Participant Reference in Three Balochi Dialects

Male and Female Narrations of Folktales and Biographical Tales

Maryam Nourzaei

A PDF of this book as well as a PDF of Appendix B–D is available online at: http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-314090
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Abstract


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

Maryam Nourzaei, Department of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635, Uppsala University, SE-75126 Uppsala, Sweden.

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urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-314090 (http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-314090)
To my supervisor
Carína Jahani,
ke mni žandën jānā napasen
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...)</td>
<td>omission of text from FLEx in a glossed example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>additional information to the text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>incomplete sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>affix boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>clitic boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>alternative forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>turns into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>comes from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>zero morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('-·')</td>
<td>contributing the meaning of adverbial of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>nasalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>agent of a transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAT</td>
<td>Ariel’s Accessibility Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>activated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJZ</td>
<td>adjectivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVZ</td>
<td>adverbializer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>agreement marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>The story of Alamdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACKG</td>
<td>backgrounding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>biographical tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog. tales</td>
<td>biographical tales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>The Baloch’s son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chap.</td>
<td>chapter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
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<td>clarif</td>
<td>clarification</td>
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<td>CLM</td>
<td>clause linkage marker</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMP</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>Coastal Balochi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula (present indicative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis.ac</td>
<td>discontinuity of action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distal demonstrative pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOM</td>
<td>differential object marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>folktale</td>
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<tr>
<td>echo</td>
<td>echo word</td>
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<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
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<td>exclusive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EZ</td>
<td>ezāfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAM</td>
<td>familiar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLEEx</td>
<td>FieldWorks Language Explorer</td>
</tr>
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<td>FRAG</td>
<td>fragmentary utterance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forthc.</td>
<td>forthcoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>Goli and Ahmad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GE</td>
<td>generic subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH</td>
<td>Givenness Hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HA</td>
<td>The story of Hawrokhān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highlight</td>
<td>highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>in focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP.k</td>
<td>imperfective k-</td>
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<td>IMPV</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<td>inclusive pronoun</td>
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<td>individuation clitic</td>
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<td>indefinite subject</td>
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<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
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<td>INTRO</td>
<td>introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITER</td>
<td>iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB</td>
<td>The story of Khanbibi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD</td>
<td>The King’s Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>Koroshi Balochi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>The King’s son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literal translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UT</td>
<td>unpublished text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCL</td>
<td>verb clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIP</td>
<td>Very Important Participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

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.

Thus, the first e-mail I sent in my life was addressed to Carina Jahani, who replied a couple of days later. I met her in person at an international conference in Zahedan later that year and shared my observations on the Koroshi language with her. In the end, I asked whether she would agree to supervise my MA thesis, which she kindly accepted. This ushered in a new period of productive work that extended beyond my experience as a master’s student and stretched well into the work with my Ph.D.
It has been a great privilege for me to have Carina Jahani as my main supervisor. I wish to thank her for all her help, encouragement and support over the years, difficult to estimate, starting from my master studies when she was my main supervisor and participated in my final defence in Iran. She then accepted me as her Ph.D. student and managed to overcome bureaucratic difficulties in bringing me to Sweden, initiated me to scientific methods and analyses, published articles and books with me, encouraged my attendance at numerous workshops and conferences and, finally, raised funds for me to be able to travel and discuss my analyses with scholars abroad. I am greatly indebted to her for her patience with me during the work on my thesis and for her standing by me until the end. All progress that I have made in Iranian studies I owe to Carina Jahani. Mennatwaron Carina, māsi!

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Special thanks go to Jakob Andersson, who has been a wonderful colleague and has constantly been available to help me resolve technical problems throughout my studies. Thank you, Jakob! Thanks also to Olof Pedersén for his help on technical problems.
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I am deeply indebted to Christiane Schaefer, my “honourable mother”. She opened up new perspectives to me on historical Iranian studies, the Silk Road and Central Asia. She also helped, encouraged and supported me unfailingly. I wish to thank her for her kind words and conversations, for accompanying me through the beautiful summertime forest in Uppsala, for spending relaxing times on beautiful islands in Stockholm and for pleasant excursions to different museums in Stockholm. All these moments stimulated me to keep going with my work. I am also most thankful to Ewa Balicka-Witakowska and Johan Heldt, my dear friends who helped me a lot in many ways.

To Guiti Shokri, my “honourable aunt”, I am very grateful for her relentless encouragement and help during my Ph.D. She was always with me in moments of disappointment and distress.

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I wish to thank Christian Rammer for kindly providing the maps for this book, and Ron Lockwood for help with the FLEx software.

This thesis would never have appeared without all the personal support and help I received throughout my Ph.D years. First of all, it is my honour to thank my father, Kajir Nourzaei, who stood up for me in the face of social prejudice prevalent in a society where a young single woman travelling alone is regarded as bringing shame on her family. If he had not given me permission to study abroad, this book and my other projects would not have seen the light. My father also helped me in my research by inviting storytellers from Afghanistan and accommodating them at his home and, after I showed him how to use devices such as a recorder and a camera, he collected data in areas where it is not safe for a woman to travel. For a farmer like my father, this was also an interesting and educational experience. He also temporarily left his farm in order to visit me twice in Uppsala. His physical presence was extremely important to me.

My special thanks go to my dear brother Ehsan Nourzaei, who ended up being trained in field linguistics as well by virtue of patiently accompanying me to particularly remote areas of Sistan and Balochistan, Fars, Bushehr, Kerman, and Hormozgan provinces. In many places during my fieldwork, his faculties as an electrical engineer were greatly appreciated as he helped my informants to repair electricity-related problems in their villages. Without his assistance, my corpus would have been less rich.
I would also like to extend my thanks to all my informants. Without their help and contribution to my present corpus, there would never have been a book. For providing data for the Coastal Balochi dialect, I would like to extend my special gratitude to Abdol Naser Pasand’s family, the Samadi family, Mohammad Jadgal’s family, and Mostafa Tarbar for introducing well-known storytellers to me, and kindly accommodating them in their homes in order to facilitate my work. My special thanks go to their wives for being extremely welcoming and generous hosts to all the storytellers.

For the Koroshi dialect, I would like to acknowledge Manuchehr Samsanian and Hossein Gholi Bahman-Nia for helping me with my field studies. My special thanks go to Manuchehr Samsanian and his daughter Zahra Samsanian for helping me to double-check my data, and to the Alipour family for hosting me while I carried out my fieldwork.

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Last, but not least, I would like to thank my “Irish grandmother”, Patricia Eriksson, whom I first met at a Midsummer celebration in Gamla Uppsala and who has been of great encouragement to me ever since that day and taught me a lot both about Swedish and Irish culture.
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\(^1\) 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.

---

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 Qašqā’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

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>short</td>
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<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ģ</td>
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<td>ě</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ě, ě</td>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ě ě</td>
<td></td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ā, ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ā ā</td>
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Table 2. Coastal Balochi consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar/Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops/ (vl.)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ţ</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates (vd.)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ŷ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives (vl.)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vd.)</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td></td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaps</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, ė, 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).²

Table 3. Koroshi Balochi vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close-mid</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Note that one of the Koroshi speakers who provided data for this investigation pronounces /ŋ/ as in Persian rather than /ŋ/ in words like lāŋ/lāŋ ‘lame’ and gāšāŋ/gāšāŋ ‘beautiful’. She also pronounces other words, e.g. zende ̣g ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar/Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops/ (vl.)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates (vd.)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives (vl.)</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives (vd.)</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaps</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front long</th>
<th>short</th>
<th>central long</th>
<th>short</th>
<th>back long</th>
<th>short</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close-mid</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Sistani Balochi consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar/Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops/ (vl.)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ţ</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates (vd.)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>į</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives (vl.)</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives (vd.)</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaps</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Sarrawani 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.

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. Mahamed (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 Towsif-e zabānšenāxti-yeye 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ārā</td>
<td>-ār/-ē/-ā/-ē/∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>-ān,-ānā</td>
<td>-ānā,-ānrā</td>
<td>-ānī</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct, Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td>ma, mà, mā</td>
<td>manā, manā</td>
<td>maī, maī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SBal.</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>manā, manārā</td>
<td>m(a)nī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. Pakistan</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>m(a)nā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. Afgh.+Turkm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mnīā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IrBal.</td>
<td>man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarawani</td>
<td>mon</td>
<td>mona</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td>tāw, tā</td>
<td>tār(ā)</td>
<td>tāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SBal.</td>
<td>tāw, tō</td>
<td>t(a)rā, tarārā</td>
<td>taī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. Pakistan</td>
<td>tāw</td>
<td>t(a)rā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. Afgh.+Turkm</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>tī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IrBal.</td>
<td>taw, ta</td>
<td>tarā, torā</td>
<td>taī, tī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarawani</td>
<td>taw</td>
<td>tarā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct, Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>mār(ā)</td>
<td>mā, mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SBal.</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>mārā</td>
<td>maē, mē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. Pakistan</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>mārā</td>
<td>may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. AfBal.+TBal.</td>
<td>am(m)ā</td>
<td>am(m)ārā</td>
<td>am(m)ay am(m)ayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IrBal.</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>mārā</td>
<td>may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarawani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td>š(a)wā, šā</td>
<td>š(a)wār, šār</td>
<td>š(a)wāi, šāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SBal.</td>
<td>šomā</td>
<td>šomārā</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. Pakistan</td>
<td>š(o)mā</td>
<td>š(o)mārā</td>
<td>š(o)may š(o)mayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. AfBal.+TBal.</td>
<td>š(o)mā</td>
<td>š(o)mārā</td>
<td>š(o)may ś(o)mayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IrBal.</td>
<td>š(o)mā</td>
<td>š(o)mārā</td>
<td>š(o)may š(o)mayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarawani</td>
<td>š(o)mā</td>
<td>š(o)mārā</td>
<td>š(o)may š(o)mayā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>-ā, - ū</td>
<td>-on, -om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

\[ \text{'wad}=\tilde{ī}=\text{am} \quad \text{'zorr} \quad \text{a}=g-\tilde{ī} \quad \text{lō’g-ā} \]

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)

\[ \text{mol’lā} \quad \text{'wat} \quad \text{'k-ay-∅} \]

Mullah REFLEX 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

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

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accusative alignment</th>
<th>Ergative alignment</th>
<th>Neutral alignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 13. Alignment systems in Balochi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Double oblique</th>
<th>Tripartite</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A O</td>
<td>A O</td>
<td>A O</td>
<td>A O</td>
<td>A O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.4

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

\[
\text{mā} \quad '\text{ta-rā} \quad \text{yak} \quad jā'gā=ē \quad dī't-a
\]

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.

---

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

4 See Korn (2008c and 2009) for ergative and mixed constructions in Balochi.
Table 14. Object agreement: past perfective, present perfect, past perfect in CoB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dāt- ‘gave’</th>
<th>dāta- ‘has/have given’</th>
<th>dātagat- ‘had given’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>dāt</td>
<td>dāta</td>
<td>dātagat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>dāt</td>
<td>dāta</td>
<td>dātagat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>dāt</td>
<td>dāta</td>
<td>dātagat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>dāt</td>
<td>dāta</td>
<td>dātagat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>dāt</td>
<td>dāta</td>
<td>dātagat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>dāṭ/ā</td>
<td>dāta/ag ā</td>
<td>dātagaṭ/ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>čok-∅</td>
<td>čok-∅</td>
<td>čok-ā/-a</td>
<td>čok-e/-ā/-∅</td>
<td>hawrok-ayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>čok-∅</td>
<td>čok-ān</td>
<td>čok-ān</td>
<td>čok-ānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sa'rū-ā} & \quad 'mard-∅ \quad 'nām \quad bī't-a=∅ \\
\text{Saru-GEN} & \quad \text{husband-GEN} \quad \text{name} \quad \text{become.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG} \\
\text{ jalā'ī} & \\
\text{ Jalai} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Saru’s husband was called Jalai’ (UT)\footnote{UT=unpublished texts.}

Ex. 5)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na'ser-ā} & \quad 'lōg \quad Karā'čī-ā \quad bī't-a=∅ \\
\text{Naser-GEN} & \quad \text{house} \quad \text{Karachī-OBL} \quad \text{become.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Naser’s home was in Karachi’ (UT)
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.  

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‘-ayā  
go.PST-3SG jalā‘-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  
|-------|----------------|--------|-----------  
| Sg.   |                |        |            
| 1st   | mā/man         | manā/mnā | manī/mnī  
| 2nd   | taw/to/ta      | tarā/trā | tī/taī     
| Pl.   |                |        |            
| 1st EXCL | mā       | mārā    | me/may    
| 1st INCL | māsomā    | māsomārā | māsome    
| 2nd   | šomā           | šomārā  | šome       

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  

6 There are other examples where the suffix -iā appears to be the combination of an individualization clitic =ī/=ē plus the oblique ending -ā, as in:  

Ex. 1)  
‘to ’ē ja’nen-ā ’zūr-e ’r-ay  
PN.2SG PROX woman-OBL take.NPST-2SG go.NPST-2SG  
‘dega ’molk=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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>go'š-\ dotsi</th>
<th>'by-\ dotsa</th>
<th>e'da</th>
<th>'d\ dotsm \ dotsa</th>
<th>pa</th>
<th>'d\ dotsm-\ dotsa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>say.NPST-3SG</td>
<td>IMPV-come.NPST-2SG</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>face-OBL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{m\textsuperscript{\texttimes}a\textsuperscript{	exttimes}o\textsuperscript{	exttimes}m\textsuperscript{\texttimes}a-r\textsuperscript{\texttimes}a} | 'nay-l-\ dotsa | raw-a\textsuperscript{	exttimes}g-\ dotsa |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL-OBJ</td>
<td>NEG-allow.NPST-3PL</td>
<td>go.NPST-INF-OBL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{man}</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{man\textsuperscript{\texttimes}}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast to other Balochi dialects being studied, CoB exhibits pro-adjectives such as \textit{ma\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{\texttimes}ing} ‘mine’, \textit{ot\textsuperscript{\texttimes}ig} ‘yours’, \textit{\textsuperscript{\texttimes}omayg} ‘yours’.

Ex. 9)

\texttt{\textsuperscript{\texttimes}i \ 'çok \ ma\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{\texttimes}ing=en} \text{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: \texttt{\textsuperscript{\texttimes}e/\textsuperscript{\texttimes}o} (proximal deixis) and \texttt{\textsuperscript{\texttimes}a} (distal deixis).

Ex. 10)

\texttt{\textsuperscript{\texttimes}i \ kess\textsuperscript{\texttimes}c\textsuperscript{\texttimes}i-n-\ dotsa} \text{with \ PROX \ storyteller-OBL.PL} \ ‘with these storytellers’ (RB.m: 4)

Ex. 11)

\texttt{\textsuperscript{\texttimes}e \ ba\textsuperscript{\texttimes}cak \ \textsuperscript{\texttimes}o-\emptyset} \text{PROX \ boy \ go.PST-3SG} \ ‘this boy went’ (UT)
Ex. 12) ‘e rama’gī kaš’s-ī
PROX shepherd pull.NPST-3SG
‘this shepherd pulls [her] up’ (KD.f: 174)

Ex. 13) ‘ā balōč’māt ke šot-∅
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal sg.</td>
<td>ē/e/ēš/ēšī/īš</td>
<td>ēšī/ēšīa/ēšīa</td>
<td>ēšī/ēšīe/ēšīe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ē/e/ēš/ēšī/īš</td>
<td>ēšān/ēšān/īśān</td>
<td>ēšānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal sg.</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āīā</td>
<td>āīāhīāie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āhā/āhān</td>
<td>āhānī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the proximal pronouns there are two forms: ē/e and ēš/ēšī/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’tā 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.8

Ex. 18)  
e’šī  ‘dēl  ‘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  āī  ‘nām=a-∅  rahim’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  
būt-ā=∅  
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG  
‘this word caused (lit. was) a bad reputation for him’ (KD.f: 124)

---

8 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

\[ '\text{wat} \quad '\text{raw-∅} \quad \text{lap'p-ī} \]
REFL go.NPST-3SG hide.NPST-3SG

‘he himself goes [and] hides’ (KD.f: 46)

Ex. 23)

\[ \text{ma’sa} \quad '\text{wat-rā} \quad '\text{yanī} \quad '\text{bāz} \quad \text{hōr ta hōr} \]
for example REFL-OBJ you know good mixing
\[ \text{kan-ā} \]
do.NPST-3PL

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

Ex. 24) *wat* in genitive case

\[ '\text{wat-ī} \quad '\text{māt=∅} \quad \text{pe’t-ānī} \quad \text{gwa’ra} \quad '\text{ham=ēdā} \]
REFL-GEN mother=and father-GEN.PL to EMPH=here
\[ '\text{nešt-∅} \]
sit.PST-3SG

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

Ex. 25) *wat* in oblique case

\[ '\text{wat-ā} \quad '\text{gošt} \]
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accusative alignment</th>
<th>Ergative alignment</th>
<th>Tripartite alignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The marked categories are shaded.
1.4.1.3.1. Accusative alignment

The following examples illustrate accusative alignment\(^9\) 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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{jā’nek} & \text{‘na-śo-∅} \\
\text{girl} & \text{NEG-go.PST-3SG} \\
\text{wā’n-ag-ā} & \text{read.NPST-INF-OBL}
\end{array}
\]

‘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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sa} & \text{jē’mar’dom} \\
\text{all.ATTR people} & \text{REFL.GEN story-OBL.PL} \\
\text{ǰa’n-ā} & \text{hit.NPST-3PL}
\end{array}
\]

‘all the people tell their stories’ (KD.f: 112b)

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mol’lā} & \text{‘wat ‘k-ay-∅} \\
\text{Mullah} & \text{REFL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG}
\end{array}
\]

‘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

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{‘pet-ā} & \text{‘ham=ē} & \text{‘camm=o} & \text{‘hōn} & \text{wār’t-ant=o} \\
\text{father-OBL} & \text{EMPH=PROX eye=and} & \text{blood eat.PST-3PL=and} \\
\text{‘nešt-∅} & \text{sit.PST-3SG}
\end{array}
\]

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

\(^9\) 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=ī ‘the mother washes herself (lit. her body)’; bāl’loka ‘dārīt=ī ‘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

'\text{mā} \quad \overset{\text{PN.1SG}}{\text{oťū}} \quad '\text{mačē-e} \quad '\text{hōš} \quad '\text{de'gar-ā}'

With a ditransitive verb agreeing with a plural object

'\text{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

'\text{ē'sīā} \quad '\text{ham}=\overset{\text{EMPH=PROX}}{\text{ē}} \quad \overset{\text{negē'na}}{\text{zar'd-ē}} \quad \overset{\text{negē'na}}{\text{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

'\text{e's-ā} \quad \overset{\text{ke}}{\text{rahīm'bakš}} \quad '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

'\text{man'jal}=\overset{\text{EZ}}{\text{ē}} \quad '\overset{\text{PC.3PL}}{\text{āp}=\overset{\text{PC.3PL}}{\text{ē}}} \quad '\overset{\text{PC.3PL}}{\text{dāt-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

'\text{kam'm-ok}=\overset{\text{IND}}{\text{ē}} \quad '\overset{\text{PC.3PL}}{\text{nā}=\overset{\text{PC.3PL}}{\text{ē}}} \quad '\overset{\text{PC.3PL}}{\text{dāt-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

\[ \text{'ā wā'dī 'say ha'zār to'mō šo'wāz ko 'sī} \]
DIST  time three thousand toman collect do.PST thirty

\[ \text{mes'xāl te'lā 'zo} \]
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

\[ \text{ēšīā 'ham=ē zar'd-ē negē'na 'zort=o} \]
PROX.OBL  EMPH=PROX  yellow-ATTR  stone  take.PST=and

\[ \text{'ārt o'ī jān'en-ā 'dāt} \]
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

\[ \text{mol'lā' go 'šarr=en 'šarr=en} \]
Mullah  say.PST  fine=COP.NPST.3SG  fine=COP.NPST.3SG

\[ \text{'wā'ja Sir} \]

‘the Mullah said, “Alright, alright, Sir”’ (UT)

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

Ex. 2) mollâyā kaššē 'zām=ō aw'lī 'čok ēšīā
Mullah-OBL draw.PST  sword=and  first  child  PROX.OBL

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

Ex. 3) mollâyā safījē sa'bāk dā't-ag-ā 'ē
Mullah-OBL  all.ATTR  lesson  give.PST-PP-3PL  PROX

sa'bāk '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.11 Note that Dabir-Moghaddam (1392 Š. [2013/14]: 283) also mentions this type of alignment for other Balochi dialects spoken in Iran.

Ex. 38)

\[ 'm\text{an-ā} \ k\text{ašš't-a} \ ē\text{šīā} \ ēa \ 'c\text{āt-ā} \]
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 (dāt-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

\[ m\text{an'jāl=e} \ 'āp=e \ dāt-ag-ā \]
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

\[ k\text{a\text{m}'m-ok=e} \ 'nā=e \ dāt-ag-ā \]
little-DIM=IND date=PC.3PL give.PST-PP-3PL

‘[he] has given them some dates’ (UT)

---

11 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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{bāle 'ham 'sāl ēbī de'ga 'yak=e-yā} \\
\text{but every year you know another one=IND-OBL}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{borre't-ā bor't-ag-ā} \\
\text{cut.PST-3PL take.PST-PP-3PL}
\end{array}
\]

‘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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ka'hīr-ā 'gošt=ī} \\
\text{kahir-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG}
\end{array}
\]

‘Kahir said (…) (UT)

Ex. 43) Noun in OBL+PC

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{'pet-ā=o 'mat-ā 'gošt=ī} \\
\text{father-OBL=and mother-OBL say.PST=PC.3PL}
\end{array}
\]

‘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:
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 (Ø) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td><em>janek-</em></td>
<td>*janek-*ā</td>
<td><em>janek-ay</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td><em>janek-obār</em></td>
<td>*janek-obār-*ā</td>
<td><em>janek-obār-ay</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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). 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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct-Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>man</em></td>
<td><em>manā</em></td>
<td><em>manī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>ta</em></td>
<td><em>tarā</em></td>
<td><em>taī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>mā</em></td>
<td><em>mārā</em></td>
<td><em>māī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>šomā</em></td>
<td><em>šomārā</em></td>
<td><em>šomāī/šomay</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

12 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.

13 For examples of the genitive case with suffix -*ī* see Nourzaei et al. (2015: 37–38).

14 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, šomāi/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 ezāfe construction.15

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proximal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ī/ē/ēš</td>
<td>ēšī/ēšī/ēš</td>
<td>ēšānī/ēšānī/ēšānī</td>
<td>ēšānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ēšānī/ēšānī/ēšānī</td>
<td>ēšānī/ēšānī/ēšānī</td>
<td>ēšānā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āhī/āšī</td>
<td>āhī/āšī</td>
<td>āhī/āšī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>āšān</td>
<td>āšānī/āšānī</td>
<td>āšānī/āšānī</td>
<td>āšānā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.16

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.

