
nendēnārēnt=e	čār-emī	rōč-ā	padā	sawār	bīt-∅	=o
place.PST=PC.3PL	four-ORD	day-OBL	again	riding	become.PST-3SG	=and

'āt	o'tī	ja'nēne	gwa'rā	'janen	'nī	'tarā
āt-∅	otī	janēn-e	gwarā	janen	nī	ta-rā
come.PT-3SG	REL.GEN	wife-GEN	to	woman	now	PN.2SG-OBJ

'bāwar	kā	'ēš	ā	ē	'god	'ē	'počč
bāwar	kā-∅	ēš	=ā	ē	god	ē	počč
belief	do.NPST-3SG	PROX	=COP.NPST.3PL	PROX	cloth	PROX	clothes

'mā	'sīr	kota	ja'nēn	'nī	'zār	ē	mar'de
mā	sīr	kot-a	janēn	nī	zār	=ē	mard-e
PN.1SG	wedding	do.PST-PP	wife	now	angry	=COP.NPST.3SG	man-GEN

ā're	ja'nēn	'taw	'čī	'zār	ay	'šī
āre	janēn	taw	čī	zār	=ay	š-ī
oh friend	woman	PN.2SG	what	angry	=COP.NPST.2SG	say.NPST-3SG

'mā	goš'ta	'to	ja'nēn	'nageray	'bale	'mā
mā	gošt-a	to	janēn	na-ger-ay	bale	mā
PN.1SG	say.PST-PP	PN.2SG	wife	NEG-take.NPST-2SG	but	PN.1SG

'tarā	'nagošta	'mā	'janē	ge'rā
ta-rā	na-gošt-a	mā	jan=ē	ger-ā
PN.2SG-OBJ	NEG-say.PST-PP	PN.1SG	wife=IND	take.NPST-1SG

## A. Text Corpus

'goš'ī	'tarā	'kayā	goš'ta	'beger
gošt=ī	ta-rā	kay-ā	gošt-a	be-ger-∅
say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	who-OBL	say.PST-PP	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

'šī	'bale	'šarr	ē	de'ga	'barē	'mā
š-ī	bale	šarr	=ē	dega	bar=ē	mā
say.NPST-3SG	but	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG	another	time=IND	PN.1SG

'nagerā	'šī	'nī	če'taw	de'ga	'bare
na-ger-ā	š-ī	nī	četaw	dega	bar=e
NEG-take.NPST-1SG	say.NPST-3SG	now	how	another	time=IND

'nageray	'nī	'ta	o'tī	'kār	kota'gā	a'sa
na-ger-ay	nī	ta	o'tī	kār	kot-ag-ā	asa
NEG-take.NPST-2SG	now	PN.2SG	REL.GEN	work	do.PST-PP-3PL	actually

'ē	ja'nēn	'zār	'zār	'zār	'zār	'āxer	ē'sī	čā're
ē	janēn	zār	zār	zār	zār	āxer	ēšī	čāre
PROX	woman	angry	angry	angry	angry	end	PROX.OBL	look.PST

'nī	o	ja'nēn	'zār	ē
nī	=o	janēn	zār	=ē
now	=FOC	woman	angry	=COP.NPST.3SG

They made [them] sit; on the fourth day, again, he took a car and came to his [first] wife; [he said] “Now do you believe that I married (lit. have married); these are the clothes, these are the clothes.”; now the man’s wife was angry; [he said] “O friend, why are you angry?”; she said, “I thought (lit. have said), you will not marry.”; [he said] “But have I not told you /that/ I will marry?”; she said, “Who told (lit. has told) you to marry?”; he said, “Alright, but I won’t marry again.”; she said, “Now how will you not marry again; now you married (lit. have done your job).”; you know, this woman [was] angry, angry, angry, angry, angry; at the end this one realized (lit. looked), now the woman is angry.

### RB.m:109

mar'dā	'ge	o'tī	master'ēn	go'hār	'šī
mard-ā	ge	o'tī	mas-ter-ēn	gohār	š-ī
man-OBL	take.PST	REL.GEN	old-CMP-ATTR	sister	say.NPST-3SG

'byā	'nī	'ē	ja'nēn	o	'zār	ē
by-ā-∅	nī	ē	janēn	=o	zār	=ē
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	now	PROX	woman	=FOC	angry	=COP.NPST.3SG

'sālē	'bī	'zār	ē	'ē	wā	'do
sāl=ē	b-ī	zār	=ē	ē	wā	do
year=IND	become.NPST-3SG	angry	=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	FOC	two

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

<i>ja'nēnye</i>	<i>mo'rād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'nē</i>	<i>masa'la</i>	<i>ē's</i>	
janen-ī-ye	morād	=o	nē	masala	ēs	
wife-ADJZ-GEN	wish	=FOC	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG	issue	PROX	
<i>ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'yakē</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>do'mī</i>
=ē	ke	yak=ē	goš-ī	ke	mā	do-mī
=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM	one=IND	say.NPST-3SG	CLM	PN.1SG	two-ORD
<i>ja'nēnā</i>	<i>'begerā</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'zār</i>	<i>'bebī</i>	<i>'to</i>	
janēn-ā	be-ger-ā	ā	zār	be-b-ī	to	
wife-OBL	SBJV-take.NPST-1SG	DIST	angry	SBJV-become.PST-3SG	PN.2SG	
<i>yak</i>	<i>'kārē</i>	<i>'bekā</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'boro</i>	<i>'ē</i>	
yak	kār=ē	be-kā-∅	to	bo-ro-∅	ē	
one	work=IND	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	PROX	
<i>do'mī</i>	<i>ja'nēne</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>mena'wār</i>	<i>'bebay</i>	<i>'harčī</i>	
do-mī	janēn-e	gwarā	menawār	be-b-ay	harčī	
two-ORD	woman-GEN	to	request	SBJV-become.PST-2SG	whatever	
<i>lō'ī</i>	<i>da'yenī</i>					
lōṭ-ī	day-en=ī					
want.NPST-3SG	give.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG					

The man requested from his oldest sister; he said, “Look, now this woman is angry; she is angry since one year, you know; this is not the wish of [a man] with two wives, you know; the issue is not (lit. is) that, one will say /that/, I take a second wife but the first one will be unhappy; do something; go to this second wife; request of her; we will give her whatever she wishes.”

**RB.m:110**

<i>master'ēn</i>	<i>go'hārā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>ē</i>	
mas-ter-ēn	gohār-ā	go	šarr	=ē	
old-CMP-ATTR	sister-OBL	say.PST	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG	
<i>'berē</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'harčī</i>	<i>go'sā</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>bā'yed</i>
be-r-ē	mā	harčī	goš-ā	to	bāyed
SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	PN.1SG	whatever	say.NPST-1SG	PN.2SG	must
<i>ka'būl</i>	<i>'bekanay</i>				
kabūl	be-kan-ay				
accepting	SBJV-do.NPST-2SG				

The oldest sister said, “Alright, let’s go; [but] you must accept whatever I say.”

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:111

<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>ka'būl</i>
ēšīā	go	šarr	=ē	man-ā	kabūl
PROX.OBL	say.PST	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	accepting

*ē*  
=ē  
=COP.NPST.3SG

This one said, “Alright, I will accept it.”

### RB.m:112

<i>'ē</i>	<i>sa'wār</i>	<i>bīā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>mā'sīnēyā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>hō'lakēyā</i>
ē	sawār	bīt-ā	yak	māšīn=ē-yā	yak	hōlak=ē-yā
PROX	riding	become.PST-3PL	one	car=IND-OBL	one	car=IND-OBL

<i>šo'tā</i>	<i>'ōdā</i>	<i>ja'nēne</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>ja'nēne</i>	<i>'čamm</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'mardā</i>
šot-ā	ōdā	janēn-e	gwarā	janēn-e	čamm	pa	mard-ā
go.PST-3PL	there	wife-GEN	to	woman-GEN	eye	for	man-OBL

<i>kapt'a</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>jan'ena</i>	<i>mānī</i>	<i>'laṭē</i>
kapt-a=∅	nī	janen=a	mān-ī	laṭ=ē
fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	now	woman=VCL	stay.NPST-3SG	stick=IND

<i>'bzīrī</i>	<i>'marde</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>'bejant</i>
b-zīr-ī	mard-e	sar-ā	be-jan-t
SBJV-take.NPST-3SG	man-GEN	head-OBL	SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG

These took a car, a car, [and] went there to the woman; when she saw (lit. the woman's eyes fell on the man) the man, you know, she was about to take a stick and beat on the man's head.

### RB.m:113

<i>ā'xerā</i>	<i>'āpē</i>	<i>'čāē</i>	<i>wa'ragē</i>	<i>'čīzē</i>	<i>'česte</i>	<i>ko</i>
āxer-ā	āp=ē	čā=ē	warag=ē	čīz=ē	čest=e	ko
end-OBL	water=IND	tea=IND	food=IND	thing=IND	up=PC.3SG	do.PST

<i>'dātā</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>'marde</i>	<i>go'hārā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ay</i>
dāt-ā	goṛā	mard-e	gohār-ā	go	ke	ay
give.PST-3PL	then	husband-GEN	sister-OBL	say.PST	CLM	VOC

<i>'pelāna</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'zār</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mard</i>
pelān-a	mardom	to	zār	=e	ē	mard
so and so-OBL	people	PN.2SG	angry	=COP.NPST.2SG	PROX	man

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

<i>āt'ka</i>		<i>pē'sarā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>'mā</i>		
āt-k-a=∅		pēsarā	ta-rā	gošt-a	mā		
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		before	PN.2SG-OBJ	say.PST-PP	PN.1SG		
<i>ja'nēnē</i>	<i>gera'gā</i>		<i>yā</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>		
janēn=e	ger-ag-ā		=yā	to	gošt-a		
woman=IND	take.NPST-INF-OBL	=COP.NPST.1SG	PN.2SG	say.PST-PP			
<i>'beger</i>		<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>je'tī</i>	<i>o</i>	
be-ger-∅		gošt-a	ē	mnī	je'tī	=o	
IMPV-take.NPST-2SG		say.PST-PP	PROX	PN.1SG.GEN	paper	=and	
<i>kā'gadā</i>	<i>pāk'torā</i>	<i>te'lāhā</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>zor'tā</i>	<i>'ē</i>		
kāgad-ā	pāktor-ā	telāh-ā	mā	zort-ā	ē		
letter-OBL.PL	receipt-OBL.PL	gold-OBL.PL	PN.1SG	buy.PST-3PL	PROX		
<i>'drost</i>	<i>zor'ta</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>'čīyā</i>	<i>'zār</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>'mā</i>
drost	zort-a	nī	taw	čī-yā	zār	=ay	mā
all	buy.PST-PP	now	PN.2SG	why-OBL	angry	=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.1SG
<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>'nagerī</i>		<i>če'taw</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>		
gošt-a	na-ger-ī		četaw	to	gošt-a		
say.PST-PP	NEG-take.NPST-3SG	how	PN.2SG	say.PST-PP			
<i>'nagerī</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>marda'kāyā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ja'nēn</i>	<i>gep'ta</i>		
na-ger-ī	ē	mard-ak-ā-yā	ē	janēn	gept-a		
NEG-take.NPST-3SG	PROX	man-DIM-OBL-OBL	PROX	wife	take.PST-PP		
<i>'nī</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>lō'tay</i>				
nī	to	čī	lōt-ay				
now	PN.2SG	what	want.NPST-2SG				

At the end, she gave (lit. lifted and gave); some water, tea, food and things [like that]; then the man's sister said /that/, "Hey there (lit. such and such person), [why] are you angry?; earlier this man came (lit. has come) [to you], [and] told (lit. has told) you that he is (lit. I am) taking a new wife, and you said (lit. have said), take her; he said (lit. has said), these are my papers, and receipts of the gold that I have bought, I have bought this all, now why are you angry?"; [his wife said], "I thought (lit. have said), he will not marry."; [his sister said] "How did you think (lit. have you said), he will not marry?; this man took (lit. has taken) this woman; now what do you want?"

**RB.m:114**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>mī'lūne</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>lō'tā</i>
goš-ī	mīlūn=e	tomō	mā	lōt-ā
say.NPST-3SG	million=IND	toman	PN.1SG	want.NPST-1SG

She said, "I want one million toman."

## A. Text Corpus

### RB.m:115

*de'ga 'čī 'to lō'tay*  
 dega čī to lōṭ-ay  
 another what PN.2SG want.NPST-2SG

[She said], “What else do you want?”

### RB.m:116

*'manī 'dah 'sore pē'sarā bor'ta prōš'ta o*  
 man-ī dah sor=e pēsarā bort-a prōšt-a =o  
 PN.1SG-GEN ten gold=PC.3SG before take.PST-PP break.PST-PP =and

*gār'ta ā'hā lō'tā*  
 gārt-a ā-hā lōṭ-ā  
 eat.PT-PP DIST-OBL.PL want.NPST-1SG

[She said] “Earlier, he sold (lit. has taken and broken) and spent (lit. has eaten), my ten [meskal] of gold; I want them too.”

### RB.m:117

*'nī 'joste ko 'mard 'to da'yay*  
 nī jost=e ko mard to day-ay  
 now question=PC.3SG do.PST man PN.2SG give.NPST-2SG

Now [his sister] asked the man, “Will you give [then] back.”

### RB.m:118

*'šī 'haw da'yā so'rānī hā*  
 š-ī haw day-ā sor-ān=ī hā  
 say.NPST-3SG yes give.NPST-1SG gold-OBL.PL=PC.3SG ADD

*da'yā*  
 day-ā  
 give.NPST-1SG

He said, “Yes, I will give... I will give her gold too.”

### RB.m:119

*mī'lūne to'monī 'day 'šī mī'lūn*  
 mīlūn=e tomon=ī d-ay š-ī mīlūn  
 million=IND toman=PC.3SG give.NPST-2SG say.NPST-3SG million

*to'monī hā da'yā de'ge*  
 tomon=ī hā day-ā dege  
 toman=PC.3SG ADD give.NPST-1SG anything else

[She said], “Will you give [her] one million toman.”; he said, “I will give her one

A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

million toman too, anything else?”

**RB.m:120**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>zem'inī</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>
goš-ī	dega	zemīn=ī	hā	pa	man-ī	wāstā
say.NPST-3SG	another	land=IND	ADD	for	PN.1SG-GEN	for the sake of

<i>ham</i>	<i>'bezīrī</i>
ham	be-zīr-ī
ADD	SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

She said, “He should buy [a piece of] land for me too.”

**RB.m:121**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mardā</i>	<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'dah</i>	<i>'sor</i>
ē	mard-ā	jawāb	dā	ke	šarr	=ē	dah	sor
PROX	man-OBL	answer	give.PST	CLM	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG	ten	gold

<i>'yak</i>	<i>mī'lūne</i>	<i>to'mō</i>	<i>ze'mīnī</i>	<i>'ēš</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>no'kē</i>	<i>ja'nēnē</i>
yak	mīlūn=e	tomō	zemīn=ī	ēš	=o	nok-ē	janēn=ē
one	million=IND	toman	land=IND	PROX	=FOC	new-ATTR	wife=IND

<i>ra'sī</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>kwā'nē</i>	<i>ja'nēn</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>'taw</i>
ras-ī	taw	=o	kwān-ē	janēn	=ay	taw
arrive.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	=FOC	old-ATTR	wife	=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG

<i>'čōna</i>	<i>ka'nay</i>
čōn=a	kan-ay
how=VCL	do.NPST-2SG

This man answered /that/, “Alright, ten [meskal] gold, one million toman, a [piece of] land, with them; one will get a new wife, but you are an old wife; what will you do [with them]?”

**RB.m:122**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'šart</i>	<i>'hameš</i>	<i>ē</i>
goš-ī	bas	man-ī	šart	ham=eš	=ē
say.NPST-3SG	just	PN.1SG-GEN	condition	EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mardā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'šarr</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>ka'būl</i>
ē	mard-ā	go	šarr	=ē	man-ā	kabūl
PROX	man-OBL	say.PST	fine	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	accepting

<i>ē</i>	<i>le'ket</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'česte</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'dātī</i>
=ē	leket	=o	čest=e	ko	dāt=ī
=COP.NPST.3SG	write.PST	=and	up=PC.3SG	do.PST	give.PST=PC.3SG

## A. Text Corpus

'mard gō̄ o'tī ja'nēnā rā'zīg bīt o 'waš  
 mard gō̄ o'tī janēn-ā rāzīg bīt-∅ =o waš  
 man with REL.GEN wife-OBL satisfied become.PST-3SG =and happy

bīt o čo'kã gō̄ 'waš bī  
 bīt-∅ =o čok-ã gō̄ waš bī-∅  
 become.PST-3SG =and child-OBL.PL with happy become.PST-3SG

wa'tīgā rā'zī bī 'ā ja'nēne gwa'rā hā  
 wa'tīg-ā rāzī bī-∅ ā janēn-e gwarā hā  
 own-OBL satisfied become.PST-3SG DIST woman-GEN by ADD

'raw o 'ā kanag ě e'sī gwa'rā  
 raw =o ā kan-ag =ě ešī gwarā  
 going =and coming do.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3SG PROX.GEN to

'raw o 'ā kanagě 'marde zende'gī  
 raw =o ā kan-ag=ě mard-e zendegī  
 going =and coming do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG husband-GEN life

'hamē ḏaw'lā... xo'sāl ě 'mard da'nīngā ča  
 ham=ē ḏawl-ā xošāl =ě mard danīngā ča  
 EMPH=PROX manner-OBL happy =COP.NPST.3SG man still from

al'lāhe ne'magā če 'bāz marda'kā rā'zīg en o  
 allāh-e nemagā če bāz mard-akā rāzīg =en =o  
 God-GEN side from many man-DIM satisfied =COP.NPST.3SG =and

xo'sāl ě  
 xošāl =ě  
 happy =COP.NPST.3SG

She said, “You know, this is my condition.”; this man said, “Alright, it is OK for me.”; he wrote [a paper] and gave (lit. lifted and gave) it to her; the man became happy with his wife; he became happy; he became happy with his children; he became satisfied; he is visiting that wife and he is visiting this [wife] too; the man’s life is like this; the man is still very happy with what God gives him (lit. from God); he is satisfied and happy.

## 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

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

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

ser'watī                            ba    'wadī                            'berasī  
 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

be xā'tere    hamī'šī                            masa'lan        gēšte'rō                            'say  
 bexāter=e    ham=īšī                            masalan        gēš-ter-ō                            say  
 for=EZ        EMPH=PROX.OBL    for example    more-CMP-DEF    try

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

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

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

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

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

boda                            maprē'nā                            boda                            'mā    dar'yāhā  
 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>če'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>'wadom</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'šān</i>	<i>joḡal'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>'wadom</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

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

*'bwart 'har 'rōč ham ya 'šire sī... ya 'mēše*  
 b-wār-t har rōč ham ya šir=e sī ya mēš=e  
 SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG each day ADD one milk=EZ FRAG one sheep=EZ

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

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

*'bwart 'hatā ya 'xāle es'pēde ham 'ē mē'šok*  
 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

*'nabahāt en 'bebīde*  
 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**

*'bad joḡa'lok a'sī 'bebī ke šā'hay*  
 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

*'bač a'sī 'bebī 'wadam 'gotte*  
 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

*a'bārt*                      *o*        *'hamī*                      *kāro'bārā*                      *a'kant*  
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

*ke*    *as'pok*                      *gaš'tay*                      *boda*  
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

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

*abī*  
a=b-ī  
VCL=become.NPST-3SG

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

### KS.f:13

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

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

*joḡa'lokā*                      *'bokošī*                      *ya*    *'rōč*    *'mā*    *joḡa'lokay*                      *xo'rākā*  
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

*zah'rā*                      *arē'cī*  
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

*joḡa'lok*    *ke*        *'ā*        *'rōč*    *ke*        *as*        *madra'sā*  
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

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

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

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

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

<i>maka'nagen</i>	<i>'zahre</i>	<i>'rekka</i>	<i>'māne</i>
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

<i>zabā'bāt</i>	<i>xorā'kok</i>	<i>mas'mūm</i>	<i>en</i>
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**

<i>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'gōš</i>	<i>agī</i>	<i>'waxte</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>madra'sa</i>
joḡal-ok	ham	gōš	a=g-ī	waxte	az	madrasa
boy-DEF	ADD	ear	VCL=take.NPST-3SG	when	from	school

<i>ar'raf</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>a'nawārt</i>	<i>xorā'kokā</i>
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'rī</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'lī</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>'bekaft</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. 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'sī</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'sī</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'sī</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

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<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'šī</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=ĵan-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>a'ĵant</i>	<i>ba'danay</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ta</i>
a=ĵan-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-ĵan-∅	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>māĵ'būr</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>as'pokā</i>
šāh	ham	māĵbūr	∅-b-ī	asp-ok-ā
king	ADD	forced	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	horse-DEF-OBL

<i>'bokošī</i>	<i>a'šī</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>hālā</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	korr-ag-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'šī*                      *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*                      *'bokošan*  
 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=∅    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



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<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	madrāsā	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.”

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### 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		madrāsā	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		madrāsā	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>ī</i>	<i>'mā</i>
deya	ar=raf-t		madrāsā	=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>		
madrāsā	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'šān</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=ē	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-∅  
 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

*joḡa'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*                                    *joḡa'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=jerg-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*                                    *čoko'bār*  
 a=k-ay-∅                                    a    dass-ā    be-jerg-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

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>noġ'lā</i>	<i>agen'nī</i>	<i>'gefteš</i>	<i>'pešk</i>
ē	ham	noġl-ā	a=genn-ī	geft=eš	pešk
PROX	ADD	sweets-OBL	VCL=see.NPST-3SG	take.PST=PC.3PL	throwing

<i>adā</i>	<i>bā'lād</i>	<i>joġalo'bār</i>	<i>ar'rant</i>	<i>čoko'bār</i>
a=dā-∅	bālād	joġal-obār	ar=r-ant	čok-obār
VCL=give.NPST-3SG	up	boy-PL	VCL=go.NPST-3PL	child-PL

<i>noġ'lā</i>	<i>'gerd</i>	<i>kanant o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>joġa'lokā</i>	<i>'wel</i>
noġl-ā	gerd	∅-kan-ant=o	ešān	joġal-ok-ā	wel
sweets-OBL	gathered	SBJV-do.NPST-3PL=and	like this	boy-DEF-OBL	loose

<i>adayant</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>'bač</i>	<i>aġer'gī</i>
a=da-yant	šāh-ay	bač	a=ġerg-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

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

<i>ke</i>	<i>'begerante</i>	<i>dobā'ra</i>	<i>fā'dā</i>	<i>are'čī</i>
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

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

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

<i>are'čī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>čam'meš</i>
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>aĵer'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'ġaš</i>	<i>ĵada</i>
a=genn-ī	ta	dawr=ay	halġaš	ĵad-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'raġt</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>bo'wāy</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
ar=raf-t	had=e	bowāy	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-∅	fōlān	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-jan-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

<i>kant</i>
∅-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.”

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

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



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>ġa'būl</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>as...</i>	<i>'ē</i>
čūbān-ok	ham	ġabūl	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'jant</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>
aray	=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=raft	mēš-ay	gōžd-ay	bākī	=am
now	=and	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	sheep-GEN	meat-GEN	remaining	=ADD

## A. Text Corpus

*a'dā*                      *čübā'nokā*  
 a=dā-∅                      čübān-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*    *čüb...*    *'hamī*  
 gol    =o    ēšān    ar=raf-t                                      had=e    čüb    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

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

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*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

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

*o bāḡbā'nī maka'nā boda*  
 =o bāḡbānī 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'sānī*  
 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'ḡā ba taf'rīyā*  
 a=k-ay-∅ mā ē bāḡ-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 joḡa'lok ham 'hamedān boda*  
 xolāsa joḡal-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'sān*  
 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'sān 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'ḡā ba*  
 m-ā-hēn bod-a mā bāḡ-ā ba  
 IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP to garden-OBL to

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*tafrīyā*      *o*      *ē'sān...*  
 tafri-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

*de'ya a'wal joḡa'lok 'wadī as'pay mū'day 'ās*  
 deya awal joḡal-ok wad-ī asp-ay mūdāy ās  
 well first boy-DEF REFL-GEN horse-GEN hair.OBL.PC.3SG fire

*adād*                      *o*      *'aspay*              *a'kay*  
 a=dā-d                      =o      asp=ay              a=k-ay-∅  
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG      =and      horse=PC.3SG      VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

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

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

*'hamīṭaw bahre 'wadī 'mā 'ī bā'ḡokā*  
 ham=īṭaw bahr=e wad=ī mā ī bāḡ-ok-ā  
 EMPH=this way for=EZ REFL=PC.3SG in PROX garden-DEF-OBL

*magar'dā boda o e'sān*  
 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

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

*ja'neke boda a'kay*  
 jānek=e bod-a=∅ a=k-ay-∅  
 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=see.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. 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'sī*  
 a=k-ay-Ø 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'doget ta'ī jāneko'bār de'ya 'gott*  
 šāh tasadoḡ=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 'moḡeay 'šūeneš*  
 be-d-ay šū-ā moḡe=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'sī 'xob če'taw kanān*  
 šāh a=š-ī xob četaw Ø-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'sī 'harčī joḡa'la 'mā 'ī šah'rā*  
 a=š-ī harčī joḡala 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

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<i>'bačč</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'gerd</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>'bīyār</i>
bačč	=en	gerd	∅-kan-∅	bīy-ār-∅
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</i>	<i>kanant</i>
ta	janek-obār=at	aš=ay	entexāb	∅-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</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'arčī</i>	<i>ma'san</i>	<i>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>joġla'bār</i>	<i>bodagen</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>ādam'bārā</i>
joġla-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</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>akā'rī</i>	<i>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</i>	<i>janeko'bār</i>	<i>ente'xāb</i>	<i>kanant</i>	<i>e'sān</i>
šāh-ay	janek-obār	entexāb	∅-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>'hafīā</i>	<i>'sīb</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>a'dant</i>	<i>janeko'bāray</i>	<i>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</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>ko'dom</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>'wadō</i>	<i>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 ∅-kan-∅  
 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 'šīštā ja'nek 'wadī šū'bāreš ente'xāb*  
 xolāsa šīš-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=∅ 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'sant*                      *'xo*    *yekī*            *as*    *īšāna*            *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'sī*                              *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'sant*                              *'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'sān*            *a'sant*                              *ha'san*    *ka'čal*    *fa'gāt*  
 eš-ān            a=š-ant                              hasan    kačal    fağat  
 PROX-PL    VCL=say.NPST-3PL    Hasan    bald    only

*'nayākagen*                              *'mā*    *ē'sān*            *a'sant*  
 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.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

**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'sant 'xo hā'lā 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'sī bī*  
 ba ham=īsī ∅-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'sī '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*  
 zendeġī 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

*mabarā boda ba ča'rā o e'sān 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'sīt 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-ġan-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'sān</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 še'kālay</i>	<i>jana'gā</i>		<i>ē</i>	<i>'kassānoēn</i>	<i>ja'nek ham</i>
ba šekāl-ay	jan-ag-ā		ē	kassān-o-ēn	janek 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 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 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 '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>'nahan</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>bā'hāt en</i>		<i>'berray</i>
nahan	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>joḡa'lā</i>	<i>joḡa'la</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>čā'dor</i>	<i>a'jant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>
ē	joḡalā	joḡala	=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>maḡar'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>'bejanan</i>
na-ma-kan-ēn	bod-a	ke	be-jan-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. Text Corpus

*'bebaren*                      *bah'ray*    *šā'hā*            *'mā*            *'das*    *xā'lī*  
 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

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

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

*a'šī*                              *'wadam*                              *'sareš*                              *'boborrān*                              *o*  
 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

*har*    *ko'domam*    *ya*    *nešā'nae*    *'ēr*    *kanān*                              *'mā*  
 har    kodom=am    ya    nešāna=e    ēr    Ø-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

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

*kā'roket*                              *bo'kā*  
 kār-ok=et                              bokā  
 work-DEF=PC.2SG    want.NPST

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

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

**KS.f:96**

*de'ya 'šišā še'kālay sa'rā abor'rīd o 'ē ham*  
 deya šiš-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 bānard-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>
ē	=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>janeko'bār</i>	<i>'šiš-tā</i>
a=k-ay-t	=o	xolāsa	ī	do	janek-obār	šiš-tā
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	=and	in short	PROX	two	girl-PL	six-CL

<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>gōž'dā</i>	<i>apa'čant</i>	<i>aba'rant</i>	<i>ba</i>
janek	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

'tāmī            'ne                            aš...  
 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**

'ā            'kassānoēn            ja'nek            am            kallapāč'a'okā  
 ā            kassān-o-ēn            janek            =am            kallapāč'a-ok-ā  
 DIST    small-DIM-ATTR    daughter    =ADD    head and trotters-DEF-OBL

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

bo'wāy                                    dō'tay...            bo'wāy                                    namawa'rā  
 bowāy                                    dōī-ay            bowā=ay                                    na-ma-war-ā  
 father.OBL.PC.3SG    mother-GEN    father=PC.3SG    NEG-IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG

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

kallapāč'ao'bārā                                    a'nawarān                                    dō'tay  
 kallapāč'a-obār-ā                                    a=na-war-ān                                    dōī=ay  
 head and trotters-PL-OBL    VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-1SG    mother=PC.3SG

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

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

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

az            'ē            kallapā'čae                                    ke            ā'ortayī  
 az            ē            kallapāč'a=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=see.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>jāne'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

*jāne'kokā*                      *masxa'ra*    *aka'nant*                                      *maya'sēn*  
 jānek-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*                                      *ḡa'tere*  
 bod-a                      āsī                      =o    īsī                      be-gen-∅                                      ḡater=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-∅                                      āsī                      =o    īsī  
 lame.OBL.PC.3SG    IMPV-see.NPST-2SG    DIST.OBL    =and    PROX.OBL

*'begen*                                      *kāl...*    *kal'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*                                      *jāne'kok*    *nārā'hat*  
 masxara=y                      a=kan-ant                                      jānek-ok    nārāhat  
 ridiculing=PC.3SG    VCL=do.NPST-3PL    girl-DEF    troubled

*abī*                                      *šā'hay*                      *hafto'mīn*                                      *ja'nek*  
 a=b-ī                                      šāh-ay                      haft-om-in                                      jānek  
 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                      paḡāh                      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>	
∅-day-∅	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		
supper-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-∅		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-∅		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-jañ-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

<i>ṭ</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>ḡas'rā</i>	<i>belan'ter</i>	<i>bī</i>	
ṭ	šāh-ay	ḡasr-ā	belan-ter	∅-b-ṭ	
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**

<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'bebī</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>kā'rokā</i>
a=š-ṭ	be-b-ṭ	ṭ	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>'ḡasre</i>	<i>bah'ray</i>	<i>a'jant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ya</i>
xolāse	ya	ḡasr=e	bahr=ay	a=jan-t	=o	ya
in short	one	palace=IND	for=PC.3SG	VCL=hit.NPST-3SG	=and	one

<i>'ḡasre</i>	<i>'gotte</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'šān</i>	<i>sobī'gāhī</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>ha'mī</i>
ḡasr=e	gott=e	=o	ešān	sobīgāhī	šāh-ay	ham=ṭ
palace=EZ	big=IND	=and	like this	early morning	king-GEN	EMPH=PROX

<i>hā</i>	<i>azān'gōay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e'šān</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-gaš-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>gō'say</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>a'zonā</i>
a=kan-t	rū	gōšay	ke	azon-ā
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	on	ear.OBL.PC.3SG	CLM	prayer-call-OBL

<i>'begašī</i>	<i>ḡas'rokā</i>	<i>agen'nī</i>	<i>a'šī</i>
be-gaš-ṭ	ḡasr-ok-ā	a=genn-ṭ	a=š-ṭ
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'ga*  
 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	tabaḡa	=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-cnn-ān	ē	kay	=en	ke
palace-DEF-OBL	SBJV-see.NPST-1SG	PROX	who	=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM

## A. Text Corpus

*īdānā'kō ya 'šafī 'ē taw'rēn 'ġasrī*  
 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 'ī 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

<i>masa'lan</i>	<i>'māī</i>	<i>šā'hā</i>	<i>nā'būd</i>	<i>'nakanay</i>	
masalan	mā-ī	šāh-ā	nābūd	na-kan-ay	
for example	PN.1PL-GEN	king-OBL	annihilated	NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-2SG	
<i>'čēt</i>	<i>bo'kā</i>	<i>a'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'hīčīom</i>
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
<i>'nabokān</i>	<i>fa'gat</i>	<i>īdānā'kō</i>	<i>'šīštā</i>	<i>naw'kar</i>	<i>o</i>
na-bokān	faḡat	īdānākō	šīš-tā	nawkar	=o
NEG-want.NPST	only	right here	six-CL	male servant	=and
<i>ka'nīzom</i>	<i>'assen</i>		<i>ba'hāt</i>	<i>en</i>	
kanīz=om	ass=en		bāhāt	=en	
maidservant=PC.1SG	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG		must	=COP.NPST.3SG	
<i>ā'sānā</i>	<i>'bīyāret</i>	<i>'bedet</i>	<i>a'zam</i>		
āšān-ā	bīy-ār-et	be-d-et	az=am		
DIST.PL-OBJ	IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL	IMPV-give.NPST-2PL	to=PC.1SG		
<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'xo</i>	<i>'šīštā</i>	<i>naw'karet</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>en</i>
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**

<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'šīštā</i>	<i>alā'matom</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>koda</i>	<i>rū</i>	<i>ka'mareš</i>
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
<i>'mohrom</i>	<i>ʾjada</i>	<i>rū</i>	<i>ka'mareš</i>	<i>rū</i>	<i>šā'nageš</i>	
mohr=om	jad-a	rū	kamar=eš	rū	šānag=eš	
tattoo=PC.1SG	hit.PST-PP	on	back=PC.3PL	on	shoulder=PC.3PL	
<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>ar'rant</i>	<i>'begardan</i>			
a=š-ī	xob	ar=r-ant	be-gard-an			
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	well	VCL=go.NPST-3PL	SBJV-go around.NPST-3PL			
<i>ē'šī</i>	<i>nawkaro'bārā</i>	<i>pay'dā</i>	<i>kanant</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>šāh'rā</i>	
ēšī	nawkar-obār-ā	paydā	∅-kan-ant	mā	šāhr-ā	
PROX.GEN	male servant-PL-OBL	visible	SBJV-do.NPST-3PL	in	city-OBL	



### 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>joḡa'lok</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>ha'san</i>	<i>ka'čal</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>'wadī</i>
joḡal-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>jan</i>	<i>gefta...</i>	<i>ta'ī</i>	<i>ja'nekā</i>
ta-ī	jan	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>'šīstā</i>	<i>dū'mād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'janeš</i>
deya	ē	šīs-tā	dūmād	=o	jan=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.

## A.4 Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

### The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

#### Dāstānay Dāstān

*recounted by Noshad Samsanian*

#### SD.m:1

<i>besmel'lāhe rah'māne ra'hīm</i>	<i>'xodāyā</i>
besmellāhe rahmāne rahīm	xodā-yā
in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful	God-VOC

In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful O God.

#### SD.m:2

<i>'arz</i>	<i>konam</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>ġad...</i>	<i>daw'raye</i>	<i>ġa'dīm</i>	<i>'ya</i>
arz	Ø-kon-am	as	ġad	dawra=ye	ġadīm	ya
statement	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	from	FRAG	time=EZ	old	one

<i>mē'dagī</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'nāme</i>	<i>ko'roš</i>
mēdag=ī	bod-a=Ø	be	nām=e	koroš
encampment=IND	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	for	name=EZ	Korosh

*hājīhayda'rī*

*hājīhaydarī*

Hajihaydari

Let me tell from ol... in the old times there was a tribe-section (lit. encampment) called Korosh Hajihaydari

#### SD.m:3

<i>o</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>mē'dagī</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>dobā'ra</i>	<i>'tork</i>
o	ya	mēdag=ī	bod-a=Ø	dobāra	tork
and	one	encampment=IND	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	again	Turk

<i>boda</i>	<i>darašo'rī</i>	<i>boda</i>
bod-a=Ø	darašorī	bod-a=Ø
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	Darreshuri	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>be</i>	<i>'nāme</i>	<i>'bayle</i>	<i>tā'lob</i>
be	nām=e	bayl=e	tālob
for	name=EZ	lineage=EZ	Talob

And there was another lineage; it was Turkic; it was Darreshuri, called Talob lineage.