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15 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 postpositions are a later development in KoB (see ibid. 43–46; for the ezāfe construction, see ibid. 39–40). My data from CoB indicate that postpositions have a higher frequency than prepositions. Furthermore, the ezāfe construction is not attested in CoB.

16 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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
A & O & S \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{jog\textquotesingle}l-ok \text{ ke 'a } \text{'ro\textquotesingle}c \text{ ke as madra\textquotesingle}s\text{a}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{boy-DEF CLM DIST day CLM from school.OBL}
\]

\[
\text{a='k-ay-∅}
\]

\[
\text{VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{'mā 'raft-en } \text{dī'a\textquotesingle}n=ī
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{PN.1PL go.PST-1PL visit=PC.3SG}
\]

‘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

\[ 'šām-\text{ī} \quad 'ě \quad aždāhā'-\text{ok} \quad a=pē'\text{ē}-\text{ī} \]

supper-ADVZ PROX dragon-DEF VCL=twist.NPST-3SG

\[ 'dawr=e \quad šā'h-ay \quad ja'nek-ay \quad gar'den-ā \]
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

\[ 'tə-\text{rā} \quad 'mā \quad a’dam \quad he’sāb \]
PN.2SG-OBJ PN.1PL human being count

\[ a=’nā-\text{kan-en} \]
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

\[ šā’h-ay \quad ’bač \quad a=’ś-\text{i} \]
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 mentioned in section 1.4.2, KoB displays person-marking clitics for all persons. These forms are still analyzed 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. 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).

---

17 For examples see Nourzaei et al. (2015: 54–55).
Table 24. Agent agreement: past perfective, present perfect, past perfect in KoB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dāt- ‘gave’</th>
<th>dāt- ‘has/have given’</th>
<th>dāt- ‘had given’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>dāt=om</td>
<td>dātag=om</td>
<td>dātagad=om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>dāt=et</td>
<td>dātag=et</td>
<td>dātagad=et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>dāt=ī</td>
<td>dātag=ī</td>
<td>dātagad=ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>dāt=en</td>
<td>dātag=en</td>
<td>dātagad=en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>dāt=ū</td>
<td>dātag=ū</td>
<td>dātagad=ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>dāt=eš</td>
<td>dātag=eš</td>
<td>dātagad=eš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  "sāh 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)
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. 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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18 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 (\(=\tilde{e}n/=en\)) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>pes-Ø</td>
<td>pes-Ø</td>
<td>pes-ā</td>
<td>pes-ārā</td>
<td>pes-ay</td>
<td>pes-ayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>pes-Ø</td>
<td>pes-ān</td>
<td>pes-ān</td>
<td>pes-ānā</td>
<td>pes-ānī</td>
<td>pes-ānīā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(\text{ha'm}=\tilde{e} \quad \text{ra'hīm} \quad '\text{wat-ī} \quad \text{pes-ārā} \quad '\text{dīst-Ø}
\)

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 \(-\tilde{e}+\text{-rā}\) marks specific singular nouns in this dialect. The exact function of \(-\text{rā}\) is not clear from the current data for SiB. More data is

---

19 Proper names take the genitive suffix –ī, e.g., ūkājīrī 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>mnā</td>
<td>mnī</td>
<td>mnīā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>trā̇/tarā</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ūā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>hammā</td>
<td>hammārā</td>
<td>hammay/hammay</td>
<td>hammayā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st EXCL</td>
<td>maṣmā/meṣmā</td>
<td>maṣmārā/moṣmārā</td>
<td>maṣmay/moṣmay</td>
<td>maṣmyā/moṣmyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st INCL</td>
<td>šmā</td>
<td>šmārā</td>
<td>šmay</td>
<td>šomayā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>Sg. e/ē/ēš</td>
<td>ēšā/ēšerā/ešerā</td>
<td>ēšī</td>
<td>ēšīā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pl. e/ē/ēš</td>
<td>ēšā/nēšānā</td>
<td>ēšān/ešānī</td>
<td>ēšānīā/ešānīā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>āerā/ārā20</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āī</td>
<td>āīā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pl. ā</td>
<td>āwānā</td>
<td>āwān</td>
<td>āwānī</td>
<td>āwānīā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

20 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'wat} & \quad \text{'āt-Ø} & \quad \text{ge's-ā} \\
\text{REFL} & \quad \text{come.PST-3SG} & \quad \text{house-OBL}
\end{align*}
\]
‘he himself came home’ (UT)

Ex. 56) Reflexive pronouns in direct case

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a'lām} & \quad \text{'wat} & \quad \text{'āt-Ø} \\
\text{Alam} & \quad \text{REFL} & \quad \text{come.PST-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Alam himself came back’ (UT)

Ex. 57) Reflexive pronouns in genitive case

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'wtī} & \quad \text{pe's-ā} & \quad \text{'gošt-Ø} \\
\text{REFL.GEN} & \quad \text{father-OBL} & \quad \text{say.PST-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]
‘he said to his father’ (UT)

Ex. 58) Reflexive pronouns in object case

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ē} & \quad \text{'wat-rā} & \quad \text{mas't-ēn} & \quad \text{'lērā=ē=a} & \quad \text{'kan-t} \\
\text{PROX} & \quad \text{REFL-OBJ} & \quad \text{crazy-ATTR} & \quad \text{camel=IND=VCL} & \quad \text{do.NPST-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]
‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accusative alignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), 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.

---

21 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

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

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.22

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 ēšerā 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
ēš pir’an’ma’d šamē’dā ’ber=a gard-ī
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 ešerā a’lā-ay ra’zā ba’cak=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 ’rāč=ē je’nek=o wa’r-ī poč’ē-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)

---

22 In my SiB data, the agent is attested just once in the oblique case: pe’sā ‘gošt ‘the father said’.
1. Treatment of the subject of an intransitive verb in the past domain

\[ \text{šwā'ag} \quad 'sot-∅ \]

\begin{align*}
\text{shepherd} & \quad \text{go.PST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}

‘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, 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, \( =\ddot\text{e} \) and \( =\ddot{\text{i}} \), and one form in the 3rd person plural, \( =\ddot{\text{e}}\ddot{\text{s}} \), 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).

\[ ^{23} \text{Turkmen Balochi and SiB are very closely related Western dialects of Balochi.} \]
Khodanezar'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;24 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 Delforoosh 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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24 This analysis seems to be favoured by Axenov (2006: 108) and Barjasteh Delforoosh (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: -∅ and =ī/=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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V.tr. ergative</th>
<th>NP substitution</th>
<th>NP following V.intr.</th>
<th>V.intr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*om gošt / gošt=om</td>
<td>*gošt=om</td>
<td>gošt-on</td>
<td>šot-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*et gošt / gošt=et</td>
<td>*gošt=et</td>
<td>gošt-ay</td>
<td>šot-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*=ī gošt / gošt=ī</td>
<td>gošt=ī</td>
<td>gošt-∅</td>
<td>šot-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*=en gošt / gošt=en</td>
<td>*gošt=en</td>
<td>gošt-an</td>
<td>šot-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*=ū gošt / gošt=ū</td>
<td>*gošt=ū</td>
<td>gošt-et</td>
<td>šot-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*=eš gošt / gošt=eš</td>
<td>*gošt=eš</td>
<td>gošt-ant</td>
<td>šot-ant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 =ī or =ē 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).

---

25 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.\(^{26}\)

**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).

\(^{26}\) 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).


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 conjuctions 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.27

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27 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 per-
son-marking verb suffixes for intransitive verbs. The CoB system corre-
sponds to stages 1 and 2, KoB to stage 4a, and SiB to stage 4b.

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 ob-
ject 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 per-
son 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).

Figure 1. Fading of ergativity in Balochi
2. The data and the status of 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. 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, Kīyāyā and Sado, Ezzat-i Lalla and Mehrok, Sassī and Pūnnū, Hammal and Mahganj, Lāla, and Sāzīn and Mast Taulkalī and Sammo. Badalkhan also mentions some stories with Persian and Arabic origin such as Leylā and Majnūn, and Shīrēn 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 lāḍō, ‘wedding and circumcision songs’; nāţēn, ‘praise songs for sons, brothers and fathers’; līlō ‘cradle songs’; sawt and dāstānag ‘short love songs’; zahīrōk, līkō and ḍēhī ‘songs of separation and travel’; shēr ‘verse narratives’; and mōtīk ‘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 “lūdīs”28 who are professional and expert storytellers. A lūdī’s house has traditionally been regarded as a “theatre for the village folk”

28 Badalkhan (2000–2001: 163) believes lūdīs to be of Indian origin. They are basically craftsmen in Balochi society, and also do agriculture works.
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 (lūḍī) 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 lūḍīs, 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. Elfènbein (1983) published a collection of the tales found in a manuscript belonging to the British library. In his anthology of Balochi literature (Elfènbein 1990: I: 436–453), he devotes a section to each of oral prose and poetry, and stresses their importance to Balochi culture (see also Elfènbein 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.

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. Corpus 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 Afsâneh-hā-ye Balučī (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.29 Oral prose consists of fairy tales, stories of the lives of

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29 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 lūḍīs, 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 ūnd (“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 16.30

Due to the high prestige of poetry, every region has a hereditary professional singer known as pahlawān31 (singer of heroic deeds). Unlike lūḍīs, 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 instruments called the ḍambūrag, “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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30 For instance, a student of mine (Nurjan) was an excellent storyteller. She not only told the story but also acted during her narrations.
31 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.\(^{32}\)

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 (hāldō and lādō), or a wedding ceremony (nāžēnk).

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.\(^{33}\)

Others occasions for storytelling are peace meetings: \(^{34}\) 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)’, šāp 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: 32).\(^{32}\)

\(^{32}\) Badalkhan has reported the same tradition for Pakistan.

\(^{33}\) The same tradition used to be common among Baloch people in Sistan.

\(^{34}\) In this society, during conflicts, or to resolve other issues, Baloch people have a meeting. These meetings are called sōlay dīwān (peace meetings).
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 Baloch35 in this area can read and write Balochi, which is a marked contrast to Baloch in Sistan.36

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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35 By “many Baloch” I mean over 200 people.

36 Pasand (personal communication, 2016) a Balochi speaker from Sistan, I myself learnt to read and write Balochi only in 2008 from my colleague Abdol Násar 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, ċakāśband (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. 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

37 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. However, I found at least one male speaker who recites poems in Koroshi. 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 remains in Iranian Sistan. The last pahlawān,

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38 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 (Samsānān, personal communication, 2016).

39 Korosh nomadic families still play the famous Korosh instrument Nay-e Šāhmīrzā ‘Shahmirza’s flute’ while grazing their camels.

40 Pahlawān in this dialect conveys the same meaning as lūdī in CoB.
whose name was Habibollah Narui, died in 2006.\(^41\) In addition, there are some people who are called \textit{shāer} ‘poet’, such as Zaher Baloch, etc. However, they do not know any Balochi epic poems.

\section{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 (\textit{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)\(^42\) while working on the farm (\textit{likō, āloka, dobeyyū} and \textit{šēr}), at wedding, engagement and circumcision ceremonies (\textit{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,\(^43\) because it is mainly limited to the older generation, while younger generations prefer Persian and Hindi music.

To some extent, mourning poems (\textit{mōdag}) are still common among the older generation. This tradition is disappearing due to influence of the new Islamic tradition in the region.\(^44\)

\section{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.

\footnote{41 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 \textit{pahlawān} called Ali Khan, but he died before I had a chance to meet him.}

\footnote{42 People in this region are mainly bilingual Balochi and Sistani (a dialect of Persian spoken in this area).}

\footnote{43 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 \textit{drūds} (praising God and the prophets).}

\footnote{44 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. 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”. 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; see also Ananian (1925) and Asatryan (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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45 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.

46 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.

One peculiarity is that poems that are recited when someone has died are recited during the day, not at night.\footnote{People regard reciting this type of poems at night as bad luck for the owner of house and also themselves.}

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 likō. 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 Delfrooz (2010). The duration of the recorded narratives used in the present study is more than 12 hours for all three dialects together.
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, 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. 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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49 He belongs to the ostā caste and is a goldsmith. He told us the stories while he was working.

50 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 golāṃ 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. 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 Qašqā’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.

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.
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 professionality 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 other 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name/age/gender</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Genre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker 1/58/♂</td>
<td>Nobandiyan</td>
<td>January 2013</td>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>self-employed</td>
<td>biog: 1. RB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>folk: 1. KD, 2. BS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker 2/55/♀</td>
<td>Bahukalat</td>
<td>January 2014</td>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>biog: 1. HA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker 3/60/♀</td>
<td>Bahukalat</td>
<td>January 2014</td>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>biog: 1. HA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker 4/40/♀</td>
<td>Nobandiyan</td>
<td>January 2013</td>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>biog: 1. RB</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker 5/56/♀</td>
<td>Sedighzahi</td>
<td>March 2010</td>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>folk: 1. BS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker 6/45/♀</td>
<td>Korsar</td>
<td>March 2010</td>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>folk: 1. KD</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 Qašqā’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

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

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.
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 bi ‘There was a day, a time’, tahlēn tambāk, šerkenēn hōrmāg, šāp jāh o rōč jāh, šahrē ger o šahrē bell āsekāne 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) besmellāhe 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 dānāg lōtay,) būt o būt šā mošmay xodā kas gēter navat ‘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’essa 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 ěca hamedā gŏn atān, manā dāteš zarrē, zarr man kot herre, herr jorrā kapt o mort o man watī čātā man watī čātā der čānḍ o baḍḍā kot o dast hŏrk o hālūg per tarret o lŏgā 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 ěca 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 ĭmānē o paśmā deštārē čē mnī āsmānak alās ět’ ‘I broke and mended, faith for me and a fiancée for you. [Here] my story finished’ (2) āton berāē o dīston pēlekkē zarrē pēlekte zarrā dāton dar rāhe xodā o do ġarānā borton šenekē korton o šenekā jaton 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 gŏn 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) besmelâhe rahmâne rahîm ‘in the name of God’, (2) yak mardē hasta ya zamânâgê 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 besmellâhe rahmâne rahîm ‘In the Name of God’.

SiB uses the same formulaic phrases as in folktales: (1) bûto bût ša mošmay xodâ kasê gêter navat ‘Once upon a time (lit. There was and there was, there was no one better than our God)’ (2) šî, ‘it is said’ (3) yak zamânâgê… 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) dâte manâ zarrê zarr mā ko herrē herr ka čâtâ 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 alâs bî ‘my story comes to the end’ (3) ėšīe dâstâ nî hamedâ če tamâm en ‘His/her life story finishes here now’.

KoB has the following normal phrases: (1) basâb ē ham sargozaš …’ so, well, this is the story about,… (2) basâb tamân ‘well, that’s it’ (3) xo īmidvâr om xodâ ke hâmmo kasâ xodâ begenni Xa ham begenni, X ham zor gî… ham bebi hamâ pešterîn 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 īmânê o paşmâ deştârē ‘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
Qašqā’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, lūḍīs, 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 introduction 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 ∅ 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 ‘∅’). 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 pronoun51 (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 (∅). 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

51 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 raḥim' baxš ‘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 Chapts. 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'gōdā} & \ 'sāh \ a=' s-ī & \ 'ay \ & \ dūmād-o'bār=om \\
\text{then} & \ & \ & \text{VCL=say.NPST-3SG} & \text{VOC} & \text{son in-law-PL=PC.1SG} \\
\text{'bīyed} & \ & \ & \ & \text{IMPV.come.NPST-2PL} & \text{IMPV-go.NPST-2PL} & \text{hunting=and \ like this} \\
\text{ba} & \ 'mān \ & \ hām'mo \ a=k-ā-'yant \\
\text{for} & \ & \ & \ & \text{PN.1SG} & \text{all} & \text{VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL} \\
\text{’then the king says, “Hey my sons-in-law, come [and] go hunting, like this, for me.” They all come [to the king]’ Nourzaei et al. (2015: 191)
\end{align*}
\]

Ex. 69) with numeral as NP head

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ē} & \ & \text{do'k-ēn} \ & \ nī'kay=a \ & \text{ka'n-ant} \\
\text{PROX} & \ & \text{two-ATTR} & \text{married=VCL} & \text{do.NPST-3PL} \\
\text{‘these two get married’ (SiB.MNJ.m: 78f)}
\end{align*}
\]

Ex. 70) with numeral as PROX+NP head

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'nī} & \ 'hām=e \ & \text{yak} \ & \text{paš} \ & \text{ka'p-ī} \\
\text{Now} & \ & \text{EMPH=PROX} & \text{one} & \text{behind \ fall.NPST-3SG} \\
\text{‘now, this one [girl] was left [in the class]’ (CoB.KD.m:12)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bale} & \ 'hām \ 'sāl \ 'cō'bī \ & \text{de'ga} \ & \text{yak=e-yā} \ & \text{borre't-ā} \\
\text{but \ every year you know another one=} & \text{IND-OBL} & \text{cut.PST-3PL} \\
\text{borre't-ag-ā} & \ & \text{ba'lāh=e} \ & \text{bī't-a=} & \text{∅} \\
\text{take.PST-PP-3PL} & \text{ghoul=} & \text{IND} & \text{be.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG} \\
\text{‘but every year, you know, someone else cut them off [and] took them. It was a ghoul’ (BS.f: 3–4)}
\end{align*}
\]
Ex. 72) with adjective in oblique case as NP head

\[ \text{kas-te'r-ēn-ā} \quad 'gō-∅ \quad 'mā \quad 'tī \]

small-COMP-ATTR-OBL \quad say.PST-3SG \quad PN.1SG \quad PN.2SG.GEN

\[ 'sāng=ā \quad ka'n-ā \]

betrothal=VCL \quad do.NPST-1SG

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

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

\[ \text{gwan'd-ēn} \quad 'gōst=e \]

small-ATTR \quad say.PST=PC.3SG

‘the young one said’(…) (Si.B.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\(^{52}\) approach (1983), Tomlin’s Episode/Focus\(^{53}\) approach (1987) and Levinsohn’s Default/Marked approach (1999) to studying participant reference in narrative discourse in Sio (Papua New Guinea).


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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\(^{52}\) This was called “Recency/Distance” by Tomlin (1987: 456).

\(^{53}\) This was named “Episode/Paragraph” by Clark (2012: 9).

\(^{54}\) 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):
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 counter-examples 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).

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![Figure 3. Familiarity Hierarchy](image-url)
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):

in focus > activated > familiar > uniquely identifiable > referential > type identifiable

\[
\{it\} \quad \begin{cases} \text{that} \\ \text{this} \\ \text{this N} \end{cases} \quad \begin{cases} \text{that N} \\ \text{the N} \\ \text{indefinite this N} \end{cases} \quad \{a \text{ N}\}
\]

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:** “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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55 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, 56 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”.

56 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.\(^{57}\) 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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\(^{57}\) 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 UN-STRESSED 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 Delfrooz’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 continuation.”

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>IF</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>FAM</th>
<th>UN(^{59})</th>
<th>REF</th>
<th>TI</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one NP+ IND(^{60})</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Default</th>
<th>Marked</th>
<th>Marked form</th>
<th>Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>∅ (44)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Over-encoding</td>
<td>Discontinuity (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>Highlighting (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Clarification (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>∅ (11)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Over-encoding</td>
<td>Highlighting (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>ADD(^{61}) (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NP (7)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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\(^{58}\) 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.

\(^{59}\) 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.

\(^{60}\) IND stands for the individuation clitic in Balochi.

\(^{61}\) 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 ∅ 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 instances62 of NP in S1 as *over-encoding* and gives motivations for them (discontinuity, clarification and highlighting).

• Gundel et al. classify 18 instances of ∅ as *activated*, whereas Levinsohn’s approach makes a distinction between generic and non-generic referents. Six instances of ∅ in S4 have generic referents. In addition, four instances of ∅ in S3 or S4 are classified as instances of *under-encoding*, with “VIP” given as the motivation. The remaining 11 instances of ∅ are classified as default in S2. The remaining three instances of ∅ 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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62 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 Persian63 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 (∅). The default encodings for S2 contexts are ∅ (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 (∅); 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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63 By Persian I mean Modern New Persian.
motivations for marked encoding with an over-encoding demonstrative given by Barjasteh Delforooz\textsuperscript{64} 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 as 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 PROX is to highlight the participant, and with $\emptyset$ 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 Ş. [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\textsuperscript{65} 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-

\textsuperscript{64} Barjasteh Delforooz does not distinguish between proximal demonstrative (PROX) and distal demonstrative (DIST).

\textsuperscript{65} https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/.
morpheme glossing was carried out using the FLEX software. 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 Delfrooz (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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66 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'r-ā  jegre't-ā
   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) ‘petā ‘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-ā  ām=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  'cōn=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'sāh-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'g-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=i  
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'ḡām=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’\(^{67}\) 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),\(^{68}\) 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 ja‘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\(^{69}\) and S1, respectively.

\(^{67}\) *fekr* ‘thought’ can be viewed as having the same status as a body part in this work.

\(^{68}\) With slight modification from (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 142).

\(^{69}\) 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, ‘oṭī 'sarā zīrī ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>88a</th>
<th>‘ē</th>
<th>ja'nēn</th>
<th>‘dar</th>
<th>k-ay-∅</th>
<th>‘raw-t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>PREV</td>
<td>IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG</td>
<td>go.NPST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>88b</th>
<th>‘oṭī</th>
<th>‘sar-ā</th>
<th>zīr-ī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REFL.GEN</td>
<td>head-OBL</td>
<td>take.NPST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11g</th>
<th>mol'lā-e</th>
<th>de'l-ā</th>
<th>‘ye</th>
<th>ka'm-ok=ē</th>
<th>xarā'bī</th>
<th>pē'dā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mullah-GEN</td>
<td>heart-OBL</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>little-DIM=IND</td>
<td>wrong</td>
<td>visible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ‘bī |
| 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>32b</th>
<th>‘šap</th>
<th>‘ā-rā</th>
<th>'gept-∅</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>DIST-OBJ</td>
<td>take.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>38b</th>
<th>‘rōč</th>
<th>‘zāg-ā</th>
<th>ja't-īt=ko'ś-īt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>child-OBL</td>
<td>hit.NPST-3SG=and</td>
<td>kill.NPST-3SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 (∅) 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  'wad=e a='pēč-ī 'dawr=e šā’h-ay
REFL=PC.3SG VCL=twist.NST-3SG around=EZ king-GEN
ja'nek-ay gar'den-ā
daughter-GEN neck-OBL
21a 'sōb-ī ke 'pād a=k-ā-yan
morning-ADVZ CLM foot VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL
21b a=gen’n-an
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'sī ‘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 a=ge’nn-an ah’mad=ī ke ’xayle
VCL=see.NPST-3PL Ahmad=IND CLM very
nārā’hat=a-∅ hā’lā ma-kan’n-a=o
troubled=COP.PST-3SG now IMP-laugh.NPST-3SG=and
xoš’hāl=en
happy=COP.NPST.3SG
41b a=’s-ī
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” 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  
\begin{align*} 
\text{de'ya} & \quad \text{a'wale} & \text{jo'ga'1-ok} & \text{'wad-i} & \text{as'p-ay} \\
\text{you know} & \quad \text{first} & \text{boy-DIM} & \text{REFL-GEN} & \text{horse-GEN} \\
\text{'mūd=ay} & \quad \text{'ās} & \text{a=dād-∅} \\
\text{hair=PC.3SG} & \quad \text{fire} & \text{VCL=give.NPST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}

60b  
\begin{align*} 
\text{'asp} & \quad \text{a='k-ay-∅} \\
\text{horse} & \quad \text{VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}

60c  
\begin{align*} 
\text{'swār=e} & \quad \text{a=b-īd} \\
\text{riding=PC.3SG} & \quad \text{VCL=become.NPST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}

‘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), ‘swāe 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  
\begin{align*} 
\text{jo'ga'1ok} & \quad \text{'ās adād} & \text{S4NP} & \text{well, at the beginning, the boy burns a hair from his horse;} \\
\end{align*}

60b  
\begin{align*} 
\text{'aspa} & \quad \text{a'kay} & \text{S3NP} & \text{the horse comes [to him];} \\
\end{align*}

60c  
\begin{align*} 
\emptyset & \quad \text{'swāre a'bīd} & \text{S3∅} & \text{he mounts [it]} \\
\end{align*}

70 “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 wal= =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 =hā, 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  

| ‘ham=ī ’ | ‘wad-ī ’ | kor'rag=ay | a='š-ī |
| EMPH=PROX | REFL-GEN | foal=PC.3SG | VCL=say.NPST-3SG |
| ke | ma'rō | ‘raft-ay | lō'g-ā | xo'rāk-ā |
| CLM | today | go.NPST-2SG | home-OBL | food-OBL |
| a='na-war-ay | xo'rāk=e | ke | bah'r=at |
| VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-2SG | food=IND | CLM | for=PC.2SG |
| 'ēr | ma-ka’n-ag=en | ‘zahr=e |
| PREV | IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST-3SG | poison=PC.3SG |
| 'rekk-a | 'mān=e | zanbā‘b=āt | xorā‘k-ok |
| pour.PST-PP | into=PC.3SG | step mother=PC.3SG | food-DIM |
| mas’mūm=en |
| poisoned=COP.NPST-3SG |

15a  

| joğa’l-ok | ham | ‘gōš | a=g-ī |
| 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 stepmother; 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-ī
say.NPST-3SG

'bor-e
IMPV.go.NPST-2PL

'by-ār-et=ī
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’mār-ān-ā 'dēm dāt-∅
just agent-OBL-OBJ face give.PST-3SG

ke ĕ’s-ān-ā 'b-ger-et=o
CLM PROX-OBL-OBJ SBJV-take.NPST-2PL=and

'by-ār-et
SBJV-bring.NPST-2PL

123 ĕ’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 Delfrooz 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 ’kav, (12e) ’ešī sa’bak ’dā, (12f) ’ešī sa’bak ’dā, (12g) ’ē wāhī (12h) ’rawt, (12i) go’rā ’nī ’kav, (12j) ge’rītī ’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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>context</th>
<th>summary of content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12d</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>’kay</td>
<td>S4Ø</td>
<td>then he comes,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12e</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>’dā</td>
<td>S1Ø</td>
<td>[and] he teaches her;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12f</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>’dā</td>
<td>S1Ø</td>
<td>he teaches her;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12g</td>
<td>’ē</td>
<td>wāhī</td>
<td>S3PROX</td>
<td>this one reads,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>’rawt</td>
<td>S1Ø</td>
<td>[and] goes on;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12i</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>’kay</td>
<td>S4Ø</td>
<td>then he comes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12j</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ge’rītī</td>
<td>S1Ø</td>
<td>and touches her hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second example contains state verbs.

Ex. 98) (RB.m: 123l–123n)
(123l) xo’šāl ē ’mard da’ningā ča al’lāhe ne’magā če, (123m) ’bāz mar’daka rāzi’g en, (123n) o xo’šāl 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>context</th>
<th>summary of content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>123l</td>
<td>mard</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>S1NP</td>
<td>still the man is very happy from God;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123m</td>
<td>mar’daka</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>S1NP</td>
<td>the man is pleased, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123n</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>S1Ø</td>
<td>he is happy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ’rawt ‘goes’ ’aḍa kā ‘cooks’, kā’rī, ‘brings’, and ’kā ‘puts’.

---

71 A reference to a text does not mean that the text is necessarily available in the book.
72 To save space I give the first line of content only in this example.
Ex. 99) (KD.m: 45a–45d)
(45a) ‘raw, (45b) ‘ada kā, (45c) kā’rī, (45d) īrānī tō’kā ‘kā.

‘(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)

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45a</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>‘raw</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45b</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>‘ada kā</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45c</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>kā’rī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45d</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>‘kā</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) (M NJ.m.Si B.f: 18a–b).
(18a) pas a’mā xā’nomē ’māsē ’dāšta ke besēlā ā je’nekay bal’lok bī (18b) bal’lokē pešēi nax’sāē rēcēī

(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 (MN J.m.Si B.f: 18a–b)

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>a’mā xā’nomē</td>
<td>dāšta</td>
<td>S4DIST+NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>bal’lokē</td>
<td>rēcēī</td>
<td>S3NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'rā, (50b) a'kay. (51a) dōṭi 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>S1NP</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>be'rādī</td>
<td>a'kay</td>
<td>S1NP</td>
<td>Her brother who had gone for trading returns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51a</td>
<td>'ya 'bače</td>
<td>boda</td>
<td>INTRO</td>
<td>there was a child; it was Hosayn’s child;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51b</td>
<td>ga'mānam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>I think.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 korōšo'bāray 'xān boda (83c) ašī 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>S1NP</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83a</td>
<td>ax'bār</td>
<td>ar'ra</td>
<td>S1NP</td>
<td>the news reaches Sowladowlah, who was Khan of the Korosh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83b</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ašī</td>
<td>S4ØUNS</td>
<td>someone says, (...)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'fāješ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>35b</th>
<th>∅</th>
<th>boda</th>
<th>S1∅</th>
<th>they had club,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35c</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>boda</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>and you know, at any rate, yes, they even had guns;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35d</td>
<td>be'rādem 'yake</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>my brothers, one [of them] [is] a war veteran;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35e</td>
<td>'yake</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>S4NP</td>
<td>the other one was young;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35f</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>'nessa</td>
<td>S1+∅</td>
<td>they didn’t have any stature [for fighting].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (66d) 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.


(65b) 'šāhay kassānō'en ja'nekk ā'kāboda mā bā'gā. (66a) agen'nī (66b) xo'dā 'ya 'swāre 'aspi 'mā 'ī bā'gā 'assen (66c) 'dowr majana (66d) ā'yār akanyay (66e) ferešta mā 'ē bā'gā zor'rā mawara. (67a) assa pas a mo'daftī ākōš'tī (67b) ākōš'tī (67c) agen'nī bale (67d) pīyāda bo (67e) ar'raft o (67f) 'ī am 'āk (67g) ha'mā komā'okā 'kašī 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>65b</th>
<th>šā'hay kassānō'en ja'nek</th>
<th>ā'kāboda</th>
<th>S4NP</th>
<th>the king’s youngest daughter had also come to the garden without previous notice.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66a</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>agen'nī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>she sees, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66b</td>
<td></td>
<td>ā'yār akanyay</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>one would imagine that;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67a</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>ākōš'tī</td>
<td>S4∅</td>
<td>After a while she stops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67b</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>ākōš'tī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>she stops;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67c</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>agen'nī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>she sees, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67d</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>agen'nī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>she sees, (…);</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ašī (5b) ke xor ’ta ba’če kor’raget mak’šay? (5c) ’nabahät en’bekošav o esān (5d) ašī (5e) ke manī kor’ragā ’hīčka a’natānt ‘gott kant. (6a) šā’hay bač ašī (6b) ke man’gottt akā’nān o esān (6c) as’pok ašī (6d) ke xarje ’xaylī zī’yāden (6e) a’natān (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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>šā’hay bač</th>
<th>ašī</th>
<th>S4NP</th>
<th>The king’s son says to it, (…)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>ašī</td>
<td>S2∅</td>
<td>it says, (…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>šā’hay bač</td>
<td>ašī</td>
<td>S2NP</td>
<td>The king’s son says, (…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>as’pok</td>
<td>ašī</td>
<td>S2NP</td>
<td>the horse says, (…)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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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)

\[nī \text{ 'dar kāyā kā'yā } \text{go'sī 'petay 'molk ' sak 'dīr ē}\]

‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1+Ø</th>
<th>EVID</th>
<th>INTRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72b</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>'dar kāyā kā'yā</td>
<td>you know, they leave from there;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72c</td>
<td>go'sī</td>
<td>EVID</td>
<td>It is said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72d</td>
<td>'petay 'molk</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>her father’s country is very far away.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

\[a'sī \text{ ta' raktolī gef'ta } \text{kāmōī gef'ta } (\ldots)\]

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 conversations. Consider the following example:

Ex. 109) personal conversation

\[ 'sī \text{ 'došī a'zīmī ' pasānā doze'tagan}\]

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 Delforooz’s (2010: 286) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2a</th>
<th>2b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'be 'yak 'waxt=o zamā’nag=ē ʼš-ī ʼdo</td>
<td>'brās=at-ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at one time=and era=IND say.NPST-3SG two</td>
<td>brother=COP.PST-3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘in a certain time and era, it is said, there were two brothers’ (MNJ.f.SiB: 2)

Ex. 111) with reportative marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʼš-ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʼdo ʼbrās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is said,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There were two brothers,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.9.4.2. Quotation marker

There are two ways to introduce quoted speech: with the conjunction ke ‘that’ or with the verb ašī/šīt/gošī/šī ‘to say’. Consider the following passage with the conjunction ke.

---

73 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 ’dāštānt (2d) ’bād ’gō am ’ādo pay’mān kortant /ke/ ’lālā aga ’i’t x’ānomā xo’dā ’tī je’nēnā xo’dā ’zāgē ’dāt ke je’nekkē at ’mnīyā xo’dā ba’cakkē ’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 ašī, ’nabāhāta ’cō kanān ’nabāhāta ēšī ’prēnān ’mā ēhā mātī ’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 ’cenō rō’ča, (15d) ’padā ’māt ha’bār kant (15e) ošī. ’cōk ’do ’rōč ē ta’pig bīta ’to ’naborta ’cī wās’ta ’bebarī (16) ’bebarī ’padā ’pet ’bārtī.

‘(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’, dis’ten ‘to see, to know’, ha’bar dā’ten, ‘to talk’, ’ādo pay’mān kor’ten ‘to promise’ and ’jwāb dā’ten ‘to answer’, 74 are found both with the speech verb ’šīt/go’šīt/’gošt ‘he/she says’ or alone with the conjunction ke75 without the speech verb.

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74 Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 218), in his online version, calls these verbs “speech introducers”.
75 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 ošī ‘he/she says’ as the quote marker. 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

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15c</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>nā’drā bī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>she falls ill for several days;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15d</td>
<td>māt</td>
<td>ha’bār kant o’sī</td>
<td>S4NP</td>
<td>again the mother talks [and] says [to her father] (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>‘pet</td>
<td>‘bārtī</td>
<td>S2NP</td>
<td>Again, the father takes her.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) [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 the orienter is omitted in both parts of subsequent rounds.

This passage is presented in the chart as follows:

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76 Vydrin (2015) reports a similar phenomenon in the Ossetic language.
77 “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).
Consider the following example:

Ex.117 (RB.m.CoB: 67–68a)

(67) gošī 'gōṛā 'ā mar'dom 'kayē ke 'sangī 'ka?
    (68a) ōśīā 'go ke 'man ā
    [omission of the speech orienter] ōśēaw 'to 'sāngī kane
    (68c) gošī 'mā ĕhānōo 'daste he'nī ka'nā 'pāde he'nī kanā go'dā 'gwāra ka'nā ra'wā bā'nu're 'gwārā nen'dā 'gōṛā
    (68d) gošī 'to ge'rāy ōśīā 'go 'haw 'mā ge'rāne.

‘(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. 116) without some speech orienters (AL.m.KoB: 77d–82b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. 116d</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>a’sant</th>
<th>S1Ø</th>
<th>[The police] say, (…);</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77d</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>a’sī</td>
<td>S2Ø</td>
<td>someone from this family says, (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77c</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>a’sī</td>
<td>S2Ø</td>
<td>[The police] say, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>[The police] say, (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>[He] says, (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>[The police] say, (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>[He] says, (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82a</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>[The police] say, (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>[he] says, (…).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### Ex. 117 (RB.m.CoB: 67–68e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. 117</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>gošī</th>
<th>S2Ø</th>
<th>He says, (…).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>gošī</td>
<td>S2Ø</td>
<td>He says, (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68a</td>
<td>ōśīa</td>
<td>'go</td>
<td>S2PROX</td>
<td>This one said, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>[he said], (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68c</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>gošī</td>
<td>S2Ø</td>
<td>he says, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68d</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>gošī</td>
<td>S2Ø</td>
<td>he says, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68e</td>
<td>ōśīā</td>
<td>'go</td>
<td>S2PROX</td>
<td>this one said, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>[he said], (…).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intro</th>
<th>Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>‘hamē ‘rangā bīta</td>
<td>INTRO some years ago, thirty years, thirty-five years ago, it was like this;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>‘harkā</td>
<td>INTRO not nowadays, nowadays everyone must see each other [and then] get married.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19a</td>
<td>yak ‘rōčē ‘bīt</td>
<td>INTRO one day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 jo’ga’lokā ‘bokoṣī (13d) ya ‘rōč mā jo’ga’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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exp.</th>
<th>ya mod'date</th>
<th>abīd</th>
<th>INTRO</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13c</td>
<td>'ē šā'hay 'jan</td>
<td>bo'kānī boda 'bokošī</td>
<td>S4PROX+NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13d</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>arē'čē</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

this king’s wife who wanted to kill this boy; 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 'kotī (16d) say'mī ē'ār'mī rō'čā pa'dā 'petā 'gehpt o 'rā 'dā dabēstā'nā pa'dā wānēna'gā mol'āe gwa'ra. (17) mol'āyā 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) 'sēr 'čalāpt mol'ah rō'bōhā, (12b) 'sare 'səst o 'prēnt, (12c) 'pādānī 'səst o 'prēnt, (12d) 'dastānī 'səst 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 ʰˈhōne ˈpetā ⁕dātan, (30) ʰˈpetā ʰhamē ˈčamm o ʰˈhōn wāʳˈtant o ʰnešt (31a) jeˈnek paš ʰkapt

‘(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 ʰat ‘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) ʰtāke wasˈsū wāˈkī ʰato gōˈšī be badiˈyā ošˈtāt (...)

‘(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’, ěst kanag/Čest korten ‘to lift up’, oštāg/oštāten ‘to stand’, ěšten ‘to leave’, āyag/āten ‘to come’ and nendag/nešten ‘to sit’.

Instead of functioning as separate verbs, these verbs rather contribute actionsart, aspectual, or evidential meanings to the verbal complex. For instance, the verb ěgept ‘took’ in example (118) behaves as a vector verb of ěrā ědā ‘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 [Indo-]Aryan 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  | 'koṭī | S1PC | this one made an excuse of some kind |
| 16d | 'petā | 'gept o 'rā 'dā | S3NP | on the third day, again the father sent her to the school, to study with the Mullah. |
| 17a | mol'läyā | wā'nēnt | 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 | šēr | 'sest o 'prēnt | S4NP | The lion took the Mullah fox; |
| 12b | ∅ | 'sest o 'prēnt | S1∅ | it cut its head off; |
| 12c | ∅ | 'sest o 'prēnt | S1∅ | it cut its legs off; |
| 12d | ∅ | 'sest o 'prēnt | 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  | 'dātan | S1PC | he gave its eyes and blood to the father. |
| 30 | 'petā | wār'tant o 'nešt | S3NP | the father ate up these eyes and [drank] the blood. |
| 31a | je'nek | paš 'kapt | S4NP | The girl was left. |

Ex. 127) as a vector verb indicating the starting-point of an action (KB.m.SiB: 9d)

| 9d | was'sū | 'āto oš'tāt | S1NP | finally, [her] mother-in-law really started to annoy [her]. |

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 ē'ra nen'dēnte. (26a) 'brāt 'wat šo'tā (26b) jegre'tā (27a) 'gošte 'wāt 'bemerī hame'dā 'bemerī 'mārā 'šāt 'nabī 'ōtī '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.’”

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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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>25a</th>
<th>ko'nerē 'yak 'dračkē</th>
<th>'hasta</th>
<th>INTRO</th>
<th>[there was] a Jujube-tree, there was a tree;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25b</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>nen'děnte</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>they made her sit under this tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>'brāt 'wat</td>
<td>šo'tā jegre'tā</td>
<td>S1NP+REFL</td>
<td>Brothers, themselves, went running.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>PC</td>
<td>'gošt</td>
<td>S1PC</td>
<td>One of them said, (…)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) 'zahmē '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 gčvā'rā kārān a (16d) kārān a (16c) kārān a (16f) kārān a (16g) kārān a, (17a) 'yak' ročē bād'sāh rāhī ċāt 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 ʼsoto ʼsoto ʼsoto ʼsoto ʼsot ʼtā wat’rā re’sēnt be ’mā ʼšare ke mol’lah naykarjan at.

‘This boy 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 | ʼkārān a, ʼkārān a, ʼkārān a, ʼkārān a | S4PROX | this one there uses to work at the king’s [palace]; |
| 13a | pad’sāḥ | ʼrāhi 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 | ʼsoto ʼsoto ʼsoto ʼsoto ʼsot | 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’did ‘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 kā’may ham ašō’did o, (49i) ta’mīs akant, o (49j) xolā’sa, a’fant 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.136 with paired verbs (KD.f.KoB: 49–49i)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb lađ’dag/lađde’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 lađ’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) pänz’dah ’sāl ’gwast (24e) go’rā ’ādōdā ēc pa’dā lađ’det ’āt’kā ērānā. (25a) ērānā ’ātkā

‘(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.137 with paired verbs, actual charting (RB.f.: 24d–25a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.9.5.6. Adverbial of time

In the present study, there are some instances, such as agza’rīd/gwazīt ‘passes, and ’tūl akašīt ‘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) agzāʾrī o (16b) dobā'ra sō'bēnē joğa'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 agzāʾrī ‘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 | ∅ | a'nawā | S1∅ | he does not eat the food. |
| 16a | | agzāʾrī o | (∗) | [That day] passes, and again [the next] morning, (...); |
| 16b | joğa'lok | ar'raft | 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, jene'kok a'wārt ‘the girl ate’ in clause (101a) is an example of a mistake by the narrator because in clause (101b) ’ē šā'ḥok 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'šī 'na 'man ē kallapā'cāo bārā a'nawarān (100e) do'ī a'šī ke hā'lā kasanō'en ja'nek enet go'nāheya de'ley 'mabōren 'bōr ta ham 'ya 'darfe az 'ē kallapā'cāe ke ā'ortayī. (101a) xolā'sa jene'kok am a'wārt... (101b) ’ē šā'ḥok am a'wārt a'z ī kal-lapā'cā (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)

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100d</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>a’šī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>he says, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100e</td>
<td>dō’ī</td>
<td>a’šī</td>
<td>S4NP</td>
<td>her mother says, (…);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101a</td>
<td>’ē šā’hok</td>
<td>a’wārt</td>
<td>S2PROX+NP</td>
<td>So this king eats of the head-and-trotter dish, [and]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101b</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>agen’nī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>finds, (…) .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following passage, a’šīt ‘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’šīt (5b) ’ē šāhay ’bač a’šīt ’ay ’ar ta ba ’ēc mara’way kor’ragat maprē’nē mā dar’yāhā, (6) a’šīt ’manī kor’ragā ’hīśka 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)

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>mara’wāboda</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>it goes, [and]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4d</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>maprē’nāboda</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>it throws its foal into the sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>’ē šāhay ’bač</td>
<td>a’šīt</td>
<td>S4PROX+NP</td>
<td>This king’s son says ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>a’šīt</td>
<td>S2∅</td>
<td>It says (…)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'šī ‘man ma'rīz bodagon zar'dıom āor'ta 'gašteš fo'lān kor'ragay 'hōn am bah'rat xeiben. (26) 'šāh ġa'būl akant ke as'pokā 'bokošan. 27) xolā'sa ar'raft o as'pok ba joğa'loka a'šī ke 'ta age 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)

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25g</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>a'šī</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>'šāh</td>
<td>ġa'būl akant</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27a</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>ar'raft</td>
<td>S?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27b</td>
<td>as'pok</td>
<td>a'šī</td>
<td>S?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

She says, (…)
The king agrees /that/ to kill the horse.
You know, he goes and
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 form the narrator which is not related to the story line.