## A. Text Corpus

### SD.m:4

'ē tālo'bak ya ja'nekī 'bodagī ba 'nāme  
 ē tālob-ak ya janek=ī bod-ag=ī ba nām=e  
 PROX Talob-DEF one girl=IND become.PST-PP=PC.3SG for name=EZ

maša'dī dās'tān  
 mašadī dāstān  
 Mashhadi Dastan

[In] this Talob tribe, there was a girl called Mashhadi Dastan

### SD.m:5

ē a'lān ē 'gapī ke 'man  
 ē alān ē gap=ī ke man  
 PROX now PROX word=IND CLM PN.1SG

maja'nagān ham 'wadī dās'tān  
 ma-jan-ag=ān ham wad=ī dāstān  
 IMP-hit.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG ADD REFL=PC.3SG story

en ham ja'nekay 'nām dās'tān en  
 =en ham janek-ay nām dāstān =en  
 =COP.NPST.3SG ADD girl-GEN name Dastan =COP.NPST.3SG

What I am telling now this is itself a story, and the name of the girl is also Dastan 'story'.

### SD.m:6

'yek na'far ho'sayn az korošo'bārā ā'soḡe dās'tān  
 yek nafar hosayn az koroš-obār-ā āšoḡ=e dāstān  
 one person Hosayn from Korosh-PL-OBL in love=EZ Dastan

abīd  
 a=b-īd  
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG

A person, [by name] Hosayn, from the Korosh [tribe] fell in love with Dastan.

### SD.m:7

'ē dās'tān... ho'sayn 'wadī 'xaylī ā'dame xū'bī  
 ē dāstān hosayn wad=ī xaylī ādam=e xūb=ī  
 PROX Dastan Hosayn REFL=PC.3SG very human being=EZ good=IND

boda ā'dame ze'reḡī  
 bod-a=∅ ādam=e zereḡ=ī  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG human being=EZ smart=IND

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

*boda* *ā'damī*  
 bod-a=∅ *ādam=ī*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG human being=IND

*boda* *ke a'san*  
 bod-a=∅ *ke asan*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM actually

*'namazānayan* *gō xā'na ke 'joft*  
*na-ma-zān-ay=an* *gō xān-a ke joft*  
 NEG-IMPV-know.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL with khan-OBL CLM pair

*mabī'yā* *boda* *'namazānan*  
*ma-bī-yā* *bod-a* *na-ma-zān-an*  
 IMP-become.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP NEG-IMP-know.NPST-3PL

*'ē xān en* *'ā 'yakke 'xān en*  
*ē xān =en* *ā yakk=e xān =en*  
 PROX khan =COP.NPST.3SG DIST one=IND khan =COP.NPST.3SG

*'kāma 'yakke 'xān en*  
*kām-a yakk=e xān =en*  
 which-OBL one=IND khan =COP.NPST.3SG

This Dastan... Hosayn himself was a very good man; he was a clever man; he was such a person that when he was accompanying the Khan, [no one] knew at all if this one was the Khan or that one [other] one was the Khan, which one was the Khan.

**SD.m:8**

*marawēn* *boda* *ba ā'sī sa'lāmā*  
*ma-raw-ēn* *bod-a* *ba āsī salām-ā*  
 IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP to DIST.OBL greeting-OBL

*makanēn* *boda* *wa 'bad 'wadī*  
*ma-kan-ēn* *bod-a* *wa bad wad=ī*  
 IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP and then REFL=PC.3SG

*maga'sā* *boda* *na 'man 'xān*  
*ma-gaš-ā* *bod-a* *na man xān*  
 IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP no PN.1SG khan

*'nayān* *ā ke ba'gal 'dassaynom*  
*nayān* *ā ke baḡal dassayn=om*  
 NEG.COP.NPST.1SG DIST CLM beside hand.OBL.COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

## A. Text Corpus

'xān en  
xān =en  
khan =COP.NPST.3SG

They went [and] greeted him [first], and then he himself would say, “No I am not the Khan, that one who is at my side is the Khan.”

### SD.m:9

ba 'hamī xā'ter ja'nek ā'sogī abī  
ba ham=ī xāter jānek āšoġ=ī a=b-ī  
for EMPH=PROX reason girl in love=PC.3SG VCL=become.NPST-3SG

'ē ham ā'sōġe ja'nekā abī  
ē ham āšoġ=e jānek-ā a=b-ī  
PROX ADD in love=EZ girl-OBL VCL=become.NPST-3SG

For this reason, the girl fell in love with him [and] this one also fell in love with the girl.

### SD.m:10

'xob ā'sān 'ya tāye'faī 'bodagan ē'sān  
xob āsān ya tāyefa=ī bod-ag=an ēš-ān  
well DIST.PL one tribe=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL PROX-PL

ham 'ya tāye'faī 'bodagan 'nabokāreš  
ham ya tāyefa=ī bod-ag=an na-bokāreš  
ADD one tribe=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL NEGwant.PST=PC.3PL

boda ja'nekā 'bedayant ho'sayn  
bod-a jānek-ā be-day-ant hosayn  
become.PST-PP girl-OBL SBJV-give.NPST-3PL Hosayn

Well, the girl was from (lit. those were) one tribe and the boy were from (lit. these also were) another tribe; they did not want to give the girl to Hosayn.

### SD.m:11

maga'san ba... ho'sayn ko'roš en 'mā 'tork  
ma-gaš-an ba hosayn koroš =en mā tork  
IMP-say.NPST-3PL FRGM Hosayn Korosh =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL Turk

en 'mā četō'rī ja'nekā 'beden ho'sayn  
=en mā četōrī jānek-ā be-d-en hosayn  
=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL how girl-OBL SBJV-give.NPST-1PL Hosayn

'walī xo ja'nek ham ā'soġ boda  
walī xo jānek ham āšoġ bod-a=∅  
but well girl ADD in love become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

#### A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

*bo'kānī*                      *boda*  
 bokān=ī                      bod-a=∅  
 want.NPST=PC.3SG    become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They said “Well, Hosayn is a Korosh, [and] we are Turks; how [can] we give the girl to Hosayn, but, you know, the girl fell in love [and] she wanted [him].

##### SD.m:12

*'tūl*    *akašī*                      *ba'sāb*    *ho'sayn*    *o*    *ja'nek*    *ā'sog*  
 tūl    a=kaš-ī                      basāb    hosayn    =o    janek    āšog  
 length    VCL=pull.NPST-3SG    anyway    Hosayn    =and    daughter    in love

*abī*                                      *ba'sāb*    *akā'yan*                                      *bāš'loḡa*  
 a=b-ī                                      basāb    a=k-ā-yan                                      bāšlog-a  
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG    anyway    VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL    bridal gift-OBL

*ham*    *ābor'ran*  
 ham    ā=borr-an  
 ADD    VCL=cut.NPST-3PL

Well, after [some time]; Hosayn and the girl fell in love, you know; they came and decided on (lit. cut) the *bāšlog* (Pe. *širbahā*; a gift given to the bride's mother before the wedding).

##### SD.m:13

*bāš'loḡa*                      *ham*    *a'dant*  
 bāšlog-a                      ham    a=d-ant  
 bridal gift-OBL    ADD    VCL=give.NPST-3PL

They paid the *bāšlog* as well.

##### SD.m:14

*modat'hā*    *'tūl*    *akašī*                                      *ho'sayn*    *ame'rī*  
 modat-hā    tūl    a=kaš-ī                                      hosayn    a=mer-ī  
 time-PL    length    VCL=pull.NPST-3SG    Hosayn    VCL=die.NPST-3SG

After quite some time Hosayn died.

##### SD.m:15

*ho'sayn*    *ame'rīd*                                      *ba'sāb*    *mo'datī*    *abīd*  
 hosayn    a=mer-īd                                      basāb    modat=ī    a=b-īd  
 Hosayn    VCL=die.NPST-3SG    anyway    time=IND    VCL=become.NPST-3SG

*ke*    *ho'sayn*    *ke*    *ame'rī*                                      *'bade*    *ho'sayn*    *be'rādī*  
 ke    hosayn    ke    a=mer-ī                                      bad=e    hosayn    berād=ī  
 CLM    Hosayn    CLM    VCL=die.NPST-3SG    after=EZ    Hosayn    brother=PC.3SG

## A. Text Corpus

<i>be'lan</i>	<i>abī</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>ke</i>
belann	a=b-ī	a=š-ī	hālā	ke
high	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	now	CLM

<i>be'rādom</i>	<i>mort'a</i>	<i>'wadam</i>	<i>bo'kānom</i>
berād=om	mort-a=Ø	wad=om	bokān=om
brother=PC.1SG	die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	REFL=PC.1SG	want.NPST=PC.1SG

<i>'berrān</i>	<i>be'rāday</i>	<i>'jāham</i>	<i>'wadam</i>	<i>be'rāde</i>
ber-r-ān	berād-ay	jāh=am	wad=om	berād-e
SBJV-go.NPST-1SG	brother-GEN	place=PC.1SG	REFL=PC.1SG	brother-GEN

<i>nom'zādam</i>	<i>'wadam</i>	<i>ar'rān</i>	<i>be'rāde</i>
nomzād=am	wad=om	ar=r-ān	berād-e
fiancée=PC.1SG	REFL=PC.1SG	VCL=go.NPST-1SG	brother-GEN

<i>nom'zādam</i>	<i>yā ākā'rān</i>	<i>yā be'rāde</i>
nomzād=am	yā ā=k-ār-ān	yā berād-e
fiancée=PC.1SG	or VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG	or brother-GEN

<i>he'sābam</i>	<i>age'rān</i>
hesāb=am	a=ger-ān
account=PC.1SG	VCL=get.NPST-1SG

Hosayn died. You know, some time after Hosayn died, then (lit. after Hosayn) his brother came (lit. stands up) [and] said, “Now that my brother has died, I myself want to go instead of my brother; I myself, my brother’s fiancée, I myself will go [and] either bring my brother’s fiancée or get my brother’s money (lit. account) [back].”

### SD.m:16

<i>ba'sāb</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>odānā'kō</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
basāb	ar=raf-t	=o	odānākō	a=š-ī
anyway	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	=and	right there	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>felā'nī</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'bale</i>
felān-ī	a=š-ī	bale
so and so-NOMZ	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	yes

Well, he went and there he said, “Hey there.” [That other person] said, “Yes.”

### SD.m:17

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>be'rāday</i>	<i>nom'zād</i>
a=š-ī	man-ī	berād-ay	nomzād
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	brother-GEN	fiancée

#### A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

*enom*  
 =en=om  
 =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

He said, “[She] is my brother’s fiancée.”

##### SD.m:18

*ho'saynī nom'zād en ma'sī dās'tān ho'saynī*  
 hosayn-ī nomzād =en mašī dāstān hosayn-ī  
 Hosayn-GEN fiancée =COP.NPST.3SG Mashhadi Dastan Hosayn-GEN

*nom'zād en ho'sayn dī'ga bo'kārī dō'at*  
 nomzād =en hosayn dīga bokār-ī dōat  
 fiancée =COP.NPST.3SG Hosayn well want.PST=PC.3SG marriage

*ka jānā'marg bo*  
 Ø-ka-Ø jānāmarg bo-Ø  
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG young death become.PST-3SG

She is Hosayn’s fiancée; Mashhadi Dastan is Hosayn’s fiancée; well, Hosayn was about to marry her when he died young.

##### SD.m:19

*hālā ba'sāb bo'kā 'yā ba ta'labam 'yā ham ba ja'nekā*  
 hālā basāb bokā yā ba talab=am yā ham ba janek-ā  
 now well want.NPST or for claim=PC.1SG or ADD for girl-OBL

*ja'nekā a'sī ba 'kay bo'kānet*  
 janek-ā a=š-ī ba kay bokān=et  
 girl-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG for who want.NPST=PC.2SG

*a'sī ba 'wadam*  
 a=š-ī ba wad=om  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG for REFL=PC.1SG

Now, well, I want either my money or the girl, the girl; he said, “For whom do you want [the girl]?”; he said, “For myself.”

##### SD.m:20

*'xo 'nāmat 'kay en a'sī 'manam*  
 xo nām=at kay =en a=š-ī man=am  
 well name=PC.2SG who =COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG=ADD

*ha'mī ho'saynī be'rād ān 'nāmon kā'kol*  
 ham-ī hosayn-ī berād =ān nām=on kākol  
 EMPH=PROX Hosayn-GEN brother =COP.NPST.1SG name=PC.1SG Kakol

## A. Text Corpus

*en*

=en

=COP.NPST.3SG

“Well, what is your name?”; he said “I am this Hosayn’s brother [and] my name is Kakol.”

### SD.m:21

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ā'dam</i>	<i>he'sāb</i>
a=š-ī	tarā	mā	ādam	hesāb
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	PN.1PL	human being	account

<i>a'nakanen</i>	<i>'berra</i>
a=na-kan-en	ber-ra-∅
VCL=NEG-do.NPST-1PL	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

He said, “We don’t regard you as a person; get lost (lit. go).”

### SD.m:22

<i>ta'lab</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>ha'nū</i>	<i>ā'soġ...</i>	<i>ā'soġay</i>	<i>'pūl</i>	<i>ha'nū</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>ĵī'bā</i>
talab	=am	hanū	āsoġ	āsoġ-ay	pūl	hanū	mā	ĵīb-ā
claim	=ADD	yet	in love	in love-GEN	money	yet	into	pocket-OBL

<i>'narapta</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'beden</i>	<i>ba</i>
na-rapt-a=∅	ke	mā	be-d-en	ba
NEG-go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM	PN.1PL	SBJV-give.NPST-1PL	to

*'ta*

ta

PN.2SG

And the debt, still the lover... still the lover’s money has not gone into [our] pocket in order for us to give [it] to you.”

### SD.m:23

<i>'xo</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>nāī'mēd</i>	<i>abīd</i>	<i>o</i>
xo	ē	ham	nāīmēd	a=b-īd	=o
well	PROX	ADD	disappointed	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	=and

<i>a'kay</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ran'nā</i>	<i>ho'sayn</i>	<i>a'kay...</i>
a=k-ay-∅	ba	rannā	hosayn	a=k-ay-∅
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	for	behind	Hosayn	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

<i>kā'kol</i>	<i>a'kay</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ran'nā</i>	<i>kā'kol</i>
kākol	a=k-ay-∅	ba	rannā	kākol
Kakol	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	for	behind	Kakol



## A. Text Corpus

Jat and Korosh and Jangani, all Hajihaydari gathered, the Shariyari and Mir [too]. You know, the Korosh [tribe] are a lot [of people]; the Korosh is a very large tribe.

### SD.m:25

<i>'gerd</i>	<i>abant</i>	<i>a'sant</i>	<i>'berren</i>
gerd	a=b-ant	a=š-ant	ber-r-en
gathered	VCL=become.NPST-3PL	VCL=say.NPST-3PL	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>ja'nekā</i>	<i>ākā'ren</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>'pūlena</i>
hālā	yā	janek-ā	ā=k-ār-en	yā	pūl=en-a
now	or	girl-OBL	VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-1PL	or	money=PC.1PL-OBL

*ākā'ren*

ā=k-ār-en

VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-1PL

They gathered [and] said, “Now let’s go, either we bring the girl or our money.”

### SD.m:26

<i>ba'sāb</i>	<i>kā'kol</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>jā'sōze</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>'nāme</i>	<i>pīlawar'ī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>'nām</i>
basāb	kākol	ya	jāsōz=e	ba	nām=e	pīlawar=ī	ke	ba	nām
anyway	Kakol	one	spy=IND	for	name=EZ	pedlar=IND	CLM	for	name

<i>zar'gar</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>'namī</i>	<i>pīla'war</i>
zargar	=am	bod-a=∅	nam=ī	pīlawar
goldsmith	=ADD	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	name=PC.3SG	pedlar

<i>boda</i>	<i>ō'dān</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>jā'sōz</i>
bod-a=∅	ōdān	ba	wad=ī	jāsōz
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	there	for	REFL=PC.3SG	spy

<i>a'kant</i>	<i>a'šīt</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>ēdānā'ko</i>
a=kan-t	a=š-īt	ta	ēdānāko
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	right here

<i>'begard</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>mī'dag</i>
be-gard-∅	ta	as	ham=ī	mīdag
IMPV-go around.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	from	EMPH=PROX	encampment

<i>ay</i>	<i>'begard</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>
=ay	be-gard-∅	aga	janek
=COP.NPST.2SG	IMPV-go around.NPST-2SG	if	daughter

<i>me'nen</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>sā'lāh</i>
me-nen-∅	go	mā	sālāh
IMPV-see.NPST-2SG	with	PN.1PL	satisfied



## A. Text Corpus

'gannā madī'yā boda ba 'hāmā  
 gann-ā ma-dīy-ā bod-a ba hām=ā  
 sugar-OBL IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP to EMPH=DIST

'tālobī mī'dagā  
 tālob-ī mīdag-ā  
 Talob-GEN encampment-OBL

It is said this pedlar [was selling] sugar, tea, and oil, that he was going around in this encampment [and] he was selling oil, he was selling sugar to this Talob's encampment.

### SD.m:28

'waxtī ar'ra ja'nek ām ba'sāb ja'neke  
 waxtī ar=ra-∅ jānek =ām basāb jānek-e  
 when VCL=go.NPST-3SG girl =ADD anyway girl-GEN

mī'dagā ha ar'ra 'bale agen'nī ta  
 mīdag-ā ha ar=ra-∅ bale a=genn-ī ta  
 encampment-OBL ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG yes VCL=see.NPST-3SG that

ja'nekī 'ray ba 'hamā kā'kol en kā'kolī  
 jānek-ī ray ba ham=ā kākol =en kākol=ī  
 girl-GEN vote for EMPH=DIST Kakol =COP.NPST.3SG Kakol=PC.3SG

bo'kā ja'nek o 'namatāna  
 bokā jānek =o na-ma-tān-a  
 want.NPST girl =but NEG-IMP-be able.NPST-3SG

When he went to the girl... so he went to girl's encampment, he found that the girl's decision (lit. vote) was for Kakol; the girl wanted Kakol but she couldn't [pursue this].

### SD.m:29

hamedānā'kō ham ke a'kay ba ra'nnā a  
 ham=edānākō ham ke a=k-ay-∅ ba rannā a  
 EMPH=right here ADD CLM VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG for behind to

kā'kol a'sī kā'kol ja'nek 'tarā bo'kānī  
 kākol a=š-ī kākol jānek ta-rā bokān=ī  
 Kakol VCL=say.NPST-3SG Kakol girl PN.2SG-OBJ want.NPST=PC.3SG

So at that (lit. this) time when he came back, he said to Kakol, "Kakol, the girl wants you.

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

**SD.m:30**

<i>'tarā</i>	<i>bo'kānī</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'dass</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'pādat</i>
ta-rā	bokān=ī	ta	ham	dass	=o	pād=at
PN.2SG-OBJ	want.NPST=PC.3SG	PN.2SG	ADD	hand	=and	foot=PC.2SG

<i>'gerd</i>	<i>ka</i>
gerd	∅-ka-∅
gathered	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

She wants you, so you should get ready (lit. gather your hand and foot).”

**SD.m:31**

<i>hame'dān</i>	<i>'tūl</i>	<i>akaš'īt</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>be'rāday</i>
ham=edān	tūl	a=kaš-īt	janek	go	berād-ay
EMPH=here	length	VCL=pull.NPST-3SG	girl	with	brother-GEN

<i>ja'nay</i>	<i>mara'wā</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>yā</i>
janay	ma-raw-ā	bod-a	hālā	yā
wife.OBL.PC.3SG	IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP	now	or

<i>'āfā</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>'lōgay</i>	<i>'harjāh</i>	<i>neš'ta</i>
āf-ā	yā	lōg=ay	harjāh	nešt-a
water-OBL	or	house=PC.3SG	wherever	sit down.PST-PP

<i>boda</i>	<i>ta'rīf</i>	<i>akanan</i>	<i>be'rāday</i>
bod-a=∅	tarīf	a=kan-an	berād-ay
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	account	VCL=do.NPST-3PL	brother-GEN

<i>ja'nī</i>	<i>hay</i>	<i>sar'kofī</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>ben'wāne</i>	<i>sar'kofī</i>	<i>yā</i>
jan=ī	hay	sarkoft=ī	hālā	yā	benwān=e	sarkoft	yā
wife=PC.3SG	ITER	taunt=PC.3SG	now	or	as=EZ	taunt	or

<i>tahad'dī</i>	<i>bah'ray</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>korošo'bāray</i>	<i>tahmon'na</i>
tahaddī	bahr=ay	a=š-ī	ta	koroš-obār-ay	tahmonna
sarcasm	to=PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	Korosh-PL-GEN	leftover

<i>ay</i>
=ay
=COP.NPST.2SG

After [some time], the girl was going with her sister-in-law either to [bring] water, or at home; wherever she was sitting, people tell that her brother's wife used to taunt her, with sarcasm, to cause harm to her; she said to her, “You are the leftover from the Korosh.

A. Text Corpus

**SD.m:32**

'ta korošo'bāray tahmon'na ay 'ta 'dya  
 ta koroš-obār-ay tahmonna =ay ta dya  
 PN.2SG Korosh-PL-GEN leftover =COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG well

'berra jāha'nom bay  
 ber-ra-Ø jāhanom Ø-bay-Ø  
 IMPV-go.NPST-2SG hell IMPV-become.NPST-2SG

You are the leftover from the Korosh; you should go to hell.”

**SD.m:33**

ē'dān ke 'čō a'sūt maša'dī dās'tān ke  
 ēdān ke čō a=š-īt mašadī dāstān ke  
 here CLM like this VCL=say.NPST-3SG Mashhadi Dastan CLM

'hāmā jā'nek boda bah'ray 'bar  
 hām=ā jānek bod-a=Ø bahr=ay bar  
 EMPH=DIST girl become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG to=PC.3SG PREV

awā nārā'hat abī  
 a=wā-Ø nārāhat a=b-ī  
 VCL=eat.NPST-3SG troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG

When she said this way, Mashhadi Dastan, who was that girl, was offended; she became sad.

**SD.m:34**

a'sī 'man 'harjāh 'berrān 'ē sarkoftok  
 a=š-ī man harjāh ber-r-ān ē sarkoftok  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG wherever SBJV-go.NPST-1SG PROX taunt-DEF

'gon enom  
 gon =en=om  
 with =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

She said, wherever I go I have to put up with this taunting (lit. this taunting is with me).

**SD.m:35**

'man hā'lā ba'hā 'berrān ba 'hamā korošo'bārā  
 man hālā bahā ber-r-ān ba ham=ā koroš-obār-ā  
 PN.1SG now must SBJV-go.NPST-1SG for EMPH=DIST Korosh-PL-OBL

Now I must go to those Korosh.

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

**SD.m:36**

'man am ar'rān 'hamā ko'rošay 'jan  
 man =am ar=r-ān ham=ā koroš-ay jan  
 PN.1SG =ADD VCL=go.NPST-1SG EMPH=DIST Korosh-GEN wife

ā'bān ā'bān 'hamā ko'rošay  
 ā=b-ān ā=b-ān ham=ā koroš-ay  
 VCL=become.NPST-1SG VCL=become.NPST-1SG EMPH=DIST Korosh-GEN

'jan 'bel har'cī abī  
 jan b-el-∅ harcī a=b-ī  
 wife IMPV-let.NPST-2SG whatever VCL=become.NPST-3SG

'bebī  
 be-b-ī  
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

Well, I will go [and] become the wife of that Korosh; I will become the wife of that Korosh; never mind (lit. whatever will be, let it be)."

**SD.m:37**

pay'gāmā arasā'nī pay'gāmā a'dā ba  
 paygām-ā a=rasān-ī paygām-ā a=dā-∅ ba  
 message-OBL VCL=send.NPST-3SG message-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG to

kā'kol  
 kākol  
 Kakol

She sent a message, she gave a message to Kakol

**SD.m:38**

a'sī kā'kol 'ta 'kay ay  
 a=š-ī kākol ta kay =ay  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG Kakol PN.2SG who =COP.NPST.2SG

a'sī 'man ho'saynī be'rād ān  
 a=š-ī man hosayn-ī berād =ān  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG Hosayn-GEN brother =COP.NPST.1SG

She said, "Kakol, who are you?"; he said, "I am Hosayn's brother."

**SD.m:39**

a'sī 'ta aga ho'saynī be'rād ay  
 a=š-ī ta aga hosayn-ī berād =ay  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG if Hosayn-GEN brother =COP.NPST.2SG

## A. Text Corpus

<i>ġī'ratet</i>	<i>'assen</i>	<i>'bīyā</i>	<i>'man</i>
ġīrat=et	ass=en	bīy-ā-∅	man
zeal=PC.2SG	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG

*'māhāgān*  
*māh-ā-g=ān*  
 IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

She said, “If you are Hosayn’s brother, [if] you have [some] zeal (lit. there is zeal for you) come [for me] I am coming [with you].

### SD.m:40

<i>'bīyā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'māhāgān</i>	<i>'ta</i>
bīy-ā-∅	man	māh-ā-g=ān	ta
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG	PN.2SG

<i>'manā</i>	<i>'bebar</i>
man-ā	be-bar-∅
PN.1SG-OBJ	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

Come, I am coming; come [and] take me [with you].

### SD.m:41

<i>'man</i>	<i>'dass</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'pādam</i>	<i>'gerd</i>	<i>akanān</i>
man	dass	=o	pād=am	gerd	a=kan-ān
PN.1SG	hand	=and	foot=PC.1SG	gathered	VCL=do.NPST-1SG

<i>be'rādom</i>	<i>marā'wa</i>	<i>čogdā'rīyā</i>	<i>esfa'hān</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>hafta</i>	<i>'do</i>
berād=om	ma-raw-a	čogdārī-yā	esfahān	ya	hafta	do
brother=PC.1SG	IMP-go.NPST-3SG	trading-OBL	Esfahan	one	week	two

<i>hafta</i>	<i>a'nayay</i>
hafta	a=nay-ay-∅
week	VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG

I will get ready (lit. I gather my hands and feet); my brother will go trading to Esfahan; he will not come [back] for one or two weeks.

### SD.m:42

<i>be'rādom</i>	<i>'marawa</i>	<i>čogdā'rīyā</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>hafta</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>hafta</i>
berād=om	ma-raw-a	čogdārī-yā	ya	hafta	do	hafta
brother=PC.1SG	IMP-go.NPST-3SG	trading-OBL	one	week	two	week

<i>a'nayay</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'hamī ke</i>	<i>be'rādom</i>
a=nay-ay-∅	mā	hamī ke	berād=om
VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	as soon as	brother=PC.1SG

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

<i>'marawa</i>	<i>'tā</i>	<i>'byayt</i>	<i>'ben</i>	<i>'bīyā</i>
ma-raw-a	tā	by-ay-t	ben	bīy-ā-∅
IMP-go.NPST-3SG	until	SBJV-come.NPST-3SG	FRAG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

<i>'manī</i>	<i>'dass</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'pād</i>	<i>'gerd</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'manā</i>
man-ī	dass	=o	pād	gerd	=en	man-ā
PN.1SG-GEN	hand	=and	foot	gathered	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ

*'bebar*  
be-bar-∅  
IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

My brother goes trading to Esfahan; he will not come [back] for one or two weeks; During this time that my brother is gone, before he comes back, come and take me; I am ready.”

**SD.m:43**

<i>kā'kol</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>agar'dī</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mē'dagā</i>	<i>čan'ta</i>
kākol	ham	a=gard-ī	mā	mēdag-ā	čan-ta
Kakol	ADD	VCL=go around.NPST-3SG	in	encampment-OBL	some-CL

<i>na'far</i>	<i>xo'ben</i>	<i>ze'reṇen</i>	<i>zeb'den</i>	<i>ā'dam</i>	<i>pī'dā</i>
nafar	xob-en	zereṇ-en	zebd-en	ādam	pīdā
person	good-ATTR	clever-ATTR	brave-ATTR	human being	visible

<i>akant</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>mom'ken</i>	<i>en</i>
a=kan-t	a=š-ī	xob	momken	=en
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	well	possible	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'rāhay</i>	<i>je'lōyen</i>	<i>be'geran</i>	<i>'jar</i>	<i>kanant</i>
rāh-ay	jelō=yen	be-ger-an	jar	∅-kan-ant
way-GEN	front=PC.1PL	SBJV-take.NPST-3PL	quarrel	SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

<i>'bejanant</i>	<i>'bwaran</i>	<i>ba'sāb</i>	<i>'bād</i>	<i>zepe'zel</i>
be-ṣan-ant	b-war-an	basāb	bād	zepezel
SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL	SBJV-eat.NPST-3PL	anyway	should	brave

<i>ben</i>	<i>'jar</i>	<i>kanen</i>	<i>ja'nekā</i>
∅-b-en	jar	∅-kan-en	janek-ā
SBJV-become.NPST-1PL	quarrel	SBJV-do.NPST-1PL	girl-OBL

<i>'begeren</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>'tawre</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>ja'nekā</i>
be-ger-en	har	tawr=e	∅-b-ī	janek-ā
SBJV-take.NPST-1PL	each	manner=IND	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	girl-OBL

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'bīyāren</i>	<i>yā hay'wāna</i>	<i>'bīyāren</i>	<i>'yā ja'nekā</i>
bīy-ār-en	yā haywān-a	bīy-ār-en	yā janek-ā
SBJV-bring.NPST-1PL	or animal-OBL	SBJV-bring.NPST-1PL	or girl-OBL

So Kakol went around in the encampment [and] he found some good, strong, brave persons; he said, “It is possible they will stop us, that they will fight, beat [us and] we will beat them (lit. eat, which means that they will be beaten); you know, we should be brave [and] fight; we should take the girl, by all means; we should bring the girl; we should either bring [our] animals (i.e. the gift given to the mother of the bride was in kind, not in money) or the girl.”

### SD.m:44

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ākā'yant</i>	<i>o...</i>	<i>'čan</i>	<i>na'far</i>
a=š-ī	ā=k-ā-yant	=o	čan	nafar
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	=and	some	person

<i>ākā'yant</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'haf</i>	<i>'haš</i>	<i>'dah</i>	<i>na'far</i>
ā=k-ā-yant	ya	haf	haš	dah	nafar
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	one	seven	eight	ten	person

*ākā'yant*  
ā=k-ā-yant  
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

It is said [that] they came and... A few people came, some seven, eight, ten people came.

### SD.m:45

<i>'pan</i>	<i>'šeš</i>	<i>lē'ra</i>	<i>ākā'ran</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>jom'la</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'aspī</i>
pan	šeš	lēra	ā=k-ār-an	a	jomla	ya	asp=ī
five	six	camel	VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL	from	all	one	horse=IND

<i>yada'kī</i>	<i>ākā'ran</i>	<i>ba'hre</i>	<i>ma'sī</i>	<i>dās'tānā</i>	<i>ke</i>
yadakī	ā=k-ār-an	bahr=e	mašī	dāstān-ā	ke
extra	VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL	for=EZ	Mashhadi	Dastan-OBL	CLM

<i>bo'kā</i>	<i>'bīyāran</i>	<i>'swāre</i>	<i>'aspā</i>	<i>kanan</i>
bokā	bīy-ār-an	swār=e	asp-ā	∅-kan-an
want.NPST	SBJV-bring.NPST-3PL	riding=EZ	horse-OBL	SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

They brought five, six camels; among them they brought an extra horse for Mashhadi Dastan, whom they wanted to bring, to put on the horse.

### SD.m:46

<i>mī'yān</i>	<i>'rāhā</i>	<i>ākā'yant</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>ham</i>
mīyān	rāh-ā	ā=k-ā-yant	ta	bale	janek	ham
between	way-OBL	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	MIR	yes	daughter	ADD

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

<i>'das</i>	<i>'pāday</i>	<i>'gerdī</i>	<i>koda</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>har'ēī</i>
das	pāday	gerd=ī	kod-a	=o	harčī
hand	foot.OBL.PC.3SG	gathered=PC.3SG	do.PST-PP	=and	whatever

<i>zora'gī</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>zor'tagī</i>	<i>o</i>
zor-ag-ī	=en	zort-ag=ī	=o
take.NPST-INF-ADJZ	=COP.NPST.3SG	take.PST-PP=PC.3SG	=and

<i>'swārī</i>	<i>akanan</i>
swār=ī	a=kan-an
riding=PC.3SG	VCL=do.NPST-3PL

They came in the middle of the way, and lo and behold, the girl was ready and she had taken whatever she was to take, and they put her on the horse.

**SD.m:47**

<i>'swārī</i>	<i>akanan</i>	<i>ākā'yan</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>mī'yān</i>
swār=ī	a=kan-an	ā=k-ā-yan	ta	mīyān
riding=PC.3SG	VCL=do.NPST-3PL	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	until	between

<i>rā'hā</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>a'wal</i>	<i>bo'kārī</i>	<i>boda</i>
rāh-ā	janek	ham	awal	bokār=ī	bod-a
way-OBL	girl	ADD	first	want.PST=PC.3SG	become.PST-PP

<i>'wadī</i>	<i>prē'nī</i>	<i>jah'lād</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bejergī</i>	<i>ba</i>
wad=ī	∅-prēn-ī	jahlād	ke	be-jerg-ī	ba
REFL=PC.3SG	SBJV-throw.NPST-3SG	down	CLM	SBJV-flee.NPST-3SG	to

*ran'nā*  
rannā  
behind

They put her on the horse [and] came in the middle of the way; well, at the beginning, the girl wanted to throw herself down in order to run back.

**SD.m:48**

<i>dobā'ra</i>	<i>ma'sī</i>	<i>kā'kol</i>	<i>a'gīī</i>	<i>dobā'ra</i>	<i>ham</i>
dobāra	mašī	kākol	a=g-īt=ī	dobāra	ham
again	Mashhadi	Kakol	VCL=take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	again	ADD

<i>'swārī</i>	<i>a'kant</i>	<i>'hade</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>dī'ga</i>	<i>aya</i>
swār=ī	a=kan-t	had=e	wad=ī	dīga	aya
riding=PC.3SG	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	to=EZ	REFL=PC.3SG	other	if

<i>gen'nī</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>'mot</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>jah'lād</i>
∅-genn-ī	janek	mot	∅-ka-∅	jahlād
SBJV-see.NPST-3SG	girl	jump	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	down



#### A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

*boda* *ga'mānam*  
 bod-a=∅ *gamān=am*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG imagination=PC.1SG

So his mother, when they took the girl to run away... his mother, there was a child; it was Hosayn's child, I think.

##### SD.m:52

*sar'masay* *boda* *sar'masay* *'bačā* *ba'gal*  
 sarmas-ay bod-a=∅ sarmas-ay bač-ā baḡal  
 Sarmas-GEN become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Sarmas-GEN son-OBL beside

*akant* *sar'mas* *as* *'āṅā* *ma'hā*  
 a=kan-t sarmas as āṅā mah-ā-∅  
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG Sarmas from there IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3SG

*boda* *ar'ra* *je'loē* *ke* *ba'sāb* *sar'mas*  
 bod-a ar=ra-∅ jelo=ē ke baśāb sarmas  
 become.PST-PP VCL=go.NPST-3SG towards=PC.3SG CLM anyway Sarmas

*nī'čā* *'nagašīt*  
 nīč-ā na-gaš-īt  
 nothing-OBL NEG.SBJV-say.NPST-3SG

It was Sarmas's; she embraced Sarmas's child; Sarmas was coming from afar (lit. there); she went towards him, you know, [with the child] so that Sarmas would not say anything.