Ex.142) (KS.m.KoB: 29a–30a)
(93a) a'sī 'bībī (93b) tā am 'wadī bo'da xo (93c) 'ā sā'hāt ko'mā ā rū 'saray zor'tay-boda. (94a) tā 'bad am ke lāšā 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. 143</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>93a</td>
<td>S2∅</td>
<td>He says, (...) ;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93b</td>
<td>S1PROX</td>
<td>Well, this one was himself;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93c</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>at that time he had taken off the rumen from his head;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94a</td>
<td>S4∅</td>
<td>Then afterwards, they were about to take the meat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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=i  a=b-īd
   two  three  month=IND  VCL=become.NPST-3SG

6b  ‘mē’dag=eś  as  ō’dān  ‘bār
   encampment=PC.3PL  from  there  load
   a=kan  ar=’ra-∅  jā=i  de’ga
   VCL=do.NPST-3SG  VCL=go.NPST-3SG  place=IND  another

(air plane noise)

7a  ‘mē’dag=eś  as  ō’dān  ‘bār  a=kant-∅
   encampment=PC.3PL  from  there  load  VCL=do.NPST-3SG
   ar=’ra-∅  jā=i  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. 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

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78 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, ‘∅’ [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-∅ wa
    three child have.PST-3SG and
2c 'say te'lā 'dāšt-∅
    three gold have.PST-3SG

‘(2a) There was an old man; [∅] had three sons, and [∅] 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pīrā'mard</th>
<th>at</th>
<th>S3NP</th>
<th>There was an old man;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td></td>
<td>at</td>
<td>S3NP</td>
<td>There was an old man;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>'dāšt</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>[∅] had three sons, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>'dāšt</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>[∅] had three [pieces of] gold.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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=i  ham  ī  'hōn-ā
  Alamdar  REFL=PC.3SG  ADD  PROX  blood-OBL

bālā'šeg=e  'wad=i  a=’kan-t
rubbing=EZ  REFL=PC.3SG  VCL=say.NPST-3SG

86  a=’š-īt
VCL=say.NPST-3SG

88a  'xob  ī’dān  ‘dyā  alam’dār  īš-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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>85c</th>
<th>alam'dār</th>
<th>a'kant</th>
<th>S3NP</th>
<th>so Alamdar rubs the blood onto himself.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>a’sīt</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>He says, (…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88a</td>
<td>alam’dār</td>
<td>īšān</td>
<td>S1+</td>
<td>Well, then, you know, Alamdar and his family see (…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agen'nant</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP+PROX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.12.1.2. S2 and S2+
In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [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  'ē  go'š-ī  'mnā  sa'bak
PROX  say.NPST-3SG  PN.1SG.OBJ  lesson

8b  go'š-ī  'to  ya  'bar=ē  'sabr
say.NPST-3SG  PN.2SG  one  time=IND  patience

‘(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)

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38a</td>
<td>'ē</td>
<td>go'šī</td>
<td>S2PROX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38b</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>go'šī</td>
<td>S2∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  'xod=e  nowšād  ham  'gašt=om
REFL=PC.3SG  Noshad  ADD  say.PST=PC.1SG

54a  bort=eš  'idān
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  xodānezar′xān-ī  pah′nād-a  ′nešt-∅
Khodanezar Khan-GEN  beside-OBL  sit.PST-3SG

13  xodānezar′xān  ke  pā′d-ān-ī
Khodanezar Khan  CLM  feet-OBL.PL-GEN
pox′lok-ān=ī  ′dūst-∅
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 | ∅ | 'nešt | S1∅ | he sat down beside Khodanezar Khan.
| 13 | xodānezar′xān | 'dīs | S3NP | When Khodanezar Khan 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  'dēm  dāt-ant  pa  ā′ī  ge′s-ā
face  give.PST-3PL  for  DIST.GEN  house-OBL

11a  ē′dā  ke  ′āt-an
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 |  | 'tēm dātānt | S1∅ | and sent [her] to her house. |
| 11a |  | 'ātān | 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=ō  | '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

pi'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  | xodānezar'xān | '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 | āT-e | ŝō'bī | ko'mak |
| again | EMP=OBL | brother | DIST-GEN | you know | help |

became.PST-3SG=and with PROX two-ATRR joined

bīt-∅=o 'gō 'ē do-'ēn 'hōr

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 ∅, seven with NP, two with PC, one with PROX+REFL, and two with PROX+NP. This implies that zero (∅) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \textit{ar='ra-∅ mā cā’h-ā}\nVCL=go.NPST-3SG into well-OBL
10b \textit{a='k-ay-∅}\nVCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
10c ‘\textit{pas az ‘cār ‘pān ‘rō ‘śī=ay}\n\textit{a=’ś-īt}\nVCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘(10a) [He] falls down into the well; (10b) he comes [home]; (10c) after four or five days \textit{her husband} says, (...)’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 132)

In this passage, the subject ‘\textit{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 ‘\textit{pas az ‘cār ‘pān ‘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 \textit{ā=k-ā-’yānt=o}\nVCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL=and
44b ‘\textit{‘cān na’fār ā=k-ā-’yānt}\na few people VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL
44c ‘\textit{ya ‘hāf ‘haš ‘dāh na’far}\none seven eight ten people\n\textit{ā=k-ā-’yānt}\nVCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

‘(44a) they came and (44b) a few people came, (44c) \textbf{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 ‘∅’ [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 level 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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(46b)</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>'ēr</th>
<th>kap-t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLM</td>
<td>PREV</td>
<td>fall.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 | runied | 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, ‘∅’ [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 ʼgō ʼnām ʼna-ger-ī’
father-OBL with name NEG-take.NPST-3SG

15a ʼna-ger-ī
NEG-take.NPST-3SG

15b taʼpīg  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, ‘∅’ [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 ʼbač= 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>39b</th>
<th>čō'māk-ā</th>
<th>a=rasā'n-ī</th>
<th>'bahr=ay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wooden club-OBL</td>
<td>VCL=take.NPST-3SG</td>
<td>for=PC.3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zarafšān</td>
<td>Zarafshan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>40a</th>
<th>čō'māk-ā</th>
<th>a=rasā'n-ī</th>
<th>'bahr=ay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wooden club-OBL</td>
<td>VCL=take.NPST-3SG</td>
<td>for=PC.3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zarafšān</td>
<td>Zarafshan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>40b</th>
<th>dobā'ra</th>
<th>'sar  a=kan-∅</th>
<th>'gō</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>again</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čō'māk-ā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wooden club-OBL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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-∅ ūşām-ī ko'h-ā 'ē
VCL=bring.NPST-3SG evening-ADVZ mountain-OBL PROX
do='en-ā
two=PC.1PL-OBL

20b  āne'k  ham  ar='ra-∅  ūlōg=aš
girl   ADD  VCL=go.NPST-3SG  house=PC.3PL

21a  āne'k  ham  ar='ra-∅  ūlōg=aš
girl   ADD  VCL=go.NPST-3SG  house=PC.3PL

21b  a='ş-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  āne'k=o  sar'pad  ūbuat-∅
girl=FOC aware become.PST-3SG

46d  āne'k=o  sar'pad  ūbuat-∅
girl=FOC aware become.PST-3SG

46e  ţoş=e  ūxanā xa'rāb  zā'n-ay  ţōn
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’yā ‘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 feature 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
'rōčē rōz'gāre 'bī bād'šāhē bād'šāhe
rōč=ē rōzgār=ē b-ī bādšāh=ē bādšāh=e
day=IND time=IND become.NPST-3SG king=IND king=PC.3SG

ba'yā hapt ja'nē 'čok... hapt mar'dē 'čok ya ja'nē 'čoke
bay-ā hapt janēčok hapt mardēčok ya janēčok=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
'ē ja'nē 'čoke 'yake 'šāht 'nabīte
ē janēčok=e yak=e šāht na-b-īt=e
PROX daughter=PC.3SG one=IND happy NEG-become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

'nayāpte ke 'yake ja'nē 'hapt mardē'čok
nayāpt=e ke yak=e janē 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.
Table 37. Participant identification and tracking in KD.f

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Summary of content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>bād'sāhē</td>
<td>'bī</td>
<td>INTRO</td>
<td>Once upon a time there was a king.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>bād'sāhē</td>
<td>ba'yā</td>
<td>S1NP</td>
<td>the king had seven daughters... seven sons and a daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>PC</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>S1PC</td>
<td>This girl [was] the only girl to him;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>PC</td>
<td>'nabīte</td>
<td>S1PC</td>
<td>he is very protective;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>she is valuable to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>S1∅</td>
<td>since there was only one girl [and] seven boys [for him].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ∅);
- 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:
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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+REFL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 41. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in KD.m (erg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+Ø</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 43. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in BS.f (erg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

175
Table 45. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in BS.m (erg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+REFL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+∅</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ∅, 79 while for S3 and S4 the default encoding is a simple NP. 80

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.

---

79 A person-marking verb suffix, is, of course, always present in the ∅ encoding.
80 A simple NP is understood to mean NP without a demonstrative.
Table 47. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in folktales (erg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Ø);
- 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+REFL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 49. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in RB.m (erg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 RB.f (acc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 51. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in RB.f (erg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 53. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in HA.m (erg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+PC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+REFL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 55. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in HA.f (erg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+REFL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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).81

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 ∅ 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 ∅ 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.

81 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 $\emptyset$ 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 ‘$\emptyset$’ [he] in (28b) is encoded with $\emptyset$ in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause.

Ex. 162) S1 with person-marking verb suffix $\emptyset$ in accusative alignment

28a $mol'\text{l}a$ 'wat 'k-ay-$\emptyset$

Mullah REFL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

28b 'kown\text{\text{-}e} t\text{\text{\text{-}e}} r=t\text{\text{-}r}\

shoe-GEN match=PC.3SG take.NPST-3SG

28c 'k-ay-$\emptyset$\

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 $mol'\text{l}a$-ya sa'j'e\text{\text{-}e} sa'bak $d\text{\text{-}a}$'t-ag-$\text{\text{-}a}$

Mullah-OBL all.ATTR lesson give.PST-PP-3PL

118b '\text{\text{-}e}' sa'bak 'na-d'ag=\text{\text{-}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 ‘$\emptyset$’ [he] in (20b) is encoded with $\emptyset$ in S1 since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause.

Ex. 164) S1 $\emptyset$ in ergative alignment

20a 'â wâ'dî 'say ha'zâr $t\text{\text{-}o}$'mô $\text{\text{\text{-}s}o}$'wâz ko$\

DIST time three thousand toman collected do.PST

20b 'sî mes'xâl te'\text{\text{-}l}â 'zo$\

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 ∅ in the accusative and PC/∅ in the ergative alignments, as in the following examples:

- S2 ∅ with person-marking verb suffix

The following passage is narrated in the non-past tense so the alignment is accusative. The subject ‘∅’ [he] in (8b) is encoded with ∅ in S2 because it is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (8a).

Ex. 165) S2 ∅ in accusative alignment

8a  'ē  goʾš-ī  'mnā  saʾbak
PROX  say.NPST-3SG  PN.1SG.OBJ  lesson
'be-day-∅  'mnī  waʾt-ī  saʾbak
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG  PN.1SG.GEN  REFL-GEN  lesson
'yād=ʾē  'tā  'mnā  saʾbak
know=COP.NPST.3SG  PN.2SG  PN.1SG.OBJ  lesson
'na-d-ay
NEG-give.NPST-2SG

8b  goʾš-ī  'to  ya  'bar=ʾē  'sabr
say.NPST-3SG  PN.2SG  one  time=IND  patience
∅-'kā-∅
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) [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 'ti 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 (∅) in the accusative alignment and a simple NP in the ergative alignment, as in the following examples:

- S2 ∅ in accusative alignment

The following passage was narrated in the non-past tense so the alignment is accusative. The subject, ‘∅’ [he] says,’ in (10) is encoded with ∅ in S2 since the subject is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (9).

Ex. 168) S2 ∅ in accusative alignment

8  go's-ī 'bābā 'mā 'tī 'tī
say.NPST-3SG father PN.1SG what NP.2SG.GEN
ham'rāh 'ma-b-ā
companion PRO-became.NPST-1SG

9  go's-ī 'taw nō'k-ī 'man-ī
say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG new-ADVZ PN.1SG.GEN
ḍaw'l-ā kessawā'ālā=yē 'na-b-ay
manner-OBL storyteller=IND NEG-become.NPST-2SG
'sērwā'ālā=e 'na-b-ay batal'gū-ye
poet=IND NEG-become.NPST-2SG teller of idiom-GEN
mar'dom=ē 'na-b-ay 'taw 'tī-ŷā
person=IND NEG-become.NPST-2SG PN.2SG what-OBL
o'tī 'dast-e 'kār bor't-a
REFL.GEN hand-GEN work take.PST-PP

10  's-ī go'rā par'wā 'nēst=en
say.NPST-3SG well fear NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST-3SG
'man-ā ō'tī hamrā'hī-ŷā
PN.1SG-OBJ REFL.GEN companionship-OBL
'ma-koš-∅ 'na
PRO-kill.NPST-2SG 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)
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  ēšīā  o'tī  go'hār  'go  mas'-ter
    PROX.OBL  REFL.GEN  sister  say.PST  big-COMP

   'man-ī  ham  'taw=ay  'harčī  ke
   PN.1SG-GEN  ADD  PN.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG  whatever  CLM

   'to  'man-ā  ∅'-d-ay  'man-ā
   PN.2SG  PN.1SG-OBJ  SBJV-give.NPST-2SG  PN.1SG-OBJ

   'dega  ete'rāz=ē  'nēst=ē
another  objection=IND  NEG.be=COP.NPST.3SG

43  go'hār-ā  'go  'mā  'ta-rā  'sī
    sister-OBL  say.PST  PN.1SG  PN.2SG-OBJ  thirty

   'panč  mes'kāl  te'lāh  da'y-ā  bā'kī  'ta-rā
   five  meskal  gold  give.NPST-1SG  rest  PN.2SG-OBJ

   'sad=o  pan'jā  ha'zār  to'mō  'tī
   hundred=and  fifty  thousand  toman  PN.2SG.GEN

   go'd-ān=ī  'ta-rā  da'y-ā
   cloth-OBL.PL=PC.3SG  PN.2SG-OBJ  give.NPST-1SG

44  ēšīā  'go  mas'-ter  'ta
    PROX.OBL  say.PST  big-COMP  PN.2SG

   'wat=ay
    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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>39a</th>
<th>ʿāsk-e  ṭela’g-ā  kašš-ā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deer-GEN   eye-OBL.PL   pull out.NPST-3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>39b</th>
<th>k-ār-ā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>39c</th>
<th>da'y-ā  'pet-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>give.NPST-3PL  father-OBL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>40</th>
<th>'pet  ḥos  kan-t=e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>father  question  do.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(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 (38e).

Ex. 171) S3 with NP as default in the ergative alignment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>38d</th>
<th>ʾham=ē ʾmard-ā yak  go'hār=ē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EMPH=PROX  man-OBL  one sister=IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hast=a-∅</th>
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<td>be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG</td>
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<tr>
<th>38e</th>
<th>go'hār-ā ʾgo</th>
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<tr>
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<td>sister-OBL  say.PST</td>
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‘(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-i  tā  ‘čenčo  rōč-ā
      ill    become.NPST-3SG for several day-OBL
16a  ‘padā  ‘mnāt  ha’bār  kan-t  oš-i
      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  ‘tā-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 ă'xer-ă 'ăp=ē 'čā=ē wă'rag=ē 'ĉız=ē
end-OBL water=IND tea=IND food=IND thing=IND
'ĉeşt=e ko 'dăt-ă
up=PC.3SG do.PST give.PST-3PL

14b ęgōră 'mard-e go'hār-ă '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 ∅. 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 ‘∅’ [people] in (19b) is encoded with ∅ in S4 since the ‘∅’ refers to an unspecified group of the people in the story who were not involved in (19a).

Ex. 175) S4 with ∅ for generic nouns in accusative alignment

19a 'pet-ă 'go ke 'nī 'tī
father-OBL say.PST CLM now PN.2SG.GEN
'sīr-e pro'grăm=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 ă'xer-ă 'ā zamā'nag-ă pēsa'rā šo'r-ă
end-OBL DIST time.OBL in former times go.PST-3PL

19c bejārī=yē 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 ‘∅’ [people] in (82b) is encoded with ∅ 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 ε for generic nouns in ergative alignment

82a  šo’rū  bīr-ā  ’nāč  nā’żēnk  ‘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 ε/PC, marked encoding is anything more than ε 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 ε/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 (ε) 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 ε/PC, the marked encoding consists of anything more than ε/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 je’nek-ā ārt ya mar’den’ćok=ē
   girl-OBL bring.PST one son=IND
50 ’ēdga ‘sāl-ā ’padā je’nēn ćel’lag bīt-∅
   next year-OBL again woman delivered become.PST-3SG
de’ga ćok=ē ārt
   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 saj’ē jane’k-ā ta’til dā-∅
   all.ATTR girl-OBL.PL dismissed do.NPST-3SG
10 mul’lah-e ’del ’nī da’gā=ē ’gū
   Mullah-GEN heart now lustful=COP.NPST.3SG with
   ja’nek-a
girl-OBL
11 ’nī oš-ī
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 mol'lā-
ā-yā 'dast=ī 'na-dāt
Mullah-OBL hand=PC.3SG NEG-give.PST.3SG

14a je'nek 'dar ātk-∅ lō'g-ā
girl PREV come.PST-3SG home-OBL

14b ba'le lō'g-ā 'wat-ī mā't-e gō
but home-OBL REFLE-GEN mother-GEN with
pe't-e gō brā't-ānī gwa'rā 'kas-e
father-GEN with brother-PL.OBL-GEN by person-GEN
gwa'rā 'nām=e 'na-ge
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 lagge't-a 'āp-e kaš's-ag-ā
start.PST-PP water-GEN pull.NPST-INF-OBL

119c še'pānk-ā 'ham=ē je'nek kašš't-a ča
shepherd-OBL EMPH=PROX girl pull out.PST-PP from
'čāt-a
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  'mard  ūṭk-∅  me.setTag-ā
man  come.PST-3SG  village-OBL

82b  'tā  čāʾr-ī  'mard
MIR  think-NPST-3SG  man

'mard-ā  'kēr=ē  'nest=ē-∅  ke
man-OBL  fare=IND  NEG.be=COP.NPST-3SG  CLM
māʾšēn-ā  'swār  ∅-h-ī=o  'dega
car-OBL  riding  SBJV-become.NPST-3SG=and  another
jaʾnen=e  gaʾr-ag-e  wāʾsītā  haʾnī
wife=IND  take.NPST-INF-GEN  for the sake of  right now
jaʾnēʾn-ānī  geʾr-ag-e  wāʾsītā  'bāz
wife-GEN.PL  take.NPST-INF-GEN  for the sake of  many
'pūl=a  lōʾt-ī
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  yak  ṭrōc  ē  nešʾt-ag=at-ā=o
one day  PROX  sit.NPST-PP=COP.PST-3PL=and

28b  ham=ē  'mard  nešʾtag=a-∅
EMPH=PROX  man  sit.NPST-PP=COP.PST-3SG

28c  rahīmʾbakš  nešʾt-ag=a-∅
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 ‘∅ [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  ’k-ay-∅
      IMP-k come.NPST-3SG
44b  gen’d-ū=e  ’ē  en’sān=ē  mar’dom=ē
     see.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG  PROX  human being=IND  people=IND
     ’ē  ’ē=ī=yē  ’edā
     PROX  what=IND  here
44c  ’ē  ’raw-∅  ’padā  ’ōtī  ’lōg-ā
     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  go’rā  ’dāke  ā  mardo’m-ā  ’go  ’mā
     then  you know  DIST  people-OBL.PL  say.PST  PN.1PL
     ’ta-rā  ’zīr-ē
     PN-OBJ  take.NPST-1PL
37a  ’nī  ’ā-hā  zor’t-a
     now  DIST-OBL.PL  take.PST-PP
37b  ’bale  e’šīā  ’hēcē  ’nest=ē-∅
     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 ‘∅ [he] himself’ in (45f) refers to the same person as ‘∅ [he]’ in the previous clause (45f), 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 īr kan-t=e
now Jujube-GEN do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
45f 'wat ‘raw-∅
REFL go.NPST-3SG
45g lap’p-i 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 ‘sot-∅
PN.1SG go.PST-1SG
47b ‘caret=∅ kahīr ‘nī ma’nīng-ī
look.PST=PC.1SG kahir now mine-OBL
‘nahē-∅ kahīr ‘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-∅
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 REF 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  \( brā't-ā \) bor't-a \( ya'las \) dā't-a  
brother-OBL.PL take.PST-PP throwing give.PST-PP

128  'brāt 'wat tat'k-ā šot-a'g=ā  
brother REFLECT 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 \(\text{\textquoteright}nî \ 'ē \ ja'nēn \ 'padā \ 'ā \ dega'r-\textquoteright ō\)

now PROX woman again DIST another-OBL.PL

\(\text{\textquoteright}ga$p \ 'na-kā-∅\)

word NEG-do.NPST-3SG

91a \(\text{\textquoteright}dāke \ 'ē \ ja'nēn \ 'k-ay-∅\)

you know PROX woman IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

\(\text{\textquoteright}k-ay-∅\)

IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

91b \(\text{ya} \ 'čāt=ē \ b-ī\)

one well=IND become.NPST-3SG

91c \(\text{\textquoteright}rē \ kap-ī \ 'čāt-e \ tō'kā\)

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 \(\text{go\textquoteright}s-ī \ 'sarr=ē\)

say.NPST-3SG fine=COP.NPST.3SG

54a \(\text{\textquoteright}ham=ī \ rahīm\textquoteright \ \text{bakš} \ tar'r-ā \ tar'r-ā\)

EMPH=PROX Rahimbaksh turn.NPST-3PL turn.NPST-3PL

tar'r-ā \ tar'r-ā

turn.NPST-3PL turn.NPST-3PL

54b \(\text{\textquoteright}dāke \ \text{\textquoteright}sot-∅ \ \text{yak} \ 'molk=ē-ā\)

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 ‘

∅

’ 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 ‘

dar

’ k-ay-∅

PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

70b ‘

ē

badšāh

’ wat ‘

dega

’ naw’kar=e ‘

‘ćōbī

PROX king REFL another servant=IND you know
go’lām=e zīr-ī gō=o slave=IND take.NPST-3SG with=and

70c ‘

dega

’ ya mol’lā=e ‘

ē

mol’k-īg-ī

another one Mullah=IND PROX land-ADJZ-GEN

zīr-ī 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 ‘

∅

’ [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  bādʾšāh  ṭada  tarʾr-ī  ṭraw-∅
       king   again  turn.NPST-3SG  go.NPST-3SG

150b ʾeš-ān ʾdan-t=e
       PROX-PL  give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

150c oʾš-ī
       say.NPST-3SG

151a ʿā bādʾšāh ʾraw-∅
       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)

\[\text{• S1 NP in connection with tail-head linkage for highlighting}\]

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 ʾnī ʾpet ʾjos  kan-t=e
   now  father  question  do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

27a ʾpet ʾjos-ʾī  kā-∅
    father  question=PC.3SG  do.NPST-3SG

27b ʾpet-a ʾgō ʾheč ʾna-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  pädä  ta’č-ī  ta’č-ī  ta’č-ī
     again  run.NPST-3SG  run.NPST-3SG  run.NPST-3SG

23d  ’kawnš-e  ’tā=e  ka’p-īt=e ē
     shoes-GEN  match=PC.3SG  fall.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

24a  ’ē  ’kawnš-e  ’tā  ka’p-īt=e ē
     PROX  shoe-GEN  match  fall.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

24b  ’e  ’k-ay-∅  ’k-ay-∅
     PROX  IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG  IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

25a  ’k-ay-∅  ra’s-ī  mē’tag-ā
     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  ’xayr  ’ā  rōč  ’gwast-∅
     you know  DIST  day  pass.PST-3SG

15b  ja’nek  ’na-šo-∅  wān-a’g-ā
     girl  NEG.go.PST-3SG  read-NPST-INF-OBL

15c  ’ēdga  rōč  ja’nek  ’na-šo-∅  wān-a’g-ā
     another  day  girl  NEG.go.PST-3SG  read-NPST-INF-OBL

15d  pädä  ’pet-ā  ’go
     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 Sl. 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  je'nek  jerge-∅
     girl      run.PST-3SG
18d  je'nek-e  čam'pal-e  'tā=i  'kapt-∅
     girl-GEN  sandal-GEN  match=PC.3SG  fall.PST-3SG
18e  čam'pal-e  'tā=i  je'nek-e  'kapt-∅
     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-ā
    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-ā
    PN.2SG.GEN  betrothal=VCL  do.NPST-1SG