##### SD.m:53

*sar'mas* *a'sī* *'kō* *en* *mē'dagom*  
 sarmas a=š-ī kō =en mēdag=om  
 Sarmas VCL=say.NPST-3SG where =COP.NPST.3SG encampment=PC.1SG

*'kō* *en* *gā'hārom* *a'sī* *gā'hāret*  
 kō =en gāhār=om a=š-ī gāhār=et  
 where =COP.NPST.3SG sister=PC.1SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG sister=PC.2SG

*go* *korošo'bāra* *'raft*  
 go koroš-obār-a raft-∅  
 with Korosh-PL-OBL go.PST-3SG

Sarmas said, "Where is my wife (lit. encampment)?; Where is my sister?"; she said, "Your sister went with the Korosh.



A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

**SD.m:57**

*maša'dī dās'tānī dō'ī agen'nī tā 'bačī*  
 mašadī dāstān-ī dōī a=genn-ī tā bač-ī  
 Mashhadi Dastan-GEN mother VCL=see.NPST-3SG MIR son=PC.3SG

*bo'kā 'bokošīdī aga 'bokošīdī*  
 bokā bo-koš-īd=ī aga bo-koš-īd=ī  
 want.NPST SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG if SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

*'bačā ham āko'sīd 'čokā 'ēr akant*  
 bač-ā ham ā=koš-īd čok-ā ēr a=kan-t  
 boy-OBL ADD VCL=kill.NPST-3SG child-OBL PREV VCL=do.NPST-3SG

*'āṇa 'wadī 'ōštī alla a'sī*  
 āṇa wad=ī ōšt-ī alla a=š-ī  
 there REFL=PC.3SG stand up.NPST-3SG FRAG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

*'babam bo'kā 'bokošaym hā'lā*  
 bab=m bokā bo-koš-ay=m hālā  
 father=PC.1SG want.NPST SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG=PC.1SG now

*'bokoš gā'hāret rafta dī'ga*  
 bo-koš-∅ gāhār=et raft-a=∅ dīga  
 IMPV-kill.NPST-2SG sister=PC.2SG go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG anyway

Mashhadi Dastan's mother realised (lit. sees) that her son was going to kill her; if he killed her he would also kill the child; she put the child down at a distance (lit. there) [and] she herself stood there [and] said, "Well, if you want to kill me kill me now; your sister has gone anyway."

**SD.m:58**

*'xob 'čokā 'ēr aka 'āṇa o 'dassay*  
 xob čok-ā ēr a=ka-∅ āṇa =o dassay  
 well child-OBL PREV VCL=do.NPST-3SG there =and hand.OBL.PC.3SG

*ham a'bā bā'lād 'ā ham a'jant*  
 ham a=bā-∅ bālād ā ham a=jan-t  
 ADD VCL=take.NPST-3SG up DIST ADD VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

You know, she put the child down at a distance and she raised up her hands, and he shot her.

**SD.m:59**

*a'jant dō'īay mī'ānay ga'ray*  
 a=jan-t dōī-ay mīān=ay garay  
 VCL=hit.NPST-3SG mother-GEN between=EZ chest.OBL.PC.3SG

## A. Text Corpus

*a'jant*                      *dō'īay*                      *ham*    *ame'rī*  
a=jan-t                      dōī=ay                      ham    a=mer-ī  
VCL=hit.NPST-3SG    mother=PC.3SG    ADD    VCL=die.NPST-3SG

He shot her; he shot his mother in the chest so his mother died.

### SD.m:60

*dō'īay*                      *ame'rīd*                      *o*    *dō'īay*                      *ham*    *'wel*  
dōī=ay                      a=mer-īd                      =o    dōī=ay                      ham    wel  
mother=PC.3SG    VCL=die.NPST-3SG    =and    mother=PC.3SG    ADD    loose

*adā*                              *a'kay*                              *a*    *mē'dagā*  
a=dā-∅                              a=k-ay-∅                              a    mēdag-ā  
VCL=give.NPST-3SG    VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG    to    encampment-OBL

*ax'bārā*                      *a'dā*                              *ke*    *dō'īyam*                      *'koštom*  
axbār-ā                      a=dā-∅                              ke    dōī=yam                      košt=om  
news.PL-OBL    VCL=give.NPST-3SG    CLM    mother=PC.1SG    kill.PST=PC.1SG

*'wale*    *korošo'bāra*                      *'pēdāom*                      *nako*  
wale    koroš-obār-a                      pēdā=om                      na-ko  
but    Korosh-PL-OBL    visible=PC.1SG    NEG-do.PST

His mother died and he walked away from his mother; he came [and] told the encampment, “I killed my mother but I did not find the Korosh.”

### SD.m:61

*korošo'bārom*                      *'paydā*    *nakod*                      *dō'īyam*                      *'koštom*  
koroš-obār=om                      paydā    na-kod                      dōī=yam                      košt=om  
Korosh-PL=PC.1SG    visible    NEG-do.PST    mother=PC.1SG    kill.PST=PC.1SG

I did not find the Korosh, [but] I killed my mother.

### SD.m:62

*mē'dageš*                      *'gerd*                      *abīd*                              *'hamī*  
mēdag=eš                      gerd                      a=b-īd                              ham=ī  
encampment=PC.3PL    gathered    VCL=become.NPST-3SG    EMPH=PROX

*'wadī*                      *mī'dageš*                              *'gerd*                      *abīt*  
wad-ī                      mīdag=eš                              gerd                      a=b-īt  
REFL-GEN    encampment=PC.3PL    gathered    VCL=become.NPST-3SG

*ho'saynī*                      *dō'īyā*                      *aba'rant*  
hosayn-ī                      dōī-yā                      a=bar-ant  
Hosayn-GEN    mother-OBL    VCL=take.NPST-3PL

Their encampment came together; this his encampment came together; they took

#### A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

Sarmas (lit. Hosayn)'s mother.

##### SD.m:63

<i>aba'rant</i>	<i>kā'hom</i>	<i>akanant</i>
a=bar-ant	kāhom	a=kan-ant
VCL=take.NPST-3PL	buried	VCL=do.NPST-3PL

They took [her and] buried [her].

##### SD.m:64

<i>aba'rant</i>	<i>kā'hom</i>	<i>akanant</i>	<i>god'dā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kā'hom</i>
a=bar-ant	kāhom	a=kan-ant	goddā	ke	kāhom
VCL=take.NPST-3PL	buried	VCL=do.NPST-3PL	then	CLM	buried

<i>akanant</i>	<i>mo'datī</i>	<i>a'bī</i>
a=kan-ant	modat=ī	a=b-ī
VCL=do.NPST-3PL	time=IND	VCL=become.NPST-3SG

<i>ane'nan</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>'šawr</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'kawr</i>
a=nen-an	had=e	ham-ā	šawr	=o	kawr
VCL=sit down.NPST-3PL	by=EZ	each other-OBL	counsel	=and	echo

<i>aka'nant</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>če'taw</i>	<i>kanen</i>
a=kan-ant	ke	četaw	∅-kan-en
VCL=do.NPST-3PL	CLM	how	SBJV-do.NPST-1PL

They took [her and] buried [her]; after they buried [her], after some time [then] they came together (lit. sit near each other) [and] they took counsel, what they should do?

##### SD.m:65

<i>a'šant</i>	<i>'xo</i>	<i>bā'hād</i>	<i>'berren</i>	<i>talā'fī</i>
a=š-ant	xo	bāhād	ber-r-en	talāfī
VCL=say.NPST-3PL	well	must	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	revenge

<i>kanen</i>	<i>'bokošen</i>
∅-kan-en	bo-koš-en
SBJV-do.NPST-1PL	SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL

They said, “Well, we must go and take revenge, kill [them].”

##### SD.m:66

<i>'čōn</i>	<i>e'šān</i>	<i>baha'sābe</i>	<i>'wadeš</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'naṅe</i>
čōn	eš-ān	bahasāb=e	wad=eš	ya	naṅ=e
how	PROX-PL	according=EZ	REFL=PC.3PL	one	disgrace=IND

## A. Text Corpus

'ēreš                      koda                      'rū 'mā  
 ēr=eš                      kod-a                      rū mā  
 PREV=PC.3PL do.PST-PP on PN.1PL

Because they, according to themselves, they brought disgrace on us.

### SD.m:67

'mā                      bā'hāt en                      'berren                      korošo'bāra  
 mā                      bāhāt=en                      ber-r-en                      koroš-obār-a  
 PN.1PL must=COP.NPST.3SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL Korosh-PL-OBL

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

We must go and kill the Korosh.”

### SD.m:68

'gerd                      aban                      'ya sat'tāye                      ā'dam  
 gerd                      a=b-an                      ya sat-tā=ye                      ādam  
 gathered VCL=become.NPST-3PL one hundred-CL=IND human being

'gerd                      abant  
 gerd                      a=b-ant  
 gathered VCL=become.NPST-3PL

They gathered, a hundred people or so gathered.

### SD.m:69

sat'tāye                      ā'dam                      'gerd                      abant                      'yak na'far  
 sat-tā=ye                      ādam                      gerd                      a=b-ant                      yak nafar  
 hundred-CL=IND human being gathered VCL=become.NPST-3PL one person

balat'cī                      ba 'nāme                      ġorbāna'līe                      āhon'gar                      ma ha'mā  
 balatcī                      ba nām=e                      ġorbānalī=e                      āhongar                      ma ham=ā  
 guide by name=EZ Ghorban Ali=EZ Ahangar in EMPH=DIST

mē'dagā                      boda                      a'sī                      'man  
 mēdag-ā                      bod-a=∅                      a=š-ī                      man  
 encampment-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG

'ē                      korošo'bāray                      mē'daga                      ba'latt                      ān  
 ē                      koroš-obār-ay                      mēdag-a                      balatt                      =ān  
 PROX Korosh-PL-GEN encampment-OBL know =COP.NPST.1SG

#### A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

*ra'wāleš*                      *ba'latt ān*  
 rawāl=eš                      balatt    =ān  
 behaviour=PC.3PL    know    =COP.NPST.1SG

A hundred people or so gathered; there was a man, a guide (lit. one who knows) by the name Ghorban Ali Ahangar in that encampment; he said, “I know the encampment of these Koroshi; I know their behaviour.”

##### SD.m:70

*baen'wāne*    *balat'ēī*    *aka'fī*                      *go*    *ē'sān*    *o*  
 baenwāne    balatēī    a=kaf-ī                      go    ēš-ān    =o  
 as                      guide    VCL=fall.NPST-3SG    with    PROX-PL    =and

*ākā'yan*                                      *ke*    *ē'sānā*                      *'pēdā*    *kanan*  
 ā=k-ā-yan                                      ke    ēš-ān-ā                      pēdā    Ø-kan-an  
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL    CLM    PROX-PL-OBJ    visible    SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

*'bokošan*  
 bo-koš-an  
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

He followed them (lit. falls with them) as a guide and they came in order to find these [and] kill [them].

##### SD.m:71

*'hamī*                      *ğorbāna'lī*                      *āhan'gar*    *a'kay*  
 ham=ī                      ğorbānalī                      āhangar    a=k-ay-Ø  
 EMPH=PROX    Ghorban Ali    Ahangar    VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

*mē'dagā*                      *pē'dā*    *akant*  
 mēdag-ā                      pēdā    a=kan-t  
 encampment-OBL    visible    VCL=do.NPST-3SG

This Ghorban Ali Ahangar came [and] found the encampment.

##### SD.m:72

*ğorbāna'līe*                      *āhangar*    *a'kay*                                      *ko'rošay*  
 ğorbānalī=e                      āhangar    a=k-ay-Ø                                      koroš-ay  
 Ghorban Ali=EZ    Ahangar    VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG    Korosh-GEN

*mē'dagā*                      *pē'dā*    *a'kan*                                      *a'kay*                                      *ba*  
 mēdag-ā                      pēdā    a=kan-Ø                                      a=k-ay-Ø                                      ba  
 encampment-OBL    visible    VCL=do.NPST-3SG    VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG    for

*ē'sānā*                      *ha'mā*                      *ax'bārā*                      *a'dā*                                      *ke*    *ba'le*  
 ēš-ān-ā                      ham=ā                      axbār-ā                      a=dā-Ø                                      ke    bale  
 PROX-PL-OBJ    EMPH=DIST    news.PL-OBL    VCL=give.NPST-3SG    CLM    yes

## A. Text Corpus

*korošo'bar fe'lān jāh neš'ta*  
 koroš-obār felān jāh nešt-a=∅  
 Korosh-PL so and so place sit down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*mē'dageš ham 'assen negahbā'nī ha*  
 mēdag=eš ham ass=en negahbānī ha  
 encampment=PC.3PL ADD be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG guarding ADD

*madī'yagan*  
 ma-dīy-ag=an  
 IMP-give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL

Ghorban Ali Ahangar came [and] found the encampment of the Korosh; he came [back and] gave them that [piece of] information; “The Korosh are settled in such and such a place and they have an encampment as well; they are keeping watch.”

### SD.m:73

*'bade mo'datī ham ke mē'dagā 'ē mē'dagā*  
 bad=e modat=ī ham ke mēdag-ā ē mēdag-ā  
 after=EZ time=IND ADD CLM encampment-OBL PROX encampment-OBL

*ē'dān negahbā'nīya madī'yā boda dī'ya*  
 ēdān negahbānī-a ma-dīy-ā bod-a dīya  
 here guarding-OBL IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP well

*'sosseš kodā boda hā'lā yā 'da 'rō yā*  
 soss=eš kod-ā bod-a hālā yā da rō yā  
 loose=PC.3PL do.PST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP now or ten day or

*'bīs 'rō yā 'yak 'māh boda negahbā'nīya*  
 bīs rō yā yak māh bod-a=∅ negahbānī-a  
 twenty day or one month become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG guarding-OBL

*madī'yēn boda 'yake a'sī*  
 ma-dīy-ēn bod-a yak=e a=š-ī  
 IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP one=IND VCL=say.NPST-3SG

*'bowā 'byā 'berren lō'gā*  
 bowā by-ā-∅ ber-r-en lōg-ā  
 father IMPV-come.NPST-2SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL house-OBL

*benen'nen ka'bāb kanen 'bwaren*  
 be-nenn-en kabāb ∅-kan-en b-war-en  
 SBJV-sit down.NPST-1PL barbeque SBJV-do.NPST-1PL SBJV-eat.NPST-1PL

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>ā...</i>	<i>felā'nī</i>	<i>ōdāna'kō</i>	<i>gōž'dā</i>	<i>ka'bāb</i>
<i>hālā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>felān-ī</i>	<i>ōdānakō</i>	<i>gōžd-ā</i>	<i>kabāb</i>
now	DIST	so and so-NOMZ	right there	meat-OBL	barbeque

<i>makana</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>e'dān</i>	<i>gah'ray</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>ma-kan-a</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>edān</i>	<i>gahr=ay</i>	<i>sar-ā</i>	<i>=o</i>
IMP-do.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	ADD	here	cold=COP.NPST.2SG	on-OBL	=and

<i>me'hesk</i>	<i>'bwārtem</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'gahrom</i>	<i>'kant</i>
<i>mehesk</i>	<i>b-wār-t=em</i>	<i>=o</i>	<i>gahr=om</i>	<i>Ø-kan-t</i>
fly	SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG=PC.1SG	=and	cold=PC.1SG	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

<i>'bīyā</i>	<i>'berren</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>
<i>bīy-ā-Ø</i>	<i>ber-r-en</i>	<i>lōg-ā</i>
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	house-OBL

Well, after a while /that/ the encampment, that (lit. this) encampment had been keeping watch there (lit. here); they became tired, now they may have kept watch for ten or twenty days or one month; one of them said, “Hey [lit. father], let’s go home [and] sit down and make a barbeque [and] eat; now... those people (lit. so-and-so) there are making barbeque of the meat; should I be here in the cold, and the flies biting (lit. eat) me, and should it be cold too?; let’s go home.”

**SD.m:74**

<i>ar'ran</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>anen'nant</i>	<i>'tūl</i>
<i>ar=r-an</i>	<i>lōg-ā</i>	<i>a=nenn-ant</i>	<i>tūl</i>
VCL=go.NPST-3PL	house-OBL	VCL=sit down.NPST-3PL	length

<i>a'nakašī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>hame'dān</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>'hāmā</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>a=na-kaš-ī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ham=edān</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hām=ā</i>	<i>ā</i>
VCL=NEG-pull.NPST-3SG	CLM	EMPH=here	FRGM	EMPH=DIST	DIST

<i>'šaf</i>	<i>'hameša</i>	<i>negahbā'nīyā</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>'hamā</i>
<i>šaf</i>	<i>hameša</i>	<i>negahbānī-yā</i>	<i>bod-a=Ø</i>	<i>ham=ā</i>
night	always	guarding-OBL	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	EMPH=DIST

<i>'šaf</i>	<i>ete'fāg</i>	<i>akafī</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>negahbā'nīyā</i>
<i>šaf</i>	<i>etefāg</i>	<i>a=kaf-ī</i>	<i>eš-ān</i>	<i>negahbānī-yā</i>
night	occurrence	VCL=fall.NPST-3SG	PROX-PL	guarding-OBL

<i>a'nadant</i>
<i>a=na-d-ant</i>
VCL=NEG-give.NPST-3PL

They went back home [and] they sat [at home]; it did not take long; that very night, they were always keeping watch [but] it so happened that these did not keep watch.



#### A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

'gēš	'nābodagan		korošo'bār	'ya	'jāh	alba'ta	na
gēš	nā-bod-ag=an		koroš-obār	ya	jāh	albata	na
more	NEG-be.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL		Korosh-PL	one	place	of course	no

'xayle	'tāb 'tāb	'bodagan		'ya	'bīstāyī	'lōg
xayle	tāb tāb	bod-ag=an		ya	bīs-tā=yī	lōg
very	spread out	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL		one	twenty-CL=IND	house

*īdān boda*  
 īdān bod-a=∅  
 here become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They took over the guard post, you know; at that time (lit. now) these were forty gunmen; I do not know, they were twenty gunmen; I don't know, whatever, but, they were not more than ten or fifteen households, the Korosh, in one place; of course, since (lit. no) they were very spread out, only twenty households were there (lit. here).

#### SD.m:78

ē'sān	te'faṇā	āge'ran		mā	'ē	čādero'bārā	'šaf
ēs-ān	tefaṇ-ā	ā=ger-an		mā	ē	čāder-obār-ā	šaf
PROX-PL	gun-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3PL		on	PROX	tent-PL-OBL	night

om	boda		ta'māme	'kas	waf'ta
=om	bod-a=∅		tamām=e	kas	waft-a
=ADD	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		all=EZ	person	sleep.PST-PP

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

These shot (lit. took gun) at these tents; it was at night and everybody was asleep.

#### SD.m:79

te'faṇā	āge'ran		'mā	'ī	'čā'derā
tefaṇ-ā	ā=ger-an		mā	ī	čāder-ā
gun-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3PL		at	PROX	tent-OBL

They shot at this tent.

#### SD.m:80

har'čī	'beṭānan		'beṭanan	šā'yad	har
harčī	be-tān-an		be-ṭan-an	šāyad	har
whatever	SBJV-be able.NPST-3PL		SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL	maybe	each

## A. Text Corpus

'lōgīyā            'sadtā            fī'šaṅ    xā'lī    akanant  
 lōg=ī-yā            sad-tā            fīšaṅ    xālī    a=kan-ant  
 house=IND-OBL    hundred-CL    bullet    empty    VCL=do.NPST-3PL

They shot as much as they could; maybe they shot (lit. emptied) one hundred bullets on each house.

### SD.m:81

'bad    ō'dān    ke    xo'dā    bo'kārī            a'bīd  
 bad    ōdān    ke    xodā    bokār=ī            a=b-īd  
 then    there    CLM    God    want.PST=PC.3SG    VCL=become.NPST-3SG

'haḡeš            boda                                    'ē            korošo'bār  
 haḡ=eš            bod-a=∅                                    ē            koroš-obār  
 right=PC.3PL    become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    PROX    Korosh-PL

'haḡī            boda                                    'hīška    'pōze            ham  
 haḡ=ī            bod-a=∅                                    hīška    pōz=e            ham  
 right=PC.3SG    become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    nobody    nose=PC.3SG    ADD

'hōn    a'nayay                                    fa'ḡat    bā'leštī            'ya    'moštī  
 hōn    a=nay-ay-∅                                    faḡat    bālešt=ī            ya    mošt=ī  
 blood    VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG    only    pillow=IND    one    handful=IND

bā'lešt    gul'la    alag'gī                                    'mānī            'ya    'moštī            hay'wān  
 bālešt    gulla    a=lagg-ī                                    mān=ī            ya    mošt=ī            haywān  
 pillow    bullet    VCL=hit.NPST-3SG    in=PC.3SG    one    handful=IND    animal

o    'mēš    o    oš'tor    zax'mī    pax'mī    a'bī  
 =o    mēš    =o    oštor    zaxmī    paxmī    a=b-ī  
 =and    sheep    =and    camel    injured    echo    VCL=become.NPST-3SG

Well, where God wanted [to protect], it was the right of this Korosh; it was their right; no one got even the smallest injury (lit. blood does not come from anyone's nose); only a pillow, some pillows were hit by the bullets [and] some animals, sheep and camels were injured.

### SD.m:82

ax'bār    aba'ra...                                    ar'ra                                    ba    sawladaw'lā  
 axbār    a=bar-a                                    ar=ra-∅                                    ba    sawladawlā  
 news.PL    VCL=take.NPST-3SG    VCL=go.NPST-3SG    for    Sawladawla.OBL

The news took... reached Sawladawla.

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

**SD.m:83**

*ax'bār ar'ra ba sawladaw'lā ke 'hamī*  
 axbār ar=ra-∅ ba sawladawlā ke ham=ī  
 news.PL VCL=go.NPST-3SG for Sawladawla.OBL CLM EMPH=PROX

*korošo'bāray 'xān boda a'sī*  
 koroš-obār-ay xān bod-a=∅ a=š-ī  
 Korosh-PL-GEN khan become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

*ko'rošay mē'dagā 'dōšī tīrbā'rāneš koda*  
 koroš-ay mēdag-ā dōšī tīrbārān=eš kod-a  
 Korosh-GEN encampment-OBL last night shooting=PC.3PL do.PST-PP

The news reached Sawladawla, who was Khan of these Korosh; someone said, “Last night there was shooting in the Korosh encampment.”

**SD.m:84**

*tīrbā'rāneš koda 'wale ō'dān ke xo'dā bo'kārī*  
 tīrbārān=eš kod-a wale ōdān ke xodā bokār=ī  
 shooting=PC.3PL do.PST-PP but there CLM God want.PST=PC.3SG

*boda 'hīška 'nāmorta*  
 bod-a hīška nā-mort-a=∅  
 become.PST-PP nobody NEG-die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

There was shooting in the Korosh’s encampment, but now that God so wanted, no one died.

**SD.m:85**

*'ya 'moštī hay'wān o oš'tor o moš'tor zax'mī*  
 ya mošt=ī haywān =o oštor =o moštor zaxmī  
 one handful=IND animal =and camel =and echo injured

*boda 'walī 'čok 'ya 'čoke ham*  
 bod-a=∅ walī čok ya čok=e ham  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG but child one child=IND ADD

*'namorta*  
 na-mort-a=∅  
 NEG-die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Some animals, camels and the like were injured, but [no] child not even one child died.”

## A. Text Corpus

### SD.m:86

'yak na'far ham... ax'bār āra'sī ba ha'mā  
 yak nafar ham axbār ā=ras-ī ba ham=ā  
 one person ADD news.PL VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG for EMPH=DIST

ta'rafā a'sī 'lōget 'nasōčī...  
 taraf-ā a=š-ī lōg=et na-sōč-ī  
 person-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG house=PC.2SG NEG.SBJV-burn.NPST-3SG

ta 'hamādān ke tīrannā'zī makan'ēn  
 ta ham=ādān ke tīrannāzī ma-kan-ēn  
 PN.2SG EMPH=there CLM shooting IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3PL

boda a'sant 'xob 'ta 'yak na'far ē'sān  
 bod-a a=š-ant xob ta yak nafar ēš-ān  
 become.PST-PP VCL=say.NPST-3PL well PN.2SG one person PROX-PL

āwor'tageš 'hōn ta'labet 'hassad hā'lā 'ta  
 āwort-ag=eš hōn talab=et hass=ad-∅ hālā ta  
 bring.PST-PP=PC.3PL blood claim=PC.2SG be=COP.PST-3SG now PN.2SG

'ya ye'lī bo'kā 'bokošay 'košet 'ya  
 ya yel=ī bokā bo-koš-ay košt=et ya  
 one tribe=IND want.NPST SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG kill.PST=PC.2SG one

'yelī 'zorr ge ba ran'nā  
 yel=ī zorr ∅-ge-∅ ba rannā  
 tribe=IND turning IMPV-take.NPST-2SG for behind

So one person... the news reached that person (i.e. Sarmas); he said, “You have overdone it (lit. your house may not burn)... when they were shooting they said, well, you, they had brought one person [and] you should take revenge [on one person]; now you want to kill one [whole] tribe; you killed one tribe; turn back.”

### SD.m:87

'zorr ageran ba ran'nā 'xān ham pa'yām  
 zorr a=ger-an ba rannā xān ham payām  
 turning VCL=take.NPST-3PL for behind khan ADD message

akant a'sī 'xob 'ta 'ya na'far bo'kā  
 a=kan-t a=š-ī xob ta ya nafar bokār  
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2SG one person want.PST

aday 'bokošay 'ta 'ya 'īlīyā hā'lā  
 =ad-ay bo-koš-ay ta ya īl=ī-yā hālā  
 =COP.PST-2SG SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG PN.2SG one tribe=PC.3SG-OBL now

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

<i>koš'tayaday</i>	<i>'walī</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>'šāns</i>	<i>gaš'tagī</i>
košt-ay=ad-ay	walī	xob	šāns	gašt-ag=ī
kill.PST-PP=COP.PST-2SG	but	well	fate	say.PST-PP=PC.3SG

<i>'haḡeš</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>'nāmortagant</i>
haḡ=eš	bod-a=∅	nā-mort-ag=ant
right=PC.3PL	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	NEG-die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

They turned back. So the Khan sent a message; he said, “Well you should have killed one person; now you had killed one [whole] tribe, but, well, fate made it clear (lit. said) right was on their side; they have not died.”

**SD.m:88**

<i>'xob</i>	<i>pa'yām</i>	<i>ar'rasī</i>	<i>'bahre</i>	<i>hā'mā</i>	<i>maša'dī</i>
xob	payām	ar=ras-ī	bahr=e	hām=ā	mašadī
well	message	VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG	for=EZ	EMPH=DIST	Mashhadi

<i>dās'tānī</i>	<i>be'rādā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>eka'da</i>
dāstān-ī	berād-ā	ke	bale	ta	ekada
Dastan-GEN	brother-OBL	CLM	yes	PN.2SG	PROX.much

<i>'ākagay</i>	<i>'bejanay</i>	<i>hīš'ka</i>
āk-ag=ay	be-jan-ay	hīška
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG	SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG	nobody

*'nāmorta*  
nā-mort-a=∅  
NEG-die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Well, a message arrived to Mashhadi Dastan’s brother, “Well, you came to strike this much [but] no one died.

**SD.m:89**

<i>'ta</i>	<i>eka'da</i>	<i>te'faḡet</i>	<i>prēn'ta</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>korošo'bāray</i>
ta	ekada	tefaḡ=et	prēnt-a	mā	ē	koroš-obār-ay
PN.2SG	PROX.much	gun=PC.2SG	throw.PST-PP	in	PROX	Korosh-PL-GEN

<i>mē'dagā</i>	<i>'hīška</i>	<i>'nāmorta</i>
mēdag-ā	hīška	nā-mort-a=∅
encampment-OBL	nobody	NEG-die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

You shot so much (lit. spread gun) in this Korosh encampment, [but] no one has died.



A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

*boda*

bod-a=∅

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Well, Sawladawla was the Khan at the time; he was an elder; he was a Khan; he was the Khan of the whole tribe... he was the Khan of the nomads.

**SD.m:93**

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>šō'mā</i>	<i>ʃar</i>	<i>'makanet</i>	<i>'man</i>
a=š-ī	na	šōmā	ʃar	ma-kan-et	man
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.2PL	quarrel	PROH-do.NPST-2PL	PN.1SG

<i>'wadom</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'wadom</i>	<i>kā'rā</i>	<i>do'ross</i>	<i>akanān</i>
wad=om	man	wad=om	kār-ā	doross	a=kan-ān
REFL=PC.1SG	PN.1SG	REFL=PC.1SG	work-OBL	right	VCL=do.NPST-1SG

<i>ʃar</i>	<i>'makanet</i>
ʃar	ma-kan-et
quarrel	PROH-do.NPST-2PL

He said, “No, don’t fight; I myself, I myself, will arrange things; don’t fight.”

**SD.m:94**

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>dobā'ra</i>	<i>hā'lā</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>ba'hār</i>
a=š-ī	deya	dobāra	hālā	yā	bahār
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	well	again	now	or	spring

<i>boda</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>pā'izī</i>
bod-a=∅	yā	pāiz=ī
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	or	autumn=IND

<i>boda</i>	<i>mē'dag</i>	<i>arē'čīd</i>	<i>o</i>
bod-a=∅	mēdag	a=rēč-īd	=o
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	encampment	VCL=pour.NPST-3SG	=and

<i>ākā'yant</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>xā'nā</i>	<i>'xān</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
ā=k-ā-yant	had=e	xān-ā	xān	a=š-ī
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL	by=EZ	khan-OBL	khan	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>'xo</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>bo'kā</i>	<i>ʃar</i>	<i>kanet</i>	<i>'bōštēt</i>
xo	aga	bokā	ʃar	∅-kan-et	b-ōšt-et
well	if	want.NPST	quarrel	SBJV-do.NPST-2PL	IMPV-stand up.NPST-2PL

<i>tā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ā'sānā</i>	<i>hom</i>	<i>'begennān</i>	<i>'bennen</i>
tā	man	āsān-ā	hom	be-genn-ān	b-enn-en
till	PN.1SG	DIST.PL-OBJ	ADD	SBJV-see.NPST-1SG	SBJV-see.NPST-1PL

## A. Text Corpus

*ā'sān 'čī a'sī*  
 āšān čī a=š-ī  
 DIST.PL what VCL=say.NPST-3SG

It is said, it was either spring or autumn again; the encampment gathered (lit. pour) and they came to the Khan; the Khan said, “Well, if you want to fight, wait till I meet them; let us see what they say.”

### SD.m:95

*agen'nant... 'hamī ma'sī dāse'tānī berādo'bārā*  
 a=genn-ant ham=ī mašī dāsetān-ī berād-obār-ā  
 VCL=sec.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX Mashhadi Dastan-GEN brother-PL-OBL

*agen'nī a'sī 'xob ta go ko'roš hā'lā*  
 a=genn-ī a=š-ī xob ta go koroš hālā  
 VCL=sec.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2SG with Korosh now

*yā 'bāhā 'solh kanay yā 'jar 'kanay*  
 yā bāhā solh Ø-kan-ay yā jar Ø-kan-ay  
 or must peace SBJV-do.NPST-2SG or quarrel SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

*ko'roš ham bo'kā 'jar kant*  
 koroš ham bokā jar Ø-kan-t  
 Korosh ADD want.NPST quarrel SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

They met; he met this Mashhadi Dastan’s brothers; he said, “Well, now either you make peace with Korosh or fight, but the Korosh want to make a fight.”

### SD.m:96

*a'sī 'wālā ē'taw ke ma'lūm en 'man*  
 a=š-ī wālā ētaw ke malūm =en man  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG by God this way CLM clear =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG

*'hağom 'nāboda 'man tīrannā'zīom*  
 hağ=om nā-bod-a=Ø man tīrannāzī=om  
 right=PC.1SG NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG shooting=PC.1SG

*koda mē'dagā a'san nā'būd kanān 'wale*  
 kod-a mēdag-ā asan nābūd Ø-kan-ān wale  
 do.PST-PP encampment-OBL actually annihilated SBJV-do.NPST-1SG but

*korošo'bār 'hağī boda*  
 koroš-obār hağ=ī bod-a=Ø  
 Korosh-PL right=PC.3SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “By God, as it is obvious it was not my right; I fired on the encampment in order to destroy [them] but the Korosh had the right.

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

**SD.m:97**

*ko'roš 'haḡī boda*  
 koroš haḡ=ī bod-a=∅  
 Korosh right=PC.3SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*'nāmorta 'hīška 'nāmorta*  
 nā-mort-a=∅ hīška nā-mort-a=∅  
 NEG-die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG nobody NEG-die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*'hīška ham zax'mī 'nāboda ē'dan de'ga*  
 hīška ham zaxmī nā-bod-a=∅ ēdan dega  
 nobody ADD injured NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG here well

*'man 'jarom 'nessen*  
 man jar=om nessen=en  
 PN.1SG quarrel=PC.1SG NEG.be.NPST.3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

The Korosh had the right; they didn't die; no one died, no one was even injured; now I do not have any more quarrel."

**SD.m:98**

*ba'sāb 'kay... ham dō'at akant kā'kol*  
 basāb kay ham dōat a=kan-t kākol  
 anyway who ADD marriage VCL=do.NPST-3SG Kakol

So who... Kakol got married, you know.

**SD.m:99**

*kā'kol dō'at akant dī'ga 'godde 'hamī 'tīr*  
 kākol dōat a=kan-t dīga godd=e ham=ī tīr  
 Kakol marriage VCL=do.NPST-3SG anyway after=EZ EMPH=PROX bullet

*o tefa'ḡā o 'godde 'jare o ē'sān dī'ya*  
 =o tefaḡ-ā =o godd=e jar=e =o ēšān dīya  
 =and gun-OBL =and after=EZ quarrel=PC.3SG =and like this well

*dō'at akanan*  
 dōat a=kan-an  
 marriage VCL=do.NPST-3PL

Kakol got married, after that (lit. this) shooting, and after their fighting and so on, they got married.

**SD.m:100**

*dō'at akant 'ē haza'rāte ko'roš*  
 dōat a=kan-t ē hazarāt=e koroš  
 marriage VCL=do.NPST-3SG PROX gentleman.PL=EZ Korosh

## A. Text Corpus

*arra'sī*                      *ba šā'bāšay*                      *dī'yagā*  
 ar=ras-ī                      ba šābāš=ay                      dīy-ag-ā  
 VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG    for    wedding gift=COP.NPST.2SG    give.NPST-INF-OBL

He got married; these Korosh leaders came to give [their] wedding gifts.

### SD.m:101

*ko'roš dī'ya as hājīhayda'rī o 'jat o sīna'zard o jāṅā'nī*  
 koroš dīya as hājīhaydarī =o jat =o sīnazard =o jāṅānī  
 Korosh well from Hajihaydari =and Jat =and Sinezard =and Jangani

*o 'nazānon ko'roš 'xaylī en*  
 =o Ø=na-zān-on                      koroš xaylī =en  
 =and VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG    Korosh very    =COP.NPST.3SG

You know, Korosh, from Hajihaydari and Jat and Sinezard and Jangani, and I do not know, the Korosh are a lot.

### SD.m:102

*šāhrīyā'rī o ko'roš ham 'ya ed'daye 'xaylī*  
 šāhrīyārī =o koroš ham ya edda=ye xaylī  
 Shahriyari =and Korosh ADD one group=EZ very

*'gottīyan arrē'čan 'bahre zu... kā'kol*  
 gott-ī=yan                      ar=rēč-an                      bahr=e                      zu                      kākol  
 big=IND=COP.NPST.3PL    VCL=pour.NPST-3PL    for=PC.3SG    FRAG    Kakol

*dō'at akanan*  
 dōat                      a=kan-an  
 marriage    VCL=do.NPST-3PL

Well, Shahriyari and Korosh are a big group; they came (lit. pour) for... ; they made a wedding celebration for Kakol.

### SD.m:103

*'harka ke 'bodagī 'ā daw'rā 'xayle ham...*  
 harka ke bod-ag=ī                      ā                      dawrā                      xayle                      ham...  
 whoever    CLM    become.PST-PP=PC.3SG    DIST    time                      very                      ADD

*'nesfī boda 'nesfī 'nāboda ba'sābe*  
 nesf-ī                      bod-a                      nesf-ī                      nā-bod-a                      basābe  
 half=PC.3SG    become.PST-PP    half=PC.3SG    NEG-become.PST-PP    anyway

*'ā do'ra arē'čānt 'harka 'dah hay'wān o 'pañj*  
 ā                      dora                      a=rēč-ānt                      harka                      dah                      haywān                      =o                      pañj  
 DIST    time    VCL=pour.NPST-3PL    every one    ten    animal                      =and    five

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

*hay'wān o 'yak hay'wān o 'dah oš'tor o 'ya oš'tor o*  
 haywān =o yak haywān =o dah oštor =o ya oštor =o  
 animal =and one animal =and ten camel =and one camel =and

*'asp o čā'dor o as har'čīyā ba kā'kola*  
 asp =o čādor =o as harčī-yā ba kākol-a  
 horse =and tent =and from whatever-OBL to Kakol-OBL

*a'dant*  
 a=dan-t  
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG

Whoever had [something] at that time, a lot... half of them had [something]; half of them did not have [anything], you know; at that time they came (lit. pour); everyone gave ten animals, or five animals, or one animal, or ten camels or one camel, or horses, or tents, so [they gave] of everything to Kakol.

**SD.m:104**

*kā'kol am kā'kol a'kay a'bīd*  
 kākol =am kākol a=k-ay-∅ a=b-īd  
 Kakol =ADD Kakol VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG VCL=become.NPST-3SG

*'yak... be 'tawre šābā'sī a'dant ke ko'roš ba*  
 yak be tawr=e šābāšī a=d-ant ke koroš ba  
 one to manner=EZ wedding gift VCL=give.NPST-3PL CLM Korosh for

*'tawre šābā'sī ke ba 'ē kā'kol han'čō*  
 tawr=e šābāšī ke ba ē kākol hančō  
 manner=EZ wedding gift CLM to PROX Kakol so many

*a'dād ke kā'kol 'wadī de'ya ar'ra*  
 a=dā-d ke kākol wad=ī deya ar=ra-∅  
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG CLM Kakol REFL=PC.3SG well VCL=go.NPST-3SG

*čū'bānā a'gī 'hamā sā'hāt*  
 čūbān-ā a=g-ī ham=ā sāhāt  
 shepherd-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST hour

So Kakol, Kakol came [and] became a...; they gave so many gifts that, the Korosh gave so many gifts to this Kakol, that Kakol himself went [and] employed (lit. gets) a shepherd at once.

**SD.m:105**

*ar'ra čū'bānā a'gīd o*  
 ar=ra-∅ čūbān-ā a=g-īd =o  
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG shepherd-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and

## A. Text Corpus

*ar'raft...*                      *naw'karā*                      *a'gīd*                                      *ba 'wadī*  
 ar=raf-t                      nawkar-ā                      a=g-īd                                      ba wad=ī  
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG    male servant-OBL    VCL=take.NPST-3SG    for    REFL=PC.3SG

*o e'dān ar'ran*                                      *'hade xā'nā*                      *'šokr akanan*  
 =o edān ar=r-an                                      had=e xān-ā                      šokr a=kan-an  
 =and here    VCL=go.NPST-3PL    to=EZ    khan-OBL    praise    VCL=do.NPST-3PL

*'xān ham a'šī*                                      *'hamā*                      *sawladaw'la sawladaw'la*  
 xān ham a=š-ī                                      ham=ā                      sawladawla sawladawla  
 khan    ADD    VCL=say.NPST-3SG    EMPH=DIST    Sawladawla    Sawladawla

*a'šī*                                      *'wāllāh agar 'harfe nejā'tī*  
 a=š-ī                                      wāllāh agar harf=e                      nejāt-ī  
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG    by God    if    word=EZ    race-ADJZ

*'nābodayad*                                      *'ē korošo'bār ā'dame*  
 nā-bod-ay=ad-∅                                      ē koroš-obār ādam=e  
 NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG    PROX    Korosh-PL    human being=EZ

*do'rosī en*                                      *ā'damī*                      *'xūbī en*                                      *ar*  
 doros=ī    =en                                      ādam=ī                      xūb=ī    =en                                      ar  
 right=IND    =COP.NPST.3SG    human being=EZ    good=IND    =COP.NPST.3SG    if

*'gape nejā'tī*                      *'nābodīyad*                                      *'man*  
 gap=e    nejāt-ī                      nā-bod-īy=ad-∅                                      man  
 word=EZ    race-ADJZ    NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG    PN.1SG

*'wadom ja'nekam a'dādad*                                      *a kā'kol maša'dī*  
 wad=om    jānek=am    a=dād=ad                                      a kākol mašadī  
 REFL=PC.1SG    girl=PC.1SG    VCL=give.PST=COP.PST    to    Kakol    Mashhadi

*dās'tāna a'geftadom*                                      *ba 'wadī 'bačam*  
 dāstān-a    a=geft=ad=om                                      ba wad-ī    bač=am  
 Dastan-OBL    VCL=take.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG    for    REFL-GEN    boy=PC.1SG

He went [and] employed a shepherd and went...; he employed a servant for himself and then (lit. here) they went to the Khan [and] thanked [him], and the Khan said, that Sawladawla, Sawladawla said, “By God, if it had not been an issue of race; these Korosh are just persons, they are good people, if it had not been an issue of the race, I myself would have given my daughter to Kakol [and] would have taken Mashadi Dastan for my own son.”

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

**SD.m:106**

<i>'waxtī ke</i>	<i>ar'rant</i>		<i>'hade</i>	<i>xā'nā</i>	<i>'xān</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	
waxtī ke	ar=r-ant		had=e	xān-ā	xān	a=š-ī	
when	VCL=go.NPST-3PL		to=EZ	khan-OBL	khan	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	
<i>aga</i>	<i>'harfen</i>	<i>agar</i>	<i>'gapen</i>	<i>nejā'tī</i>	<i>'nayad</i>	<i>o</i>	
aga	harf=en	agar	gap=en	nejāt-ī	nay-=ad-∅	=o	
if	word=PC.1PL	if	word=PC.1PL	race-ADJZ	NEG=COP.PST-3SG	=and	
<i>'xān</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>naw'kar</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ko'roš</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'tork</i>	<i>o</i>
xān	=o	nawkar	=o	koroš	=o	tork	=o
khan	=and	male servant	=and	Korosh	=and	Turk	=and
							like this
<i>'nābodayad</i>			<i>'man</i>	<i>'wadom</i>	<i>ja'nekam</i>		
nā-bod-ay=ad-∅			man	wad=om	janek=am		
NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG			PN.1SG	REFL=PC.1SG	girl=PC.1SG		
<i>a'dādadam</i>			<i>tā'lebī</i>	<i>bačo'bārā</i>	<i>bačo'bāray</i>		
a=dād=ad=om			tāleb-ī	bač-obār-ā	bač-obār=ay		
VCL=give.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG			Talob-GEN	son-PL-OBL	son-PL=PC.3SG		
<i>'yekeyā</i>	<i>dās'tānā</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ageftadān</i>		<i>ba</i>		
yek=e-yā	dāstān-ā	ham	a=geft=ad-ān		ba		
one=IND-OBL	Dastan-OBL	ADD	VCL=take.PST=COP.PST-1SG		for		
<i>'wadī</i>	<i>'bačam</i>						
wad-ī	bač=am						
REFL-GEN	son=PC.1SG						

When they went to the Khan, the Khan said, “If it was not an issue (lit. our speech) of race, [if] it was not [an issue of] Khan and servants and Korosh and Turks and things like that, I myself would have given my daughter to Talob’s sons, to one of his sons, and would have taken Dastan for my own son.”

**SD.m:107**

<i>'xob</i>	<i>ēdānā'ko</i>	<i>ʃar</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>xāte'me</i>	<i>ābī</i>	<i>'sol</i>
xob	ēdānāko	ʃar	ham	xāteme	ā=b-ī	sol
well	right here	quarrel	ADD	finished	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	peace
<i>akanan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'kayā</i>	<i>aba'rant</i>		<i>gayaḡač'ma</i>	
a=kan-an	ke	kay-ā	a=bar-ant		gayaḡačma	
VCL=do.NPST-3PL	CLM	who-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3PL		welcoming party	

## A. Text Corpus

*kā'kolā*  
kākol-ā  
Kakol-OBL

Well, the fighting finished at that point (lit. here) [and] they made peace; they took whom... [they took] Kakol to the “welcoming party”.

### SD.m:108

*kā'kolā*     *aba'rant*     *ġayaġač'ma*     *da'ya*     *'ā*     *ja'nekay*  
kākol-ā     a=bar-ant     ġayaġačma     daya     ā     janek-ay  
Kakol-OBL     VCL=take.NPST-3PL     welcoming party     again     DIST     girl-GEN

*dāse'tānī*     *be'rād*     *am*     *'xo*     *mor'tā*     *boda*  
dāsetān-ī     berād     =am     xo     mort-ā     bod-a=∅  
Dastan-GEN     brother     =ADD     well     die.PST-PP     become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*dās'tān*     *ham*     *be'rād*     *mazza'noēn*     *'nāboda*  
dāstān     ham     berād     mazzan-o-ēn     nā-bod-a=∅  
Dastan     ADD     brother     old-DIM-ATTR     NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*dō'ī*     *ham*     *'xo*     *'nāboda*     *kassā'noēn*  
dōī     ham     xo     nā-bod-a=∅     kassān-o-ēn  
mother     ADD     well     NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG     small-DIM-ATTR

*berādo'bāray*     *boda*  
berād-obār=ay     bod-a=∅  
brother-PL=PC.3SG     become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They took Kakol to the welcoming party, you know; that girl's, Dastan's brother had died; Dastan's eldest brother was not there, and her mother, well, she had died; [only] her younger brothers were there.

### SD.m:109

*aba'rante*     *ġayaġač'ma*     *be'sāb*     *ke*  
a=bar-ant=e     ġayaġačma     besāb     ke  
VCL=take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG     welcoming party     actually     CLM

*a'sant*     *pābāko'nī*     *pāgošā'yī*  
a=š-ant     pābākonī     pāgošā'yī  
VCL=say.NPST-3PL     welcoming party     welcoming party

*a'santī*     *mehmāh'nī*     *a'sante*  
a=š-ant=ī     mehmānī     a=š-ant=e  
VCL=say.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG     party     VCL=say.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

#### A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

<i>aba'rante</i>	<i>mehmā'nīyā</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>berādo'bāray</i>
a=bar-ant=e	mehmānī-yā	ham=ā	berād-obār-ay
VCL=take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG	party-OBL	EMPH=DIST	brother-PL-GEN

*lō'gay*  
lōg=ay  
house=PC.3SG

They took him for the welcoming party [Turkic] *ḡayaḡačma*, you know; they call it *pābākonī*; they call it *pāgošāyī*; they call it a party; they took him to the party to her brothers' home.

#### SD.m:110

<i>berādo'bāray</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>wā'gan</i>	<i>agen'nī</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ko'roš</i>
berād-obār=ay	ham	wāgan	a=genn-ī	ta	ē	koroš
brother-PL=PC.3SG	ADD	indeed	VCL=see.NPST-3SG	that	PROX	Korosh

<i>tāye'fae</i>	<i>'xayle</i>	<i>'xūbī</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>'hamā</i>
tāyefa=e	xayle	xūb-ī	=en	=o	ba	hamā
tribe=EZ	very	good=IND	=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	to	each other

<i>mara'sayant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>mehra'bān</i>
ma-ras-ay=ant	=o	go	hamā	mehrabān
IMP-arrive.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL	=and	with	each other	kind

<i>an</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>'xūb</i>	<i>ant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ze'reṇ</i>
=an	=o	go	hamā	xūb	=ant	=o	zereṇ
=COP.NPST.3PL	=and	with	each other	good	=COP.NPST.3PL	=and	brave

<i>ant</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'aspe</i>	<i>a'dant</i>	<i>'bahre</i>	<i>kā'kol</i>
=ant	ya	asp=e	a=d-ant	bahr=e	kākol
=COP.NPST.3PL	one	horse=IND	VCL=give.NPST-3PL	to=EZ	Kakol

*be enwā'ne* *pā'dāš*  
be enwān *pādāš*  
as reward

So her brothers indeed saw that these Korosh were a very nice tribe and helped each other, and were kind to each other, and they were good to each other, and they were brave; they gave a horse to Kakol as a present (lit. reward).

#### SD.m:111

<i>'ya</i>	<i>'aspe</i>	<i>a'dant</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kā'kol</i>	<i>be enwā'ne</i>	<i>pā'dāš</i>	<i>'ya</i>
ya	asp=e	a=d-ant	a	kākol	be enwān=e	pādāš	ya
one	horse=IND	VCL=give.NPST-3PL	to	Kakol	as=EZ	reward	one

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'aspe</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>a'dant</i>		<i>ba</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>ga'hāraš</i>
asp=e	ham	a=d-ant		ba	wad-ī	gahār=aš
horse=IND	ADD	VCL=give.NPST-3PL	to	REFL-GEN	sister=PC.3PL	

<i>be enwā'ne</i>	<i>ḡayaḡač'ma</i>	<i>be enwā'ne</i>	<i>hedī'ya</i>
be enwān	ḡayaḡačma	be enwān=e	hedīya
as	welcoming party	as=EZ	present

They gave a horse to Kakol as a present and they gave a horse to their sister as well, as a *ḡayaḡačma*-gift, as a present.

### SD.m:112

<i>de'ya</i>	<i>īdān</i>	<i>kā'kol</i>	<i>a'kay</i>		<i>lō'gay</i>	<i>o</i>
deya	īdān	kākol	a=k-ay-Ø		lōg=ay	=o
well	here	Kakol	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		house=PC.3SG	=and

<i>mē'dag</i>	<i>do'ross</i>	<i>abīd</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>al'ān</i>	<i>'ē</i>
mēdag	doross	a=b-īd		ke	alān	ē
encampment	right	VCL=become.NPST-3SG		CLM	now	PROX

<i>mē'dageš</i>		<i>'kay</i>	<i>en</i>		<i>ī</i>	<i>tāye'fa</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'kolle</i>
mēdag=eš		kay	=en		ī	tāyefa	ē	koll=e
encampment=PC.3PL		who	=COP.NPST.3SG		PROX	tribe	PROX	all=EZ

<i>darašo'rī</i>	<i>ne'jāte</i>	<i>darašo'rī</i>	<i>nes'fen</i>	<i>ḡēšte'ren</i>	<i>na'wad</i>
darašorī	nejāt=e	darašorī	nesf-en	ḡēš-ter-en	nawad
Darreshuri	race=EZ	Darreshuri	half-ATTR	more-CMP-ATTR	ninety

<i>dar'sadī</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ne'jāte</i>	<i>kā'kol</i>	<i>en</i>		<i>al'ān</i>
darsad=ī	a	nejāt=e	kākol	=en		alān
percent=PC.3SG	from	race=EZ	Kakol	=COP.NPST.3SG		now

You know, afterwards (lit. here) Kakol came to his home and the encampment was organized; now who constitutes (lit. are) their encampment, this tribe?; now all these Darreshuri [a Qashqai lineage], the lineage (lit. race) of the Darreshuri more than half of them, ninety percent of them are Kakol's offspring (lit. race).

### SD.m:113

<i>az</i>	<i>na'weyo</i>		<i>'ḡawm</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>xīš</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pesar'doī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pesarxā'lay</i>
az	nawey=o		ḡawm	o	xīš	=o	pesardoī	=o	pesarxāla=y
from	grandchildren=and		relatives			=and	cousin	=and	cousin=PC.3SG

<i>kā'kol</i>	<i>en</i>
kākol	=en
Kakol	=COP.NPST.3SG

They are of the grandchildren and relatives and cousins of Kakol.

A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

**SD.m:114**

*kā'kolī*      *čoko'bār*   *de'ya*   *ba'sāb*   *ta'mān*  
kākōl-ī      čok-obār   deya   basāb   tamān  
Kakol-GEN   child-PL   well   anyway   all

You know, [they are] Kakol's children; well, that's it.

A.5 Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

**Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi**

**Mullah Neykadar Jān**

*recounted by Rahim Narui*

**MNJ.m:1**

'būt	o	'būt	ša	xo'dā	'hečkas	gē'ter
būt-Ø	=o	būt-Ø	ša	xodā	hečkas	gēter
become.PST-3SG	=and	become.PST-3SG	from	God	nobody	good.COMP

'nabū  
na-bū-Ø  
NEG-become.PST-3SG

Once upon a time (lit. there was and there was, there was nobody better than God).

**MNJ.m:2**

'be	'yak	'waxt	o	zamā'nagē	'šī	'do	'brās
be	yak	waxt	=o	zamānag=ē	š-ī	do	brās
with	one	time	=and	period=IND	say.NPST-3SG	two	brother

atant	'ē	'do	'brās	'jan	o	'zāg	'dāštant	'bād
=at-ant	ē	do	brās	jan	=o	zāg	dāšt-ant	bād
=COP.PST-3PL	PROX	two	brother	wife	=and	child	have.PST-3PL	then

'gō am	'ād	o	pay'mān	kortant	ke	'lālā	aga
gō am	ād	=o	paymān	kort-ant	ke	lālā	aga
each other	covenant	=and	agreement	do.PST-3PL	CLM	brother	if

'tī	xā'nomā	xo'dā	'tī	je'nēnā	xo'dā	'zāgē
tī	xānom-ā	xodā	tī	jenēn-ā	xodā	zāg=ē
PN.2SG.GEN	wife-OBL	God	PN.2SG.GEN	wife-OBL	God	child=IND

'dāt	ke	je'nekkē	at	'mnīyā	xo'dā
dāt-Ø	ke	jenekk=ē	=at-Ø	mnī-yā	xodā
give.PST-3SG	CLM	girl=IND	=COP.PST-3SG	PN.1SG.GEN-OBL	God

ba'čakkē	'dāt	meš'mā	'gō am	was'lata
bačakk=ē	dāt-Ø	mašmā	gō am	waslat=a
son=IND	give.PST-3SG	PN.1PL.INCL	each other	marriage=VCL

kanan  
kan-an  
do.NPST-1PL

It is said, in a certain time and era, there were two brothers; these two brothers had wives and children; then these two promised each other [one of them said] /that/,

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

“My brother, if God gives your wife a child, if it is a girl [and] God gives mine a boy, we will marry [them] to each other.”

**MNJ.m:3**

'ē	'hamedā	'ād	o	pay'mān	kortant	o	'harkas
ē	ham=edā	ād	=o	paymān	kort-ant	=o	harkas
PROX	EMPH=here	covenant	=and	agreement	do.PST-3PL	=and	everyone
'šot	be	'wtī	'kār	o	šog'lay	pa'dā	
šot-∅	be	wtī	kār	=o	šogl-ay	padā	
go.PST-3SG	with	REFL.GEN	work	=and	job-GEN	on	

These made an agreement there and then (lit. right here) and they all (lit. everyone) went on with their own business (lit. work and employment).

**MNJ.m:4**

'yak	'brāsē	be	'šār	o	šahres'tānān	zende'gīa	kort
yak	brās=ē	be	šār	=o	šahrestān-ān	zendegī=a	kort-∅
one	brother=IND	with	city	=and	town-OBL.PL	life=VCL	do.PST-3SG
o	sarmāyedā'rīyā...	o	bā'zārā	o	'yakkē	šwā'nagē	
=o	sarmāyedār-ī-yā	=o	bāzār-ā	=o	yakk=ē	šwānag=ē	
=and	rich-NMLZ-OBL	=and	market-OBL	=and	one=IND	shepherd=IND	
at	o	'laṭṭē		'dāšt	o	pa	
=at-∅	=o	laṭṭ=ē		dāšt-∅	=o	pa	
=COP.PST-3SG	=and	wooden stick=IND		have.PST-3SG	=and	for	
mar'domān	mozzū'rīya		ko				
mardom-ān	mozzūr-ī=ya		ko-∅				
people-OBL.PL	wage earner-NMLZ=VCL		do.PST-3SG				

One brother was living in a city and in riches... and market places, and one was a shepherd and had a wooden stick and was working for people wages.

**MNJ.m:5**

čan'dīn	zamā'nag	o	rōze'gār	ke	'gwast	'ē	ke
čandīn	zamānag	=o	rōzegār	ke	gwast-∅	ē	ke
several	period	=and	time	CLM	pass.PST-3SG	PROX	CLM
šwā'nagē	at		xo'dā	e'šerā	al'lāhay	ra'zā	
šwānag=ē	=at-∅		xodā	ešerā	allāh-ay	razā	
shepherd=IND	=COP.PST-3SG		God	PROX.OBL.OBJ	God-GEN	satisfaction	
ba'čakē	'dāt	o	'ā	ke	pūl'dār	at	xo'dā
bačak=ē	dāt-∅	=o	ā	ke	pūldār	=at-∅	xodā
son=IND	give.PST-3SG	=and	DIST	CLM	rich	=COP.PST-3SG	God

## A. Text Corpus

*ā'erā je'nekē 'dāt 'ēš 'padā 'goštan*  
 āerā jenek=ē dāt-∅ ēš padā gošt-an  
 DIST.OBL.OBJ daughter=IND give.PST-3SG PROX again say.PST-3PL

*'harčī ke al'lāhay ra'zā 'bī maš'mā*  
 harčī ke allāh-ay razā ∅-b-ī mašmā  
 whatever CLM God-GEN satisfaction SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PN.1PL.INCL

*'wī hā'day sa'rā pāye'dār an*  
 wī hād-ay sarā pāyedār =an  
 REFL.GEN covenant-GEN on persistent =COP.NPST.1PL

When several years had passed, this one who was a shepherd; by the will of God, God gave a boy to him, and that one who was rich, God gave a daughter to him; again these said, “Whatever is God’s willing, we will keep our agreement.”

### MNJ.m:6

*čan'dīn zamā'nag 'gwast 'ē ke šwā'nag at*  
 čandīn zamānag gwast-∅ ē ke šwānag =at-∅  
 several period pass.PST-3SG PROX CLM shepherd =COP.PST-3SG

*ēš'erā če... rama'gay age 'yakkē at 'do*  
 ēšerā če ramag=ay age yakk=ē =at-∅ do  
 PROX.OBL.OBJ FRAG herd=PC.3SG if one=IND =COP.PST-3SG two

*'say 'būt 'ā ke tā'jerē at a'gar*  
 say büt-∅ ā ke tājer=ē =at-∅ agar  
 three become.PST-3SG DIST CLM merchant=IND =COP.PST-3SG if

*tejā'ratē 'kam at 'goṛān 'say 'čār brā'ber*  
 tejārat=ē kam =at-∅ goṛān say čār brāber  
 trade=PC.3SG little =COP.PST-3SG then three four equal

*būt o 'byā... bā'zēn 'pūl o*  
 büt-∅ =o by-ā-∅ bāz-ēn pūl =o  
 become.PST-3SG =and IMPV-come.NPST-2SG much-ATTR money =and

*zende'gīay wā'ond ūt o 'nām o ta'wār kort*  
 zendeḡī-ay wāond ūt-∅ =o nām =o ta'wār kort-∅  
 life-GEN owner become.PST-3SG =and name =and sound do.PST-3SG

*'ēš... xo'dā ke ēšānā aw'lād 'dāt o*  
 ēš xodā ke ēšānā awlād dāt-∅ =o  
 FRAG God CLM PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ child give.PST-3SG =and

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

*ē'sānī*                      *aw'lād* 'tū *būtant*                      'yak 'rōčē  
 ēš-ān-ī                      awlād    tū    büt-ant                      yak    rōč=ē  
 PROX-OBL.PL-GEN    child    big    become.PST-3PL    one    day=IND

*a'mē*                      *šwā'nagay*                      'zāg *ke*                      'gō    'wtī                      *pe'sā*  
 am=ē                      šwānag-ay                      zāg    ke                      gō    wtī                      pes-ā  
 EMPH=PROX    shepherd-GEN    child    CLM    with    REFL.GEN    father-OBL

*šwāna'gīya*                      *ko*                      'wtī                      'sar    *o*  
 šwānag-ī=ya                      ko-∅                      wtī                      sar    =o  
 shepherd-NMLZ=VCL    do.PST-3SG    REFL.GEN    head    =and

*hamsa'rānā*                      'dīst                      *ke*                      'jan    *o*                      'zāga  
 hamsar-ān-ā                      dīst-∅                      ke                      jan    =o                      zāg=a  
 age mate-OBL.PL-OBJ    see.PST-3SG    CLM    wife    =and    child=VCL

*gerant*                      'wtī                      *pe'sā*                      'gošt                      *ke*    'bābā    *a'mē...*  
 ger-ant                      wtī                      pes-ā                      gošt-∅                      ke    bābā    amē  
 take.NPST-3PL    REFL.GEN    father-OBL    say.PST-3SG    CLM    father    FRAG

'wtī                      *pe'sā*                      *han'gata*                      'rūa                      'nabūte  
 wtī                      pes-ā                      hangata                      rū=a                      na-būt-∅=e  
 REFL.GEN    father-OBL    still                      face=VCL    NEG-become.PST-3SG=PC.3SG

*ke*    'bgoštī                      'bale    'wtī                      *mā'sā*                      'gošt  
 ke    b-goš-ī                      bale    wtī                      mās-ā                      gošt-∅  
 CLM    SBJV-say.NPST-3SG    but    REFL.GEN    mother-OBL    say.PST-3SG

'māmā    *plā'nī*                      'zāg    *zā'mās*                      *ūta*  
 māmā    plān-ī                      zāg    zāmās                      ūt-a=∅  
 mother    so and so-GEN    child    bridegroom    become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*plā'nī*                      'zāg    'ges    *korta*                      *o*                      'man  
 plān-ī                      zāg    ges    kort-a=∅                      =o                      man  
 so and so-GEN    child    house    do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    =and    PN.1SG

*om*    'janē                      'lōtīn  
 =om    jan=ē                      lōt-īn  
 =ADD    wife=IND    want.NPST-1SG

A long time passed; this one who was a shepherd, if he had one herd (lit. if his herd was one), it grew into two, three; that one who was a merchant, if his trade was limited (lit. little), then it increased three or four times and, you know... he earned much money and wealth and became famous; he... when God gave them the children and their children grew up, one day, this shepherd's son who was shepherding with his father saw /that/ his age mates were getting married; he said to his father /that/, "Father you know..." he was still shy /that/ to tell his father, but he said to his

## A. Text Corpus

mother, “Mom, such and such a person’s son has got engaged, [and] such and such a person’s son has got married, and I want a wife, too.”

### MNJ.m:7

<i>'gošt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'mādar</i>	<i>'jān</i>	<i>'aybe</i>	<i>'nadārī</i>
gošt-Ø	ke	bābā	mādar	jān	ayb=e	na-dār-ī
say.PST-3SG	CLM	father	mother	dear	defect=IND	NEG-have.NPST-3SG

<i>'man</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>pe'sā</i>	<i>gen'dīn</i>
man	tī	pes-ā	gend-īn
PN.1SG	PN.2SG.GEN	father-OBL	see.NPST-1SG

She said [that], “My dear (lit. father, dear mother), no problem; I will talk with (lit. see) your father.”

### MNJ.m:8

<i>pe'say</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'dīst</i>	<i>'pesay</i>	<i>'gošt</i>	<i>ke</i>
pesay	ke	dīst-Ø	pes=ay	gošt-Ø	ke
father.OBL.PC.3SG	CLM	see.PST-3SG	father=PC.3SG	say.PST-3SG	CLM

<i>ā'xer</i>	<i>'xānom</i>	<i>'byā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ay</i>	<i>je'nēn</i>
āxer	xānom	by-ā-Ø	ke	ay	jenēn
you know	wife	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	CLM	VOC	wife

<i>'byā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>an'čēn</i>	<i>zamā'nagē</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>o</i>
by-ā-Ø	ke	ančēn	zamānag=ē	man	=o
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	CLM	such.ATTR	period=IND	PN.1SG	=and

<i>'mnī</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>'ādē</i>	<i>kortan</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'man</i>
mnī	brās	ād=ē	kort-an	ta	man
PN.1SG.GEN	brother	covenant=IND	do.PST-1PL	MIR	PN.1SG

<i>'braīn</i>	<i>'bārēn</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>'wtī</i>
b-ra-īn	bārēn	am=ē	brās	wtī
SBJV-go.NPST-1SG	question	EMPH=PROX	brother	REFL.GEN

<i>ā'day</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>'na</i>
ād-ay	sarā	=en	yā	na
covenant-GEN	on	=COP.NPST.3SG	or	no

When she talked with (lit. saw) his father, his father said /that/, “You know, [my] wife, you know, o [my] wife, at a certain time I and my brother made an agreement; let me go [and find out if] this [my] brother is still keeping to his promise or not.”

**MNJ.m:9**

'goštan 'xob  
 gošt-an xob  
 say.PST-3PL alright

They said, “Alright”.

**MNJ.m:10**

'byā ke 'man 'bāndā ra'īn o 'ē  
 by-ā-∅ ke man bāndā ra-īn =o ē  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM PN.1SG tomorrow go.NPST-1SG =and PROX

'yak meḡ'dārē... šamē'dā 'mālē om 'wtī  
 yak meḡdār=ē šamēdā māl=ē =om wtī  
 one amount=IND from.EMPH.here animal=IND =ADD REFL.GEN

das'tā 'gept o 'šo pwa'tī brā'say  
 dast-ā gept-∅ =o šo-∅ pwa'tī brās-ay  
 hand-OBL take.PST-3SG =and go.PST-3SG for.REL.GEN brother-GEN

ge'sā  
 ges-ā  
 house-OBL

[He said], “Let me go [there] tomorrow”; so this one took an amount of... an animal [a goat or a sheep] from there (lit. here), he took an animal and went to his brother’s house.

**MNJ.m:11**

šwā'nag 'šot o ma'rōčī 'wtī brā'say mē'mān  
 šwānag šot-∅ =o marōčī wtī brās-ay mēmān  
 shepherd go.PST-3SG =and today REFL.GEN brother-GEN visitor

ūt 'ōdā ke 'šot ta 'brās 'naen  
 ūt-∅ ōdā ke šot-∅ ta brās naen  
 become.PST-3SG there CLM go.PST-3SG MIR brother NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

The shepherd went and was his brother’s guest that day (lit. today); when he arrived there, [his] brother was not [at home].

**MNJ.m:12**

pa'dā ma'rōčī 'ber gašt o 'āt  
 padā marōčī ber gašt-∅ =o āt-∅  
 again today PREV turn.PST-3SG =and come.PST-3SG

Again, that day (lit. today) he came back (lit. returned came).

## A. Text Corpus

### MNJ.m:13

<i>'bāndā</i>	<i>'šot</i>	<i>'bāz</i>	<i>'goštan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'byā</i>	
bāndā	šot-∅	bāz	gošt-an	ke	by-ā-∅	
tomorrow	go.PST-3SG	again	say.PST-3PL	CLM	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	

<i>ke</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>māme'lā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>saw'dā</i>	<i>dā'rīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'gō</i>
ke	brās	māmelā	=o	sawdā	dār-īt	=o	gō
CLM	brother	business	=and	trading	have.NPST-3SG	=and	with

<i>bā'zēn</i>	<i>mē'mānē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ma'rōčī</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>'waxt</i>	<i>'nako</i>
bāz-ēn	mēmān=ē	=o	marōčī	=om	waxt	na-ko-∅
much-ATTR	visitor=IND	=and	today	=ADD	time	NEG-do.PST-3SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>'ārā</i>	<i>'bgendīt</i>
ke	ārā	b-gend-īt
CLM	DIST.OBL.OBJ	SBJV-see.NPST-3SG

The next day (lit. tomorrow) he went; again they said /that/, “You know, your brother has business and trading with a lot of visitors...”; that day [the merchant] did not find time to meet him.

### MNJ.m:14

<i>'pōšī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'būt</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>'ē</i>
pōšī	ke	būt-∅	bass	am=ē	ē
day after tomorrow	CLM	become.PST-3SG	just	EMPH=PROX	PROX

<i>ban'day</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'rā</i>	<i>būt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'šot</i>
banda=y	xodā	padā	be	rā	būt-∅	=o	šot-∅
servant=EZ	God	again	with	way	become.PST-3SG	=and	go.PST-3SG

<i>'ēšerā</i>	<i>'zāgē</i>	<i>'naešt</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ā'rām</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ta</i>
ēšerā	zāg=ē	na-ešt-∅	pa	ārām	ke	ta
PROX.OBL.OBJ	child=PC.3SG	NEG-leave.PST-3SG	for	quiet	CLM	PN.2SG

<i>'bra</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>ha'baray</i>	<i>ha'barā</i>	<i>sā...</i>
b-ra-∅	=o	ham=ē	habar=ay	habar-ā	sā
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	=and	EMPH=PROX	word=PC.3SG	word-OBL	FRAG

<i>so'būt</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'čōna</i>	<i>bīt</i>
sobūt	∅-kan-∅	ke	ē	čōn=a	b-īt
proof	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	CLM	PROX	how=VCL	become.NPST-3SG

It was the next day (lit. day after tomorrow), you know, this poor fellow again got ready and went; his son did not leave him in peace, [he said] /that/ “Go and make this issue (lit. word) clear; resolve [the matter] /that/ how it is going to be.”

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

**MNJ.m:15**

'bass ša'mōdā 'āt o say'mīēn rō'čā  
 bass šamōdā āt-∅ =o say-mī-ēn rōč-ā  
 just from.EMPH.there come.PST-3SG =and three-ORD-ATTR day-OBL

'bass 'brāsay 'ošket ke 'byā ke  
 bass brās=ay ošket-∅ ke by-ā-∅ ke  
 just brother=PC.3SG hear.PST-3SG CLM IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM

'say 'rōč en ke 'mnī 'brāsa  
 say rōč =en ke mnī brās=a  
 three day =COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.1SG.GEN brother=VCL

'kayt 'bass 'wtī mēmā'nānā 'wayl  
 k-ay-t bass wtī mēmān-ān-ā wayl  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG just REFL.GEN visitor-OBL.PL-OBJ loose

kort o 'āt 'wtī brā'sayā 'gošt  
 kort-∅ =o āt-∅ wtī brās-ayā gošt-∅  
 do.PST-3SG =and come.PST-3SG REFL.GEN brother-LOC say.PST-3SG

'ay 'brās 'ta 'say 'rōč en 'red be 'redā  
 ay brās ta say rōč =en red be red-ā  
 VOC brother PN.2SG three day =COP.NPST.3SG line with line-OBL

'kāyay o 'xayr bīt  
 k-ā-yay =o xayr bīt  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-2SG =and good news SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

'enšālā 'gošt ke 'hān 'lālā ha'mā daw'rae ke  
 enšālā gošt-∅ ke hān lālā ham=ā dawra=e ke  
 God willing say.PST-3SG CLM yes brother EMPH=DIST time=IND CLM

'man o 'ta ha'bar dātan o ha'mē 'zāg  
 man =o ta habar dāt-an =o ham=ē zāg  
 PN.1SG =and PN.2SG word give.PST-1PL =and EMPH=PROX child

ha'nūn ge'sī o taklī'pī būta o  
 hanūn ges-ī =o taklīp-ī būt-a=∅ =o  
 now house-ADJZ =and duty-ADJZ become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

hat'man 'tī je'nek om taklī'pī  
 hatman tī jenek =om taklīp-ī  
 sure PN.2SG.GEN daughter =ADD duty-ADJZ

## A. Text Corpus

<i>būta</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'āton</i>	<i>be'mā</i>	
būt-a=∅		=o	man	āt-on	bemā	
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		=and	PN.1SG	come.PST-1SG	to.EMPH.DIST	
<i>'wī</i>	<i>ā'day</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>zo'ray</i>	<i>ha'barē</i> <i>o</i>
wī	ād-ay	sarā	=o	man	zor-ay	habar=ē =o
REFL.GEN	covenant-GEN	on	=and	PN.1SG	force-GEN	word=IND =and
<i>'čē</i>	<i>'nadārīn</i>	<i>'gošt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'xob</i>		
čē	na-dār-īn	gošt-∅	ke	xob		
what	NEG-have.NPST-1SG	say.PST-3SG	CLM	alright		
<i>ā'tagay</i>		<i>'zab</i>	<i>kor'tagay</i>		<i>'wale</i>	<i>'ta</i>
āt-ag=ay		zab	kort-ag=ay		wale	ta
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG		good	do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG		but	PN.2SG
<i>'mnā</i>	<i>'waxt</i>	<i>'bday</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>je'nekā</i>
mnā	waxt	b-day-∅	ke	man	ša	jenek-ā
PN.1SG.OBJ	time	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	CLM	PN.1SG	from	daughter-OBL
<i>por'sīn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mā'say</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>sa'la</i>	<i>o</i>	
∅-pors-īn	=o	māsay	=o	sala	=o	
SBJV-ask.NPST-1SG	=and	mother.OBL.PC.3SG	=and	advice	=and	
<i>mosla'hatē</i>	<i>'bkanīn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'goḏā</i>	<i>'tī</i>	
moslahat=ē	b-kan-īn	=o	man	goḏā	tī	
consultation=IND	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	=and	PN.1SG	after	PN.2SG.GEN	
<i>ja'wābā</i>	<i>day'īn</i>					
jawāb-ā	day-īn					
answer-OBL	give.NPST-1SG					

You know he came from there and on the third day, you know, his brother heard /that/ well, for three days /that/ his (lit. my) brother was coming; you know he left the visitors and came to his brother; he said, “Oh brother, you are coming for three days, day after day, and I hope it is good news.”; he said /that/, “Yes, brother, that time that you and me talked, and now [my son] has reached the age of marriage, and for sure your daughter has reached the age of marriage as well, and I have come for my agreement, and I don’t want to force you (lit. have a word of force), and things like that.”; he said /that/, “Good, you have done a good job by coming, but give me some time to ask [my] daughter and consult with her mother, and after that I will give you an answer.”