56c  ja'nek-ā  'go  ke  'man-ī  'ē
    girl-OBL  say.PST  CLM  PN.1SG-GEN  PROX
manga'līk-e  ba'dal-ā  'harċe  mar'dom=ē
    bangle-GEN  copy-OBL  every  person=IND
'be-jan-t=o  čōrtī'keg-ā
    SUBJ-make.NPST-3SG=and  bangle=IND
'mā  ha'm=āī  'sāng=ā  ka'n-ā
    PN.1SG  EMPH=DIST.GEN  betrothal=VCL  do.NPST-1SG

57  ē'sīā  'go  'mā  'hanī
    PROX.OBL  say.PST  PN.1PL  right now
ja'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-∅
IMPV.give.NPST-2SG

71b  ba'čak-ā kaššet 'zahm=o 'otī 'pād-ay boy-OBL pull.PST sword=and REFL.GEN foot-GEN
'rān=ī 'borreť=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-∅ now say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1PL-OBJ IMPV-allow.NPST-2SG

79b  ja'nēn goš-ī 'na na'zīḵ-a 'may-ā-∅ woman say.NPST-3SG no near-OBL PRO-come.NPST-2SG

80  'gošt=ī 'ti 'čok-a koš-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=ê'  daš't-ā
    go.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG   Dasht-OBL

4b  ha'm=âŋgō  dar  gêj-î=t=ê
    EMPH=DIST   PREV  find.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

4c  go’s-î 'by-ā-∅  e’dā  'dêm  pa
    say.NPST-3SG  IMPV-come.NPST-2SG  here  face  to
    'dêm-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-‘ën  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=ê  ‘taw  ‘bo-ro-∅
good.COMP=COP.NPST.3SG  PN.2SG  IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

5  jalah’hī  baz’zag  ‘k-ay-t=ê
    Jalahi  poor  IMP.k-come.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG
    ‘ham=ιngō  ‘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

Ex. 200) S2 NP in connection with a new narrative unit

(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)
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 oš-ī 'ē=o 'man-ī dōs't-ē
say.NPST-3SG PROX=FOC PN.1SG-GEN friend -ATTR
mar’dom=ē 'to 'gorā pē’sarā 'čī-ye
people=IND PN.2SG than in former times what-GEN
wās'tā 'man-a 'na-gošt-a
for the sake of PN.1SG-OBL NEG-say.PST-PP

68 'gošt=ī 'šar=ē 'be-r-ē
say.PST=PC.3SG fine=COP.NPST.3SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

69 'ē 'odā če 'dar k-ay-∅
PROX there from PREV 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 kam’bal kaššē
blanket pull.PST

83b ča’gal=e ’dā ‘otī xā’nom-e
throwing=PC.3SG give.PST.3SG REFL.GEN wife-GEN
nēma’g-ā
direction-OBL

83c ’ēš-ā ∅-’zī-∅ de’ge kam’bal=ē
PROX-OBL IMPV.take.NPST-2SG another blanket=IND
’by-ār-∅
IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

84 ’ā ʃo-∅ kam’bal=ē ’by-ār-ī
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  ča 'čāt-e tō'kā 'ā rama'gī 'jos
from well-GEN in DIST shepherd question
kā-∅ 'to 'čōnēn=ē=e
do.NPST-3SG PN.2SG what=IND=COP.NPST.2SG
'čāt-e tō'kā
well-GEN in

174b 'gošt=ī 'mā
say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG
mar'dom=ē=ā 'ta-ra 'māt=ē
human bing=IND=COP.NPST.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ mother=IND
go'hār=ē 'kas=ē ħā-∅ 'nē
sister=IND someone=IND be.NPST-3SG NEG.be.NPST-3SG

174c 'ē 'goš'-ī 'man-a
PROX say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-OBJ
hast=ē
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 bādeʾšāḥ-ā 'go 'bo-ro-∅
king-OBL say.PST IMPV-go.NPST-2SG
'ba-yār-∅=ī
IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG
54b āʾtā 'go 'man 'ēī ∅-'kan-ān
DIST.OBL say.PST PN.1SG what SBJV-do.NPST-1SG
'tī 'ćok=en
PN.2SG.GEN child=COP.NPST.3SG
54c ēšīā '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 ēš-ā ∅-'zī-∅ deʾge paʾtū=ē
PROX-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2SG another blanket=IND
'by-ār-∅
IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG
56a tā ke 'šo-∅ paʾtū=ē
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 go’s-ī 'by-ā-∅ 'taw bād’sāh=ē
  say.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.2SG king=IND
  maza’n-ē nām’dār=ē mol’k-ānī bad’sāh=ay
  big-ATTR famous=IND land-GEN.PL king=COP.NPST-2SG
30 ta-‘ī ja’nek ’čoš-ē ’kār=ē
  PN.2SG-GEN daughter such-ATTR work=IND
  randā=ē
  after=COP.NPST.3SG
31a ’ē ’pet ’hančō parešān b-ī
  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's-ī  'drō  'man-a
   PROX  shepherd  say.NPST-3SG  all  PN.1SG-OBJ
   hast=ē
   be.NPST-3SG  =COP.NPST.3SG

97 go's-ī  'gorā  '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  bàdšāh  goš-ī  ḫanen
       king       say.NPST-3SG    woman

54c  goš-ī    ḫā
       say.NPST-3SG   yes

54d  'ē  goš-ī  'bo-ro-∅  zā'm-ā
       PROX    say.NPST-3SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG sword-OBL
       'by-ār-∅  ra'w-ān  'ofī  čo'k-ā
       IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG go.NPST-1SG REFL-GEN child-OBL
       koš-ān
       kill.NPST-1SG

54e  'ā  ja'nen  'cī  'kan-t
       DIST woman what do.NPST-3SG

54f  lagg-īt  kand-ag-ā
       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 is 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 ēšīā 'go 'man-ī 'pet da'nīgā
PROX.OBL say.PST PN.1SG-GEN father still
'mā ka'sān=ā
PN.1SG young=COP.NPST.1SG

52 do-'mī 'čok=e 'go 'bābā šo'mā 'har
two-ORD child=PC.3SG say.PST father PN.2PL every
yak=ī 'bīs 'sī 'bīs 'pā 'sāl
one=IND twenty thirty twenty five year
'omr=e 'bīs 'sāl mar'dom-e
age=COP.NPST.2PL twenty year person-GEN
'sīr ∅-kan-e
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  ešīā  oṭī  goḥār  'go  mas-'ter
    PROX.OBL  REF.L.GEN  sister  say.PST  big-COMP
    'man-ī  ham  'taw=ay  'ḥarĉī  ke
    PN.1SG-GEN  ADD  PN.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG  whatever  CLM
    'to  'man-ā  ∅-'d-ay  'man-ā
    PN.2SG  PN.1SG-OBJ  SBJV-give.NPST.2SG  PN.1SG-OBJ
   de'ga  ete'rāz='ē  'nēst='ē
another objection=IND  NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG
43  goḥār-ā  'go  'mā  'ta-rā  'sī  'panċ
    sister-OBL  say.PST  PN.1SG  PN.2SG-OBJ  thirty five
    meskāl  te'lāh  day-ā  bā'kī  'ta-rā
   PN.1SG  PN.2SG  give.NPST.1SG  rest  PN.2SG-OBJ
   'sad=o  pan'jā  ha'zār  to'mō  'tī
hundred=and fifty thousand toman  PN.2SG.GEN
   go'd-ānī  'ta-rā  da'y-ā
    PN.2SG.GEN  cloth-GEN.PL  give.NPST.1SG
44  ēšīā  'go  mas-'ter  'ta
    PROX.OBL  say.NPST  big-COPM  PN.2SG
    'wāt=ay
    REF.L=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)
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 goʾš-ī
say.NPST-3SG

31 ’ē rahimʾbakš hayʾrā bī-∅
PROX Rahimbaksh confused become.PST-3SG
‘šarrʾē
fine=COP.NPST.3SG

32 āʾīā yak gwānd-oʾk-ē negēʾnaʾē ’čest
DIST.OBL one small-DIM-ATTR stone=IND up
ko ’dātʾī
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  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{go's-\text{\textbar}i} & \text{de'ga} & \text{zem'\text{\textbar}in}=\text{\textbar}i & \text{h\textbar}a & \text{pa} \\
\text{say.NPST-3SG} & \text{another} & \text{land=IND} & \text{ADD} & \text{for} \\
\end{array}
\]

121  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{‘e} & \text{‘mard-\textbar\textbar} & \text{ja'w\textbar\textbar} & \text{‘d\textbar\textbar}-\emptyset & \text{ke} \\
\text{PROX} & \text{man-OBL} & \text{answer} & \text{give.NPST-3SG} & \text{CLM} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(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  tel'pūn  ja'n-ā  'by-ā-∅
    telephone  hit.NPST-3PL  IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

pelā'n-ī  'tī  'pet
    so and so-NOMZ  PN.2SG.GEN  father

nātā'rī=ē  'by-ā-∅
    sick=COP.NPST.3SG  IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

69a  'ā  'čok-ā  'otī  wāsā'yel=e
    DIST  child-OBL  REFL.GEN  stuff=PC.3SG

e'law  kot-ā  'dar  ātk-∅  'āt-∅
    loose  do.PST-3PL  PREV  come.PST-3SG  come.PST-3SG

lō'g-ā
    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 ‘padā pet bārt=i
   again father take.NPST-PC.3SG
18b ‘dāke hap’tag=e ‘dō hap’tag=e padā wā’n-i
   till week=IND two week=IND again read.NPST-3SG
   ša’r-i-ye sa’rā
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 man’jal=ē ‘āp=ē dā’t-ag-ā
   pot=EZ water=PC.3PL give.PST-PP-3PL
   na’gan-e čon’dok=ē dā’t-ag-ā
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 'gōš-t-ā lō’t-ī
  end=PC.3SG meat-OBL want.NPST-3SG
 'be-kaš-ūt=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 ḍīšī tāḇīl 'na-ge bādšāh-ā
PROX attention NEG-take.PST king-OBL

Ex. 218) S3 PROX to mark the referent as thematic

21b ṭī ṣāt-∅ 'māt-e gwa'rā
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’son himself is the current centre of attention.

Ex. 219) S3 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

86c dan-t=e dap-e tō'kā
give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG mouth-GEN inside

Ex. 219) S3 DIST to mark the referent as non-thematic

86d ţā zī'r-ī da'p-ā dā'r-ī=e
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’nēn
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
lū’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: ∅, PC, PROX and DIST. 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 (26a) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (25), so the context is S4. The reason for the under-encoding ∅ is that Rahimbaksh is the global VIP in this story and the hearers expect the story to be revolving around him.

Ex. 222) S4 ∅ in connection with a global VIP
20  'čok  'šarr  'b-īt
   child  fine  become.NPST-3SG
21a  'čok-ā  'bār-t  dabes'tān-ā
    child-OBL  take.NPST-3SG  primary school-OBL
     'dant=o
     give.NPST-3SG=and
22b  dabes'tān-ā  lag'g-īt  wā'n-ag-ā
    primary school-OBL  start.NPST-3SG  read.NPST-INF-OBL
   'čok
   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, ‘∅’ in (20a) is under-encoded with ∅ in S4 since he was not involved in the previous clause. so the context is S4. The reason for the under-encoding ∅ 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  bit-$\emptyset$=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 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=IIND-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  wālā'ī  'sāy  ha'zār  to'mā  šo'wâz  ko-$\emptyset$
DIST time three thousand toman collected do.PST-3SG
20b  'sī  mes'xāl  te'lā  'zo-$\emptyset$
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) bejā'rī, (19d) you know people asked for bejā'rī […] (20a) At that time [he] collected three thousand toman, (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  golām'kāder  'dar  ā-∅
     Golalmkader  PREV  come.PST-3SG

26d  go’sī  ‘hā  ‘taw  sār=ay
     say.NPST-3SG  ADD  PN.2SG  wise=COP.NPST.2SG
     ga’nk=ay
     crazy=COP.NPST.2SG

27a  ka’hīr-ā  kojā  koś-ay  ka’hir  ‘tī
     Kahir-OBL  where  kill.NPST-2SG  Kahir  PN.2SG.GEN
     gwa’rā  ‘jān=ē  gep’-a
     by  wife=IND  take.PST-PP

28a  ‘nī  šekā’hat=ī  ko  pol’lān-e
     now  complain=PC.3SG  do.PST  Polan-GEN
     ga’jar-ā
     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  ‘nī  ‘drō  moč’ē-ē  wāp’t-ag=ā
     now  all  all-ATTR  sleep.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

86b  ‘nī  ‘k-ay-∅  ‘ešīe  gwa’rā
     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 ∅ in connection with a contrast between the VIP and a minor participant

49  ke 'ē mango'lik-ā gō 'wat-a
   CLM PROX bangle-OBL with REFL-OBL
∅-'kā-∅
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

50  je'nek ke 'kašše-∅ 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=ō
    boy-OBL tie.PST REFL.GEN waist-OBL=and

52b  'kaššet=e 'dā 'nēm 'rāh-ā
    pull.NPST=PC.3SG 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-∅
     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-∅
old-COMP-ATTR child go.PST-3SG
7b ’nešt-∅ ka’m-ok=e-yā
sit.PST-3SG little-DIM=IND-OBL
7c ’dānke ha’m=ōdā ’wāb ka-∅
till EMPH=there sleep fall.PST-3SG
7d ’ā ’ātk-∅
DIST come.PST-3SG
7e yak ’hōš=ē ’borret
one cluster=IND cut.PST
7f ’šo-∅
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.
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. 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 wā’r-t-ag-ā
chick EMPH=PROX.OBL eat.PST-PP-3PL
bor’l-ag-ant-ī
take.PST-PP-3PL=PC.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)

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 ʼcāt-e gwa’rā ʼēr kā-Ø  
EMPH=PROX well-GEN by PREV do-NPST-3SG
ʼcāt-e  da’pā  
well-GEN front

37c ʼā mar’dom ʼnī ham=ʼōdā  
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-i  
NEG-say.NPST-3SG
28b ʼdāke mol’lā ʼwat ʼk-ay-Ø  
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 (Ø/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 summarizes 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 ∅, PC:

- Referent is a VIP;

For ∅:

- 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: (Ø) 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 (Ø) 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 ∅/PC, then marked encoding is anything more than ∅ 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. Thus, the lightest encoding is either (PC) or (∅) and the heaviest encodings in this dialect are PROX+NP and DIST+NP.

The encoding hierarchy in CoB is summarised in Figure 5.

∅/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).

---

82 When the default is ∅/PC, there is no under-encoding.
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 (∅);
- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>155:45:7:7:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL +Ø</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>114:43:11:18:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL +Ø</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>58:16:3:4:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+Ø</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 62 suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts is as follows: for S1 and S2, the default encoding is Ø/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 (Ø/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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+REFL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+∅</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>116:15:2:14:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>115 15 2 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+REFL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+∅</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>94:18:6:8:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>93   18 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>106 30 13 39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second table is a summary of the findings for the biographical tale entitled Alamdar (AL.m) as told by a male speaker

238
Table 65. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in AL.m

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+∅</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>66:</td>
<td>41:</td>
<td>25:</td>
<td>7:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>110:</td>
<td>29:</td>
<td>6:</td>
<td>15:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>6:</td>
<td>1:</td>
<td>5:</td>
<td>4:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Only the 3rd person subject encoding is presented in this table.

Table 66. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in AL.f

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>66:</td>
<td>7:</td>
<td>11:</td>
<td>7:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>41:</td>
<td>1:</td>
<td>6:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>25:</td>
<td>6:</td>
<td>5:</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83 There are 21 examples of 1st 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+REFL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+∅</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.84

84 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 \(\emptyset/\text{PC}\) 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 Ḗja’ga’l-ok ham ’gōš a=g-ī
      boy-DEF  ADD  ear  VCL=take.NPST-3SG
15b ’waxte az mada’r’sa  ar=’rafl-\(\emptyset\) 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, ‘\(\text{PC}\)’ [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 ’rafl-\(\emptyset\)=o
      Alamdar-OBL  take.PST=PST=PC.3SG  go.PST-3SG=and
17b ja’nēk=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  
\begin{align*}
&az \quad bāg'bān-ā \quad sō'f-ā \quad a=g-ī \\
&\text{from} \quad \text{gardening-OBL} \quad \text{question-OBL} \quad \text{VCL=take.NPST-3SG} \\
&a='s-ī \quad 'ē \quad jōgāl-ōk \quad 'kay=en \\
&\text{VCL=do.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{PROX} \quad \text{boy-DEF} \quad \text{who=COP.NPST.3SG}
\end{align*}

63  
\begin{align*}
&a='s-ī \quad 'wālā \quad 'ē \quad 'mān-ī \\
&\text{VCL=do.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{by God} \quad \text{PROX} \quad \text{PN.1SG-GEN} \\
'bač=en=o \quad 'ham=īdān \quad 'kār \\
\text{son=COP.NPST.3SG=and} \quad \text{EMPH=here} \quad \text{work} \\
\text{ma-kan-ag=en} \quad \text{gō} \quad 'mān \\
\text{IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{PN.1SG} \\
'ham=ī \quad bāg'bān-ōk=en \\
\text{EMPH=PROX} \quad \text{gardening-DEF=COP.NPST.3SG}
\end{align*}

‘(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) 'gašt=om bā’hāt=en ko’mak
say.PST=PC.3SG must=COP.NPST.3SG helping
Ø-day-ay alm’dār-ā ‘tark
SBJV-give.NPST.2SG Alamdar-OBL leaving
Ø-day-en ala’mdār ‘dīd=ō ‘čekada
SBJV-give.NPST-1PL Alamdar see.PST=PC.2PL how much
jāwān’mand=a ‘čekada ko’mak=i
generous=COP.PST.3SG how much helping=PC.3SG
a=dā ‘čekada bā fā’mīl-ā sarferā’zī
VCL=see.PST how much for family-OBL honour
a=k-ā’ort-a
VCL=IMP.k-bring.PST-PP

(55d) 'gašt=ī ‘be-b-ī aya ‘wad=e
say.PST=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG if REFL=PC.3SG
gā’būl Ø-kan-Ø ‘man
accepting SBJV-do.NPST-3SG PN.1SG
gā’būl=ān a=k-ā’r-ān=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 joġa'lı-ok-ay xo'rāk-ā zah'r-ā
one day into boy-DEF-GEN food-OBL poison-OBL
a=rē'č-i VCL=pour.NPST-3SG
14a joġa'lı-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'sā 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

\[\begin{align*}
68a & \quad \text{dawr} \quad \text{ma-jan-ā} \quad \text{bod-a} \\
& \quad \text{turn} \quad \text{IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG} \quad \text{become.PST-PP}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
68b & \quad \text{šā'h-ay} \quad \text{'kassān-o-ēn} \quad \text{ja'nekk} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{’ā} \quad \text{’rō} \\
& \quad \text{king-GEN} \quad \text{small-DIM-ATTR} \quad \text{daughter} \quad \text{ADD} \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{day}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{bīxa'bar} \quad \text{āk'k-a=∅} \quad \text{bod-a} \\
& \quad \text{without notice} \quad \text{come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG} \quad \text{become.PST-PP}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{mā} \quad \text{bā’g-ā} \\
& \quad \text{into} \quad \text{garden-OBL}
\end{align*}\]

‘(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

\[\begin{align*}
114 & \quad \text{hičī} \quad \text{šāh} \quad a=’š-ī} \\
& \quad \text{well} \quad \text{king} \quad \text{VCL=do.NPST-3SG}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
115a & \quad \text{jōga'lı-ok=am} \quad \text{ham=ī} \quad \text{ha'san} \quad \text{ka'čal=am} \\
& \quad \text{boy-DEF=ADD} \quad \text{EMPH=PROX} \quad \text{Hasan} \quad \text{bald=ADD}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{'wad=ī} \quad \text{moare'fi} \quad a=kan-t \\
& \quad \text{REFL=PC.3SG} \quad \text{introducing} \quad \text{VCL=do.NPST-3SG}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
& \quad a=’š-ī} \\
& \quad \text{VCL=do.NPST-3SG}
\end{align*}\]

‘(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 ‘∅’ [people] in (33a) is in S3 since the ‘∅’ 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  $jog\'la$  ham  rez\'yat  'na-ma-day-\AA
boy  ADD  approval  NEG-IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG
bod-a  'bo-ko\v{s}-ant
become.PST-PP  SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

33a  'ta  'ya  'r\=oc\=e=\=e  nax\=sa  \=a=\v{r}\=e\=e-ant
until one  day=IND  plan  VCL=pour.NPST-3PL
ke
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, ‘∅’ [people] in (22c) is in S4 since ‘∅’ 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  's\=am-\=i  'e  a\zh\=ah\=a-\=ok  a=p\=e\v{c}-\=i
supper-ADVZ  PROX  dragon-DEF  VCL=twist.NPST-3SG
'dawr=ay  s\=a\v{h}-ay  ja'nek-ay  gar'den-\=a=\=o
around=EZ  king-GEN  daughter-GEN  neck-OBL=and
22c  s\=obi\’g\=ah  'p\=ad  a=k-\=a-yan
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 harjā ham āśoḡ 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 ∅/PC, marked encoding is anything more than ∅/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 ∅/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 ∅ 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 ∅/PC, so marked encoding for S1 consists of anything more than ∅/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 ‘∅’ 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  asp=p-ok  har  'sāl  ke  kor’rag=ē
     PROX  horse-DEF each year CLM foal=PC.3SG
     ma-bā’r-ā  bod-a...
     IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG  become.PST-PP...
     bo’kān=ī  'bez-zay-∅
     want.NPST=PC.3SG  SUBJ-give.birth.NPST-3SG

4d  ma-bā’r-ā  bod-a
     IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG  become.PST-PP

4e  ma-prē’n-ā  bod-a  ‘mā  dar’yā-hā
     IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG  become.PST-PP into sea-OBL

4f  ‘asp  kor’rag=ay  ma-kō’š-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 maša‘ī ho’sayn=am ko’roš
   Mashhadi Hosayn=ADD Korosh
   bod-a=∅
   become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

6 maša‘ī e‘ʃ-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 nawšād-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 nawšād-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=’ʃ-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 ğa’nek-ay  do’ī  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 alm’dār  ‘gašt=ī  go’nāh=en  hā’lā
Alamdar  say.PST=PC.3SG  sin=COP.NPST.3SG  now

‘man  ‘ē  ja’nek-ā  a=ge’r-ān  bad  ham
PN.1SG  PROX  girl-OBL  VCL=take.NPST-1SG  after  ADD

ġes’mat  bo-∅  ya  ğan=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.

250
Ex. 250) S1 NP to clarify the subject

7a  \( ar='r-an \)  \( ha'm=i \)  \( sah'râ \)  \( 'dyâ \)
VCL=go.NPST-3PL  EMPH=PROX  wilderness  well

7b  \( saw'zâ \)  \( ma-če'n-ën \)  \( bod-a=o \)
herb.OBL  IMP-pick.NPST-BACKG.3PL  become.PST-PP=and
\( ā'ŋa \)  \( į'ŋa \)
there  here

7c  \( ar='ra-∅ \)
VCL=go.NPST-3SG

7d  \( 'yak \)  \( 'câh=i \)  \( pê'dâ \)  \( a=kan-t \)
one  well=IND  visible  VCL=go.NPST-3SG

8a  \( bā'mard \)  \( yak \)  \( 'câh=i \)  \( pê'dâ \)  \( a=kan-t \)
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  \( 'ā \)  \( 'rōč \)  \( 'zohr-i \)  \( xo'râk-ā \)
DIST  day  noon-ADVZ  food-OBL
\( ā='na-wâ-∅=o \)
VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-3SG=and

18c  \( dobâ'ra \)  \( a='raf-t \)  \( jōg'la \)  \( ma'drasa \)
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 ‘∅’ 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 de'ya šīš-tā še’kāl-ay sa’r-āa=bor’r-id=o
well six-CL prey-GEN head-OBL VCL=cut.NPST-3SG=and

96b 'ē ham har ’kodom=e ‘sar=eš ke
PROX ADD each which=EZ head=PC.3PL CLM
ma-bor’r-ā bod-a
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 ‘∅’ 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 dah'wat=eš a=kan-t ba
invitation=PC.3PL VCL=say.NPST-3SG for
pāwāko’nī-yā welcoming party-OBL

87b tā ham ya ‘asp=e a=’dā-∅ kā’kol
DIST ADD one horse=IND VCL=say.NPST-3SG Kakol
a'mū 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 ‘∅ [he] himself’ in (9d) refers to the same person as ‘∅’ 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-∅  push=PC.3SG  VCL=give.NPST-3SG
9c  a=prē'n-īd=ē  'mā  ċā'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'soḡ=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=∅  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 ‘∅’ 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  \( 'sām-i \quad 'ō \quad aẓdāhā'-ok \quad a=pē'č-i \)
\( supper-ADVZ \quad PROX \quad dragon-DEF \quad VCL=twist.NPST-3SG \)
\( 'dawr=e \quad šā'h=ay \quad ja'nek-ay \quad gar'den-ā \)
\( around=EZ \quad king-GEN \quad daughter-GEN \quad neck-OBL \)

‘(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  \( ẓāh \quad a=ʾs-ī \quad xo \quad če'taw \quad ∅-kan-en \)
\( king \quad VCL=say.NPST-3SG \quad well \quad how \quad SBJV-do.NPST-1PL \)
\( e'sān \)
like this
31b  \( ā \quad ẓā'h-ok \quad nārā'hat \quad a=b-īd \)
\( DIST \quad king-DEF \quad troubled \quad VCL=become.NPST-3SG \)
32  \( a=ʾs-ant \)
\( VCL=say.NPST-3PL \)

‘(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  
ā='bā-∅  šām-i  ko’h-ā  ’ē
VCL=bring.NPST-3SG  evening-ADVZ  mountain-OBL  PROX
do=’en-ā
two=PC.1PL-OBL

20b  ğa’nek  ham  ar=’ra-∅  ’lōg=aš
girl  ADD  VCL=go.NPST-3SG  house=PC.3PL

21a  ğa’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).
• 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=rasāʾn-ī  'baḥr=ay
wooden club-OBL  VCL=take.NPST-3SG  for=PC.3SG
zarafšān  Zarafshan

40a čō'māk-ā  a=rasāʾn-ī  'baḥr=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\textsuperscript{85}

In the following passage, the subject, \textit{‘their encampment’} in (7a) refers to the same subject as \textit{‘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

\textbf{6a} 'do 'say 'māh=ī a=b-īd
two three month=IND VCL=become.NPST-3SG
\textbf{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
\textbf{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
\textbf{7b} čō'bān a=b-ant
shepherd VCL=become.NPST-3PL

\textit{(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 \textit{‘The sons-in-law’} in (91a) refers to the same as person \textit{‘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.

\textsuperscript{85} 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.
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  $\textit{ax’bār a-bar-a ... ar=’ra-∅ ba}$
    news VCL=take.NPST-3SG ... VCL=go.NPST-3SG to
    Sowladow’lā
    Sowladowlah.OBL

83a $\textit{āx’bār ar=’ra-∅ ba sowladow’lā ke}$
    news VCL=go.NPST-3SG to Sowladowlah.OBL CLM
    ‘$\textit{ham=i korōš-o’bār-ay ‘xān}$
    EMPH=PROX Korosh-PL-GEN khan
    $\textit{bod-a=∅}$
    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 ∅/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’se ‘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  a=ʾš-ī  ’na  ’ta  ’be-ga-∅  če’tar
VCL=say.NPST-3SG  no  PN.2SG  IMPV-say.NPST-2SG  how
’gott=ī  ∅-ka’n-ān  ’man  ’wad=om
big=PC.3SG  SBJV-do.NPST-1SG  PN.1SG  REFL=PC.1SG
asʾp-ok-ā  ’gott  a=kan-ān
horse-DEF-OBL  big  VCL=do.NPST-3SG
8a  xolā’se  asʾp-ok  ’ā  ’sāl  boʾkān=ī
in short  horse-DEF  DIST  year  want.NPST=PC.3SG
bod-a  korʾrag-a  ’by-ār-īd=o  eʾšān
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 ʼgašt=i  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
    bišān
    so and so

12d ʼgašt=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  Ø-kan-Ø  ke  ’ē  ba  ʼṣan=e
    think  IMPV-do.NPST-2SG  CLM  PROX  for  worth=EZ
    alam’dār  ʼnā-mah-ā-Ø
    Alamdar  NEG-IMP-come.NPST-3SG

13a ʼja’nek-ay  do’i  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”;86 (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.

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86 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=ō  e's-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

111a  wazīr-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  ja'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=et*
      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=prēn-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'rāg-ā  'hīčka
      VCL=say.NPST-3SG  CLM  NP-GEN  foal-OBL  nobody
      a='na-tān-t  'gott  Ø-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  ešān
      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’sōg... ā’sōg-ay ’pūl
claim=ADD yet in love... in love-GEN money
ha’nū 'mā jīb-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 nāīmēd
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  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14d</th>
<th><em>ham=ī</em></th>
<th><em>wad-ī</em></th>
<th><em>kor’rag=ay</em></th>
<th><em>a=’s-ī</em></th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>EMPH=PROX</td>
<td>REFL-GEN</td>
<td>foal=PC.3SG</td>
<td>VCL=say.NPST-3SG</td>
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<tr>
<th>ke</th>
<th>ma’rō</th>
<th><em>raft-ay</em></th>
<th>lō’g-ā</th>
<th>xo’rāk-ā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLM</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>go.NPST-2SG</td>
<td>home-OBL</td>
<td>food-OBL</td>
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</table>

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<tr>
<th>a=’na-war-ay</th>
<th>xo’rāk=e</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>ke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-2SG</td>
<td>food=IND</td>
<td>CLM</td>
<td>CLM</td>
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<th>’ēr</th>
<th>ma-ka’n-ag=en</th>
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<td>for=PC.2SG</td>
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<th>’zahr=e</th>
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<th>’mān=e</th>
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<td>pour.PST-PP</td>
<td>into=PC.3SG</td>
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<th>zanbā’bā=t</th>
<th>xorā’k-ok</th>
<th>mas’mūm=en</th>
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<td>step mother=PC.3SG</td>
<td>food-DIM</td>
<td>poisoned=COP.NPST.3SG</td>
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15a  

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<th>15a</th>
<th><em>jo’ga’l-ok</em></th>
<th><em>ham</em></th>
<th><em>gōš</em></th>
<th><em>a=’g-ī</em></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boy-DEF</td>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>VCL=take.NPST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(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  'gašt=î  go'nâh=en  hā'lā  'man  'ê
say.PST=PC.3SG  sin=COP.NPST.3SG  now  PN.1SG  PROX
ja’nek-ā  a=ge'r-ān  bad  ham  ¢es’mat
girl-OBL  VCL=take.NPST-1SG  than  ADD  destiny
bo-∅  'ya  'jan=e  'dya  ham
become.PST-3SG  one  wife=IND  another  ADD
a=ge'r-ān
VCL=take.NPST-1SG

15  'mā  'gašt=en  etō’rī  'dye  ’xāb
PN.1PL  say.PST=PC.1PL  like this  well  good
'nē
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  xolā’sa  a=’s-ant  ’bî-b-î
in short  VCL=say.NPST-3PL  SBJV-become.NPST-3SG
97b  ’āgā  ’hay  ’wad=î
sir  ITER  REFL=PC.3SG  head.OBL.PC.3SG
a=bor’r-ī
VCL=cut.NPST-3SG

(97a) So they say, “Very well”; (97b) sir, he himself slaughters [these animals] (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 195)
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  
\[ a='\text{sī} ' \ 'wāllā ' \ 'ē ' \ 'man-\text{ī} \]
VCL=say.NPST-3SG by God PROX PN-GEN
\[ '\text{bač}=\text{en}=o ' \ '\text{ham}=\text{idān} ' \ 'kār \]
son=COP.NPST.3SG=and EMPH=here work
\[ \text{ma-kan-ag}=\text{en} \ ' \ '\text{gō} ' \ '\text{man} ' \ '\text{ham}=\text{ī} \]
IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG with PN.1SG EMPH=PROX
\[ \text{bāgbā'n-ok}=\text{en} \]
gardening-DEF=COP.NPST.3SG

64a  
\[ '\ē ' \ \text{de'ya} ' \ a='\text{zān-t} ' \ \text{ke} ' \ \text{ma'san} \]
PROX well VCL=know.NPST-3SG CLM for example
\[ '\ē ' \ \text{ha'm}=\text{ā} ' \ \text{joğa'l-ok}=\text{en} \]
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  
\[do'ī=ay \quad a'=\breve{s}-ī \quad ke \quad hā'īā\]
mother=PC.3SG  VCL=say.NPST-3SG  CLM  now
\[kassān-o-'ēn \quad ja'nek=en=et\]
small-DIM-ATTR  daughter=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG
\[go'nāh=ay=a \quad de'lāy\]
sin=PC.3SG=be.NPST.3SG  heart.OBL.PC.3SG
\[\text{‘ma-bōren-∅} \quad \text{‘b-ōr-∅} \quad ta \quad ham\]
PRO-break.NPST-2SG  IMPV-eat.NPST-2SG  PN.2SG  ADD
\[\text{‘ya} \text{ ‘darf=e az} \quad \text{‘ē} \quad \text{kallapā’ča=e} \quad ke\]
one  bowl=IND  from  PROX  head and trotters=IND  CLM
\[ā’ort-ay=ī\]
bring.PST-PP=PC.3SG

101a  
\[\text{‘ē} \quad \text{šā’h-ok=am} \quad a=’wār-t \quad a’z\]
PROX  king-DEF=ADD  VCL=eat.NPST-3SG  from
\[\text{‘ī} \quad \text{kallapā’ča}\]
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)
In the following passage, the subject ‘this horse’ in (14) is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause, (13), so the context is S2. The motivation for the PROX encoding is to mark the referent as the current centre of attention. The temporal clause at the beginning of the sentence indicates a switch from the time of meeting of the king’s son with the horse to the time that the horse gave birth to her foal. So NP occurs in connection with a discontinuity.

Ex. 275) S2 PROX+NP to mark the referent as thematic (PROX) in connection with a discontinuity of time (NP)

13  $a=\text{'s-}\text{ī}'$  
    \text{'xo 'man ma'zan=ī'}
    \begin{itemize}
    \item VCL=say.NPST-3SG
    \item PN.1SG
    \item big=PC.3SG
    \item $a=\text{kan-ān}$
    \item VCL=do.NPST-1SG
    \end{itemize}

14  $\text{mas'an maw'gelē ke 'ē 'asp}$
    \begin{itemize}
    \item in fact when PROX horse
    \item $a=\text{'k-ay-∅'}$
    \item \text{'be-zay-t'}
    \item VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
    \item SBJV=give birth.NPST-3SG
    \end{itemize}

‘(13) He says, “well I will raise it.” (14) So when this horse was about to give birth’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 166)

5.4.3. 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.

5.4.3.1. Under-encoding

The forms of under-encoding are: $\emptyset$/PC, PROX and REFL. 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 (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'c-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  a='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, ‘∅’ [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 ∅ in connection with a local VIP

81b ʿāgā ʿbāz ham sī)b-ā  a=ʾd-an
   sir again ADD apple-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL
dasʾsay
   hand.OBL.PC.3SG

81c ʿbāz=am  a=ʾjan-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 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [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 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

103a ʾxolāʾsa ʾyek=ī ʾya ʾmohr=e
   in short one=IND one tattoo=IND
   a=ma-ʾjan-t=eš=o
   VCL=IMP-hit.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL=and

103b ʾwela  a=dā-∅
    loose VCL=give.NPST-3SG

103c  a=k-ā-ʾyant
   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  ā=k-ā’r-ant=i
   VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG
108b  a=š-i
   VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘(108a) [they] bring him, (108b) [he] says, (…)’ (KS.f: 108a-b)
• S3 ∅ in connection with the repetition of a previous event

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [he] in (106c) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (106b), so the context is S3. The reason that it is not necessary to identify that the subject is the king is that the same cycle of events is repeated (cook meat, bring), so the hearers expect him to be the subject.

Ex. 281) S3 ∅ in connection with the repetition of a previous event

105b ī sīs dū'mād=ī 'āḡā 'ḥarčī
PROX six son in law=PC.3SG Sir however much
gūž'd-ā a=paʾc-ant
meat-OBL VCL=cook.NPST-3PL
105c a=baʾr-ant ba šāʾh-ā
VCL=take.NPST-3PL for king-OBL
105d 'šāḥ ʾhay ma-waʾr-ā bod-ā
king ITER IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP
105e maʾgaʾs-ā bod-ā ʾī
IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP PROX
maʾze=ī ʾnē
taste=PC.3SG NEG.be.NPST.3SG
106a ʾtā kassān-oʾēn jaʾnek=ī bahʾr=ay
then small-DEF-ATTR daughter=PC.3SG for=PC.3SG
kallapāʾca ā=paʾc-ī
head and trotters VCL=cook.NPST-3SG
106b ā=k-ʾāʾr-īt
VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG
106c ʾhay ʾna-ma-war-ā bod-ā
ITER NEG-IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

‘(105b) These six sons-in-law, sir, however much [they] cook the meat (105c) [and] [they] take it to the king, (105d) the king keeps on eating [and] (105e) saying, “It has no taste.” (106a) Then his youngest daughter makes a head and trotter dish for him [and] (106b) brings [it in]; (106c) [he] keeps on refraining from eating [it]’ (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 197–198)
• Residual example in S3 in which the referent is unambiguous

In the passage below, the subject, ‘∅’ [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 ∅ in connection with a residual example in which the referent is unambiguous.

33b xolā'sa ʾī ʾmā madra'sā monto'zer
in short PROX in school.OBL waiting
bod-ag=en asʾp-ok-ay
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG horse-DEF-GEN
šayʾhā ʾbī-aškon-i=o eʾšān
neighing.OBL SBJV.hear-3SG=and like this
33c awaʾl-iʾn šayʾhā a=kaʾš-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-oʾbār a=reʾc-an rū saʾray
child-PL VCL=pour.NPST-3PL on head.OBL.PC.3SG
36c a=geʾr-ant=е
VCL=take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG
37a ʾeʾ ham nogʾl-ā a=genʾ-ī
PROX ADD candy-OBL VCL=see.NPST-3SG
ʾgeft=еš
take.PST=PC.3PL
37b ʾpešk a=dā-∅
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 āšī 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=i me-ga's-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  ḡa'būl  a=kan-t  
    you know    accepting  VCL=give.NPST-3SG

83b  
gō  ham=išī  
    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  ḡāter-o'bār=ō  
    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 'ē dāzän-ā a=prē'n-īd=o ēšān
PROX woman-OBL VCL=throw.NPST-3SG=and like this
6a ā dā'zan ham ar='ra-∅'nā ā' ćān-hā
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 bā'mard a=jer'g-t
man VCL=run.NPST-3SG
38c go ta'far-ā a='na-jan-t bā'mard-ā
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, ‘∅’ [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 ∅ in connection with a local VIP

81b 'āğā 'bāz ham si'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-i 'xayle xob hā'lā ke 'dyā
  VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well now CLM well
  bo'kān=i 'be-d-et=i
  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 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject ‘∅’ [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 ∅ 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 'āŋa 'ηa tā 'xāb 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  
\[ \text{wazīr-o'bār=i} \quad \text{ar='r-ant} \]
minister-PL=PC.3SG VCL=go.NPST-3PL

111b  
\[ a=\text{gen'n-ant} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ha'm=i} \]
VCL=see.NPST-3PL MIR EMPH=PROX
\[ \text{ka'cāl-ok=en} \quad \text{'nešt-a=∅} \]
bald man-DEF=COP.NPST.3SG sit down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
\[ \text{'mā} \quad \text{'ī} \quad \text{ga's'-ā=o} \quad \text{'jan=en=i} \]
into PROX palace-OBL=and wife=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

111c  
\[ a=\text{š-ī} \quad \text{tar=ay} \quad \text{idānā=kō} \]
VCL=say.NPST-3SG NP.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG right here
\[ \text{'nešt-ag=ay} \]
sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST-2SG

111d  
\[ a=\text{š-ī} \quad \text{'hā} \quad \text{e'dān} \quad \text{'man-ī} \]
VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes here PN.1SG-GEN
\[ \text{'lōg=en} \quad \text{ē} \quad \text{ga's'-ok} \]
house=COP.NPST.3SG PROX palace-DEF
\[ \text{ma'n-ī=en} \]
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 joğa'1-ok a=nen'n-ī
   boy-DEF VCL=sit down.NPST-3SG
35b ya ćan de'ğa a='b-ī
   one some 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 joğa'1-ok de'ya tā'ğat 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'ğeike '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)
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  eš-ān  ko‘roš-ay  fā‘mīl
Mashhadi  PROX-PL  Korosh-GEN  family
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

6b ā  ham  a  darašo‘lī-ay  fā‘mīl-ā
DIST  ADD  from  Darreshuri-GEN  family-OBL
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)

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  ġa‘ter=o…  ’sal=ay=o
VCL=become.NPST-3SG  mule=and…  lame=PC.3SG=and

104b kallapā‘ća=o  mallapā‘ća
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’lī-ay fā’mīl-ā
DIST ADD from Darreshuri-GEN family-OBL
bod-a=∅
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

7a ʾē ho’sayn ā’mū ’mawĝeī 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  harēī
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
kallapāča-'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 'biy-ā-∅
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 at el. 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 summarizes 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 Ø and PC:

- Referent is a VIP.

For Ø:

- 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.

\[ \emptyset/PC>PN>PROX>DIST>REFL>NP>PROX+NP/DIST+NP \]

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 (∅);
- person-marking clitics (PC).

The conclusions about the findings in this text can be summed up as follows:
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 68. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in MNJ.m

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+Ø</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>114: 35: 2: 8:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 69. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in MNJ.f

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>122: 41: 8: 17:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 70. Frequency of forms of encoding in S1–S4 in TB.m

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>6:36:</td>
<td>1:36:</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>6:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>61:36:</td>
<td>23:15:</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>6:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+Ø</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>333:135:</td>
<td>12:35:</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>3:35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (72) suggests that the default encoding in the different S contexts is as follows: for S1 and S2 the default encoding is Ø/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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>36:</td>
<td>3:</td>
<td>4:</td>
<td>1:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>39:</td>
<td>5:</td>
<td>1:</td>
<td>3:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+Ø</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>87:</td>
<td>20:</td>
<td>7:</td>
<td>11:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>78:</td>
<td>25:</td>
<td>7:</td>
<td>15:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87 PROX and DIST are presented as PN in Barjasteh Delforooz’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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX+NP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST+NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL+∅</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) $S_1$ with $\emptyset$

2a $\text{pîrâ'\textit{mard}=e=at}$
   old man=$\text{IND=COP.PST.3SG}$

2b 'say 'zâg 'dâšt-$\emptyset$ wa
   three child have.PST-3SG and

2c 'say te'lä 'dâšt-$\emptyset$
   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)

• $S_1$ with person-marking verb clitic (PC)

In the following passage, the subject, ‘PC’ [he] in (14e) in $S_1$ since the subject in this clause is the same as in the previous clause (14d).

Ex. 300) $S_1$ with PC as default

14d 'ê 'şo-$\emptyset$
   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 $S_2$

The default encoding for the $S_2$ context is $\emptyset$/PC as in the following examples:

• $S_2$ $\emptyset$ with person-marking verb suffix

In the following passage, the subject ‘$\emptyset$’ [he] in clause (29a) is in $S_2$ since the subject in this clause is the addressee of speech reported in the previous clause (28b).
Ex. 301) S2 with Ø as default

28b 'š-ī 'by-ā-Ø ke say.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM
am=ē ran'g-ēn masa'la=ē=ō 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=ā b-ī NEG-have.NPST-3SG or death=VCL become.NPST-3SG
yā ha'm=ē 'elm=ā 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 nešān=ā 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'zā  je'nēk=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'rāk
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)88

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).

88 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 ∅ generic referent

\[
\begin{align*}
26a & 'dēm dāt-∅ \\
& \text{face give.PST-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
26b & \text{hap'tād oš'ter-a je'tā kort-ant} \\
& \text{seventy camel-OBL separate do.PST-3PL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(26a) [He] sent [some people and] (26b) [the people] separated out seventy camels’ (SA.f: 26a–26b)

In the following passage, the generic subject ‘∅’ [people] in (7b) is in S4 since the ‘∅’ 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 ∅ for generic referent

\[
\begin{align*}
7a & 'mort-∅=o \\
& \text{die.PST-3SG=and}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
7b & eš-ā 'bort-ant kabr kort-ant \\
& \text{PROX-OBL take.PST-3PL grave do.PST-3PL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(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 ∅/PC, the marked encoding is anything more than ∅/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 ∅/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 ∅/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 ∅/PC, marked encoding consists of anything more than ∅/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.
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 eš-ān-ī
one year=IND CLM from PROX-OBL.PL-GEN
ārōs-ā ’gwāst-∅
marriage-OBL pass.NPST-3SG

36d xodānezar’xān-ī ‘omr pā’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’89 (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.