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

**MNJ.m:16**

'ē	wā'dā	kel'līt		ke	'yak	ap'tag	'bād	'man
ē	wādā	k-ell-īt		ke	yak	aptag	bād	man
PROX	time	IMP.k-leave.NPST-3SG		CLM	one	week	after	PN.1SG

'tī	ja'wābā	da'tn		'bē	'yak	ap'tagā		
tī	jawāb-ā	da-īn		bē	yak	aptag-ā		
PN.2SG.GEN	answer-OBL	give.NPST-1SG		with	one	week-OBL		

'kayt		o	'gō	'wtī	'jan	o	zā'gā	
k-ay-t		=o	gō	wtī	jan	=o	zāg-ā	
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		=and	with	REFL.GEN	wife	=and	child-OBL	

mašwa'rata	kant	je'neka	'šī		'xob		
mašwarat=a	kan-t	jenek=a	š-ī		xob		
consultation=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	girl=VCL	say.NPST-3SG		alright		

'manē	ke	'gō	'ē	'nāz	o	ne'matā	'tū
man=ē	ke	gō	ē	nāz	=o	nemat-ā	tū
PN.1SG=IND	CLM	with	PROX	manner	=and	riches-OBL	big

būtaon		'ā	ke	be	šwā'nag...	šwā'nagē	
būt-a=on		ā	ke	be	šwānag	šwānag=ē	
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG		DIST	CLM	to	shepherd	shepherd=IND	

'ast	o	ma'rōcī	'jāē	o	'bāndā	ge'dānē	
ast-∅	=o	marōcī	jā=ē	=o	bāndā	gedān=ē	
be.NPST-3SG	=and	today	place=IND	=and	tomorrow	tent=PC.3SG	

'jāē	o	'pōšī		ra'magē	'jāē	'man	'gō
jā=ē	=o	pōšī		ramag=ē	jā=ē	man	gō
place=IND	=and	day after tomorrow		herd=PC.3SG	place=IND	PN.1SG	with

ā'ī...	as'lan	'ārā		'nagerīn		'mana	
āī	aslan	ārā		na-ger-īn		man=a	
DIST.OBL	at all	DIST.OBL.OBJ		NEG-take.NPST-1SG		PN.1SG=VCL	

'nalōīn  
na-lōī-īn  
NEG-want.NPST-1SG

This one arranged a time; [he said] /that/, “After one week I will give you an answer.”; he came and consulted with his wife and daughter for a week; the girl said, “Well, I have grown up in riches and affluence, [and] that one is a shepherd and one day (lit. today) he is a certain place and the next day (lit. tomorrow) his tent is in another place and the next day (lit. the day after tomorrow) his herd is in this and that place; not with him..., I will not marry him at all; I don’t want [him].”

## A. Text Corpus

### MNJ.m:17

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>ā'xa</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>'brās</i>	
goš-ī	bābā	āxa	ē	mnī	brās	
say.NPST-3SG	father	you know	PROX	PN.1SG.GEN	brother	
<i>ūta</i>			<i>'heč</i>	<i>'rāhē</i>	<i>'nadārī</i>	<i>o</i>
ūt-a=∅			heč	rāh=ē	na-dār-ī	=o
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG			no	way=IND	NEG-have.NPST-3SG	=and
<i>am'mā</i>	<i>'ād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pay'mān</i>	<i>kortan</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'na</i>
ammā	ād	=o	paymān	kort-an	š-ī	na
PN.1PL.EXCL	covenant	=and	agreement	do.PST-1PL	say.NPST-3SG	no
<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'šmā</i>	<i>'ād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pay'mān</i>	<i>kortaet</i>	<i>'zabr</i>
bābā	šmā	ād	=o	paymān	kort-a=et	zabr
father	PN.2PL	covenant	=and	agreement	do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2PL	good
<i>kortaget</i>			<i>'bale</i>	<i>'mana</i>	<i>'natwānīn</i>	<i>'gō</i>
kort-ag=et			bale	man=a	na-twān-īn	gō
do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2PL			but	PN.1SG=VCL	NEG-can.NPST-1SG	with
<i>āī</i>	<i>zende'gī</i>	<i>kanīn</i>				
āī	zendegī	∅-kan-īn				
DIST.OBL	life	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG				

He said, “My dear (lit. father), you know, this one is (lit. has been) my brother, there is no way [out of it] and we made an agreement.”; she said, “No father, [if] you have made an agreement, you have done a good job, but I cannot live with him.”

### MNJ.m:18

<i>'bass</i>	<i>a'mā</i>	<i>xā'nomē</i>	<i>'māsē</i>	<i>dāš'ta</i>		
bass	am=ā	xānom=ē	mās=ē	dāšt-a=∅		
just	EMPH=DIST	wife=PC.3SG	mother=IND	have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		
<i>ke</i>	<i>bese'lā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>je'nekay</i>	<i>bal'lok</i>	<i>bī</i>	
ke	beselā	ā	jenek-ay	ballok	∅-b-ī	
CLM	you know	DIST	girl-GEN	grandmother	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	
<i>bal'lokē</i>	<i>pē'sī</i>	<i>nax'sāē</i>	<i>re'čī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'xob</i>	
ballok=ē	pēšī	naxšā=ē	reč-ī	ke	xob	
grandmother=PC.3SG	for.PROX.OBL	plan=IND	pour.NPST-3SG	CLM	alright	
<i>'anū</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šmā</i>	<i>'bāz</i>	<i>'zora</i>	<i>janet</i>	<i>'bra</i>
anū	ke	šmā	bāz	zor=a	jan-et	b-ra-∅
now	CLM	PN.2PL	much	force=VCL	hit.NPST-2PL	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

'bgoš                      'wī                      šwā'nagēn                      brā'zākā                      ke                      'har  
 b-goš-Ø                      wī                      šwānag-ēn                      brāzāk-ā                      ke                      har  
 IMPV-say.NPST-2SG                      REFL.GEN                      shepherd-ATTR                      nephew-OBL                      CLM                      every

'waxtē                      ke                      'ta                      'šotay                      ša                      mol'lā                      Neykadar'jānī  
 waxt=ē                      ke                      ta                      šot-ay                      ša                      mollā                      Neykadarjān-ī  
 time=IND                      CLM                      PN.2SG                      go.PST-2SG                      from                      Mullah                      Neykadar Jan-GEN

el'mā                      'āortay                      'aybē                      'nadārī  
 elm-ā                      āort-ay                      ayb=ē                      na-dār-ī  
 knowledge-OBL                      bring.PST-2SG                      defect=IND                      NEG-have.NPST-3SG

am'mā                      'wī                      je'nekā                      da'yan                      'ta  
 ammā                      wī                      jenek-ā                      day-an                      ta  
 PN.1PL.EXCL                      REFL.GEN                      daughter-OBL                      give.NPST-1PL                      PN.2SG

a'mē                      ba'ndā                      be                      dē'may                      'prēn                      'ā  
 am=ē                      band-ā                      be                      dēmay                      Ø-prēn-Ø                      ā  
 EMPH=PROX                      rope-OBL                      to                      face.OBL.PC.3SG                      IMPV-throw.NPST-2SG                      DIST

'heč                      'waxtā                      'natwānī                      ke                      'ōdā                      'brawt                      'aga  
 heč                      waxt-ā                      na-twān-ī                      ke                      ōdā                      b-raw-t                      aga  
 no                      time-OBL                      NEG-can.NPST-3SG                      CLM                      there                      SBJV-go.NPST-3SG                      if

'ōdā                      'brawt                      o ...                      ša                      'waxtē                      ke                      am'may  
 ōdā                      b-raw-t                      =o                      ša                      waxt=ē                      ke                      ammay  
 there                      SBJV-go.NPST-3SG                      =and                      from                      time=IND                      CLM                      1.PL.EXCL.GEN

ṭū'ēn                      goš'taant                      o                      'nūn                      ham'may                      'senn  
 ṭū-ēn                      gošt-a=ant                      =o                      nūn                      hamma                      senn  
 big-ATTR                      say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL                      =and                      now                      1.PL.EXCL.GEN                      age

hap'tād                      o                      haš'tād                      'sāl                      en                      'kasē                      ke                      'ōdā  
 haptād                      =o                      haštād                      sāl                      =en                      kas=ē                      ke                      ōdā  
 seventy                      =and                      eighty                      year                      =COP.NPST.3SG                      person=IND                      CLM                      there

'braw                      'bera                      nagardī                      o                      ša  
 b-raw-Ø                      ber=a                      na-gard-ī                      =o                      ša  
 SBJV-go.NPST-3SG                      PREV=VCL                      NEG-turn.NPST-3SG                      =and                      from

šar'ray                      'kamma                      bī  
 šarray                      kamm=a                      b-ī  
 vice.OBL.PC.3SG                      little=VCL                      become.NPST-3SG

Well, that wife of his had a mother, you know, who was that girl's grandmother; her grandmother made a plan for him (i.e. the boy); [she said] /that/, "Well, now you are insisting a lot, go [and] tell your shepherd nephew /that/, if you go and learn (lit.

## A. Text Corpus

bring) [something] of Mullah Neykadar Jan's knowledge, no problem, we will give our daughter; demand this from him (lit. throw this rope in front of him) that one will never be able to go there, if he goes there... From the time that our elders have told [us], and now our age is seventy and eighty, whoever goes there will not come back and you will get rid of him."

### MNJ.m:19

<i>o</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>pamē'sīt</i>		<i>kanā'hata</i>		<i>kanant</i>
o	bass	pamēšī		kanāhat=a		kan-ant
and	just	for.EMPH.PROX.OBL		satisfaction=VCL		do.NPST-3PL

<i>a'mē</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>'čār</i>	<i>na'par</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a'mā</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>om</i>
am=ē	say	čār	napar	=o	am=ā	jenek	=om
EMPH=PROX	three	four	person	=and	EMPH=DIST	girl	=ADD

<i>xoš'hāla</i>	<i>bīt</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>
xošhāl=a	b-īt		ke	xob	ša	mnī	sarā
happy=VCL	become.NPST-3SG		CLM	alright	from	PN.1SG.GEN	on

<i>'ē</i>	<i>masa'la</i>	<i>'gwast</i>
ē	masala	gwast-∅
PROX	issue	pass.PST-3SG

And you know, they, these three and four persons, settled on this and, well, that girl became happy [and she said] /that/, "Well, I was relieved of this problem (lit. this problem passed over my head)."

### MNJ.m:20

<i>o</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>hapto'mīēn</i>	<i>'rōčā</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>šwā'nag</i>	<i>bečā'rag</i>
o	mā	hapt-omī-ēn	rōč-ā	padā	šwānag	bečārag
and	EMPH.DIST	seven-ORD-ATTR	day-OBL	again	shepherd	poor

<i>ša'mōdā</i>	<i>be'rāh</i>	<i>ent</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>'pasē</i>	<i>om</i>
šamōdā	be-rāh	=ent		=o	pas=ē	=om
from.EMPH.there	in-way	=COP.NPST.3SG		=and	sheep=IND	=ADD

<i>āor'ta</i>		<i>pa</i>	<i>brā'sā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'lālā</i>	<i>'mnī</i>
āort-a=∅		pa	brās-ā	ke	lālā	mnī
bring.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		for	brother-OBL	CLM	brother	PN.1SG.GEN

<i>zā'gay</i>	<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>bū</i>		<i>'šī</i>	<i>'lālā</i>
zāg-ay	jawāb	čī	bū-∅		š-ī	lālā
child-GEN	answer	what	become.PST-3SG		say.NPST-3SG	brother

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

'byā                      ke    'man    ha'mē            mašwa'rat  
 by-ā-∅                      ke    man    ham=ē            mašwarat  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG    CLM    PN.1SG    EMPH=PROX    consultation

kortaon                      o        'mnā            'goštaan  
 kort-a=on                      =o    mnā            gošt-a=an  
 do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG    =and    PN.1SG.OBJ    say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

ke    'tī                      'zāg    'elmē                      o        sa'wātē  
 ke    tī                      zāg    elm=ē                      =o    sawāt=ē  
 CLM    PN.2SG.GEN    child    knowledge=IND            =and    education=IND

'nadārī                      'agar    'brawt                      o        ša        mol'lā  
 na-dār-ī                      agar    b-raw-t                      =o    ša        mollā  
 NEG-have.NPST-3SG    if        SBJV-go.NPST-3SG            =and    from    Mullah

Neykadar'jānī              el'mā                      pa'mā                      'byārīt  
 Neykadarjān-ī              elm-ā                      pamā                      by-ār-īt  
 Neykadar Jan-GEN    knowledge-OBL    for.1.PL.EXCL    SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG

o        'wate                      'yād    gīt                      'goṛān    am'mā...  
 =o    wat=e                      yād    ∅-g-īt                      goṛān    ammā  
 =and    REFL=PC.3SG    learn    SBJV-take.NPST-3SG            then    PN.1PL.EXCL

'man    ā'ī                      xā'hān    on                      ke        'bgerīn  
 man    āī                      xāhān    =on                      ke        b-ger-īn  
 PN.1SG    DIST.OBL    wisher    =COP.NPST.1SG    CLM    SBJV-take.NPST-1SG

o        a'mā                      'tī                      nākō'zāk    goš'ta                      o  
 =o    am=ā                      tī                      nākōzāk    gošt-a=∅                      =o  
 =and    EMPH=DIST    PN.2SG.GEN    cousin    say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG            =and

agar'na    ke        'mayāray                      de'ga        'mna  
 agarna    ke        may-ār-ay                      dega        mn=a  
 otherwise    CLM    PROH-take.NPST-2SG    you know    PN.1SG=VCL

'natwānīn  
 na-twān-īn  
 NEG-can.NPST-1SG

And on the seventh day, again the poor shepherd set out from there and he brought a sheep for his brother as well; [he said] /that/, “Brother what is the answer for my son.”, he said, “Well, brother, you know, I have consulted and they have told me /that/, “Your son doesn’t have any knowledge and education; your niece has said, “If he goes and acquires (lit. brings) [supernatural] knowledge from Mullah Neykadar Jan for us, and learns [it] (lit.you do not) himself, then we... I want /that/ to marry him; and if he does not acquire [it], then I will not be able [to marry him].”

## A. Text Corpus

### MNJ.m:21

'šī	'xayle	'xo	'aybē	'nadārī
š-ī	xayle	xo	ayb=ē	na-dār-ī
say.NPST-3SG	very	good	defect=IND	NEG-have.NPST-3SG

He said, “It’s OK, no problem.”

### MNJ.m:22

'ēš	pīra'mard	šamē'dā	'bera	gardīt	o		
ēš	pīramard	šamēdā	ber=a	gard-īt	=o		
PROX	old man	from.EMPH.here	PREV=VCL	turn.NPST-3SG	=and		
'raw	'gō	'ā	ja'wānā	'šūt	o	'ā	ja'wānā
raw-∅	gō	ā	jawān-ā	š-īt	=o	ā	jawān-ā
go.NPST-3SG	with	DIST	young-OBL	say.NPST-3SG	=and	DIST	young-OBL
'nanga	'gīt	o	nan'gīya	bīt			
nang=a	g-īt	=o	nang-ī=ya	b-īt			
zeal=VCL	take.NPST-3SG	=and	zeal-ADJZ=VCL	become.NPST-3SG			
'šī	'xayle	'xob	'bābā	'bāndā	'sōbī	pa	'man
š-ī	xayle	xob	bābā	bāndā	sōb-ī	pa	man
say.NPST-3SG	very	alright	father	tomorrow	morning-ADVZ	for	PN.1SG
wa'rīyē	'pač	o	maške'čokkā	'mnī			
warī=yē	∅-pač-∅	=o	maškečokk-ā	mnī			
bread=IND	IMPV-bake.NPST-2SG	=and	small goat skin-OBL	PN.1SG.GEN			
'āp	'kan	ke	'mana	ra'īn			
āp	∅-kan-∅	ke	man=a	ra-īn			
water	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	CLM	PN.1SG=VCL	go.NPST-1SG			

This one, the old man, came back (lit. comes back and goes) from there (lit. here) and went and told that young man, and that young man became zealous, (lit. zeal took that young man) he became zealous; he said, “It’s OK father; bake a loaf of bread for me tomorrow morning and fill my goat skin with some water; I will go (for it).”

### MNJ.m:23

o	ša'mē	īū'ēnān	oške'ta
o	šamē	īū-ēn-ān	ošket-a
and	from.EMPH.PROX	old-ATTR-OBL.PL	hear.PST-PP
būta	ke	goš'taant	'yak
būt-a=∅	ke	gošt-a=ant	yak
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM	say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	one

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

*'kasē be'mē rō'čay bo'nā zende'gīya kant*  
kas=ē bemē rōč-ay bonā zendeḡī=ya kan-t  
person=IND to.EMPH.PROX sun-GEN under life=VCL do.NPST-3SG

*ke a'mē 'rōč ša'māngo 'dara*  
ke am=ē rōč šamāngo dar=a  
CLM EMPH=PROX sun from.EMPH.that direction PREV=VCL

*kayt*  
k-ay-t  
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

And he had heard from these elders /that/, they had said, “[There is] a certain person [who] is living in the land of the sunrise, you know, in that direction where the sun rises.

**MNJ.m:24**

*'rōč ša'māngo 'dara kayt wa*  
rōč šamāngo dar=a k-ay-t wa  
sun from.EMPH.that direction PREV=VCL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG and

*a'mādā ke 'rōč 'dara kayt ha'mōdā*  
am=ādā ke rōč dar=a k-ay-t ham=ōdā  
EMPH=there CLM sun PREV=VCL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG EMPH=there

*'yak 'kasē zende'gīya kant be 'nāme mol'lā*  
yak kas=ē zendeḡī=ya kan-t be nām=e mollā  
one person=IND life=VCL do.NPST-3SG with name=EZ Mullah

*Neykadar'jān o ha'mā el'may wā'hondē*  
neykadarjān =o ham=ā elm-ay wāhond=ē  
Neykadar Jan =and EMPH=DIST knowledge-GEN owner=IND

The sun rises from that direction and there where the sun rises, there a certain person is living, called Mullah Neykadar Jan and that one is the owner of [supernatural] knowledge.”

**MNJ.m:25**

*o 'man ha'meš... ha'menka am'mā 'ošketaṅ*  
o man hameš ham=enka ammā ošket-an  
and PN.1SG FRAG EMPH=this much PN.1PL.EXCL hear.PST-1PL

*gēš'ter 'naošketaṅ 'šī 'xayle 'xo*  
gēš-ter na-ošket-an š-ī xayle xo  
more-CMP NEG-hear.PST-1PL say.NPST-3SG very good

And I you know,... we heard this much [and] we did not hear more”; he said,

## A. Text Corpus

“Alright”.

### MNJ.m:26

<i>'eša</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'me</i>	<i>maške'čokkay</i>		
eš=a	raw-t	gō	me	maškečokk-ay		
PROX=VCL	go.NPST-3SG	with	EMPH.PROX	small goat skin-GEN		
<i>ā'pān</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>wa'rīā</i>	<i>wa'tīyā</i>	
āp-ān	=o	gō	am=ē	warī-ā	wat-ī-yā	
water-OBL.PL	=and	with	EMPH=PROX	bread-OBL	REFL-GEN-OBL	
<i>'čenka</i>	<i>'šap</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'rō</i>	<i>'rāha</i>	<i>rawt</i>	<i>o</i> <i>'yak</i> <i>ṭū'ēn</i>
čenka	šap	=o	rō	rāh=a	raw-ī	=o yak ṭū-ēn
so much	night	=and	day	way=VCL	go.NPST-3SG	=and one big-ATTR
<i>pīra'mardē</i>	<i>pay'dāa</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ma'sīrā</i>	
pīramard=ē	paydā=a	kan-t	be	mā	masīr-ā	
old man=IND	visible=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	in	EMPH.DIST	way-OBL	
<i>šā'tā</i>	<i>por'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>amēran'gēn</i>			
šāī=a	pors-ī	ke	am=ē-rang-ēn			
from.DIST.OBL=VCL	ask.NPST-3SG	CLM	EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR			
<i>'čīzē</i>	<i>a'wāl</i>	<i>'hast</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>'nē</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'bale</i>
čīz=ē	awāl	hast-∅	yā	nē	š-ī	bale
thing=IND	first	be.NPST-3SG	or	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	yes
<i>'hast</i>	<i>be'mē</i>	<i>rō'čay</i>	<i>bo'nā</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bale</i>
hast-∅	bemē	rōč-ay	bonā	=en	ke	bale
be.NPST-3SG	in.EMPH.PROX	sun-GEN	under	=COP.NPST.3SG	FRAG	but
<i>'harkas</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ō'dā</i>	<i>šo'ta</i>	<i>tan'gata</i>	<i>'ber</i>	
harkas	ke	ōdā	šot-a=∅	tangata	ber	
whoever	CLM	there	go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	still	PREV	
<i>'nagašta</i>		<i>'ā</i>	<i>elmwā'lāēn</i>	<i>mar'dome</i>		
na-gašt-a=∅		ā	elmwālā-ēn	mardom=e		
NEG-turn.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		DIST	knowledgeable-ATTR	people=IND		
<i>'bale</i>	<i>'bāz</i>	<i>ja'wān</i>	<i>šo'ta</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ber</i>	
bale	bāz	jawān	šot-a=∅	=o	ber	
but	much	youth	go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	PREV	
<i>'nagašta</i>		<i>'ay</i>	<i>'jawān</i>	<i>bīčā'rag</i>	<i>'ta</i>	
na-gašt-a=∅		ay	jawān	bīčārag	ta	
NEG-turn.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		VOC	young	poor	PN.2SG	

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>ra'way</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>'hamēdān</i>	<i>ē...</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'wī</i>
raw-ay	ke	čī	ham=ēdān	ē	ham=ē	wī
go.NPST-2SG	CLM	what	EMPH=here	FRAG	EMPH=PROX	REFL.GEN

<i>xwā'rī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>karī'bīyā</i>	<i>pamē'sī</i>	<i>'gāne</i>
xwār-ī	=o	karīb-ī-yā	pamēšī	gāne
poor-NMLZ	=and	poor-NMLZ-OBL	for.EMPH.PROX.OBL	satisfied

<i>pamē'sī</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>'kan</i>	<i>kanā'hat</i>
pamēšī	čī	∅-kan-∅	kanāhat
for.EMPH.PROX.OBL	what	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	satisfaction

<i>kan</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'mnend</i>
∅-kan-∅	=o	m-nend-∅
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	=and	IMPV-sit.NPST-2SG

This one went with this water in the goat skin and with this his own bread; he walked for several days and nights, and on his way he met (lit. found) a wise (lit. big) old man. He asked him /that/, “Is there such a thing, a situation, or not?”; the old man (lit. he) said, “Yes, there is; he is right where the sun rises, but whoever has gone there has still not returned; that one is a man of [supernatural] knowledge, but a lot of young people have gone [to him] and have not returned, o poor young fellow, why you are going?; here this... content with your poverty and destitution; be content with it and stay [here].”

**MNJ.m:27**

<i>'gošt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>bā'yad</i>	<i>ha'mēšī</i>	<i>el'mā</i>
gošt-∅	ke	na	man	bāyad	ham=ēšī	elm-ā
say.PST-3SG	CLM	no	PN.1SG	must	EMPH=PROX.GEN	knowledge-OBL

<i>'yād</i>	<i>gerīn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'wagar</i>	<i>'yād</i>	<i>'magerīn</i>
yād	∅-ger-īn	=o	wagar	yād	ma-ger-īn
learn	SBJV-take.NPST-1SG	=and	if	learn	PROH-take.NPST-1SG

<i>'rāē</i>	<i>'nadārī</i>
rā=ē	na-dār-ī
way=IND	NEG-have.NPST-3SG

He said /that/, “No, I must learn his knowledge and if I don’t learn [it], there is no choice [for me].”

**MNJ.m:28**

<i>'bāz</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ēšerā</i>	<i>hoj'ja</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>pīra'mard</i>	<i>ke</i>
bāz	ke	ēšerā	hojj=a	kan-t	pīramard	ke
much	CLM	PROX.OBL.OBJ	insistence=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	old man	CLM

## A. Text Corpus

'ta pa'čē 'ē 'kāra ka'nay 'šī  
 ta pačē ē kār-a kan-ay š-ī  
 PN.2SG why PROX work-OBL do.NPST-2SG say.NPST-3SG

'byā ke amēran'gēn masa'laē o  
 by-ā-∅ ke am=ē-rang-ēn masala=ē =o  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR issue=IND =and

amēran'gēn 'nangē be 'mnī gar'denā  
 am=ē-rang-ēn nang=ē be mnī garden-ā  
 EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR zeal=IND with PN.1SG.GEN neck-OBL

en 'heč 'rāē 'nadārī yā 'marga  
 =en heč rā=ē na-dār-ī yā marg=a  
 =COP.NPST.3SG no way=IND NEG-have.NPST-3SG or death=VCL

bī yā ha'mē 'elma bī  
 b-ī yā ham=ē elm=a b-ī  
 become.NPST-3SG or EMPH=PROX knowledge=VCL become.NPST-3SG

[Because] the old man put a lot of pressure on him /that/ “Why are you doing this (lit. this work)?”; he said, “Well, there is such an issue and such a disgrace upon me (lit. on my neck) [and] there is no choice [for me]; either it will be [my] death or that (lit. this) knowledge.”

### MNJ.m:29

'šī 'man om pa 'ta do'āa ka'nīn 'bass  
 š-ī man =om pa ta doā=a kan-īn bass  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG =ADD for PN.2SG prayer=VCL do.NPST-1SG just

o 'trā ne'sāna dayīn 'ta ra'way  
 =o trā nešān=a day-īn ta raw-ay  
 =and PN.2SG.OBJ sign=VCL give.NPST-1SG PN.2SG go.NPST-2SG

'plānā 'jā ēran'gēn 'koh o dar'ra  
 plān-ā jā ē-rang-ēn koh =o darra  
 so and so-OBL place PROX-kind-ATTR mountain =and valley

an 'draxt ant ka'wīēn ša'mā  
 =an draxt =ant kawī-ēn šamā  
 =COP.NPST.3PL tree =COP.NPST.3PL strong-ATTR from.EMPH.DIST

'draxtān 'rāh 'do 'jāha 'bī  
 draxt-ān rāh do jāh=a b-ī  
 tree-OBL.PL way two place=VCL become.NPST-3SG

He said, “So then I will pray for you; and show you; you go [and] in such and such a

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place; there are such and such mountains and valleys; there are trees, tall [ones]; after (lit. from) those trees, the road divides into two.

**MNJ.m:30**

<i>'yak</i>	<i>'rāhēa</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>kō'nagēn</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sā'lay</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	
yak	rāh=ē=a	raw-t	kōnag-ēn	ke	sāl-ay	sarā	
one	way=IND=VCL	go.NPST-3SG	old-ATTR	CLM	year-GEN	on	
<i>mom'ken</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>ma'sīrā</i>	<i>'padē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'randē</i>
momken	=en	be	ā	masīr-ā	pad=ē	=o	rand=ē
possible	=COP.NPST.3SG	in	DIST	way-OBL	trace=IND	=and	trace=IND
<i>'bīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>'rāhē</i>	<i>nō'kēn</i>	<i>'ta</i>		
∅-b-īt	=o	yak	rāh=ē	nōk-ēn	ta		
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	=and	one	way=IND	new-ATTR	PN.2SG		
<i>nō'kēn</i>	<i>'rāha</i>	<i>'wayla</i>	<i>kanay</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>kō'nagēn</i>	
nōk-ēn	rāh-a	wayl=a	kan-ay	be	mā	kōnag-ēn	
new-ATTR	way-OBL	loose=VCL	do.NPST-2SG	to	EMPH.DIST	old-ATTR	
<i>'rāha</i>	<i>raway</i>						
rāh-a	raw-ay						
way-OBL	go.NPST-2SG						

There is one road, an old [one], and (lit. that) there might be a footprint on this road once a year, and there is a road, a new [one]; you don't take (lit. you leave) the new road [and] walk [on] the old road."

**MNJ.m:31**

<i>o</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'xayle</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>'ēša</i>	<i>'kayt</i>
o	š-ī	xayle	xob	ēš=a	k-ay-t
and	say.NPST-3SG	very	alright	PROX=VCL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
<i>be'mē</i>	<i>ma'sīrē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ban'day</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>
bemē	masīr=ē	ke	ē	banda=y	xodā
in.EMPH.PROX	way=IND	CLM	PROX	servant=EZ	God
<i>goš'ta</i>		<i>be</i>	<i>'mē</i>	<i>ma'sīrā</i>	<i>ke</i>
gošt-a=∅		be	mē	masīr-ā	ke
say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		to	EMPH.PROX	way-OBL	CLM
<i>'kayt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ra'sīt</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'ēš</i>	<i>'yak</i>
k-ay-t	=o	ras-īt	padā	ēš	yak
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	=and	arrive.NPST-3SG	again	PROX	one

## A. Text Corpus

*mar'domē gen'dīt ke 'ā on ša'mē 'rāhā...*  
 mardom=ē gend-īt ke ā =on šamē rāh-ā  
 person=IND see.NPST-3SG CLM DIST =ADD from.EMPH.PROX way-OBL

*'bale 'na han'gata 'narasta be dorā'hīyā*  
 bale na hangata na-rast-a=∅ be dorāhī-yā  
 but no still NEG-arrive.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG to crossroads-OBL

*a'mē mar'domā gen'dī 'šī ke 'lālā*  
 am=ē mardom-ā gend-ī š-ī ke lālā  
 EMPH=PROX person-OBL see.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG CLM brother

*hamēran'gēn 'kasē o amēran'gēn*  
 ham=ē-rang-ēn kas=ē =o am=ē-rang-ēn  
 EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR person=IND =and EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR

*'nāme 'ta oške'tagay 'šī 'bale*  
 nām=e ta ošket-ag=ay š-ī š-ī bale  
 name=IND PN.2SG hear.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG say.NPST-3SG yes

*'hast 'ay 'jawān 'ta ha'mē 'tī 'sar be*  
 hast-∅ ay jawān ta ham=ē tī sar be  
 be.NPST-3SG VOC young PN.2SG EMPH=PROX PN.2SG.GEN head on

*'tī sa'rā... be 'tī ba'danā grā'nīa*  
 tī sarā be tī badan-ā grān-ī=a  
 PN.2SG.GEN on on PN.2SG.GEN body-OBL heavy-NMLZ=VCL

*'kant 'ē 'čī ha'barē ke 'kasē ke 'trā*  
 kan-t ē čī habar=ē ke kas=ē ke trā  
 do.NPST-3SG PROX what word=IND CLM person=IND CLM PN.2SG.OBJ

*goš'ta 'ōdā 'mark en 'sad dar*  
 gošt-a=∅ ōdā mark =en sad dar  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG there death =COP.NPST.3SG one hundred to

*'sad 'ōdā 'hečkas šo'ta o 'ber*  
 sad ōdā hečkas šot-a=∅ =o ber  
 one hundred there nobody go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and PREV

*'nagašta*  
 na-gašt-a=∅  
 NEG-turn.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

And he said, “It’s OK.”; this one came to that (lit. this) road which this fellow had told [him] above; when he arrived (lit. came and arrived) at this road, again, this one met (lit. saw) a person who also was on that (lit. this) road... but no, he had not yet

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

arrived at the crossroads, [when] he met that (lit. this) person; he said /that/, “Brother, have you heard [about] such person and such a name?”; he said, “Yes, there is [such an issue], [but] o young fellow, do you want to die (lit. is your head heavy on your body)?; What (lit. what word) is this that someone has told you?; death is [waiting] there; for sure (lit. one hundred percent) nobody has gone there and returned.”

**MNJ.m:32**

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>kā'rā</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>'ta</i>
š-ī	bass	man	ham=ē	kār-ā	ša	ta
say.NPST-3SG	just	PN.1SG	EMPH=PROX	work-OBL	from	PN.2SG

<i>ha'barā</i>	<i>lōṭe'ton</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'xayle</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>'hanūn</i>	<i>ke</i>
habar-ā	lōṭet-on	š-ī	xayle	xob	hanūn	ke
word-OBL	want.PST-1SG	say.NPST-3SG	very	alright	now	CLM

<i>lōṭe'tay</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>ranemā'īya</i>	<i>ka'nīn</i>	<i>'ta</i>
lōṭet-ay	man	tarā	ranemāī=ya	kan-in	ta
want.PST-2SG	PN.1SG	PN.2SG.OBJ	guidance=VCL	do.NPST-1SG	PN.2SG

<i>ha'mōdā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šotay</i>	<i>ša'mē</i>	<i>kō'nagēn</i>	<i>'rāā</i>
ham=ōdā	ke	šot-ay	šamē	kōnag-ēn	rā-ā
EMPH=there	CLM	go.PST-2SG	from.EMPH.PROX	old-ATTR	path way-OBL

<i>ke</i>	<i>'sar</i>	<i>ūtay</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ābā'dīyān</i>	<i>'bass</i>
ke	sar	ūt-ay	be	mā	ābādī-yān	bass
CLM	head	become.PST-2SG	to	EMPH.DIST	village-OBL.PL	just

<i>'jār</i>	<i>'bjan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'hawwww</i>	<i>moz'zūrē</i>
jār	b-jān-Ø	ke	hawwww	mozzūr=ē
proclamation	IMPV-hit.NPST-2SG	CLM	ohhhh	wage earner=IND

<i>šwā'nagē</i>	<i>'kaya</i>	<i>lō'ī</i>
šwānag=ē	kay=a	lōṭ-ī
shepherd=IND	who=VCL	want.NPST-3SG

[The boy] said, “I just wanted this thing (lit.work), this information (lit. word) from you.”; he said, “Alright!; now that you wanted [it], I will guide you; when you arrive (lit. go) there, [and] when you arrive at that village on this old path way, you just call out /that/ “Ohhhh who needs a servant, a shepherd?”

**MNJ.m:33**

<i>o</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>mā'lūma</i>	<i>bīt</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>be</i>
o	wat	pa	ta	mālūm=a	b-īt	trā	be
and	REFL	for	PN.2SG	clear=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG.OBJ	with

## A. Text Corpus

'tī            xo'dā   o     be     'tī            sarna'weštā  
 tī            xodā   =o   be     tī            sarnawešt-ā  
 PN.2SG.GEN   God   =and   with   PN.2SG.GEN   fate-OBL

sepāre'taon  
 sepāret-a=on  
 entrust.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

And it will be clear to you; I leave you in the hands of (lit. to) your God and your fate.”