---

89 In this culture people 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 tofjār-ā sō'r-ēn 'tap=ē 'gept-∅ 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 tofjār 'čōn ko-∅
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-∅
PROX woman go.PST-3SG

75a je'nēn ša'mē 'sūp-ay 'tā
woman from.EMPH.PROX tunnel-GEN inside
'sot-∅=o
go.PST-3SG=and

75b be pādešā 'rast-∅
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 ‘∅’ 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 ʾēšerā ʾg-ū=o PROX.OBJ take.NPST-3SG=and
52c haʾmē ke molʾā k-ay-t ke EMPH=PROX CLM Mullah IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG CLM ṑʾšerā ṑ-b-g-īt PROX.OBJ SBV-take.NPST-3SG
52d ʾē wat-rā masʾt-ēn lēʾraʾē=a PROX REFL-OBJ crazy-ATTR camel=IND=VCL ṑʾkan-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 teʾlāʾān-ī ʾpāʾē dāʾt-en-a ke for gold-OBL.PL-GEN open give-INF-OBL CLM ʾšot-an go.PST-3PL
8b ʾar saʾy-ēn ʾbrās ʾpāʾē dāʾt-an each three-ATTR brother open give.PST-3PL ʾtāʾ ʾē teʾlāʾ 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 ‘∅’ 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 'bass k-ōš’t-ī pa ne’māz-ā
just IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG for prayer-OBL

73a ha’mē ke k-ōš’t-ī pa ne’māz-ā
as soon as IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG for prayer-OBL

73b šwā’nag=a k-ōš’t-ī pa ne’māz-ā
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 ‘∅’ 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 ēš-ī zā’mān-ay xar’f-ā=o ēš-ī
PROX-GEN child birth-GEN cost-OBL=and PROX-GEN

xar’f-ā ger’d-ēn=a da’y-ant
cost-OBL circle-ATTR=VCL give.NPST-3PL

40b ē je’nek-ā ‘wat=a ’k-ār-an
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 ‘∅’ 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 ſ-ī 'xayle 'xo 'ayb=ē
say.NPST-3SG very good defect=IND

'na-dār-ī
NEG-have.NPST-3SG

22a ěš pīra'mard šamē'dā 'ber=a
PROX old from.EMPH.here PREV=VCL
gard-ūt=o 'raw-∅
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's-ay ta’lā kaw's-ay 'čērā
one CL=IND shoe-GEN in shoe-GEN under
be ě... kaw's-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

‘(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  įwān-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 jene’k=o  de’ga  ‘zānt-∅
   girl=FOC  well  know.PST-3SG
52b de’ga  be  ā-‘ī  ‘rōč  ‘ūt-∅
   you  know  to  DIST-OBL  day  become.PST-3SG
52c ‘ā  jene’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  ’bāndā  ’brās  ’āt-∅
tomorrow  brother  come.PST-3SG

19a ’bāndā  ke  ’brās  ’āt-∅
tomorrow  CLM  brother  come.PST-3SG

19b ’gošt=e  ’lālā  ’man  ’say  rōʾē=en
say.PST=PC.3SG  brother  PN.1SG  three  day=COP.NPST.3SG
ke  k-ā-ʾin  ’mnī  jaʾwāb-ā
CLM  IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG  PN.1SG-GEN  answer-OBL

’b-day-∅
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 'wtī 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 'ēš 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 ēšerā 'bāz 'jat-∅
PROX.OBJ very hit.PST-3SG

15d je'nek 'jest=o 'šot-∅ be šap=e
girl run-PST-3SG=and go.PST.3SG to night=IND

16a je'nek 'jest=o 'šot-∅ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46b</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>ēr</th>
<th>kapt-Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLM</td>
<td>PREV</td>
<td>fall.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46c</th>
<th>jene'k=o</th>
<th>sar'pad</th>
<th>'būt-Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl=FOC</td>
<td>aware</td>
<td>become.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46d</th>
<th>jene'k=o</th>
<th>sar'pad</th>
<th>'bū-Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl=FOC</td>
<td>aware</td>
<td>become.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46e</th>
<th>'gošt=e</th>
<th>'xānā xa'rāb zā'n-ay</th>
<th>'cōn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>say.PST=PC.3SG</td>
<td>house ruined know.NPST-2SG</td>
<td>how</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>99a</th>
<th>xērne'sa</th>
<th>'šot-Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khernesa</td>
<td>go.PST.3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>99b</th>
<th>xērne'sa</th>
<th>'šot-Ø</th>
<th>ša'me</th>
<th>'šāhr-ā=o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khernesa</td>
<td>go.PST-3SG</td>
<td>from.EMPH.PROX</td>
<td>town-OBL=and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>99c</th>
<th>be</th>
<th>šamse'pā</th>
<th>'rast-Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>Shamsepā</td>
<td>arrive.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(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 of importance.

Ex. 325) S2 NP in connection with highlighting a speech

90 gwan'd-ēn 'gošt=e ke 'dozz jwān-ēn
small-ATTR say.PST=PC.3SG CLM thief good-ATTR
'kār=e ko-Ø ke ja'n-ā be
deed=IND do.PST-3SG CLM wife-OBL to
mar'd=ay bax'sāt-Ø
husband=PC.3SG give.PST-3SG

91 je'nek dar ja'wāb=e gwan'd-ēn brās-ā
girl to answer=EZ small-ATTR brother-OBL
'gošt=e ke 'ta dozz=om
say.PST=PC.3SG CLM PN.2SG thief=ADD
'taw=ay te'lā=om gō
PN.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG gold=ADD with
'ta=ent
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 ġi’matt=e ke say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG with every cost=IND CLM

'būt-a=∅ ke pīrak be become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM Pirk with

'tī je’nek-a sab’zō-i sa’rā PN.2SG.GEN daughter-OBL Sabzo-GEN on

ā’šex=ent=o sab’zō=om in love=COP.NPST.3SG=and Sabzo=ADD

ā’šex=ent in love=COP.NPST.3SG

21 sab’zō-i pes ’fekr ko-∅ ke śa Sabzo-GEN father thought do.PST-3SG CLM from

koš’t-en-ā če ĥa’mēt=ē ‘man=om ke kill.PST-INF-OBL what hope=IND PN.1SG=ADD CLM

jang ∅-bay-ān jang jang-ay ṭā fight SBJV-become.NPST-1SG fight fight-GEN in

∅-b-īt koš’t-ag=a SBJV-become.NPST-3SG kill.PST-PP=VCL

bay-ān wa śa koš’t-ēn-ā become.NPST-1SG and from kill.PST-INF-OBL

ḥa’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

’h-lōt-īn SBJV-want.NPST-1SG

‘(18c) he said [to Sabzo’s father], “You, at any cost, since Pirak is in love with your daughter, with Sabzo, and Sabzo is also in love [with Pirak…]” (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 'gošt=e 'drost=en 'māsī 'ta
say.PST=PC.3SG right=COP.NPST.3SG mother PN.2SG
kō'tek=ē=ay 'ta
illegitimate child-IND=COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG
gō'lām-ay 'tōm=ay
slave-GEN offspring=COP.NPST.2SG

58a ē'dā tōjīr 'padā nārā'at īt-∅=o
then merchant again sad become.NPST-3SG=and
apsor'da būt-∅=o
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)
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) 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 'š-ī 'ā=o lē'ītā=ē 'mnā
say.NPST-3SG DIST=FOC camel=IND PN.1SG.OBJ
'wā-∅
eat.NPST-3SG

57b 'š-ī 'na 'ta ∅-'bar-∅=o
say.NPST-3SG no PN.2SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=and
ha'm=ē ma'hār=ē 'by-ār-∅
EMPH=PROX bridle=PC.3SG IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

58a 'ēš=a 'raw-t=o
PROX=VCL go.NPST-3SG=and

58b ha'm=ē ma'hār=ay ša pū'zay
EMPH=PROX bridle=PC.3SG from nose.OBL.PC.3SG
'pāč=a kan-t
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  ā'ērā  'bā-∅
     DIST.OBJ take.NPST-3SG

64g  'dan-t ke by-ā-∅  ġab'la=ye
     give.NPST-3SG CLM IMPV-come.NPST-2SG kiblah=EZ

ā'lam ke 'ē ran'g-ēn 'gol=ē
universe CLM PROX kind-ATTR flower=IND

'šē 'bāg-ā 'man ma'rōčī
from.PROX garden-OBL PN.1SG today

dīst-t-a=on
see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

64h  'ā  'bō=a kašš-ī ke čō'n-ēn
     DIST smell=VCL pull.NPST-3SG CLM how-ATTR

ŷwā'n-ēn 'gol=ē
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 'gošt=e aga rās't-ēn-a 'sōj=a
say.PST=PC3SG if truth-ATTR-OBL question =VCL
kan-ay pādešā 'mnī sa'rā āšex
do.NPST-2SG king PN.1SG GEN on in love
ūt-a=∅ wa gō 'man
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG and with PN.1SG
ka'rār=o ma'dār ešt-a=∅ ke
arrangement=and echo leave.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM
'man pa 'mē sā'at-a 'b-rā-īn
PN.1SG for EMPH.PROX time-OBL SBJV-go.NPST-1SG
pādešā-ayā 'anūn ke 'ta 'āt-ay
king-LOC now CLM PN.2SG come.PST-2SG
'tī sa'lā ċī=en
PN.2SG GEN advice what=COP.NPST.3SG

73 'ē tā'fer 'gošt-∅ ke dar'waxtēke ā
PROX merchant say.PST-3SG CLM when DIST
be 'tī 'sarā āšex
to PN.2SG GEN on in love
ūt-a=∅ 'man=am āšex-ā
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG=ADD in love-OBL
be āšex-ā bax'sāt-on b-rā-∅
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 ‘ē tā’jer ‘gošt-∅ ke dar’waxtē ke ‘ā PROX merchant say.PST-3SG CLM when DIST
be ‘tī ‘sarā āšēx to PN.2SG GEN on in love
ūt-∅=∅ ‘man=bam āšēx-ā
become.PST=3SG seats.PST-3SG PN.1SG=ADD in love-OBL
be āšēx-ā bax’sāt-∅ b-rā-∅
to in love-OBL give.NPST-1SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG
74 ‘ē je’nēn ‘šot-∅ 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  ājē’zag  ’gošt-∅  ke  ’man  ’hanūn  ’zāg
   girl  say.PST-3SG  CLM  PN.1SG  now  child
   ’dār-īn=o  ’ta  ā’dā
   have.NPST-3SG=and  PN.2SG  there
∅-b-ay=o  ’man  ē’dā=on=o
   SBJV-become.NPST-2SG=and  PN.1SG  here=COP.NPST.1SG=and

22i  ā’xer-ā  ha’m=ē  mar’d-ārā  ’ham=ā
   end-OBL  EMPH=PROX  man-OBJ  EMPH=DIST
   ’dēm-ay  ’jan  ’zor  ūt
   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 ∅ in connection with the global VIP

4a xōdāneẓar’xān nākō’zākh=e’ dāšt-∅ be ’nām=e
Khodanezar Khan cousin=IND have.PST-3SG with name=EZ

pi’rāk
Pirak

4b sab’zō-i sa’rā ā’šex=at-∅
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 ‘∅’ [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 ∅ in connection with the local VIP

38g ’āp=am mor’tab pa ’ēš-i dasne’māz-ā ā’māda
water=ADD always for PROX-OBL ablution-OBL ready
’dāšt-∅=o
have.PST-3SG=and

38h ’ēš-ā ’dars=am ’dāt-∅
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, ‘∅’ [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 ∅ when the VIP interacts with an unidentified participant

32b tā’rī pē’šī ka’lāk=e bo’ta=e
morning for.PROX-OBL bundle=IND bush=IND
hā’ort-∅
bring.NPST-3SG

32c ē’š-a ’nān=e ’dāt-∅
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 $\emptyset$ when a major participant interacts with a minor participant

In the following passage, the subject, ‘$\emptyset$’ [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 $\emptyset$ when a major participant interacts with a minor participant

17g ‘ham=e mâ’to=e ‘dâšt-$\emptyset$
EMPH=PROX stepmother=IND have.PST-3SG

17h e’serâ ke ‘şošt=at-$\emptyset$
PROX.OBJ CLM wash.PST=COP.PST-3SG
‘dîst=at-$\emptyset$
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 $\emptyset$ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject, ‘$\emptyset$’ [they] in (73) is in a non-subject role in the previous clause (72), so the context is S3. Such under-encoding is possible 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 $\emptyset$ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

72 duz’z-ay ‘dam-ā ‘kapt-$\emptyset$
thief-GEN breath-OBL fall.PST-3SG

73 goš’t-ant ke ‘ta go’jâ
say.PST-3PL CLM PN.2SG where
bû’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 ha'm=ē 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

‘(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 'ham=ē ke 'lōtet-an ē'serā pa 'zōr
EMPH=PROX CLM want.PST-3PL PROX.OBJ for force
'b-day-an be 'ē 'bande=∅ xo'dā
SBJV-give.PST-3PL to PROX servant=EZ God
19f 'ā ša'mē ge's-ā 'jest-∅
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 ha’m=ē ke ‘k-ār-īt
EMPH=PROX CLM IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

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 hāje’zag
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 ‘ēš  pīrə’mard  šamē’dā  'ber=a
  PROX  old man  from.EMPH.here  PREV=VCL
gard-īt=o  ‘raw-∅
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: ∅/PC, PROX, DIST 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 (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 ∅ in connection with the global VIP

37a bačak  ’ādā  ke  ’šot-∅
  boy  there  CLLM  go.NPST-3SG

37b je’nek=ē  ’dāšt-∅
  daughter=IND  have.NPST-3SG

37c de’gār-ay  ’cērā=at-∅
  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)
In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [he] in (61g) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (61f), so the context is S4. 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. 344) S4 ∅ in connection with a local VIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61e</td>
<td>ha’m=ē ke ‘ē go’l-ā ‘zort-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH=PROX CLM PROX flower-OBL take.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61f</td>
<td>‘ārt-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61g</td>
<td>‘yagašt be ‘paday ‘žānt-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suddenly from trace.OBLPC.3SG know.PST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(61e) as soon as this one took the flower [and] (61f) [he] brought it; (61g) suddenly [he] (i.e. the Mullah) realized from the traces (…)’ (MNJ.f:61e–61g)

- S4 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

In the following passage, the subject, ‘∅’ [he] in (72i) is not involved in the event described in the previous clause (72h), so the context is S4. The reason that it is not necessary to identify the subject more explicitly is that a singular participant (the VIP) is interacting with a plural number of participants, and the verb indicates whether the current subject is singular or plural.

Ex. 345) S4 ∅ in connection with a singular-plural contrast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72h</td>
<td>a’m=ē rang hay’rān=a ‘bay-ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH=PROX kind surprise=VCL become.NPST-3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bass just</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72i</td>
<td>k-ōš’t-ī pa ne’māz-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG for prayer-OBL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(72h) you know, they then get surprised; (72i) [he] (i.e. the boy) stops to pray’ (MNJ.m: 72h–72i)
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 'rōč=ē ke 'ham=ē mol'ā sā'eb
one day=IND CLM EMPH=PROX Mullah Sir

'wāb=a b-īt
asleep=VCL become.NPST-3SG

43b 'bass 'ēš=a 'rawt=o ha'm=ē
just PROX=VCL go.NPST-3SG=and EMPH=PROX

43c ham='ēš-ān-ā ha'm=ādā ūrū=a
EMPH=PROX-OBL.PL-OBJ EMPH=there start=VCL
do.NPST-3SG

43c ha'm=ē 'werd=o ċī-yān-ā
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)

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 'ū 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 $\emptyset+$REFL in connection with VIP plus to emphasise the referent

In the following passage, the subject, ‘$\emptyset$ [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 under-encoding ‘$\emptyset$’ 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 $\emptyset+$REFL in connection with a VIP ($\emptyset$) 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-i 'zāg šwā'neg-ay 'zāg
  EMPH=DIST so and so-GEN child shepherd-GEN child
  'naen
  NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

74 'wat=a 'š-i 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 ēʾš-ānā aw’lād ’dāt-Ø=o
God CLM PROX-OBL.PL-OBJ child give.PST-3SG=and

6i ēʾš-ān-i aw’lād ʿṭū būt-ant
PROX-OBL.PL-GEN child big become.PST-3PL

6j ’yak ’rōč=ē a’m=ē šwā’nag-ay ’zāg ke
one day=IND EMPH=PROX shepherd-GEN child CLM
’gō ’wṭī pe’s-ā šwāna’g-ī=ya
with REFL.GEN father-OBL shepherd-NMLZ=VCL
ko-Ø
do.PST-3SG

6k ’wṭī ’sar=o hamsa’r-ān-ā ’dīst-Ø
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)
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  o  ‘bass  pamē’sī  kanā’hat=a
and  just  for.EMPH.PROX.OBL  satisfaction=VCL

19b  a’m=ā  je’nek=om  xoš’hāl=a  b-īt
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;

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• 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 (∅/PC) and the default encoding for the S3–4 contexts is a simple NP.

When the default is ∅/PC, the marked encoding is anything more than ∅/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 ∅/PC and the heaviest encodings in this dialect are PROX+NP and DIST+NP.

The encoding hierarchy in CoB is summarised in Figure 7.

∅/PC>PROX/DIST/REFL>NP>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 ∅/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 given for marked encodings are discussed in later sections; viz., 4.4–4.5.

---

90 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>context</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>⊘/PC (200)</td>
<td>over-encoding 52 (21%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (8) DIST+NP (2) NP+REFL (1) REFL+NP (1) NP (23) PROX (12) DIST (1) REFL (4)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (17) (7%) Discontinuity of action (7) (3%) Highlighting (11) (4%) Thematic (20) (8%) Non-thematic (3) (1%) Emphasis (6) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>⊘(35) PC(8)</td>
<td>over-encoding 26</td>
<td>PROX+NP (4) NP (9) PROX (12) DIST (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (9) (13%) Highlighting (4) (6%) Thematic (16) (23%) Non-thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>NP(6)</td>
<td>under-encoding 19 (73%) over-encoding 1 (4%)</td>
<td>⊘ (11) PC (1) PROX (7) DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td>VIP (10) (38%) Pl/Sg (1) (4%) Thematic (7) (27%) Non-thematic (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>NP(33)</td>
<td>under-encoding 29 (38%) over-encoding 15 (19%)</td>
<td>⊘ (18) PROX (7) DIST (4) PROX+NP (10) DIST+NP (4) REFL+NP (1)</td>
<td>VIP (15) (19%) Sg/Pl (3) (4%) Thematic (17) (22%) Non-thematic (8) (10%) Emphasis (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD.f</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>PROX+NP (8)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (17) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(200)</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (2)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (7) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(79%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP+ REF (1)</td>
<td>Highlighting (11) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REF+NP (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (20) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (23)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (3) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (12)</td>
<td>Emphasis (6) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REF (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD.m</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (17) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(136)</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP(1)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (6) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(76%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP+ REF (2)</td>
<td>Highlighting (14) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (32)</td>
<td>Thematic (8) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (6)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td>Emphasis (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS.f</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>PROX+NP (7)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (7) (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(102)</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (2)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (4) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(83%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>Highlighting (4) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (5)</td>
<td>Thematic (12) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REF (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS.m</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>Ø/PC</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (12) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(88)</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (3) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(70%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (24)</td>
<td>Highlighting (11) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (10)</td>
<td>Thematic (11) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (80) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 80. Comparison of male and female folktales, S1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>emph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>79; 83</td>
<td>17; 21</td>
<td>8; 10</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
<td>6; 7</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>3; 3</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>70; 76</td>
<td>24; 30</td>
<td>4; 9</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>9; 10</td>
<td>8; 9</td>
<td>2; 3</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19) One of the girl’s sandals fell off.</td>
<td>24a) This one of her shoes falls [off];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24b) this one keeps coming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20) The girl arrived home half dead (lit. brought her breath home).</td>
<td>25a) She [Ø] (^{91}) arrives (lit. comes [and] arrives) [home];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25b) again, she gets a fever;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25c) she stays (lit. falls down) there (lit. here);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25d) she gets scared, the poor girl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td>26) Then the father asks her [what had happened].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a) You know, the Mullah took (lit. took and brought) that shoe in advance (i.e., before the girl arrived)</td>
<td>27) The father asks her; she does not say anything to the father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22b) and the Mullah gave it to the king.</td>
<td>28) She does not say [anything] until the Mullah, himself, comes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28b) he [Ø] takes her shoe, [and]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28c) comes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22c) He said, “Your majesty (...)”</td>
<td>29) He says, “Look, you are a famous king (...)”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-

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\(^{91}\) In these comparative charts, I have only added Ø when the form of reference is relevant to the comparison.

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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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S2</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New narrative unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9) (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Highlighting (4) (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (16) (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD.f</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>∅/PC(43)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(62%)</td>
<td>26 (38%)</td>
<td>NP (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD.m</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>∅/PC(48)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(74%)</td>
<td>17(26%)</td>
<td>NP(16)</td>
<td>(9) (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Highlighting (8) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS.f</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>∅/PC(28)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(74%)</td>
<td>10(26%)</td>
<td>NP(6)</td>
<td>(4) (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS.m</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>∅/PC(22)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(56%)</td>
<td>17(44%)</td>
<td>NP(11)</td>
<td>(7) (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (82) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>62; 74</td>
<td>26; 38</td>
<td>8; 23</td>
<td>11; 13</td>
<td>6; 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>56; 74</td>
<td>26; 44</td>
<td>2; 15</td>
<td>14; 18</td>
<td>12; 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>[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”.</td>
<td>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”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td><strong>The father and the mother</strong> 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.”</td>
<td>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)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td><strong>The brothers</strong> said, “No you should send her to study.”</td>
<td>4b) [still] she [Ø] says, “Take her.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>The brothers said, “No you should send her to study.”</td>
<td>4b) she says, “Take her.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a)</td>
<td>Well, you know, <strong>the father</strong> had to find a Mullah,</td>
<td>5a) <strong>This one</strong> sends her to the Mullahs,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1.3. Context S3

Table (83) displays the results in the folktales for context S3.

Table 83. Context S3, folktales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD.f</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (10) (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(23%)</td>
<td>19 (73%)</td>
<td>⊖ (11)</td>
<td>Pl/Sg (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (7) (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (7)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD.m</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>NP (22)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (3) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(73%)</td>
<td>8 (27%)</td>
<td>⊖ (3)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (2) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS.f</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>⊖ (1)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (8) (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35%)</td>
<td>13 (57%)</td>
<td>⊖ (9)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (2) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (3) (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS.m</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>NP (17)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (4) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(63%)</td>
<td>8 (30%)</td>
<td>⊖ (4)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (4) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 84 presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 84. Comparison of male and female folktales, S3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>23; 35</td>
<td>57; 73</td>
<td>4; 9</td>
<td>13; 27</td>
<td>4; 9</td>
<td>35; 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>63;73</td>
<td>27; 30</td>
<td>0; 7</td>
<td>7; 15</td>
<td>4; 7</td>
<td>10; 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>113a) He marries this girl;</td>
<td>142a) He marries her;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>142b) then (lit. here), two, three years passes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113b) the woman gives birth to three children,</td>
<td>142c) she [Ø] gives birth to two, three children.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 7.1.4. Context S4

Table (85) displays the results in the folktales for context S4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S4</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊗ (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD.f</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>NP (33)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>PROX (7)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (3) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(43%)</td>
<td>29 (38%)</td>
<td>DIST (4)</td>
<td>Thematic (17) (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>15 (19%)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (8) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (10)</td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFL+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIP (15) (19%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS.f</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>NP (23)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>PROX (7)</td>
<td>VIP (18) (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(39%)</td>
<td>51 (51%)</td>
<td>DIST (9)</td>
<td>Thematic (10) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (13) (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (3)</td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS.m</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>NP (35)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>PROX (3)</td>
<td>VIP (8) (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(65%)</td>
<td>25 (25%)</td>
<td>DIST (2)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (2) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>Thematic (8) (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (5)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (3) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 85. Context S4, folktales
Table (86) presents the figures for the two male stories and the two female folktales.