### MNJ.m:34

'bass   'ēš     om     pē'sī            do'āa     kant  
 bass   ēš     =om   pēšī            doā=a     kan-t  
 just   PROX   =ADD   for.PROX.OBL   prayer=VCL   do.NPST-3SG

Well, this one prayed for this one as well.

### MNJ.m:35

do'āa     kant            o     'ē     pē...     šwā'nag     bīčā'rag     'bass  
 doā=a     kan-t            =o     ē     pē     šwānag     bīčārag     bass  
 prayer=VCL   do.NPST-3SG   =and   PROX   FRAG   shepherd   poor   just

'wī            'rāha     'gīt            o     'kayt            'čenka  
 wī            rāh-a     g-īt            =o     k-ay-t            čenka  
 REFL.GEN   way-OBL   take.NPST-3SG   =and   IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG   so much

'šap   o     'rō     'rā     'kayt            o     'ta  
 šap   =o     rō     rā     k-ay-t            =o     ta  
 night   =and   day   way   IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG   =and   PN.2SG

'kayt            o     gen'dī            'bale   ha'mā     kōra'gazz  
 k-ay-t            =o     gend-ī            bale   ham=ā     kōragazz  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG   =and   see.NPST-3SG   yes   EMPH=DIST   tamarisk tree

ant            o     ha'mā            'do   'rāh   ent            o  
 =ant            =o     ham=ā            do   rāh   =ent            =o  
 =COP.NPST.3PL   =and   EMPH=DIST   two   way   =COP.NPST.3SG   =and

'ē     ha'mā     kō'nagēn     rā'ha     dē'māa     'gīt            o  
 ē     ham=ā     kōnag-ēn     rāh-a     dēmā=a     g-īt            =o  
 PROX   EMPH=DIST   old-ATTR   way-OBL   front=VCL   take.NPST-3SG   =and

'kayt            o     gen'dī            'bale   ē'dā   āp'sarē     ē'dā  
 k-ay-t            =o     gend-ī            bale   ēdā   āpsar=ē     ēdā  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG   =and   see.NPST-3SG   yes   here   spring=IND   here

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>ēran'gēn</i>	<i>ǰwā'nēn</i>	<i>'ges</i>	<i>ant</i>		<i>ē'dā</i>			
ē-rang-ēn	ǰwān-ēn	ges	=ant		ēdā			
PROX-kind-ATTR	good-ATTR	house	=COP.NPST.3PL		here			
<i>ēran'gēn...</i>	<i>ābā'dīyē</i>	<i>'hast</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>ē'dā</i>	<i>bā'zēn</i>		
ē-rang-ēn	ābādī=yē	hast-Ø		=o	ēdā	bāz-ēn		
PROX-kind-ATTR	village=IND	be.NPST-3SG		=and	here	much-ATTR		
<i>nō'kēn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ǰadī'dēn</i>	<i>'čīz</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'heč</i>	<i>be</i>
nōk-ēn	=o	ǰadīd-ēn	čīz	=an	ke	man	heč	be
new-ATTR	=and	new-ATTR	thing	=COP.NPST.3PL	CLM	PN.1SG	no	in
<i>'wī</i>	<i>om'rā</i>	<i>'nadīstaon</i>						
wī	omr-ā	na-dīst-a=on						
REFL.GEN	life-OBL	NEG-see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG						

He prayed and this one ol... poor shepherd, you know, set out on his way, and walked on (lit. came); he walked for several days and nights until he came and saw; yes, there are those Tamarisk tree and it is that side-track and this one followed that old pathway and he came and saw; yes, there is a spring here, there are such nice houses here, there is a such village here, and there (lit. here) are so many new and recent things that I have not seen in my life at all.

**MNJ.m:36**

<i>'bass</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ha'māda</i>	<i>'ǰāra</i>	<i>ǰant</i>			
bass	raw-t	=o	ham=āda	ǰār=a	ǰan-t			
just	go.NPST-3SG	=and	EMPH=there	proclamation=VCL	hit.NPST-3SG			
<i>ke</i>	<i>'ay</i>	<i>šwā'nagē</i>	<i>'kaya</i>	<i>lō'fīt</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>'yak</i>		
ke	ay	šwānag=ē	kay=a	lōf-īt	am=ē	yak		
CLM	VOC	shepherd=IND	who=VCL	want.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	one		
<i>'da</i>	<i>de'ǰayē</i>	<i>'panč</i>	<i>de'ǰayē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ǰāra</i>	<i>ǰant</i>		
da	deǰa=yē	panč	deǰa=yē	ke	ǰār=a	ǰan-t		
ten	minute=IND	five	minute=IND	CLM	proclamation=VCL	hit.NPST-3SG		
<i>gen'dī</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>mol'lāē</i>	<i>ša'māngo</i>	<i>pay'dā</i>			
gend-ī	ta	yak	mollā=ē	šamāngo	paydā			
see.NPST-3SG	MIR	one	Mullah=IND	from.EMPH.that direction	visible			
<i>ent</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>hā'sāē</i>	<i>das'tay</i>	<i>ent</i>	<i>o</i>			
=ent	=o	hāsā=ē	dastay	=ent	=o			
=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	stick=IND	hand.OBL.PC.3SG	=COP.NPST.3SG	=and			

## A. Text Corpus

<i>ta'wār...</i>	<i>ja'wāba</i>	<i>dant</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>šwā'nagē</i>
tawār	jawāb=a	dan-t	ke	bale	man	šwānag=ē
sound	answer=VCL	give.NPST-3SG	CLM	yes	PN.1SG	shepherd=IND

<i>lō'īn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pēšxez'mattē</i>	<i>'pas</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'māl</i>	<i>'mnī</i>
lōṭ-īn	=o	pēšxezmatt=ē	pas	=o	māl	mnī
want.NPST-1SG	=and	servant=IND	sheep	=and	animal	PN.1SG.GEN

<i>'bāz</i>	<i>'astan</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bāz</i>	<i>ehṭī'yāj</i>
bāz	ast=an	bale	ke	bāz	ehṭīyāj
much	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3PL	but	CLM	much	need

<i>'nadārīn</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>aptā'wagā</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'āpa</i>
na-dār-īn	am=ē	aptāwag-ā	pa	man	āp=a
NEG-have.NPST-1SG	EMPH=PROX	ewer-OBL	for	PN.1SG	water=VCL

<i>'kant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>xed'mattā</i>
kan-t	=o	am=ē	mnī	xedmatt-ā
do.NPST-3SG	=and	EMPH=PROX	PN.1SG.GEN	service-OBL

<i>'bkant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ha'barē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bgošīn</i>	<i>an'jām</i>
b-kan-t	=o	habar=ē	ke	b-goš-īn	anjām
SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	=and	word=IND	CLM	SBJV-say.NPST-1SG	do

<i>dant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'čenkara</i>	<i>'lōṭay</i>
Ø-dan-t	=o	čenkar=a	lōṭ-ay
SBJV-give.NPST-3SG	=and	how much=VCL	want.NPST-2SG

So he went there and called out, [he said] /that/ “Hey there, who needs a shepherd?”; ten minutes, five minutes after he called, he saw a Mullah appear from the other (lit. that) direction and he had a stick in his hand and call... he answered /that/, “Yes, I need a shepherd and a servant, [although] my goats and sheep are many, but /that/ I do not need so much help; he just fills this ewer with water and he should be at my service, and he should do whatever I say and how much do you want [for your wages].”

### MNJ.m:37

<i>o</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>	<i>ka'rāra</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'man</i>
o	gō	āī	karār=a	kan-t	ke	bale	man
and	with	DIST.OBL	agreement=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	CLM	yes	PN.1SG

<i>'ī</i>	<i>xar'jā</i>	<i>day'īn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>'ēš</i>	<i>om</i>
tī	xarj-ā	day-īn	=o	bass	ēš	=om
PN.2SG.GEN	cost-OBL	give.NPST-1SG	=and	just	PROX	=ADD

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

*be 'xātere 'nake 'āerā go'sī ke 'man*  
 bexāter=e na-ke āerā Ø-goš-ī ke man  
 because=EZ no-CLM DIST.OBL.OBJ SBJV-say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG

*pa'tī el'mā 'ātaon ha'mē*  
 pa-tī elm-ā āt-a=on ham=e  
 for-PN.2SG.GEN knowledge-OBL come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG EMPH=PROX

*ha'barā 'šit ke 'bale 'man 'ātaon*  
 habar-ā š-it ke bale man āt-a=on  
 word-OBL say.NPST-3SG CLM well PN.1SG come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

*ke moz'zūrī kanīn*  
 ke mozzūr-ī Ø-kan-īn  
 CLM wage earner-NMLZ SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

He agreed with him [and said] /that/ “Well, I will give your expenses (i.e. food and accomodation), that is all; this one did not mention [that] he had come for his [supernatural] knowledge; he just said (lit. this word) [that], “Well, I have come to work for daily wages.”

**MNJ.m:38**

*'bass 'ēš kā'naya bīt o 'ēšerā*  
 bass ēš kāna=ya b-it =o ēšerā  
 just PROX satisfaction=VCL become.NPST-3SG =and PROX.OBL.OBJ

*'jāē ne'sāna dant o ōj'rā'okē ke*  
 jā=e nešān=a dan-t =o ōj'rā-ok=e ke  
 place=IND sign=VCL give.NPST-3SG =and chamber-DIM=IND CLM

*ša'pā 'hamēdā 'waspay o ha'mē ṭapo'rokā*  
 šap-ā ham=e dā wasp-ay =o ham=e ṭapor-ok-ā  
 night-OBL EMPH=here sleep.NPST-2SG =and EMPH=PROX carpet-DIM-OBL

*'wtī sa'rā prē'nay o 'hamē mā'lānā*  
 wtī sarā prēn-ay =o ham=e mā-l-ān-ā  
 REFL.GEN on throw.NPST-2SG =and EMPH=PROX animal-OBL.PL-OBJ

*'ērang 'āpa 'dayay o ha'mē*  
 ē-rang āp=a day-ay =o ham=e  
 PROX-kind water=VCL give.NPST-2SG =and EMPH=PROX

*mā'lānā 'ērang xed'matta kanay o*  
 mā-l-ān-ā ē-rang xedmatt=a kan-ay =o  
 animal-OBL.PL-OBJ PROX-kind service=VCL do.NPST-2SG =and

## A. Text Corpus

<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>haptā'wagā</i>	<i>'panč</i>	<i>'waxt</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'āp</i>
ham=ē	mnī	haptāwag-ā	panč	waxt	pa	man	āp
EMPH=PROX	PN.1SG.GEN	ewer-OBL	five	time	for	PN.1SG	water

<i>kan</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>mas'jed</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'bass</i>
Ø-kan-Ø	=o	ham=ē	masjed	=en	bass
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	=and	EMPH=PROX	mosque	=COP.NPST.3SG	just

Well, this one was satisfied and showed him a certain place; [it was] a small room [and he said] /that/, “You sleep here at night and you cover yourself with this little carpet, and you water the animals like this and you take care of them like this, and fill this ewer of mine with water five times [a day] and [then] there is the mosque; that’s all.”

### MNJ.m:39

<i>'šī</i>	<i>xay'le</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>kā'na</i>	<i>yon</i>	<i>'ēš</i>	<i>om</i>
š-ī	xayle	xob	kāna	=yon	ēš	=om
say.NPST-3SG	very	alright	satisfaction	=COP.NPST.1SG	PROX	=ADD

<i>šo'rūa</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'watī</i>	<i>ma'sīrā</i>	<i>šo'rūa</i>
šorū=a	kan-t	ē	wat-ī	masīr-ā	šorū=a
start=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	PROX	REFL-GEN	way-OBL	start=VCL

<i>kant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'wtī</i>	<i>'kārāa</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>o</i>
kan-t	=o	ā	wtī	kār-ā=a	kan-t	=o
do.NPST-3SG	=and	DIST	REFL-GEN	work-OBL=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	=and

<i>dar'zemn</i>	<i>'hamērang</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ba'čak</i>	<i>'wtī</i>	<i>ha'wāsā</i>
darzemn	ham=ē-rang	ē	bačak	wtī	hawās-ā
meanwhile	EMPH=PROX-kind	PROX	boy	REFL-GEN	senses-OBL

<i>'gīt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bāre</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'čōna</i>	<i>kant</i>
g-īt	ke	bāre	ē	čōn=a	kan-t
take.NPST-3SG	CLM	question	PROX	how=VCL	do.NPST-3SG

[The boy] said, “OK, I am satisfied.”; well, this one started, he started to do his business (lit. his way) and that one [the Mullah] did his business (lit. work) and meanwhile this boy was attentive to what this one was doing.

### MNJ.m:40

<i>gen'dī</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>byā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>hap'tagay</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>
gend-ī	bale	ē	by-ā-Ø	ke	haptag-ay	sarā
see.NPST-3SG	yes	PROX	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	CLM	week-GEN	on

<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'bād</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>pī'sīnay</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>'ēša</i>
ham=ē	bād	ša	pīšīn-ay	nemāz-ā	ēš=a
EMPH=PROX	after	from	afternoon-GEN	prayer-OBL	PROX=VCL

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>'rawt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'hamēdā</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'kohay</i>	<i>pā'nādā</i>	
raw-t	=o	ham=ēdā	ham=ē	koh-ay	pānādā	
go.NPST-3SG	=and	EMPH=here	EMPH=PROX	mountain-GEN	beside	
<i>ha'mōdā</i>	<i>šo'rūa</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>wān'tenā</i>	<i>'sakka</i>	
ham=ōdā	šorū=a	kan-t	be	wānt-en-ā	sakk=a	
EMPH=there	start=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	with	read.PST-INF-OBL	aloud=VCL	
<i>wā'nīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>do'rūd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'werda</i>	<i>wā'nīt</i>	<i>o</i>
wān-īt	=o	dorūd	=o	werd=a	wān-īt	=o
read.NPST-3SG	=and	prayer	=and	incantation=VCL	read.NPST-3SG	=and
<i>ha'mōdā</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>'koh</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>'jāha</i>	<i>'bīt</i>	
ham=ōdā	am=ē	koh	do	jāh=a	b-īt	
EMPH=there	EMPH=PROX	mountain	two	place=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	
<i>o</i>	<i>ha'mōdā</i>	<i>je'nekē</i>	<i>jenēn'zāgē</i>	<i>āran'gēn</i>	<i>zī'bāē</i>	
=o	ham=ōdā	jenek=ē	jenēnzāg=ē	ā-rang-ēn	zībā=ē	
=and	EMPH=there	girl=IND	girl=IND	DIST-kind-ATTR	beautiful=IND	
<i>o</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ha'mōdā</i>	<i>'hast</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ha'bara</i>	<i>dant</i>
=o	ē	ham=ōdā	hast-∅	=o	habar=a	dan-t
=and	PROX	EMPH=there	be.NPST-3SG	=and	word=VCL	give.NPST-3SG
<i>o</i>	<i>ha'mōdā</i>	<i>maš'gūl</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'ančō</i>	<i>dūrā'dūr</i>
=o	ham=ōdā	mašgūl	=en	ē	ančō	dūrādūr
=and	EMPH=there	busy	=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	like this	far
<i>ke</i>	<i>gen'dīt</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>dwā'raga</i>	<i>'narawt</i>	<i>syā'ega</i>	
ke	gend-īt	dega	dwārag=a	na-raw-t	syāeg=a	
CLM	see.NPST-3SG	you know	again=VCL	NEG-go.NPST-3SG	shadow=VCL	
<i>'nadant</i>						
na-dan-t						
NEG-give.NPST-3SG						

He saw, oh, well, this one [the Mullah], after the afternoon prayer once a week, this one went, and there (lit. here), near that (lit. this) mountain, there he started reading; and he read aloud and he read prayers and incantations, and there that (lit. this) mountain broke into two parts; and there [was] a girl, such a beautiful girl, there, and this one was there and was talking to her and he was busy there, when this one watched them from a distance, he did not go [there] again to show himself (lit. he did not give shadow).

## A. Text Corpus

### MNJ.m:41

'padā 'čenka 'waxtē gwa'zī 'padā ha'mērang  
 padā čenka waxt=ē gwaz-ī padā ham=ē-rang  
 again so much time=IND pass.NPST-3SG again EMPH=PROX-kind

'sayla kant o 'gōša kaššī ke 'waxteke  
 sayl=a kan-t =o gōš=a kašš-ī ke waxteke  
 looking=VCL do.NPST-3SG =and ear=VCL pull.NPST-3SG CLM when

'ē ō'dā 'rawt o wā'nīt 'čīya 'šī  
 ē ōdā raw-t =o wān-īt čī=ya š-ī  
 PROX there go.NPST-3SG =and read.NPST-3SG what=VCL say.NPST-3SG

Then some time passed, again [the boy] was watching [them] in this way, and he listened /that/, to what he [the Mullah] said when this one went there and read.

### MNJ.m:42

ša xo'dāye kod'rattā 'ē šwā'nag 'hančēn 'hōšē  
 ša xodā-ye kodratt-ā ē šwānag hančēn hōš=ē  
 from God-GEN power-OBL PROX shepherd such.ATTR memory=IND

dāš'ta ke 'ā ha'mē 'werd o  
 dāšt-a=∅ ke ā ham=ē werd =o  
 have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM DIST EMPH=PROX incantation =and

do'rūdē ke 'ā wān'ta 'ēš om  
 dorūd=ē ke ā wānt-a=∅ ēš =om  
 prayer=IND CLM DIST read.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX =ADD

'hebza kant  
 hebz=a kan-t  
 memorizing=VCL do.NPST-3SG

By God's power, this shepherd had such a [good] memory that this one learnt by heart those (lit. these) incantations and prayers which that one [the Mullah] was reading.

### MNJ.m:43

'yak 'rōčē ke 'hamē mol'lā sā'eb 'wāba  
 yak rōč=ē ke ham=ē mollā sāeb wāb=a  
 one day=IND CLM EMPH=PROX Mullah Sir sleep=VCL

bīt 'bass 'ēša 'rawt o ha'mē  
 b-īt bass ēš=a raw-t =o ham=ē  
 become.NPST-3SG just PROX=VCL go.NPST-3SG =and EMPH=PROX

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>ham'ēšānā</i>		<i>ha'mādā</i>	<i>šo'rūa</i>	<i>kant</i>
ham=ēšānā		ham=ādā	šorū=a	kan-t
EMPH=PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ		EMPH=there	start=VCL	do.NPST-3SG

<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'werd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>čī'yāna</i>	<i>wā'nīt</i>
ham=ē	werd	=o	čī-yān-a	wān-īt
EMPH=PROX	incantation	=and	what-OBL.PL-OBJ	read.NPST-3SG

<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'wānī</i>	<i>gen'dī</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>al'lāh</i>
ham=ē	ke	wān-ī	gend-ī	ta	allāh
EMPH=PROX	CLM	read.NPST-3SG	see.NPST-3SG	MIR	God

<i>a'mē</i>	<i>'ko</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>'jā</i>	<i>būt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>
am=ē	ko	do	jā	būt-∅	=o	ham=ā
EMPH=PROX	mountain	two	place	become.PST-3SG	=and	EMPH=DIST

<i>jenēn'zāg</i>	<i>pay'dā</i>	<i>būt</i>
jenēnzāg	paydā	būt-∅
girl	visible	become.PST-3SG

One day when this Mullah (lit. Sir Mullah) was asleep, well, this one went and started to read these ones there, these incantations and things; while he read them, suddenly he saw /that/, good heavens (lit. oh God), this mountain was divided into two parts and that girl appeared.

**MNJ.m:44**

<i>jenēn'zāg</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ē'serā</i>	<i>ge'ndī</i>	<i>šo'rūa</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>be</i>
jenēnzāg	ke	ēšerā	gend-ī	šorū=a	kan-t	be
girl	CLM	PROX.OBL.OBJ	see.NPST-3SG	start=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	to

<i>gārre'tenā</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>gessō'tag</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>pa'če</i>	<i>'edā</i>
gārret-en-ā	š-ī	gessōtag	ta	pače	edā
cry.PST-INF-OBL	say.NPST-3SG	poor fellow	PN.2SG	why	here

<i>āt'agay</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>'man</i>
āt-ag=ay	š-ī	bass	man
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG	say.NPST-3SG	just	PN.1SG

<i>ā'taon</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>mozzū'rīya</i>	<i>ka'nīn</i>
āt-a=on	man	mozzūr-ī=ya	kan-īn
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG	PN.1SG	wage earner-NMLZ=VCL	do.NPST-1SG

<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>sāe'beyā</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>Neykadar'jānīyā</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>gessō'tag</i>
mollā	sāeb-eyā	mollā	Neykadarjān-īyā	š-ī	gessōtag
Mullah	Sir-LOC	Mullah	Neykadar Jan-LOC	say.NPST-3SG	poor fellow



A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>kap'ta</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>takā'nī</i>	<i>'nahan</i>
kapt-a=Ø	dega	takān-ī	nahan
fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	you know	move-ADJZ	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

When the girl saw him, she started to cry; she said, “Poor fellow, why have you come here?”; he said, “You know, I have come to work as a hireling for Mullah (lit. Sir Mullah), Mullah Neykadar Jan.”; she said, “Poor fellow, look around yourself, whatever you see, these animals, and these stones which are around you, living souls and dead things... those that are stones, all of them were like you, they came [and] worked for him, and [when] these did not obey this one, or they made this one angry, you know, he read a verse on these, and these turned into stone there; either [someone] became a cow, or a sheep, for years and years it is stuck (lit. fallen) there, and it is not able even to move.”

**MNJ.m:45**

<i>'bass</i>	<i>'ēš</i>	<i>'jā</i>	<i>'wārt</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'napa</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'čōn</i>
bass	ēš	jā	wārt-Ø	š-ī	napa	man	čōn
just	PROX	place	eat.PST-3SG	say.NPST-3SG	well	PN.1SG	how

<i>'kanīn</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>ha'barā</i>
Ø-kan-īn	bass	ham=ē	do	say	habar-ā
SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	just	EMPH=PROX	two	three	word-OBL

<i>dant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'zūte</i>	<i>pa'dā</i>	<i>ha'māranga</i>
dan-t	=o	zūt=e	padā	ham=ā-rang=a
give.NPST-3SG	=and	quickly=EZ	again	EMPH=DIST-kind=VCL

<i>wā'nīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>bas'taa</i>	<i>bīt</i>	<i>'kohay</i>
wān-īt	=o	dar	basta=a	b-īt	koh-ay
read.NPST-3SG	=and	door	close=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	mountain-GEN

<i>o</i>	<i>'ēša</i>	<i>'jīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'kayt</i>	<i>'pwat</i>	<i>ke</i>
=o	ēš=a	j-īt	=o	k-ay-t	pwat	ke
=and	PROX=VCL	run.NPST-3SG	=and	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	for.REL	CLM

<i>'mazānt</i>	<i>'kasē</i>
ma-zān-t	kas=ē
PROH-know.NPST-3SG	person=IND

You know, this one [the boy] was shocked, he said, “What should I do?”; he just said these two three words and then quickly read [some incantations] in the same way and the door of the mountain got closed and this one ran back (lit. ran and came for himself) so that nobody would know [what he had done].

## A. Text Corpus

### MNJ.m:46

<i>ha'mērang</i>	<i>molā'gāta</i>	<i>korta</i>		<i>o</i>	
ham=ē-rang	molāgāt=a	kort-a=∅		=o	
EMPH=PROX-kind	visit=VCL	do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		=and	
<i>šo'ta</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>kā'ta</i>		<i>o</i>
šot-a=∅		=o	k-āt-a=∅		=o
go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	IMP.k-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		=and	
<i>āje'zagā</i>	<i>dīs'ta</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>'na</i>
ājezag-ā	dīst-a=∅		=o	bass	na
girl-OBL	see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	just	no	one
					place=IND
<i>'ēšī</i>	<i>el'mā</i>	<i>'yāta</i>	<i>gīt</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>ḵā</i>
ēšī	elm-ā	yāt=a	g-īt	do	ḵā
PROX.GEN	knowledge-OBL	memory=VCL	take.NPST-3SG	two	place
					three
<i>ḵā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>hamē'sānā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>bā'zēn</i>	<i>čī'zāna</i>
ḵā	=o	ham=ēšānā	=o	bāz-ēn	čīz-ān-a
place	=and	EMPH=PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ	=and	much-ATTR	thing-OBL.PL-OBJ
<i>on</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>āje'zag</i>	<i>'ārā</i>	<i>'yāta</i>	<i>dant</i>
=on	ham=ē	ājezag	ārā	yāt=a	dan-t
=ADD	EMPH=PROX	girl	DIST.OBL.OBJ	memory=VCL	give.NPST-3SG
<i>ke</i>	<i>'agar</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'waxt</i>	<i>dā'ray</i>	<i>ke</i>
ke	agar	ta	waxt	dār-ay	ke
CLM	if	PN.2SG	time	have.NPST-2SG	CLM
					except
					Friday-OBL.PL
<i>ke</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'kayt</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>šam'bayān</i>	
ke	ā	k-ay-t	ta	šamba-yān	
CLM	DIST	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	Saturday-OBL.PL	
<i>'byā</i>	<i>'aga</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>gen'day</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bād</i>
by-ā-∅	aga	ā	gend-ay	ke	bād
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	if	DIST	see.NPST-2SG	CLM	after
					from
<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>pīšī'nayā</i>	<i>'kayt</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>so...</i>	
nemāz-ā	pīšīn-ay-ā	k-ay-t	ta	so	
prayer-OBL	noon-GEN-OBL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	FRAG	
<i>sō'bay</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'kant</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>was'pī</i>
sōb-ay	nemāz-ā	ke	kan-t	ā	wasp-ī
morning-GEN	prayer-OBL	CLM	do.NPST-3SG	DIST	sleep.NPST-3SG

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>'ta</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>wax'tā</i>	<i>'byā</i>
ta	ham=ē	waxt-ā	by-ā-∅
PN.2SG	EMPH=PROX	time-OBL	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

Like this, he visited [her] and he went and came and met the girl and, you know, the boy not only learned his [supernatural] knowledge in one place, [he learnt it] in two or three places, and this girl taught him so many things as well; [she said] /that/, “If you have time, except on Fridays when that one [the Mullah] comes [to me] you come on Saturdays, if you see that that one comes after the noon prayer, you come... when he has said (lit. says) the morning prayer; that one goes to sleep, you come at this time.”

**MNJ.m:47**

<i>'bass</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>wax'tā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'kayt</i>	<i>for'sat</i>	<i>'dāštant</i>
bass	ē	waxt-ā	ke	k-ay-t	forsat	dāšt-ant
just	PROX	time-OBL	CLM	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	time	have.PST-3PL

<i>'ā</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>'ēšerā</i>	<i>gen'dī</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>'del</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>he'zār</i>	<i>'del</i>
ā	jenek	ēšerā	gend-ī	yak	del	na	hezār	del
DIST	girl	PROX.OBL.OBJ	see.NPST-3SG	one	heart	no	thousand	heart

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ba'čakkay</i>	<i>ā'seḡa</i>	<i>bīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ba'čakk</i>
ē	bačakk-ay	āseḡ=a	b-īt	=o	bačakk
PROX	son-GEN	in love=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	=and	boy

<i>'āerā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>gen'dī</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>wa'tī</i>	<i>nākō'zākā</i>	<i>o</i>
āerā	ke	gend-ī	ā	wat-ī	nākōzāk-ā	=o
DIST.OBL.OBJ	CLM	see.NPST-3SG	DIST	REFL-GEN	cousin-OBL	=and

<i>ā'wānā</i>	<i>be'hōša</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>mor'dae</i>	<i>ē'sīa</i>
āwānā	behōš=a	kan-t	mordae=e	ēšī=a
DIST.OBL.PL.OBJ	forgotten=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	dead=EZ	PROX.OBL=VCL

*'bīt*  
b-īt  
become.NPST-3SG

Well, when he came at this time, so they had time...; [when] that girl saw him, she fell deeply (lit. not with one heart, with a thousand hearts) in love with this boy, and when the boy saw her he forgot his cousin and those [other people over there]; he was dying for her [too].

**MNJ.m:48**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>gazi'ya</i>	<i>'tūla</i>	<i>kaššī</i>	<i>'hap</i>	<i>'sāl</i>
ē	gaziya	tūl=a	kašš-ī	hap	sāl
PROX	issue	length=VCL	pull.NPST-3SG	seven	year

This situation went on for seven years.

## A. Text Corpus

### MNJ.m:49

'bād ša 'hap 'sālā je'neka 'šī ke 'ērang  
 bād ša hap sāl-ā jenek=a š-ī ke ē-rang  
 after from seven year-OBL girl=VCL say.NPST-3SG CLM PROX-kind

de'ga 'nabī o 'čōn ka'nan  
 dega na-b-ī =o čōn Ø-kan-an  
 you know NEG-become.NPST-3SG =and how SBJV-do.NPST-1PL

maš'mā 'šī heč 'rāhē 'nadārī 'ta  
 mašmā š-ī heč rāh=ē na-dār-ī ta  
 PN.1PL.INCL say.NPST-3SG no way=IND NEG-have.NPST-3SG PN.2SG

'harčōn ke 'šōr boray 'ē 'trā yā  
 harčōn ke šōr b-or-ay ē trā yā  
 whatever way CLM move SBJV-eat.NPST-2SG PROX PN.2SG.OBJ or

'senga kant 'yā 'trā ša 'bayna  
 seng=a kan-t yā trā ša bayn=a  
 stone=VCL do.NPST-3SG or PN.2SG.OBJ from between=VCL

bā  
 bā-Ø  
 bring.NPST-3SG

After seven years, the girl said /that/, “It won’t work this way; what should we do, you and me?”; [the girl] said, “There is no choice, whatever move you make, this one [the Mullah] will either make you a stone or destroy you.”

### MNJ.m:50

o 'šī o'med be xo'dā de'ga 'nūn 'man yak  
 o š-ī omed be xodā dega nūn man yak  
 and say.NPST-3SG hope in God you know now PN.1SG one

'kārēa ka'nīn  
 kār=ē=a kan-īn  
 work=IND=VCL do.NPST-1SG

And [the boy] (lit. he) said, “Trusting in God, you know, I will do something now.”

### MNJ.m:51

'yak 'rōčē ke 'ē 'hamērang ha'bara 'dātan  
 yak rōč=ē ke ē ham=ē-rang habar=a dāt-an  
 one day=IND CLM PROX EMPH=PROX-kind word=VCL give.PST-3PL

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

*mol'lā etefā'gīt ē'sānā 'gīt*  
 mollā etefāgīt ēšānā g-īt  
 Mullah by chance PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ take.NPST-3SG

One day, while these were talking to each other like this, by chance the Mullah caught them.

**MNJ.m:52**

*ē'sānā ke 'gīt 'ēšerā 'gīt*  
 ēšānā ke g-īt ēšerā g-īt  
 PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ CLM take.NPST-3SG PROX.OBL.OBJ take.NPST-3SG

*o ha'mē ke mol'lā kayt ke*  
 =o ham=ē ke mollā k-ay-t ke  
 =and EMPH=PROX CLM Mullah IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG CLM

*ē'serā 'bgīt 'ē 'watrā mas'tēn*  
 ēšerā b-g-īt ē wat-rā mast-ēn  
 PROX.OBL.OBJ SBJV-take.NPST-3SG PROX REFL-OBJ crazy-ATTR

*lē'raēa 'kant*  
 lēra=ē=a kan-t  
 camel=IND=VCL do.NPST-3SG

When he caught them, he grabbed this one and as soon as the Mullah was about to grab this one, this one made himself a crazy camel.

**MNJ.m:53**

*mas'tēn lē'raēa kant o ha'mē*  
 mast-ēn lēra=ē=a kan-t =o ham=ē  
 crazy-ATTR camel=IND=VCL do.NPST-3SG =and EMPH=PROX

*kay mol'lāay pa'dā 'bkapīt*  
 k-ay-∅ mollā-ay padā b-kap-īt  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG Mullah-GEN behind SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG

He made [himself] a crazy camel, and he was just about to run after the Mullah.

**MNJ.m:54**

*mol'lā ē'sī ma'hārā 'gīt o kā'rīt*  
 mollā ēšī mahār-ā g-īt =o k-ār-īt  
 Mullah PROX.GEN bridle-OBL take.NPST-3SG =and IMP.k-take.NPST-3SG

*ha'mā 'wī hoj'rayā o ne'māze 'waxt*  
 ham=ā wī hojra-yā =o nemāz-e waxt  
 EMPH=DIST REFL.GEN chamber-OBL =and prayer-GEN time

## A. Text Corpus

*ūta* *o* 'ēš 'šānsa 'kārī  
 ūt-a=∅ =o ēš šāns=a k-ār-ī  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and PROX luck=VCL IMP.k-take.NPST-3SG

*ke 'ā pa 'wtī ne'māzā 'kōštīt o*  
 ke ā pa wtī nemāz-ā k-ōšt-īt =o  
 CLM DIST for REFL.GEN prayer-OBL IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG =and

'ēšerā a'mōdā ban'dī  
 ēšerā am=ōdā band-ī  
 PROX.OBL.OBJ EMPH=there tie.NPST-3SG

The Mullah took his bridle and brought him near that chamber of his, and it was prayer time, and this one was lucky since that one [the Mullah] stopped for his prayer and tied him up there.

### MNJ.m:55

'ēšerā ke ban'dīt 'bass ha'mē zamā'nagā  
 ēšerā ke band-īt bass ham=ē zamānag-ā  
 PROX.OBL.OBJ CLM tie.NPST-3SG just EMPH=PROX time-OBL

wā'zīya bī be je'nekā ke 'wāwaylān 'mnī  
 wāzī=ya b-ī be jenek-ā ke wāwaylān mnī  
 clear=VCL become.NPST-3SG to girl-OBL CLM woe PN.1SG.GEN

dōs'tā o mar'dak 'gept 'bā 'sengē  
 dōst-ā =o mard-ak gept-∅ bā-∅ seng=ē  
 friend-OBL =FOC man-DIM take.PST-3SG take.NPST-3SG stone=IND

kant yā ko'sītē  
 kan-t yā koš-īt=ē  
 do.NPST-3SG or kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

When he tied him up, well, at that very (lit. this) time, it became clear to the girl [by intuition], [she said] /that/ “Oh my goodness, the man caught my friend and has taken him [with him]; he will either make him a stone or kill him.”

### MNJ.m:56

'bass zā'gokērā... 'ē 'watrā 'werdē  
 bass zāg-ok=ē-rā ē wat-rā werd=ē  
 just child-DIM=IND-OBJ PROX REFL-OBJ incantation=IND

wā'nīt o ša'mē ko'hā ha'menka  
 wān-īt =o šamē koh-ā ham=enka  
 read.NPST-3SG =and from.EMPH.PROX mountain-OBL EMPH=this much

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

'ḍannāa kant o zā'gokē al'lāhay ra'zā  
 ḍannā=a kan-t =o zāg-ok=ē allāh-ay razā  
 out=VCL do.NPST-3SG =and child-DIM=IND God-GEN satisfaction

ē'sī gī'rāa kapīt o hamē'serā  
 ēsī gīr-ā=a kap-īt =o ham=ēserā  
 PROX.GEN grip-OBL=VCL fall.NPST-3SG =and EMPH=PROX.OBL.OBJ

ha'mē zā'gokā 'šīt ke 'ta  
 ham=ē zāg-ok-ā š-īt ke ta  
 EMPH=PROX child-DIM-OBL say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.2SG

'byā a'mē zar'rā 'bzūr  
 by-ā-∅ am=ē zarr-ā b-zūr-∅  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG EMPH=PROX money-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

das'tokay 'teya kant 'ta 'bra  
 dast-ok-ay te=ya kan-t ta b-ra-∅  
 hand-DIM-GEN in=VCL do.NPST-3SG PN.2SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

a'mē oš'teray ma'hārā 'byār  
 am=ē ošter-ay mahār-ā by-ār-∅  
 EMPH=PROX camel-GEN bridle-OBL IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

Well, a child... this one read an incantation and she came out of the mountain this much and by God's power; she found a little boy, and she said to this little boy, /that/ "Come and take this money; she put [it] in [the boy's] hand; [she said] "Go and bring the rope of this camel."

**MNJ.m:57**

oš'ter... 'šī 'ā o lē'raē 'mnā 'wā  
 ošter š-ī ā =o lēra=ē mnā wā-∅  
 camel say.NPST-3SG DIST =FOC camel=IND PN.1SG.OBJ eat.NPST-3SG

'šī 'na 'ta bar o ha'mē ma'hārē  
 š-ī na ta bar =o ham=ē mahār=ē  
 say.NPST-3SG no PN.2SG take.NPST =and EMPH=PROX bridle=PC.3SG

'byār  
 by-ār-∅  
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

The camel... He said, "That one is a camel, he will eat me."; [the girl] said, "No take [my scarf] and bring its bridle."

## A. Text Corpus

### MNJ.m:58

'ēša            'rawt            o            ha'mē            ma'hāray            ša  
 ēš=a            raw-t            =o            ham=ē            mahār=ay            ša  
 PROX=VCL    go.NPST-3SG    =and    EMPH=PROX    bridle=PC.3SG    from

pū'zay            'pāča            kant            o            ha'mē            'bass  
 pūzay            pāč=a            kan-t            =o            ham=ē            bass  
 nose.OBL.PC.3SG    open=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    =and    EMPH=PROX    just

'kārī  
 k-ār-ī  
 IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

This one went and removed this bridle from its nose and, well, he brought it.

### MNJ.m:59

ha'mē            ke            'kārīt            'bass            'ē            ma'hārā  
 ham=ē            ke            k-ār-īt            bass            ē            mahār-ā  
 EMPH=PROX    CLM    IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG    just    PROX    bridle-OBL

'wtī            das'tay            de'lā            ya'kwā            'hopa            kant  
 wtī            dast-ay            delā            yakwā            hop=a            kan-t  
 REFL.GEN    hand-GEN    inside    suddenly    blow=VCL    do.NPST-3SG

ha'mē            hāje'zag  
 ham=ē            hājezag  
 EMPH=PROX    girl

As soon as he brought [it], you know, she suddenly blew on this bridle inside her hand, this girl.

### MNJ.m:60

hāje'zag            ke            'hopa            kant            'ēš            ka'pōtē  
 hājezag            ke            hop=a            kan-t            ēš            kapōt=ē  
 girl            CLM    blow=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    PROX    dove=IND

'bīt            o            'bāla            kant            be            al'lāhay            ra'zā  
 b-īt            =o            bāl=a            kan-t            be            allāh-ay            razā  
 become.NPST-3SG    =and    wing=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    by    God-GEN    satisfaction

When the girl blew on [the bridle], this one became a dove and flew by God's power.

### MNJ.m:61

'bāla            kant            'ē            mol'lā            sā'heb            ke            šo'rūa  
 bāl=a            kan-t            ē            mollā            sāheb            ke            šorū=a  
 wing=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    PROX    Mullah    Sir            CLM    start=VCL

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

*kant*            *'wtī*            *ne'māzā*            *o*            *'wtī*            *ne'māzā*            *ke*  
 kan-t            wtī            nemāz-ā            =o            wtī            nemāz-ā            ke  
 do.NPST-3SG    REFL.GEN    prayer-OBL    =and    REFL.GEN    prayer-OBL    CLM

*ha'lāsa*            *kant*            *'kayt*            *ḍāk'kī*            *o*            *'kārča*  
 halās=a            kan-t            k-ay-t            ḍākkī            =o            kārč-a  
 finish=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG    big knife    =and    knife-OBL

*'zūrīt*            *o*            *'kayt*            *ke*            *ē'serā*  
 zūr-īt            =o            k-ay-t            ke            ēšerā  
 take.NPST-3SG    =and    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG    CLM    PROX.OBL.OBJ

*'bkošīt*            *oš'terā*            *'ta*            *'wāwaylā*            *'ēdā*            *o*            *oš'terē*  
 b-koš-īt            ošter-ā            ta            wāwaylā            ēdā            =o            ošter=ē  
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG    camel-OBL    MIR    woe            here            =FOC    camel=IND

*de'ga*            *'nē*            *ma'hāray*            *'bort*            *'hamā*  
 dega            nē            mahāray            bort-∅            ham=ā  
 you know    NEG.COP.NPST.3SG    bridle.OBL.PC.3SG    take.PST-3SG    EMPH=DIST

*'bū*            *ke*            *'šot*            *'pwat*  
 bū-∅            ke            šot-∅            pwat  
 become.PST-3SG    CLM    go.PST-3SG    for.REL

It flew, when this Mullah (lit. Sir Mullah) started his prayer; and when he finished his prayer; he came; he took a knife, a big knife, and came to kill it, the camel; [he saw], Oh my goodness, there is no camel here any longer; he took its bridle; it so happened that he went away (lit. went for itself).

**MNJ.m:62**

*'bass*    *'ē*            *'watrā*            *šay'nakkē*            *kant*            *o*            *bē'sī*  
 bass    ē            wat-rā            šaynakk=ē            kan-t            =o            bēšī  
 just    PROX    REFL-OBJ    falcon=IND    do.NPST-3SG    =and    to.PROX.GEN

*pa'dāa*            *'kapī*            *ta*            *'waxte*            *ke*            *bē'sī*  
 padā=a            kap-ī            ta            waxt=e            ke            bēšī  
 behind=VCL    fall.NPST-3SG    until    time=IND    CLM    to.PROX.GEN

*pa'dāa*            *bīt*            *ta*            *'rōča*            *bīt...*            *ta*  
 padā=a            b-īt            ta            rōč=a            b-īt            ta  
 behind=VCL    become.NPST-3SG    until    day=VCL    become.NPST-3SG    until

*'waxte*            *ke*            *lō'ī*            *ē'serā*            *'brasēnī*            *'ē*  
 waxt=e            ke            lōṭ-ī            ēšerā            b-rasēn-ī            ē  
 time=EZ    CLM    want.NPST-3SG    PROX.OBL.OBJ    SBJV-take.NPST-3SG    PROX

## A. Text Corpus

' <i>watrā</i>	<i>rasē'nīt</i>	<i>āxe'rī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>tā'rīka</i>
wat-rā	rasēn-īt	āxer-ī	ke	dega	tārik=a
REFL-OBJ	take.NPST-3SG	end-ADVZ	CLM	you know	dark=VCL

<i>bīt</i>	<i>rasē'nī</i>	<i>'watrā</i>	<i>be'mē</i>	<i>'šāhrē</i>
b-īt	rasēn-ī	wat-rā	bemē	šāhr=ē
become.NPST-3SG	take.NPST-3SG	REFL-OBJ	in.EMPH.PROX	city=IND

<i>ke</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>nā'kō</i>	<i>būta</i>
ke	ēšī	nākō	būt-a=∅
CLM	PROX.GEN	uncle	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

So this one [the Mullah] made himself a falcon and flew after him, while he was flying after him, until it became daylight... when the Mullah was about to reach him, it got dark and this one reached (lit. takes himself too) that (lit. this) town where his uncle was.

### MNJ.m:63

<i>nā'kōay</i>	<i>ābā'dīyā</i>	<i>'watrā</i>	<i>rasē'nī</i>	<i>nā'kō</i>	<i>'bāgē</i>
nākō-ay	ābādī-yā	wat-rā	rasēn-ī	nākō	bāg=ē
uncle-GEN	village-OBL	REFL-OBJ	take.NPST-3SG	uncle	garden=IND

<i>dāš'ta</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>al'lāhay</i>	<i>'razā</i>
dāšt-a=∅	ē	ša	allāh-ay	razā
have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	from	God-GEN	satisfaction

<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>sā'lān</i>	<i>hošksā'lī</i>	<i>būta</i>	<i>o</i>
ham=ā	sāl-ān	hošksālī	būt-a=∅	=o
EMPH=DIST	year-OBL.PL	drought	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	=and

<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>'bāg</i>	<i>'heč</i>	<i>'gola</i>	<i>'nakorta</i>	<i>'ē</i>
ēšī	bāg	heč	gol=a	na-kort-a=∅	ē
PROX.GEN	garden	no	flower=VCL	NEG-do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX

<i>'watrā</i>	<i>'golē</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>'draxtay</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>
wat-rā	gol=ē	kan-t	=o	be	yak	draxt-ay	sarā
REFL-OBJ	flower=IND	do.NPST-3SG	=and	on	one	tree-GEN	on

He reached his uncle's village; his uncle had a garden; by God's power, those years were drought years, and this his garden produced no flowers; this one made himself a flower on a tree.

### MNJ.m:64

<i>bāg'wāna</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>gen'dī</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>al'lāh</i>
bāgwan=a	k-ay-∅	gend-ī	š-ī	allāh
gardener=VCL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	see.NPST-3SG	say.NPST-3SG	God

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>'ē</i>	<i>zab'rēn</i>	<i>'bāg...</i>	<i>zab'rēn</i>	<i>'gol</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>čo'nēn</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>zabr-ēn</i>	<i>bāg</i>	<i>zabr-ēn</i>	<i>gol</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>čo-n-ēn</i>
PROX	good-ATTR	FRAG	good-ATTR	flower	PROX	how-ATTR

<i>'golē</i>	<i>dor'rēn</i>	<i>hamē'serā</i>		<i>'čent</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>gol=ē</i>	<i>dorr-ēn</i>	<i>ham=ēserā</i>		<i>čen-t</i>	<i>=o</i>
flower=IND	good-ATTR	EMPH=PROX.OBL.OBJ		pick.NPST-3SG	=and

<i>'bārt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>tā'jerā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'nūn</i>	<i>'goṭṭ</i>
<i>bār-t</i>	<i>=o</i>	<i>ham=ē</i>	<i>tājer-ā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>nūn</i>	<i>goṭṭ</i>
take.NPST-3SG	=and	EMPH=PROX	merchant-OBL	CLM	now	truly

<i>pāde'sāhē</i>	<i>'būta</i>		<i>bētā'jen</i>
<i>pādešāh=ē</i>	<i>būt-a=∅</i>		<i>bē-tāj-en</i>
king=IND	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		without-crown-ATTR

<i>ā'erā</i>	<i>'bā</i>	<i>'dant</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'byā</i>
<i>āerā</i>	<i>bā-∅</i>	<i>dan-t</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>by-ā-∅</i>
DIST.OBL.OBJ	take.NPST-3SG	give.NPST-3SG	CLM	IMPV-come.NPST-3SG

<i>geb'laye</i>	<i>ā'lam</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē ran'gēn</i>	<i>'golē</i>	<i>'šē</i>
<i>gebla=ye</i>	<i>ālam</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ē-rang-ēn</i>	<i>gol=ē</i>	<i>šē</i>
kiblah=EZ	universe	CLM	PROX-kind-ATTR	flower=IND	from.PROX

<i>'bāgā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ma'rōčī</i>	<i>dīs'taon</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'bōa</i>
<i>bāg-ā</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>marōčī</i>	<i>dīst-a=on</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>bō=a</i>
garden-OBL	PN.1SG	today	see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG	DIST	smell=VCL

<i>kaššī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>čo'nēn</i>	<i>ǰwā'nēn</i>	<i>'golē</i>
<i>kašš-ī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>čo-n-ēn</i>	<i>ǰwān-ēn</i>	<i>gol=ē</i>
pull.NPST-3SG	CLM	how-ATTR	nice-ATTR	flower=IND

The gardener came [and] saw [it]; he said, “O God, this is a beautiful garden...beautiful flower; this is a beautiful flower.”; he picked it and took it and gave it to this merchant, who had now totally become a king without a crown [and said] /that/, “Look, my lord (lit. kiblah of the universe) /that/I have found such a flower in (lit. from this) the garden today.”; that one smelled [it], [and said] /that/, “What a beautiful flower.”

**MNJ.m:65**

<i>'rōč</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bīt</i>	<i>moll'ā</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'sayla</i>
<i>rōč</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>b-īt</i>	<i>mollā</i>	<i>š-ī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sayl=a</i>
day	CLM	become.NPST-3SG	Mullah	say.NPST-3SG	CLM	looking=VCL

## A. Text Corpus

<i>kan</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>wa'tī</i>	<i>el'mā</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'awk</i>	<i>'ā</i>
kan-t	be	wat-ī	elm-ā	ta	awk	ā
do.NPST-3SG	to	REFL-GEN	knowledge-OBL	MIR	oh God	DIST
<i>'watrā</i>	<i>'golē</i>	<i>kor'ta</i>		<i>wa'tī</i>	<i>nā'kōay</i>	
wat-rā	gol=ē	kort-a=∅		wat-ī	nākō-ay	
REFL-OBJ	flower=IND	do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		REFL-GEN	uncle-GEN	
<i>das'tay</i>	<i>'ā en</i>					
dast-ay	tā =en					
hand-GEN	in	=COP.NPST.3SG				

When it was morning, it is said /that/ the Mullah took a look into his [supernatural] knowledge [and he saw] oh God, that one has made himself a flower; it is in his uncle's hand.

### MNJ.m:66

<i>'bass</i>	<i>'watrā</i>	<i>dor'bēšē</i>	<i>'kant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pē'lekkē</i>	<i>be</i>
bass	wat-rā	dorbēš=ē	kan-t	=o	pēlekk=ē	be
just	REFL-OBJ	Dervish=IND	do.NPST-3SG	=and	big bag=IND	on
<i>goṭ'tay</i>	<i>ent</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ā'sāē</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>das'tay</i>	
goṭtay	=ent	=o	āsā=ē	be	dastay	
neck.OBL.PC.3SG	=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	stick=IND	to	hand.OBL.PC.3SG	
<i>ent</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ge'sānī</i>	<i>da'pā</i>	<i>o</i>		
=ent	=o	ges-ān-ī	dapā	=o		
=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	house-OBL.PL-GEN	in front of	=and		
<i>'pakra</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'āt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'sar</i>	
pakr=a	kan-t	=o	āt-∅	=o	sar	
reciting verses=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	=and	come.PST-3SG	=and	head	
<i>ūt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'mazze</i>	<i>ra'zāye</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>
ūt-∅	=o	š-ī	ke	mazz=e	razā=ye	xodā
become.PST-3SG	=and	say.NPST-3SG	CLM	sake=EZ	satisfaction=EZ	God
<i>'mnā</i>	<i>če...</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>'bar</i>	<i>pāde'sāhay</i>		
mnā	če	mnā	∅-bār-∅	pādešāh-ay		
PN.1SG.OBJ	FRAG	PN.1SG.OBJ	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG	king-GEN		
<i>ge'sā</i>						
ges-ā						
house-OBL						

Well, he made himself like a Dervish and he had (lit. there was) a big bag around his neck and a stick in his hand, and was reciting verses in front of [people's] houses, and

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

he came (lit. came and arrived) [there]; he said /that/, “Do me a favour (lit. for the satisfaction of God), take me to the king’s house.”

**MNJ.m:67**

<i>pāde'sāhay</i>	<i>ge'sā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kā'rant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>da'ray</i>
pādešāh-ay	ges-ā	ke	k-ār-ant	=o	dar-ay
king-GEN	house-OBL	CLM	IMP.k-take.NPST-3PL	=and	door-GEN

<i>da'pā</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ēšerā</i>	<i>'čīzē</i>
dapā	š-ī	ke	ēšerā	čīz=ē
in front of	say.NPST-3SG	CLM	PROX.OBL.OBJ	thing=IND

<i>'bdet</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'braw</i>	<i>pwat</i>	<i>'harčīa</i>
b-d-et	ke	b-raw-∅	pwat	harčī=a
IMPV-give.NPST-2PL	CLM	SBJV-go.NPST-3SG	for.REL	whatever=VCL

<i>'dayante</i>	<i>'narawt</i>	<i>ā'xera</i>	<i>'šī</i>
day-ant=e	na-raw-t	āxer-a	š-ī
give.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG	NEG-go.NPST-3SG	end-OBL	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'mna</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>go'lā</i>	<i>'beday</i>
mna	ham=ā	gol-ā	be-day-∅
PN.1SG.OBJ	EMPH=DIST	flower-OBL	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

When they took him to the king’s house and in front of the house, [the king] said, /that/ “Give this one something so that he can go.”; whatever they gave him, he did not go; finally he said, “Give me that flower.”

**MNJ.m:68**

<i>'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'gessōtag</i>	<i>'heč</i>	<i>'rāē</i>	<i>'nadārī</i>
š-ī	ke	gessōtag	heč	rā=ē	na-dār-ī
say.NPST-3SG	CLM	poor fellow	no	way=IND	NEG-have.NPST-3SG

<i>'man</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>go'lā</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>'heč</i>	<i>em'kān</i>	<i>'nadārī</i>
man	ē	gol-ā	trā	heč	emkān	na-dār-ī
PN.1SG	PROX	flower-OBL	PN.2SG.OBJ	no	possible	NEG-have.NPST-3SG

<i>ā'xerā</i>	<i>ē'sānā</i>	<i>'hančōš</i>	<i>seze'renīt</i>	<i>ke</i>
āxer-ā	ēšānā	hančōš	sezerēn-īt	ke
end-OBL	PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ	such	insist.NPST-3SG	CLM

<i>ha'mārang</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>bese'lā</i>	<i>pāde'sāh</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>
ham=ā-rang	ham=ē	beselā	pādešāh	ham=ē
EMPH=DIST-kind	EMPH=PROX	you know	king	EMPH=PROX

## A. Text Corpus

<i>go'lā</i>	<i>hamā'ī</i>	<i>nā'kō</i>	<i>go'lā</i>	<i>'herra</i>
gol-ā	ham=āī	nākō	gol-ā	herr=a
flower-OBL	EMPH=DIST.GEN	uncle	flower-OBL	throwing=VCL

<i>dant</i>	<i>be'mē</i>	<i>ge'say</i>	<i>da'pā</i>	<i>ke</i>
dan-t	bemē	ges-ay	dapā	ke
give.NPST-3SG	in.EMPH.PROX	house-GEN	in front of	CLM

<i>'bra</i>	<i>'āp</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ā'teš</i>	<i>'ī</i>	<i>pa'dā</i>
b-ra-∅	āp	=o	āteš	tī	padā
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	water	=and	fire	PN.2SG.GEN	behind

<i>'bī</i>	<i>'ēšom</i>	<i>'gol</i>
∅-b-ī	ēš=om	gol
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	PROX=ADD	flower

[The king] said /that/, “Poor fellow, there is no chance /that/ I [give] this flower to you; it is not possible, at all.”; well, he made them so angry [by insisting on having the flower], you know, finally the king, this boy’s uncle, and threw this flower towards the front of the house; [he said] /that/ “Damn you (lit. may water and fire follow you), here is the flower.”

### MNJ.m:69

<i>'ēdā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>šwā'nag</i>	<i>'watrā</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>ar'zona</i>	<i>kant</i>
ēdā	ē	šwānag	wat-rā	ham=ē	arzon=a	kan-t
here	PROX	shepherd	REFL-OBJ	EMPH=PROX	millet=VCL	do.NPST-3SG

<i>'čankē</i>	<i>ar'zona</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>be'mē</i>	<i>'kawš</i>	<i>o</i>
čank=ē	arzon=a	kan-t	=o	bemē	kawš	=o
handful=IND	millet=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	=and	in.EMPH.PROX	shoe	=and

<i>be'mē</i>	<i>ge'say</i>	<i>da'pā</i>	<i>'pāš</i>	<i>'pāša</i>
bemē	ges-ay	dapā	pāš	pāš=a
in.EMPH.PROX	house-GEN	in front of	spread	spread=VCL

<i>'bī</i>
b-ī
become.NPST-3SG

There (lit. here) this shepherd made himself, you know, millet; he made himself a handful of millet, and spread out in the shoes [and] you know, in front of the house.

### MNJ.m:70

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'pāš</i>	<i>'pāša</i>	<i>'bīt</i>	<i>mar'doma</i>
ē	ke	pāš	pāš=a	b-īt	mardom=a
PROX	CLM	spread	spread=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	people=VCL

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

*gen'dant ke 'ay 'ēdā čo'nēn sah'nahē būt*  
 gend-ant ke ay ēdā čon-ēn sahnah=ē būt-Ø  
 see.NPST-3PL CLM oh here how-ATTR scene=IND become.PST-3SG

*mar'dom 'erza kanan*  
 mardom erz=a kan-an  
 people shock=VCL do.NPST-3PL

When this was spread out, the people saw /that/ a [strange] scene was taking place there (lit.here); the people got shocked.

**MNJ.m:71**

*'ē ke 'watrā ar'zona kant 'ā 'watrā*  
 ē ke wat-rā arzon=a kan-t ā wat-rā  
 PROX CLM REFL-OBJ millet=VCL do.NPST-3SG DIST REFL-OBJ

*mol'lā... mol'lā ke a'walā dar'bēšē at 'watrā*  
 mollā mollā ke awāl-ā darbēš=ē =at-Ø wat-rā  
 Mullah Mullah CLM first-OBL Dervish=IND =COP.PST-3SG REFL-OBJ

*ha'mē 'morgēa 'kant 'gō 'dah čō'kūā*  
 ham=ē morg=ē=a kan-t gō dah čōkū-ā  
 EMPH=PROX hen=IND=VCL do.NPST-3SG with ten chicken-OBL

*šo'rūa 'kant be ko'ḍok o ko'ḍok be 'jam*  
 šorū=a kan-t be koḍok =o koḍok be jam  
 start=VCL do.NPST-3SG to chirp =and chirp to gathered

*kor'tenā ha'mēke 'jama 'kant ē'sānā*  
 kort-en-ā hamēke jam=a kan-t ēšānā  
 do.PST-INF-OBL as soon as gathered=VCL do.NPST-3SG PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ

*al'lāhay ra'zā 'yak dā'nagē kaw'say ta'lā kaw'say 'čērā be*  
 allāh-ay razā yak dānag=ē kawš-ay talā kawš-ay čērā be  
 God-GEN satisfaction one CL-=IND shoe-GEN in shoe-GEN under to

*če... kaw'say 'tā mā'nī*  
 če kawš-ay tā mān-ī  
 FRAG shoe-GEN in stay.NPST-3SG

When this one made himself millet, that one the Mullah made himself... the Mullah who was at the beginning a dervish, made himself, you know, a hen with ten chickens [and] started to peck and peck to pick these [the grains] up, while he was picking them up, by God's power, one [grain of the millet] was left inside a shoe, under a shoe, how... inside a shoe.

## A. Text Corpus

### MNJ.m:72

<i>'ā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mā'nīt</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'watrā</i>	<i>ro'bāēa</i>	<i>'kant</i>
ā	ke	mān-īt	ā	wat-rā	robā=ē=a	kan-t
DIST	CLM	stay.NPST-3SG	DIST	REFL-OBJ	fox=IND=VCL	do.NPST-3SG
<i>o</i>	<i>šo'rūa</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>'da</i>	<i>čō'kūay</i>	<i>'sarā</i>
=o	šorū=a	kan-t	ham=ē	da	čōkū-ay	sar-ā
=and	start=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	ten	chicken-GEN	head-OBL
<i>sen'dīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'morgay</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sen'dīt</i>	<i>'ē</i>
send-īt	=o	morg-ay	sar-ā	ke	send-īt	ē
pluck off-3SG	=and	hen-GEN	head-OBL	CLM	pluck off-3SG	PROX
<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'dād o bī'dād</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'harka</i>	<i>'geša</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>o</i>
mardom	dād o bīdād	=o	harka	geš=a	kan-t	=o
people	brawl	=and	everybody	faint=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	=and
<i>'harka</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>nē'magē</i>	<i>ka'pīt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a'mērang</i>
harka	be	yak	nēmag=ē	kap-īt	=o	am=ē-rang
everybody	to	one	direction=IND	fall.NPST-3SG	=and	EMPH=PROX-kind
<i>hay'rāna</i>	<i>ba'yant</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>kōš'tī</i>		<i>pa</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>
hayrān=a	bay-ant	bass	k-ōšt-ī		pa	nemāz-ā
surprise=VCL	become.NPST-3PL	just	IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG		for	prayer-OBL

That one [grain] which was left, that one made itself a fox and started to pluck off the heads of these ten chicks and when he plucked off the head of the hen, these people [cried] and everybody fainted and everybody fell [to the ground] here and there (lit. in one direction); and you know, they got surprised; then he stopped to pray.

### MNJ.m:73

<i>ha'mēke</i>	<i>kōš'tī</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>šwā'naga</i>		
hamēke	k-ōšt-ī	pa	nemāz-ā	šwānag=a		
as soon as	IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG	for	prayer-OBL	shepherd=VCL		
<i>kōš'tī</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>wa'tīyā</i>	
k-ōšt-ī	pa	nemāz-ā	=o	nemāz-ā	wat-ī-yā	
IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG	for	prayer-OBL	=and	prayer-OBL	REFL-GEN-OBL	
<i>ke</i>	<i>wā'nī</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>'kammē</i>	<i>'sareš</i>
ke	wān-ī	mardom	=om	yak	kamm=ē	sar=eš
CLM	read.NPST-3SG	people	=ADD	one	little=IND	head=PC.3PL
<i>'hōša</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>'čakka</i>	<i>janant</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'way</i>	<i>'ēš</i>
hōš=a	kan-t	čakk=a	jan-ant	ta	way	ēš
sense=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	turning=VCL	hit.NPST-3PL	MIR	Oh dear	PROX

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>o</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>plā'nī</i>	<i>'zāg</i>	<i>šwā'nagay</i>	<i>'zāg</i>
=o	ham=a	plān-ī	zāg	šwānag-ay	zāg
=FOC	EMPH=DIST	so and so-GEN	child	shepherd-GEN	child

*'naen*  
naen  
NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

When he stood up for praying, the shepherd stood up for praying and when he finished his praying, the people also became somewhat conscious [again]; they turned around, [they said], “Oh dear, is this one not the son of so and so, the shepherd’s son?”

**MNJ.m:74**

<i>'šant</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'wata</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'čerā</i>	<i>'man</i>
š-ant	ke	wat=a	š-ī	ke	bale	čerā	man
say.NPST-3PL	CLM	REFL=VCL	say.NPST-3SG	CLM	yes	yes	PN.1SG

<i>aton</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>'šant</i>	<i>'xob</i>	<i>'ē</i>
=at-on	man	=on	š-ant	xob	ē
=COP.PST-1SG	PN.1SG	=COP.NPST.1SG	say.NPST-3PL	alright	PROX

<i>čo'nēn</i>	<i>dās'tānē</i>	<i>at</i>
čo-n-ēn	dāstān=ē	=at-∅
how-ATTR	story=IND	=COP.PST-3SG

They said /that/...; he himself said /that/, “Yes, I was, I am.”; they said, “Well, what kind of a story was this?”

**MNJ.m:75**

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'byā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>Neykadar'jāne</i>	<i>ke...</i>
š-ī	by-ā-∅	ke	mollā	neykadarjān-e	ke
say.NPST-3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-3SG	CLM	Mullah	Neykadar Jan-GEN	CLM

<i>'ā</i>	<i>wax'tā</i>	<i>'šmā</i>	<i>'gō am</i>	<i>'atman</i>	<i>mašwa'rat</i>
ā	waxt-ā	šmā	gō am	atman	mašwarat
DIST	time-OBL	PN.2PL	each other	sure	consultation

<i>kor'tatet</i>	<i>zān'tatet</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'harka</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ōdā</i>
kort=at-et	zānt=at-et	ke	harka	ke	ōdā
do.PST=COP.PST-2PL	know.PST=COP.PST-2PL	CLM	everybody	CLM	there

<i>'braw</i>	<i>'bera</i>	<i>'nagardī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>čan'dīn</i>	<i>ke</i>
b-raw-∅	ber=a	na-gard-ī	=o	čandīn	ke
SBJV-go.NPST-3SG	PREV=VCL	NEG-turn.NPST-3SG	=and	several	CLM

## A. Text Corpus

<i>šo'tagan</i>		<i>'ber</i>	<i>'nagaštagant</i>		<i>moll'ā</i>
šo-t-ag=an		ber	na-gašt-ag=ant		mollā
go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL		PREV	NEG-turn.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL		Mullah

<i>Neykadar'jān</i>	<i>a'mēš</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>'elmay</i>	<i>om</i>
neykadarjān	am=eš	=at-∅	elmay	=om
Neykadar Jan	EMPH=PROX	=COP.PST-3SG	knowledge.OBL.PC.3SG	=ADD

<i>'man</i>	<i>'yād</i>	<i>gep'taon</i>	<i>an'nūn</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'dīstay</i>
man	yād	gept-a=on	annūn	dega	dīst-ay
PN.1SG	learn	take.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG	now	you know	see.PST-2SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>moll'ā</i>	<i>Neykadar'jān</i>	<i>'hamēdā</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>	<i>'elm</i>	<i>bā'tel</i>
ke	mollā	neykadarjān	ham=eđā	āī	elm	bātel
CLM	Mullah	Neykadar Jan	EMPH=here	DIST.GEN	knowledge	vain

<i>ūt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>šā'ī</i>	<i>'pawk</i>	<i>ūton</i>
ūt-∅	=o	man	šāī	pawk	ūt-on
become.PST-3SG	=and	PN.1SG	from.DIST.OBL	win	become.PST-1SG

[The boy] said, “Well, Mullah Neykadar Jan who... at that time, for sure you had consulted with each other and knew (lit. had known) that whoever goes there will not return and that several people who have gone there have not come back; this was Mullah Neykadar Jan; I have learned his [supernatural] knowledge and now, as you saw /that/, Mullah Neykadar Jan’s [supernatural] knowledge became void here and I overcame him.”

### MNJ.m:76

<i>a'nūn</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'pawk</i>	<i>ūtaon...</i>	<i>nā'kōē</i>
anūn	ke	pawk	ūt-a=on	nākō=e
now	CLM	win	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG	uncle=PC.3SG

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'xo</i>	<i>'aybe</i>	<i>'nadārī</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'pawk</i>
š-ī	xo	ayb=e	na-dār-ī	ta	ke	pawk
say.NPST-3SG	good	defect=IND	NEG-have.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	CLM	win

<i>ūtagay</i>	<i>šar'ta</i>	<i>bor'tagay</i>	<i>o</i>
ūt-ag=ay	šart-a	bort-ag=ay	=o
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG	bet-OBL	take.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG	=and

<i>'byā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'watī</i>	<i>je'nekā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>
by-ā-∅	ke	wat-ī	jenek-ā	tarā
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	CLM	REFL-GEN	daughter-OBL	PN.2SG.OBJ

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

<i>da'yīn</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>'kasē</i>	<i>ša</i>
day-īn	š-ī	na	mnā	kas=ē	ša
give.NPST-1SG	say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.1SG.OBJ	person=IND	from

<i>a'mē</i>	<i>mar'kā</i>	<i>ne'jāt</i>	<i>dāta</i>	<i>'ta</i>
am=ē	mark-ā	nejāt	dāt-a=∅	ta
EMPH=PROX	death-OBL	free	give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	MIR

<i>'brawan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'byāet</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>'man</i>
b-raw-an	ke	gō	man	by-ā-et	yā	man
SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	CLM	with	PN.1SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2PL	or	PN.1SG

<i>'wata</i>	<i>ra'īn</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ā'wānā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ne'jāt</i>
wat=a	ra-īn	ke	āwānā	man	nejāt
REFL=VCL	go.NPST-1SG	CLM	DIST.OBL.PL.OBJ	PN.1SG	free

*dayīn*  
 ∅-day-īn  
 SBJV-give.NPST-1SG

Now I have overcome him... his uncle said, “You know, no problem, since you have overcome [him] you have won the bet, come; I will give my daughter to you.”; the boy said, “No, someone saved me from the death; let’s go, come with me or I will go myself in order to save those [other people whom he has cast a spell on].”

**MNJ.m:77**

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>ent</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'čōn</i>	<i>en</i>
š-ī	kay	=ent	=o	čōn	=en
say.NPST-3SG	who	=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	how	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'bass</i>	<i>'čen</i>	<i>na'par</i>	<i>'byāet</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'man</i>
š-ī	bass	čen	napar	by-ā-et	gō	man
say.NPST-3SG	just	some	person	IMPV-come.NPST-2PL	with	PN.1SG

<i>'ēšom</i>	<i>šē'dā</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>'gōna</i>	<i>ka'pant</i>	<i>o</i>
ēš=om	šēdā	gō	ēšī	gōn=a	kap-ant	=o
PROX=ADD	from.here	with	PROX.OBL	with=VCL	fall.NPST-3PL	=and

<i>ra'want</i>	<i>'ōdān</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>de...</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'ādā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ra'sant</i>
raw-ant	ōdān	be	ā	de	be	ādā	ke	ras-ant
go.NPST-3PL	there	to	DIST	FRAG	to	there	CLM	arrive.NPST-3PL

<i>'ta</i>	<i>pēēēēk</i>	<i>'asp</i>	<i>ant</i>	<i>'asp</i>	<i>ē'sānā</i>	<i>ke</i>
ta	pēēēēk	asp	=ant	asp	ēsānā	ke
MIR	ohhhhhh	horse	=COP.NPST.3PL	horse	PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ	CLM

## A. Text Corpus

*gen'dant*      *čam'may*      *'āpeša*                      *re'čī*                      *šo'rūa*  
 gend-ant      čamm-ay      āp=eš=a                      reč-ī                      šorū=a  
 see.NPST-3PL   eye-GEN   water=PC.3PL=VCL   pour.NPST-3SG   start=VCL

*kant*                      *šwā'nag*      *be*      *wān'tenā*                      *'ēš*                      *mar'doma*  
 kan-t                      šwānag      be      wānt-en-ā                      ēš                      mardom=a  
 do.NPST-3SG   shepherd   to   read.PST-INF-OBL   PROX   people=VCL

*ba'yant*                      *pa'sānā*                      *ha'mārang*                      *oš'terānā*  
 bay-ant                      pas-ān-ā                      ham=ā-rang                      ošter-ān-ā  
 become.NPST-3PL   sheep-OBL.PL-OBJ   EMPH=DIST-kind   camel-OBL.PL-OBJ

*ha'mārang*                      *ha'mē*                      *'harče*      *ke*      *'ēdā*      *be*      *te'lesmā*  
 ham=ā-rang                      ham=ē                      harče      ke      ēdā      be      telesm-ā  
 EMPH=DIST-kind   EMPH=PROX   whatever   CLM   here   with   talisman-OBL

*'būtan*                      *ā'zāta*                      *bayan*  
 büt-an                      āzāt=a                      bay-an  
 become.PST-3PL   free=VCL   become.NPST-3PL

He said, “Who is it and what is the issue?”; well, the boy said, “Come with me some people.”; so these accompanied this one from there (lit. here) and they went there, to that...; when they arrived there, [they saw] Ohhhhhh my goodness, there are [many] horses; when the horses saw [these], tears dropped from their eyes; the boy started reciting (lit. reading) [incantations]; these turned into human beings; he did the same for the sheep; the same for the camels; whatever /that/ was cast under spells, [all] were freed.

### MNJ.m:78

*'raw*                      *ko'ayā*                      *o*                      *wā'nīt*                      *āje'zag*      *'dara*  
 raw-∅                      ko-ayā                      =o                      wān-īt                      ājezag      dar=a  
 go.NPST-3SG   mountain-LOC   =and   read.NPST-3SG   girl   PREV=VCL

*bī*                      *ša*      *ko'ay*                      *'tā*      *'bass*      *'āon*                      *'čenka*  
 b-ī                      ša      ko-ay                      tā      bass      ā=on                      čenka  
 become.NPST-3SG   from   mountain-GEN   in   just   DIST=ADD   so much

*do'āa*                      *'kant*                      *'bass*      *mol'lāē*                      *lōt'ant*                      *o*                      *'ē*  
 doā=a                      kan-t                      bass      mollā=ē                      lōt-ant                      =o                      ē  
 prayer=VCL   do.NPST-3SG   just   Mullah=IND   want.NPST-3PL   =and   PROX

*do'kēn*                      *ne'kēya*                      *kanant*                      *o*                      *'har*      *go'jām*  
 do-kēn                      nekē=ya                      kan-ant                      =o                      har      gojām  
 two-ATTR   marriage=VCL   do.NPST-3PL   =and   every   which

A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

*ra'sī*                      *be wa'tī*                      *āre'zūā*                      *o*                      *be 'wī*                      *max'sadā*  
ras-ī                      be wat-ī                      ārezū-ā                      =o                      be wī                      maxsad-ā  
arrive.NPST-3SG                      to REFL-GEN                      wish-OBL                      =and                      to REFL.GEN                      aim-OBL

*ra'sī*                      *al'lāhe*                      *'pāk*                      *moč'čēnāna*                      *'močč*  
ras-ī                      allāh=e                      pāk                      močč-ēn-ān-a                      močč  
arrive.NPST-3SG                      God=EZ                      holy                      all-ATTR-OBL.PL-OBJ                      all

*jawā'nānā*                      *be*                      *ā'wānī*                      *āre'zū*                      *o*                      *max'sadā*  
jawān-ān-ā                      be                      ā-wān-ī                      ārezū                      =o                      maxsad-ā  
youth-OBL.PL-OBJ                      with                      DIST-OBL.PL-GEN                      wish                      =and                      goal-OBL

*'brasēnīt*                      *o*                      *'mnī*                      *kes'sā*                      *ha'mēdā*  
b-ras-ēn-īt                      =o                      mnī                      kessā                      ham=ēdā  
SBJV-arrive.NPST-ATTR-3SG                      =and                      PN.1SG.GEN                      story                      EMPH=here

*a'lāsa*                      *bīt*                      *o*                      *'šmārā*                      *be*                      *al'lāhe*                      *'pāka*  
alās=a                      b-īt                      =o                      šmārā                      be                      allāh=e                      pāk=a  
finish=VCL                      become.NPST-3SG                      =and                      PN.2PL.OBJ                      with                      God=EZ                      holy=VCL

*rasene*                      *rase...*                      *sepā'rīn*                      *'bass*  
rasene                      rase                      sepār-īn                      bass  
FRAG                      FARG                      entrust.NPST-1SG                      just

He went to the mountain and recited (lit. read); the girl came out from the mountain, you know; that one prayed a lot too, you know; they asked for a Mullah and these two got married and both of them reached their desire; may the holy God, make all all the young people reach their desire and goal, and here my story comes to and end, and I send... entrust you to the holy God; that's all.

**MNJ.m:79**

*'āton*                      *be 'rāē*                      *o*                      *'dīston*                      *pē'lekkē*                      *'zarrē*  
āt-on                      be rā=ē                      =o                      dīst-on                      pēlekk=e                      zarr=ē  
come.PST-1SG                      in way=IND                      =and                      see.PST-1SG                      big bag=EZ                      money=IND

*pē'lekkē*                      *'zarrā*                      *'dāton*                      *'dar*                      *'rāhe*                      *xo'dā*                      *o*                      *'do*  
pēlekk=e                      zarr-ā                      dāt-on                      dar                      rāh=e                      xodā                      =o                      do  
big bag=EZ                      money-OBL                      give.PST-1SG                      to                      way=EZ                      God                      =and                      two

*ga'rānā*                      *'borton*                      *še'nekē*                      *'korton*                      *o*                      *še'nekā*  
garān-ā                      bort-on                      šenek=ē                      kort-on                      =o                      šenek-ā  
penny-OBL                      take.PST-1SG                      goat=IND                      do.PST-1SG                      =and                      goat-OBL

*ʔaton*                      *'gošton*                      *'bra*                      *ke*                      *'tī*                      *'sar*  
ʔat-on                      gošt-on                      b-ra-∅                      ke                      tī                      sar  
hit.PST-1SG                      say.PST-1SG                      SBJV-go.NPST-2SG                      CLM                      PN.2SG.GEN                      head

## A. Text Corpus

'*braw*                    *be* *ʃahan'domā* *o*        '*mnī*                    '*sar*  
 b-raw-∅                be *ʃahandom-ā* =o      mnī                    sar  
 SBJV-go.NPST-3SG   to hell-OBL        =and PN.1SG.GEN   head

'*braw*                    *be* *be'hēštā*            *āā*        '*mnī*                    *ā*        *kes'sā*  
 b-raw-∅                be behēšt-ā            āā            mnī                    ā            kessā  
 SBJV-go.NPST-3SG   to paradise-OBL   FRAG   PN.1SG.GEN   DIST   story

'*hamēdā*        *a'lās*        *ū*    '*šmārā*                *be* *al'lāhe*        '*pākā*  
 ham=ēdā        alās        ū-∅    šmārā                be allāh=e        pāk-ā  
 EMPH=here    finish    become.PST-3SG   PN.2PL.OBJ   to   God=EZ    holy-OBL

*sepāre'tagon*  
 sepāret-ag=on  
 entrust.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

I came to a certain pathway and found a big bag with money; I gave the money bag for God's sake and I took two pennies and bought a goat, and beat the goat and said "May your head go to hell and my head to paradise."; My story finishes here and I entrust (lit. have entrusted) you to the holy God.

## A.6 Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

### The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

#### Sabzōī Kessa

recounted by Bibi Jan Nourzaei

##### SA.f:1

'šī	'xānē	at	be	'nāme	xodānezar'xān
š-ī	xān=ē	=at-∅	be	nām=e	xodānezarxān
say.NPST-3SG	khan=IND	=COP.PST-3SG	with	name=EZ	Khodanezar Khan

It is said [there] was a khan called (lit. by name of) Khodanezar Khan.

##### SA.f:2

hamsā'egē	'dāšt	je'nekē	'dāšt	be	'nāme
hamsāeg=e	dāšt-∅	jenek=e	dāšt-∅	be	nām=e
neighbour=IND	have.PST-3SG	daughter=IND	have.PST-3SG	with	name=EZ

sab'zō

sabzō

Sabzo

He had a neighbour, [who] had a daughter called Sabzo.

##### SA.f:3

be	'nāme	sab'zō	je'nekē	'dāšt
be	nām=e	sabzō	jenek=e	dāšt-∅
with	name=EZ	Sabzo	daughter=IND	have.PST-3SG

He had a daughter called Sabzo.

##### SA.f:4

xodānezar'xān	nākō'zākē	'dāšt	be	'nāme	pī'rak
xodānezarxān	nākōzāk=e	dāšt-∅	be	nām=e	pīrak
Khodanezar Khan	cousin=IND	have.PST-3SG	with	name=EZ	Pirak

sab'zōī	sa'rā	ā'sex	at
sabzō-ī	sarā	āsex	=at-∅
Sabzo-GEN	on	in love	=COP.PST-3SG

Khodanezar Khan had a cousin called Pirak; he was in love with Sabzo.

##### SA.f:5

ā'sex	at	o	sab'zōī	'pes	bē'sī
āsex	=at-∅	=o	sabzō-ī	pes	bēšī
in love	=COP.PST-3SG	=and	Sabzo-GEN	father	to.PROX.OBL

## A. Text Corpus

'nadāt                    o        be   donyā'dāre        'dāt  
 na-dāt-∅                =o     be   donyādār=e        dāt-∅  
 NEG-give.PST-3SG    =and   to   rich man=IND   give.PST-3SG

He was in love [with her] but Sabzo's father did not marry her off to him and he married her off to a rich man.

### SA.f:6

don'yāe            maza'nēn    šā'ṭ                    'zīt            o        be  
 donyā=e            mazan-ēn    šāī                    zīt-∅            =o     be  
 wealth=IND    big-ATTR    from.DIST.OBL   take.PST-3SG    =and   to

donyā'dārē        'dāt  
 donyādār=ē        dāt-∅  
 rich man=IND    give.PST-3SG

He got a lot of money from that one, and he married her off to a rich man

### SA.f:7

ā'rōse                                    'gept                    o        'dōl        o        'sāz        o  
 ārōs=e                                    gept-∅                    =o     dōl        =o     sāz        =o  
 wedding celebration=IND    take.PST-3SG    =and   drum    =and   music    =and

krapp'pag    at                                    čā'pay                    o        pī'rak    ham    'āt  
 krappag    =at-∅                                    čāp-ay                    =o     pīrak    ham    āt-∅  
 beating    =COP.PST-3SG    dance-GEN    =and   Pirak    ADD   come.PST-3SG

o        'hamedā        'čāpa                    ko  
 =o     ham=edā        čāp=a                    ko-∅  
 =and   EMPH=here    dance=VCL    do.PST-3SG

He arranged a wedding celebration, and there was drumming and music and beating [of sticks] during the dance, and Pirak came and was dancing there (lit. here) too.

### SA.f:8

sab'zō    ša 'bas ke    pī'rakī                    sa'rā    ā'sex    at  
 sabzō    ša bas ke    pīrak-ī                    sarā    āšex    =at-∅  
 Sabzo    so much    Pirak-GEN    on        in love    =COP.PST-3SG

kel'laay                    'tā    'nanešt  
 kella-ay                    tā    na-nešt-∅  
 wedding tent-GEN    in    NEG-sit.PST-3SG

As for Sabzo, she was so much in love with Pirak that she didn't stay in the wedding tent.

A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

**SA.f:9**

'kāt                      'sayla              kort              o              tamā'sāa  
 k-āt-∅                      sayl=a              kort-∅              =o              tamāšā=a  
 IMP.k-come.PST-3SG      looking=VCL      do.PST-3SG      =and      watching=VCL

kort              pī'rakā  
 kort-∅              pīrak-ā  
 do.PST-3SG      Pirak-OBL

She kept coming [out of her wedding tent], looking at Pirak and watching him.

**SA.f:10**

'bād mar'dom ša      'kast      o      kē'nagā      ke      'deleša  
 bād mardom ša      kast      =o      kēnag-ā      ke      del=eš=a  
 then people      from      intention      =and      aversion-OBL      CLM      heart=PC.3PL=VCL

'nakaššet              ke      pī'rak      ē'dā      'bīt                      kaw'say      'tā  
 na-kaššet-∅              ke      pīrak      ēdā      ∅-b-īt                      kawš-ay      tā  
 NEG-pull.PST-3SG      CLM      Pirak      here      SBJV-become.NPST-3SG      shoe-GEN      in

ez'gāl              'rētant              tā'gazzē              eš'kar              'rētant              o  
 ezgāl              rēt-ant              tāgazz-ē              eškar              rēt-ant              =o  
 live ember      pour.PST-3PL      tamarisk-GEN      live ember      pour.PST-3PL      =and

pī'rak ša 'base ke      'hōš      o      'sār      'nadāšt              ša      āše'xīā  
 pīrak ša base ke      hōš      =o      sār      na-dāšt-∅              ša      āšexīā  
 Pirak      so much      sense      =and      sense      NEG-have.PST-3SG      from      infatuation

'čāpa              kort              o      mā'lūm      'nawat                      ke      ā'ī  
 čāp=a              kort-∅              =o      mālūm      nawat                      ke      āī  
 dance=VCL      do.PST-3SG      =and      aware      NEG.COP.NPST.3SG      CLM      DIST.OBL

'pād      'čōna              ba'yant                      o              'čōna              'nabayan  
 pād      čōn=a              bay-ant                      =o              čōn=a              na-bay-an  
 foot      how=VCL      become.NPST-3PL      =and      how=VCL      NEG-become.NPST-3PL

Then people poured live embers into Pirak's shoes intentionally and out of hatred, since they did not want that Pirak to be there; they poured live tamarisk embers [into his shoes] but he did not feel anything since he [was madly] in love; he was dancing and he did not know /that/ what was happening (lit. what was happening and not happening) to his feet.

## A. Text Corpus

### SA.f:11

'bād ṛččī  
bād iččī  
then nothing

That's it (lit. then nothing).

### SA.f:12

'āt o xodānezar'xānī pah'nāda 'nešt  
āt-∅ =o xodānezarxān-ī pahnāda nešt-∅  
come.PST-3SG =and Khodanezar Khan-GEN beside sit.PST-3SG

He came and sat down beside Khodanezar Khan.

### SA.f:13

xodānezar'xān ke pā'dānī pox'lokānī  
xodānezarxān ke pād-ān-ī poxlok-ān-ī  
Khodanezar Khan CLM foot-OBL.PL-GEN vesicle-OBL.PL=PC.3SG

'dīst 'goštē 'če xa'bar en 'pīrak 'če  
dīst-∅ gošt=ē če xabar =en pīrak če  
see.PST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG what news =COP.NPST.3SG Pīrak what

xa'bar en 'ē ī 'pād pa'čē 'ērang  
xabar =en ē ī pād pačē ē-rang  
news =COP.NPST.3SG PROX PN.2SG.GEN foot why PROX-kind

ant 'čōn en 'trā 'ōš 'dāray  
=ant čōn =en trā ōš dār-ay  
=COP.NPST.3PL how =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG.OBJ sense have.NPST-2SG

bē'ōš ay  
bēōš =ay  
unconscious =COP.NPST.2SG

When Khodanezar Khan saw the vesicles on his feet, he said, “What is happening Pīrak?; what is happening?; why are these your feet like this?; What is up with you?; Are you feeling [what is going on] (lit. conscious) or aren't you feeling [anything] (lit. unconscious)?”

### SA.f:14

'gošta ke 'na 'man 'eč 'ōš  
gošt-a=∅ ke na man eč ōš  
say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM no PN.1SG no sense

A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

'nadārīn                    ša    sab'zōt            ga'mān            ke    ša  
na-dār-īn                ša    sabzō-ī            ġam-ān            ke    ša  
NEG-have.NPST-1SG    from   Sabzo-GEN    grief-OBL.PL    CLM   from

kel'laay                    'tā   kel'laay                    'tā   'dara                    bīt  
kella-ay                tā   kella-ay                    tā   dar=a                    b-īt  
wedding tent-GEN    in   wedding tent-GEN    in   PREV=VCL    become.NPST-3SG

o    'naōštīt                    'mna                    'kay                    'sayl  
=o   na-ōšt-īt                    mna                    k-ay-∅                    sayl  
=and   NEG-stand.NPST-3SG    PN.1SG.OBJ    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG    looking

o    tamā'sāa                    kant                    o    mar'dom    ša    kas'tā  
=o   tamāšā=a                    kan-t                    =o   mardom    ša    kast-ā  
=and   watching=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    =and   people    from   intention-OBL

mnī                    pā'day                    'tā...   kaw'say                    'tā   ze'ġāl  
mnī                    pād-ay                    tā   kawš-ay                    tā   zegāl  
PN.1SG.GEN    foot-GEN    into   shoe-GEN    in   ember

rē'tagant    o    'man                    sō'tagon    'heč  
rēt-ag=ant    =o   man                    sōt-ag=on    heč  
pour.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL    =and   PN.1SG    burn.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG    no

'sār    'nadārīn  
sār    na-dār-īn  
sense   NEG-have.NPST-1SG

He said (lit. has said) /that/, “No I am not aware at all, because of my worries about Sabzo, who from inside the wedding tent, she comes out from inside the wedding tent and does not stay [inside]; she comes and looks at and watches [me] and people have intentionally poured embers into my feet... into my shoes. I have been burned [and] I am not feeling it at all.”

**SA.f:15**

xodānezar'xān                    'gošte                    ke    hamē'rang                    'pīrak  
xodānezarxān                    gošt=e                    ke    ham=ē-rang                    pīrak  
Khodanezar Khan    say.PST=PC.3SG    CLM   EMPH=PROX-kind    Pirak

'gošte                    'ān  
gošt=e                    ān  
say.PST=PC.3SG    yes

Khodanezar khan said /that/, “Is that so, Pirak?”; he said, “Yes.”

## A. Text Corpus

### SA.f:16

<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>'ād</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'mnī</i>
gošt=e	mnā	ād	=en	gō	mnī
say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	covenant	=COP.NPST.3SG	by	PN.1SG.GEN

<i>xo'dā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ša'pī</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>gī'mattē</i>	<i>ke</i>
xodā	ke	man	šap-ī	be	har	gīmatt=ē	ke
God	CLM	PN.1SG	night-ADVZ	with	every	cost=IND	CLM

<i>'būta</i>		<i>sab'zōī</i>	<i>ne'kēā</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'ta</i>
būt-a=∅		sabzō-ī	nekē-ā	gō	ta
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		Sabzo-GEN	marriage-OBL	with	PN.2SG

<i>ban'dīn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>zā'mās</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'dōla</i>
∅-band-īn	=o	gō	ā	zāmās	ke	dōl=a
SBJV-tie.NPST-1SG	=and	with	DIST	bridegroom	CLM	drum=VCL

<i>'gardī</i>	<i>pāī</i>	<i>'mabandīn</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>gī'matte</i>
gard-ī	pāī	ma-band-īn	be	har	gīmatt=e
turn.NPST-3SG	for.DIST.OBL	PROH-tie.NPST-1SG	with	every	cost=IND

<i>om</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'būta</i>
=om	ke	būt-a=∅
=ADD	CLM	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “By God (lit. there is a covenant to me with my God), tonight, at any cost, I will marry off Sabzo to you and I will not marry [her] off to that bridegroom who the drums are playing for, at any cost.”

### SA.f:17

<i>sab'zōī</i>	<i>pe'sā</i>	<i>'lōtet</i>	<i>xodānezar'xān</i>
sabzō-ī	pes-ā	lōtet-∅	xodānezarxān
Sabzo-GEN	father-OBL	call.PST-3SG	Khodanezar Khan

He called Sabzo's father, Khodanezar Khan.

### SA.f:18

<i>'pesay</i>	<i>'lōtet</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>ke...</i>	<i>nā'may</i>
pesay	lōtet-∅	=o	gošt=e	ke	nām=ay
father.OBL.PC.3SG	call.PST-3SG	=and	say.PST=PC.3SG	CLM	name=PC.3SG

<i>'gept</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>gī'matte</i>	<i>ke</i>
gept-∅	gošt=e	ta	be	har	gīmatt=e	ke
take.PST-3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.2SG	with	every	cost=IND	CLM



## A. Text Corpus

### SA.f:20

'ta	'bāed	ē	'do	'do	čī'za	ga'būl	kanay
ta	bāed	ē	do	do	čīz-a	gabūl	∅-kan-ay
PN.2SG	must	PROX	two	two	thing-OBL	accepting	SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

You must accept [one of] these two things.”

### SA.f:21

sab'zōī	'pes	'fēkr	ko	ke	ša	koš'tenā	če
sabzō-ī	pes	fēkr	ko-∅	ke	ša	košt-en-ā	če
Sabzo-GEN	father	thought	do.PST-3SG	CLM	from	kill.PST-INF-OBL	what

ō'mētē	'man	om	ke	'jang	bayīn	'jang
ōmēt=ē	man	=om	ke	jang	∅-bay-īn	jang
hope=IND	PN.1SG	=ADD	CLM	fight	SBJV-become.NPST-1SG	fight

'jangay	'tā	'bīt		koš'taga	bayīn
jang-ay	tā	∅-b-īt		košt-ag=a	bay-īn
fight-GEN	in	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG		kill.PST-PP=VCL	become.NPST-1SG

wa	ša	koš'tena	ō'mētē	'nayent
wa	ša	košt-en-a	ōmēt=ē	nay-=ent
and	from	kill.PST-INF-OBL	hope=IND	NEG=COP.NPST.3SG

Sabzo's father thought; [he said] /that/ “No good will come of a fight (lit. what hope from killing); if I fight and take part in the fighting, I will be killed and no good will come of killing.

### SA.f:22

'ta	'byā		ta	'man	'yak	'pekrē
ta	by-ā-∅		ta	man	yak	pekr=ē
PN.2SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG		MIR	PN.1SG	one	thought=IND

'bkanīn	don'yāā	'blōṭīn
b-kan-īn	donyā-ā	b-lōṭ-īn
SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	wealth-OBL	SBJV-want.NPST-1SG

Let me make a decision (lit. do a thought) [to] ask for wealth.”

### SA.f:23

'gošte	'man	hap'tād	oš'tera	'lōṭīn
gošt=e	man	haptād	ošter=a	lōṭ-īn
say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.1SG	seventy	camel=VCL	want.NPST-1SG

He said, “I want seventy camels.”

A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

**SA.f:24**

*xodānezar'xān* 'gošte *ke* 'wī *mar'domānā*  
*xodānezarxān* gošt=e *ke* wī *mardom-ān-ā*  
 Khodanezar Khan say.PST=PC.3SG CLM REFL.GEN people-OBL.PL-OBJ

'dēm *day*  
 dēm ∅-day-∅  
 face IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

Khodanezar Khan said /that/, “Send your people.”

**SA.f:25**

'gošte *ke* 'wī *mardo'māna* 'dēm  
 gošt=e *ke* wī *mardom-ān-a* dēm  
 say.PST=PC.3SG CLM REFL.GEN people-OBL.PL-OBJ face

*day* *ke* *be* 'mnī *bag'gay* *sa'rā*  
 ∅-day-∅ *ke* *be* mnī *bagg-ay* *sarā*  
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG CLM to PN.1SG.GEN herd of camels-GEN on

'brawan *pa* 'ta *hap'tād* *oš'terā* *je'tā*  
 b-raw-an *pa* *ta* *haptād* *ošter-ā* *jetā*  
 SBJV-go.NPST-3PL for PN.2SG seventy camel-OBL separate

'bkanan  
 b-kan-an  
 SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

He said /that/, “Send your people to go to my herds of camels [and] separate out seventy camels for you.”

**SA.f:26**

'dēm *dāt* *hap'tād* *oš'tera* *je'tā* *kortant* *tā'bīl*  
 dēm *dāt-∅* *haptād* *ošter-a* *jetā* *kort-ant* *tābīl*  
 face give.PST-3SG seventy camel-OBL separate do.PST-3PL delivery

*dāt* *be* *sab'zōī* *pe'sā*  
 dāt-∅ *be* *sabzō-ī* *pes-ā*  
 give.PST-3SG to Sabzo-GEN father-OBL

He sent [some people and] they separated out seventy camels and he gave them to Sabzo's father.

**SA.f:27**

*sab'zōī* *pe'sā* *xodānezar'xān* 'gošte *ke*  
 sabzō-ī *pes-ā* *xodānezarxān* gošt=e *ke*  
 Sabzo-GEN father-OBL Khodanezar Khan say.PST=PC.3SG CLM

## A. Text Corpus

<i>'bra</i>	<i>ha'nū</i>	<i>'wī</i>	<i>zā'māsā</i>	<i>'bgo</i>
b-ra-∅	hanū	wī	zāmās-ā	b-go-∅
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	now	REFL.GEN	bridegroom-OBL	IMPV-say.PST-2SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>ta'lākānā</i>	<i>'bdant</i>	<i>sab'zōīānā</i>
ke	talāk-ān-ā	b-dan-t	sabzō-ī-ān-ā
CLM	divorce-OBL.PL-OBJ	SBJV-give.NPST-3SG	Sabzo-GEN-OBL.PL-OBJ

<i>ke</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ne'kēye</i>	<i>'bandīn</i>	<i>'gōn</i>	<i>pī'rak</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>'dōl</i>
ke	man	nekē=ye	∅-band-īn	gōn	pīrak	wa	dōl
CLM	PN.1SG	marriage=PC.3SG	SBJV-tie.NPST-1SG	with	Pirak	and	drum

<i>om</i>	<i>ta'tīl</i>	<i>'makant</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ā'rōs</i>	<i>pī'rakī</i>
=om	tatīl	ma-kan-t	ke	ārōs	pīrak-ī
=ADD	stop	PROH-do.NPST-3SG	CLM	wedding celebration	Pirak-GEN

*ent*  
=ent  
=COP.NPST.3SG

Khodanezar Khan said to Sabzo's father /that/, "Now go [and] tell your son-in-law to divorce Sabzo since I will marry her off to Pirak and not to stop the music (lit. drum) because the wedding is Pirak's.

### SA.f:28

<i>'dōl</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>rang</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'dōla</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>tamā'sā</i>
dōl	ham=ā	rang	ke	dōl=a	kan-t	=o	tamāšā
drum	EMPH=DIST	kind	CLM	drum=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	=and	watching

<i>ent</i>	<i>'bel</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>'bīt</i>	<i>pa</i>
=ent	b-el-∅	ta	∅-b-īt	pa
=COP.NPST.3SG	IMPV-allow.NPST-2SG	MIR	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	for

*pī'rak*  
pīrak  
Pirak

The drumming should continue just the way it is playing and there is a party, let it be for Pirak."

### SA.f:29

<i>'šot</i>	<i>sab'zōī</i>	<i>'pes</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ošte'rānā</i>	<i>tā'bīl</i>
šot-∅	sabzō-ī	pes	ke	ošter-ān-ā	tābīl
go.PST-3SG	Sabzo-GEN	father	CLM	camel-OBL.PL-OBJ	delivery

A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

*gept hap'tād ošte'rā*  
 gept-∅ haptād ošter-ā  
 take.PST-3SG seventy camel-OBL

He went, Sabzo's father, to receive the camel, the seventy camels.

**SA.f:30**

*zā'māsā 'gošt ta'lākānī 'bday*  
 zāmās-ā gošt-∅ talāk-ān=ī b-day-∅  
 bridegroom-OBL say.PST-3SG divorce-OBL.PL=PC.3SG IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

He said to [his] son-in law, "Divorce her."

**SA.f:31**

*ta'lākānā 'zīt o xodānezar'xān ne'kēye*  
 talāk-ān-ā zīt-∅ =o xodānezarxān nekē=ye  
 divorce-OBL.PL-OBJ take.PST-3SG =and Khodanezar Khan marriage=PC.3SG

*'gō pī'rak 'bast*  
 gō pīrak bast-∅  
 with Pirak tie.PST-3SG

He got her divorce and Khodanezar Khan married her off to Pirak.

**SA.f:32**

*ē'sānā 'ges dāt o 'zort o*  
 ēšānā ges dāt-∅ =o zort-∅ =o  
 PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ house give.PST-3SG =and take.PST-3SG =and

*'bort 'bād še'sī ā'rōs ke a'lās*  
 bort-∅ bād šešī ārōs ke alās  
 take.PST-3SG after from.PROX.GEN wedding celebration CLM finish

*būt 'bort 'wī kow... kow'mīay 'tā*  
 büt-∅ bort-∅ wī kow kawmī-ay tā  
 become.PST-3SG take.PST-3SG REFL.GEN FRAG tribesman-GEN in

*kow'mīay 'tā ke 'bort xodānezar'xān 'hokm*  
 kawmī-ay tā ke bort-∅ xodānezarxān hokm  
 tribesman-GEN in CLM take.PST-3SG Khodanezar Khan order

*ko kaw'mīā 'jam ko ke 'šmā an'dāz*  
 ko-∅ kawmī-ā jam ko-∅ ke šmā andāz  
 do.PST-3SG tribesman-OBL gathered do.PST-3SG CLM PN.2PL cooperation

## A. Text Corpus

<i>kanet</i>	<i>'harka</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>tawā'nāe</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pī'rak</i>
∅-kan-et	harka	dar	tawānā=e	wat	pa	pīrak
IMPV-do.NPST-2PL	everyone	to	capability=EZ	REFL	for	Pirak

He married them [to each other] [and] after the marriage was finished, he took them to his tribesmen; when he took [them] to his tribesmen, Khodanezar Khan gave an order; he gathered the tribesmen [and said] /that/, “You cooperate, everyone according to his ability, for Pirak.”

### SA.f:33

<i>'harka</i>	<i>tawā'nāe</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>do'sad</i>	<i>'māl</i>	<i>ūr'tēn</i>	<i>o</i>
harka	tawānā=e	wat	dosad	māl	ūrt-ēn	=o
everyone	capability=EZ	REFL	two hundred	animal	small-ATTR	=and

<i>'pas</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'boz</i>	<i>'jam</i>	<i>ūt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>na'zīnke</i>	<i>'sad</i>
pas	=o	boz	jam	ūt-∅	=o	nazīnk=e	sad
sheep	=and	goat	gathered	become.PST-3SG	=and	near=EZ	one hundred

<i>do'sadē</i>	<i>kam'ter</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>gēs'ter</i>	<i>oš'ter</i>	<i>'jam</i>
dosad=ē	kam-ter	=o	gēs-ter	ošter	jam
two hundred=IND	less-CMP	=and	more-CMP	camel	gathered

<i>ūt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>'waxte</i>	<i>sab'zō</i>	<i>'pekr</i>	<i>'makant</i>
ūt-∅	ke	yak	waxt=e	sabzō	pekr	ma-kan-t
become.PST-3SG	CLM	one	time=IND	Sabzo	thought	PROH-do.NPST-3SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>'pes</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>donyā'dāre</i>	<i>'dāt</i>
ke	mnī	pes	mnā	be	donyādār=e	dāt-∅
CLM	PN.1SG.GEN	father	PN.1SG.OBJ	to	rich man=IND	give.PST-3SG

<i>wa</i>	<i>xodānezar'xān</i>	<i>wāse'ta</i>	<i>būt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>be</i>
wa	xodānezarxān	wāseta	būt-∅	=o	mnā	be
and	Khodanezar Khan	mediator	become.PST-3SG	=and	PN.1SG.OBJ	to

<i>ġa'rībe</i>	<i>'dāt</i>
ġarīb=e	dāt-∅
poor=IND	give.PST-3SG

Every one, according to his ability, about two hundred small animals, goats and sheep, were collected and almost one hundred, two hundred camels, more or less, were collected, so that Sabzo would never (lit. on one occasion) think that her (lit. my) father married her (lit. me) off to a rich man and Khodanezar Khan became a mediator and married me off to a poor [man].

A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

**SA.f:34**

*ē'sāse*      *ġarī'bī*    *'makant*  
 ēsās=e      ġarībī      ma-kan-t  
 feeling=EZ    poverty    PROH-do.NPST-3SG

She should not feel poor (lit. poverty).

**SA.f:35**

*'bād*    *ṛččī*  
 bād    ṛččī  
 then    nothing

That's it (lit. then nothing).

**SA.f:36**

*'ē*      *hamē'dā*      *'wtī*      *zende'gīā*    *'kortant*      *o*  
 ē      ham=ēdā      wtī      zendeġī-ā    kort-ant      =o  
 PROX    EMPH=here    REFL.GEN    life-OBL    do.PST-3PL    =and

*xodānezar'xān*      *om*      *'šot*      *'wtī*      *zende'gīay*    *sa'rā*    *wa*  
 xodānezarxān      =om      šot-∅      wtī      zendeġī-ay    sarā    wa  
 Khodanezar Khan    =ADD    go.PST-3SG    REFL.GEN    life-GEN    on    and

*'yak*    *'sālē*      *ke*    *ša*    *ē'sānī*      *ā'rōsā*  
 yak    sāl=ē      ke    ša    ēš-ān-ī      ārōs-ā  
 one    year=IND    CLM    from    PROX-OBL.PL-GEN    wedding celebration-OBL

*'gwast*      *xodānezar'xānī*      *'omr*    *pū'ra*      *būt*  
 gwast-∅      xodānezarxān-ī      omr    pūra      būt-∅  
 pass.PST-3SG    Khodanezar Khan-GEN    life    completed    become.PST-3SG

*o*      *xodānezar'xān*      *'mort*  
 =o      xodānezarxān      mort-∅  
 =and    Khodanezar Khan    die.PST-3SG

These were living their life there (lit. here), and so Khodanezar Khan went on with his life (lit. he went to his life) and when one year had passed after their marriage; Khodanezar Khan's life ended (lit. was completed) and Khodanezar Khan died.

**SA.f:37**

*pī'rak*    *ša*      *xodānezar'xānī*      *ġa'mān*      *ga'nōk*    *ūt*  
 pīrak    ša      xodānezarxān-ī      ġam-ān      ganōk    ūt-∅  
 Pirak    from    Khodanezar Khan-GEN    grief-OBL.PL    mad    become.PST-3SG

Pirak went insane out of grief for Khodanezar Khan.

## A. Text Corpus

### SA.f:38

'šap o 'rōč 'grēt o 'dāda kaššet o  
 šap =o rōč grēt-Ø =o dād=a kaššet-Ø =o  
 night =and day cry.PST-3SG =and scream=VCL pull.PST-3SG =and

'allo pa'kīr at  
 allo pakīr =at-Ø  
 insane =COP.PST-3SG

He cried night and day and screamed and stopped caring about anything (lit. became insane).

### SA.f:39

'īčī mē'mānē om ke ge'say  
 īčī mēmān=ē =om ke gesay  
 nothing visitor=IND =ADD CLM house.OBL.PC.3SG

'byātēn tā'rīpa ko pa'mā  
 by-āt-ēn-Ø tārīp=a ko-Ø pamā  
 SBJV-come.PST-PSBJV-3SG account=VCL do.PST-3SG for.EMPH.DIST

mē'māna xodānezar'xān ēran'gēn mar'domē at  
 mēmān-a xodānezarxān ē-rang-ēn mardom=ē =at-Ø  
 visitor-OBL Khodanezar Khan PROX-kind-ATTR people=IND =COP.PST-3SG

o ke pa 'man 'enka zah'mat 'kaššet o 'enka  
 =o ke pa man enka zahmat kaššet-Ø =o enka  
 =and CLM for PN.1SG this much trouble pull.PST-3SG =and this much

'kār kort 'bād dē'mā 'dēm be sab'zōā 'kort  
 kār kort-Ø bād dēm-ā dēm be sabzō-ā kort-Ø  
 work do.PST-3SG after face-OBL face with Sabzo-OBL do.PST-3SG

ke 'sabzō ha'mē 'rang 'būta sab'zōā 'gošt  
 ke sabzō ham=ē rang būta sabzō=a gošt-Ø  
 CLM Sabzo EMPH=PROX kind become.PST-PP Sabzo=VCL say.PST-3SG

'ān pa mē'mānā 'harkas om ke 'byātēn  
 ān pa mēmān-ā harkas =om ke by-āt-ēn-Ø  
 yes to visitor-OBL whoever =ADD CLM SBJV-come.PST-PSBJV-3SG

'bād še'sī 'gešša ko šā'ī gā'mān  
 bād šešī gēšš=a ko-Ø šāī gām-ān  
 after from.PROX.OBL faint=VCL do.PST-3SG from.DIST.GEN grief-OBL.PL

To make a long story short, when a visitor came to his house, he told that visitor /that/ Khodanezar Khan was such a person and took so much trouble for him (lit. me) and

A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

did so many things; after that he turned his face to Sabzo and [asked] /that/, “Was it like this Sabzo?”; Sabzo confirmed this (lit. said yes) to the visitor, whoever came; after that he fainted from his grief for [Khodanezar Khan] (lit. him).

**SA.f:40**

<i>'bād</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>'būt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bād</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>'sālā</i>
bād	ham=ā	būt-∅	ke	bād	ša	yak	sāl-ā
afterwards	EMPH=DIST	become.PST-3SG	CLM	after	from	one	year-OBL

<i>xodānezar'xānī</i>	<i>mar'kayā</i>	<i>pī'rakī</i>	<i>'omr</i>	<i>pū'ra</i>
xodānezarxān-ī	mark-ay-ā	pīrak-ī	omr	pūra
Khodanezar Khan-GEN	death-GEN-OBL	Pirak-GEN	life	completed

<i>'būt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pī'rak</i>	<i>'mort</i>
būt-∅	=o	pīrak	mort-∅
become.PST-3SG	=and	Pirak	die.PST-3SG

Afterwards it so happened /that/ one year after Khodanezar Khan's death, Pirak's life ended (lit. was completed) and Pirak died.

**SA.f:41**

<i>pī'rak</i>	<i>'mort</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>aw'lādē</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>	<i>ē'sāna</i>
pīrak	mort-∅	=o	yak	awlād=ē	xodā	ēšāna
Pirak	die.PST-3SG	=and	one	child=IND	God	PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ

<i>'dāt</i>	<i>ba'čakkē</i>
dāt-∅	bačakk=ē
give.PST-3SG	son=IND

Pirak died and God gave them one child, a son.

**SA.f:42**

<i>ha'nūn</i>	<i>sab'zō</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ba'čakka</i>	<i>pākes'tān</i>	<i>zende'gīa</i>
hanūn	sabzō	gō	mā	bačakk-a	pākestān	zendegī=a
now	Sabzo	with	EMPH.DIST	son-OBL	Pakistan	life=VCL

<i>kant</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>'mardē</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>'nagepta</i>
kan-t	wa	mard=ē	=om	na-gept-a=∅
do.NPST-3SG	and	husband=IND	=ADD	NEG-take.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Now Sabzo is living in Pakistan with that son, and she has not remarried.



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