Table 86. Comparison of male and female folktales, S4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>emph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>39; 43</td>
<td>38; 51</td>
<td>10; 19</td>
<td>15; 22</td>
<td>10; 19</td>
<td>19; 27</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>65; 74</td>
<td>17; 25</td>
<td>9; 10</td>
<td>11; 14</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>13; 14</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17a) the Baloch’s son came to watch the date palm;</td>
<td>13a) the Baloch’s son came and sat by the date palm;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b) when the ghoul cut off the cluster,</td>
<td>13b) when this one cut off the cluster,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17c) this one was sitting under this date palm;</td>
<td>13c) it thought (...);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17d) it cut off the cluster;</td>
<td>13d) still this one [the boy] was sitting under this date palm;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17e) the boy hit it with the sword.</td>
<td>13f) this one watched for an opportunity, watched for an opportunity and hit it with the sword.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53a) They pulled him up on the middle of the way;</td>
<td>74d) The father didn’t pay attention for a little while;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53b) there was jealousy in their heart;</td>
<td>74e) he looked in another direction;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74f) the oldest brother took out a knife from his pocket;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74g) he put it under [the rope and]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53c) they cut the rope [and]</td>
<td>74h) he cut this rope;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53d) the boy fell down into the well.</td>
<td>74i) that boy fell down (lit. went) [inside the well].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RB.m</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>∅/PC (90) (74%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 32 (26%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (5) NP+REFL (1) NP (16) PROX (10)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (10) (8%) Discontinuity of action (6) (5%) Highlighting (5) (4%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (15) (12%) Emphasis (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB.f</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>∅/PC (119) (75%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 40 (25%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP (1) NP (9) PROX (24) DIST (3)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (6) (4%) Discontinuity of action (3) (2%) Highlighting (4) (3%) Thematic (27) (17%) Non-thematic (4) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS.f</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>∅/PC (81) (74%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 29 (26%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2) NP (19) PROX (7) PN (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (4) (4%) Discontinuity of action (6) (5%) Highlighting (10) (9%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (9) (8%) Emphasis (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS.m</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>∅/PC (163) (82%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 36 (18%)</td>
<td>NP (14) PROX (16) PROX+NP (3) DIST (1) REFL (2) PN (1)</td>
<td>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%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>emph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>74; 75</td>
<td>25; 26</td>
<td>8; 17</td>
<td>0; 3</td>
<td>4; 4</td>
<td>3; 9</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>74; 82</td>
<td>18; 26</td>
<td>10; 12</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>1; 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S2</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB. m</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (4)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (8) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(63)</td>
<td>36 (36%)</td>
<td>NP (15)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (2) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(64%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (15)</td>
<td>Highlighting (9) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (2)</td>
<td>Thematic (19) (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB.f</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (2) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>18 (82%)</td>
<td>NP (9)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (1) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (7)</td>
<td>Highlighting (8) (36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (9) (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS.f</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>NP (8)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (4) (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>11 (55%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (1) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(45%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>Highlighting (3) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasise (3) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS.m</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (5) (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>13 (33%)</td>
<td>NP (7)</td>
<td>Highlighting (3) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(67%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (3)</td>
<td>Thematic (3) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (1)</td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (90) presents the results of combining the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S2</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>hightl</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18; 45</td>
<td>55; 82</td>
<td>0; 41</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>9; 20</td>
<td>15; 36</td>
<td>5; 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>64; 67</td>
<td>33; 36</td>
<td>8; 19</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>8; 13</td>
<td>8; 9</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.92

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-

---

92 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”. 345
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17a) At night, he comes, he consults with her, Hawrokan, he says, “what should I do? I will go.”</td>
<td>13c) Kahir got fed up (has got fed up) with this village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13d) He said, “I will go to Dashtyari again.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18) She [∅] says “[if] you go, what should I do here? I will come with you.”</td>
<td>14a) You know, Hawrokan said (lit, has said), “I will come along you.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table (91) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S3.

Table 91. Context S3, biographical tales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>under-encoding</th>
<th>over-encoding</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RB.m</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>NP (14) (74%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding 4 (21%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIP (2) (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding 1 (5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (2) (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB.f</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>NP (5) (26%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding 12 (63%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIP (4) (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding 2 (11%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIP/Minor (2) (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (3) (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (3) (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS.f</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>NP (11) (55%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding 6 (30%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIP (3) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding 3 (15%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pl/Sg (2) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (2) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS.m</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>NP (8) (29%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding 17 (61%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIP (11) (39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding 3 (11%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pl/Sg (2) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (4) (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (3) (11%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26; 55</td>
<td>30; 63</td>
<td>11; 15</td>
<td>10; 16%</td>
<td>10; 16%</td>
<td>15; 21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>29; 74</td>
<td>21; 61</td>
<td>5; 11</td>
<td>11; 14%</td>
<td>5; 11%</td>
<td>11; 39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S4</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (4)</td>
<td>VIP (7) (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>PC(3)</td>
<td>Thematic (6) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (5)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB.m</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>NP (22)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (3)</td>
<td>13 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (4)</td>
<td>VIP (7) (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(64%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PC(3)</td>
<td>Thematic (6) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (5)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB.f</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>NP (18)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC (1)</td>
<td>22(44%)</td>
<td>9 (18%)</td>
<td>VIP (12) (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(38%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIP/Minor (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC (5)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (8)</td>
<td>Thematic (15) (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS.f</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>NP (45)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (1)</td>
<td>14 (21%)</td>
<td>7 (12%)</td>
<td>VIP (8) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(70%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (8) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (5)</td>
<td>Emphasis (2) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (9%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP+ REFL (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS.m</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>NP (39)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅/PC (3)</td>
<td>31(37%)</td>
<td>18 (22%)</td>
<td>VIP (17) (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(50%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sg/Pl (2) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC(1)</td>
<td>Thematic (14) (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (6)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (8) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (5)</td>
<td>Emphasis (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PN (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 (13%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>38; 70</td>
<td>21; 44</td>
<td>9; 18</td>
<td>12; 30</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>12; 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>50; 64</td>
<td>33; 37</td>
<td>3; 13</td>
<td>15; 17</td>
<td>3; 10</td>
<td>18; 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>79; 83</td>
<td>70; 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>74; 75</td>
<td>74; 82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>6; 7</td>
<td>9; 10</td>
<td>3; 3</td>
<td>2; 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>4; 4</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>62; 74</td>
<td>56; 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>18; 45</td>
<td>64; 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>11; 13</td>
<td>14; 18</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>6; 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>9; 20</td>
<td>8; 13</td>
<td>5; 5</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>15; 36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>23; 35</td>
<td>63; 73</td>
<td>57; 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>26; 55</td>
<td>29; 74</td>
<td>30; 63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>35; 38</td>
<td>10; 15</td>
<td>13; 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>15; 21</td>
<td>11; 39</td>
<td>10; 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>39; 43</td>
<td>65; 75</td>
<td>38; 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>38; 70</td>
<td>50; 64</td>
<td>21; 44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>19; 27</td>
<td>13; 14</td>
<td>15; 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>12; 24</td>
<td>18; 20</td>
<td>12; 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 version 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>context</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(155)</td>
<td>12 (7%)</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(93%)</td>
<td>(93%)</td>
<td>PROX (5)</td>
<td>Clarification (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (2)</td>
<td>Thematic (6) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (5) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(45)</td>
<td>24 (35%)</td>
<td>NP (17)</td>
<td>Highlighting (7) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(65%)</td>
<td>(65%)</td>
<td>PROX (6)</td>
<td>Additive (6) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (7) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (7)</td>
<td>VIP (5) (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(9) (28%)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Repeated93 (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(62.5%)</td>
<td>(28%)</td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Pl/Sg (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9) (28%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Thematic (5) (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (7)</td>
<td>VIP (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35)</td>
<td>(9) (18%)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Repeated (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(72%)</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>VIP/Other (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (3)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (6) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (10%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10%)</td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

93 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KS.f</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(155)</td>
<td>12 (7%)</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(93%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (5)</td>
<td>Clarification (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (2)</td>
<td>Thematic (6) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS.m</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>∅/PC</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (4) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(114)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (2) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(93%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Highlighting (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clarification (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (2) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA.f</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (2) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6 (9%)</td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(91%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (2)</td>
<td>Highlighting (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (2) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFL(1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA.m</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (3) (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8 (15%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(85%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Highlighting (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clarification (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (2) (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (105) shows the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 105. Comparison of male and female folktales, S1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>91; 93</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
<td>1; 3</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>85; 93</td>
<td>7; 15</td>
<td>2; 4</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>3; 6</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KS.f</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>∅ (45) (65%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 24 (35%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (5) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (17)</td>
<td>Highlighting (7) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (6)</td>
<td>Additive (6) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (7) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS.m</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>∅ (43) (72%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 17 (28%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (5)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (3) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (9)</td>
<td>Highlighting (4) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Additive (7) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFL (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (7) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA.f</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>∅ (16) (70%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 7 (30%)</td>
<td>NP (6) (26%)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (2) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>Additive (4) (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA.m</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>∅ (11) (65%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 6 (35%)</td>
<td>NP (6) (35%)</td>
<td>Highlighting (4) (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Additive (2) (12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (107) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 107. Comparison of male and female folktales, S2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>ADD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>65; 70</td>
<td>30; 35</td>
<td>4; 10</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>9; 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>65; 72</td>
<td>28; 35</td>
<td>0; 12</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>7; 24</td>
<td>12; 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>115) So the king comes up and sees, yes?</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116) There is a palace [there which] is beyond description.</td>
<td>110a) He gathers his ministers and others [and]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117) He says, “Well, go to him and give him whatever he wants because [otherwise] he will destroy you.”</td>
<td>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.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118a) [They] keep going.</td>
<td>111a) The ministers go [and]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118b) until they see /that/ (…)</td>
<td>111b) they see /that/ (…)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KS.f</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>NP (20)</td>
<td>(62.5%)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>(9) (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>(3) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>∅/PC (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (5) (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Repeated (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Pl/Sg (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Thematic (5) (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS.m</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>NP (12)</td>
<td>(54%)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>(11) (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>(1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>∅ (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (7) (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Repetition (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Thematic (2) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA.f</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>NP (11)</td>
<td>(78%)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>(3) (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>∅ (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (3) (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA.m</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NP (7)</td>
<td>(78%)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>(2) (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Under-encoding</td>
<td>∅ (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (2) (22%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (109) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 109. Comparison of male and female folktales, S3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>61; 78</td>
<td>21; 28</td>
<td>0; 9</td>
<td>0; 16</td>
<td>0; 3</td>
<td>16; 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54; 78</td>
<td>22; 42</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>0; 8</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>22; 27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98a) Then his youngest daughter cooks a head-and-trotters dish for him</td>
<td>100a) Well, the youngest daughter makes a head-and-trotters dish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98b) [and] and brings it.</td>
<td>100b) and brings [it] for her father,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98c) ∅ [he] keeps on refusing to eat,</td>
<td>100c) her father keeps refraining from eating,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1.4. Context S4

Table (110) displays the results in the folktales for context S4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KS.f</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>NP(35)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(72%)</td>
<td>9 (18%)</td>
<td>∅/PC (7)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊙ (3)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Repeated (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (10%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (4)</td>
<td>VIP/Other (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (6) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIP (1) (2%)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS.m</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>NP(20)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (12) (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(51%)</td>
<td>16 (33%)</td>
<td>∅ (13)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊙ (5)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Repeated (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (16%)</td>
<td>REFL+ ⊙ (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (9) (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (7)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA.f</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>NP(4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>VIP (2) (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊙ (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA.m</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>NP(3)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (2) (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>⊙ (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊙ (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (111) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 111. Comparison of male and female folktales, S4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S4</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>72; 100</td>
<td>0; 18</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>0; 12</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>51; 82</td>
<td>18; 33</td>
<td>0; 16</td>
<td>0; 18</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>18; 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2a)</td>
<td>A king, sir, his wife dies;</td>
<td>2a) After a while, his wife becomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sick and dies;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b)</td>
<td>he [∅] goes</td>
<td>2b) so the king goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c)</td>
<td>and marries another wife.</td>
<td>2c) and marries another woman.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DA.m</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>∅/PC (116) (81%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 27 (19%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2) NP+REFL (1) NP (20)</td>
<td>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%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (3) REFL (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA.f</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>∅/PC (94) (89%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 12 (11%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1) NP (6) PROX (4) DIST (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (3) (3%) Highlighting (3) (3%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (5) (5%) Non-thematic (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL.m</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>∅/PC (110) (77%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 33 (23%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2) DIST+NP (1) NP (28) PROX (2)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (9) (6%) Discontinuity of action (6) (4%) Highlighting (14) (10%) Clarification (2) (1%) Thematic (4) (3%) Non-thematic(1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL.f</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>PC (66) (85%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 12 (15%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2) NP (8) PROX (1) DIST (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (1) (1%) Discontinuity of action (1) (1%) Highlighting (7) (9%) Clarification (1) (1%) Thematic (3) (4%) Non-thematic (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>clarif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>85; 89</td>
<td>11; 15</td>
<td>4; 5</td>
<td>1; 1</td>
<td>1; 3</td>
<td>3; 9</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>1; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>77; 81</td>
<td>19; 23</td>
<td>3; 3</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>5; 6</td>
<td>3; 10</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>1; 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

364
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 tailhead 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55b) He says, “OK, you take the animals to the meadow, when you get there, I will come (too)”</td>
<td>16c) Alamdar said to his brother, “I will come tomorrow”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56a) <strong>Alamdar</strong> goes before the animals (...)</td>
<td>17a) In the morning, <strong>He</strong> [∅] went before the animals (...)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47c) his father lifts the man;</td>
<td>16c) our father lifted the man;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47d) <strong>Mohammad Ali</strong>, Alamdar’s father, lifts the man and says, (…).</td>
<td>16d) he lifted the man and said, (…).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48a) The man goes and informs his family</td>
<td>17a) The man went and informed people in his (lit. his village)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.2.2. Context S2

Table (114) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DA.m</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>∅/PC (15)(75%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 5 (25%)</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (1) (5%) Discontinuity of action (1) (5%) Highlighting (1) (5%) Additive (1) (5%) Thematic (1) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA.f</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>∅ (18) (60%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 12 (40%)</td>
<td>NP (12)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (1) (3%) Discontinuity of action (2) (7%) Highlighting (3) (10%) Additive (6) (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL.m</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>∅/ PC (29)(67%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 14 (33%)</td>
<td>NP (11)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (1) (2%) Highlighting (5) (12%) Additive (5) (12%) Thematic (3) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL.f</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>PC (7) (54%)</td>
<td>over-encoding 6 (47%)</td>
<td>NP (5)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (2) (13%) Discontinuity of action (1) (8%) Highlighting (2) (15%) Thematic (1) (8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>ADD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>54; 60</td>
<td>40; 47</td>
<td>0; 8</td>
<td>3; 13</td>
<td>7; 10</td>
<td>7; 8</td>
<td>0; 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>67; 75</td>
<td>25; 33</td>
<td>5; 7</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>5; 12</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>1; 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (∅) says, X (∅) 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51a</td>
<td>So Alamdar’s brother comes home and</td>
<td>16a) his brother came home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51b</td>
<td>says to his brother, “Brother, today a person beat me.”</td>
<td>16b) He [PC] said (to Alamdar), “Today a man beat me”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>(he says) “Why did he beat you?”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>his brother says (...)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Well, so Alamdar says, (...)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55a</td>
<td>Then he says, (...)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55b</td>
<td>he says, (...)</td>
<td>16c) Alamdar said to his brother, (...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56a</td>
<td>Alamdar goes before the animals (...)</td>
<td>17a) In the morning, he [∅] went before the animals (...)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊘/PC (2)</td>
<td>⊘ (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX(1)</td>
<td>REFL+⊘ (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REF (1)</td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP+ REF (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA.m</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>NP (14)</td>
<td>4 (21%)</td>
<td>⊘ (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(74%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>⊘ (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (2) (13%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA.f</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>⊘ (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(73%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>⊘ (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊘ (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (2) (10%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL.m</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>NP (12)</td>
<td>7 (35%)</td>
<td>⊘ (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(60%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>⊘ (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (2) (10%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL.f</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>NP (8)</td>
<td>13 (62%)</td>
<td>⊘ (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(38%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>⊘ (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC (5)</td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>emph</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>38; 73</td>
<td>20; 62</td>
<td>0; 7</td>
<td>10; 13</td>
<td>0; 7</td>
<td>13; 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>35; 74</td>
<td>21; 35</td>
<td>5; 5</td>
<td>5; 10</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>5; 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DA.m</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>NP (30)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (2) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (12)</td>
<td>7 (13%)</td>
<td>⊓/PC (2)</td>
<td>Thematic (6) (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (12)</td>
<td>5 (9%)</td>
<td>PROX (3)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (12)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>DIST (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (12)</td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (12)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (12)</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA.f</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>NP (24)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (7)</td>
<td>4 (10%)</td>
<td>⊓ (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (4) (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (7)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (2)</td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP+ REFL (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL.m</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>NP (43)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (7) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (9)</td>
<td>8 (13%)</td>
<td>⊓ (6)</td>
<td>Thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (9)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (9)</td>
<td></td>
<td>REFL+ ⊓ (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL.f</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>NP (15)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (6) (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (1)</td>
<td>10 (37%)</td>
<td>⊓ (6)</td>
<td>Thematic (5) (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (1)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⊓ (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S4</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>59; 80</td>
<td>10; 37</td>
<td>4; 10</td>
<td>10; 19</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>3; 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>78; 87</td>
<td>13; 13</td>
<td>0; 9</td>
<td>2; 11</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>4; 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>91; 93</td>
<td>85; 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>85; 89</td>
<td>77; 81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>dis. ac</th>
<th>hight</th>
<th>clarify</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>1; 3</td>
<td>3; 6</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>1; 3</td>
<td>5; 6</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>3; 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 122. Comparison of folktales and biographical tales, S1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>1; 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>65; 70</td>
<td>28; 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>54; 60</td>
<td>75; 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>ADD</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>9; 17</td>
<td>12; 12</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>3; 15</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>0; 20</td>
<td>1; 12</td>
<td>7; 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>62.5; 78</td>
<td>54; 78</td>
<td>21; 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>38; 73</td>
<td>35; 74</td>
<td>20; 62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>emph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>16;21</td>
<td>22;27</td>
<td>0;16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>13;52</td>
<td>5;30</td>
<td>10;13</td>
<td>5;10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>72;100</td>
<td>51;82</td>
<td>0;18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>59;80</td>
<td>78;87</td>
<td>10;37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>emph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>0;2</td>
<td>18;24</td>
<td>0;12</td>
<td>0;18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>3;22</td>
<td>4;12</td>
<td>10;19</td>
<td>2;11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MNJ.m</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>∅ (114)</td>
<td>over-encoding 32 (22%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(78%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (10)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (3) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (18)</td>
<td>Highlighting (6) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (2)</td>
<td>Clarification (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (20) (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNJ.f</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>∅ (122)</td>
<td>over-encoding 34 (22%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (3)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (6) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(78%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (2)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (5) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (12)</td>
<td>Highlighting (5) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (9)</td>
<td>Clarification (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (7)</td>
<td>Thematic (12) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFL (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (9) (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS.m</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>∅ (36)</td>
<td>over-encoding 14 (28%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (5)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (6) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(72%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (7)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (3) (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>Highlighting (2) (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td>Clarification (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (6) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB.f</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>∅ (61)</td>
<td>over-encoding 16 (21%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (6) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(79%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NP (13)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (2) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (2)</td>
<td>Highlighting (6) (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (3) (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>clarif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>78; 79</td>
<td>21; 22</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>0; 6</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>3; 8</td>
<td>3; 3</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>72; 78</td>
<td>22; 28</td>
<td>14; 12</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
<td>1; 12</td>
<td>4; 4</td>
<td>2; 6</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^94\) 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2) A certain old man had three sons.</td>
<td>2a) There was an old man;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a) [he] had three sons and</td>
<td>2b) [he] had three sons, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b) [this] old man had three [pieces of] gold [as his] assets.</td>
<td>2c) [he] had three [pieces of] gold.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^94\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MNJ.m</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>∅ (35) (78%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>10 (22%)</td>
<td>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%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNJ.f</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>∅ (41) (82%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>9 (18%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2) NP (2) PROX (5) New narrative unit (2) (4%) Discontinuity of action (1) (2%) Highlighting (1) (2%) Thematic (7) (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB.m</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>∅ (36) (77%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>11 (23%)</td>
<td>NP (9) DIST (2) New narrative unit (6) (13%) Highlighting (3) (6%) Non-thematic (2) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB.f</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>∅ (23) (59%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>16 (41%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (9) NP (7) New narrative unit (6) (15%) Discontinuity of action (1) (3%) Highlighting (9) (23%) Thematic (9) (23%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (133) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 133. Comparison of male and female folktales, S2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S2</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>hightl</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>59; 82</td>
<td>18; 41</td>
<td>14; 23</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>4; 15</td>
<td>2; 23</td>
<td>2; 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>77; 78</td>
<td>22; 23</td>
<td>0; 13</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>2; 13</td>
<td>4; 6</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81) the girl [∅] said: “You are certainly the thief, as for the (piece of) gold, your father’s, you have it.”</td>
<td>91) In reply to the youngest brother the girl said /that/, “It is you who are the thief and you have the gold.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82c) he [∅] said: “As for you, you are a woman, you are a girl, [and] you are not a man.”</td>
<td>92) Then, this one 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.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.3. Context S3

Table (134) displays the results in the folktales for context S3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MNJ.m</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>NP (9) (45%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (7) (35%)</td>
<td>under-encoding ∅ (2) PROX(5) over-encoding PROX+NP (3) DIST+NP(1)</td>
<td>VIP (2) (10%) Thematic (8) (40%) Non-thematic (1) (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNJ.f</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>NP (6) (33%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (12) (67%)</td>
<td>under-encoding ∅ (8) PROX (4)</td>
<td>VIP (7) (39%) VIP/Other (1) (6%) Thematic (4) (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB.m</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>NP (5) (72%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (1) (14%)</td>
<td>under-encoding ∅ (1) over-encoding PROX+NP (1)</td>
<td>Sg/Pl (1) (14%) Thematic (1) (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB.f</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NP (2) (33%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (2) (33%)</td>
<td>under-encoding ∅ (1) PROX (1) over-encoding PROX+NP (2)</td>
<td>VIP (1) (17%) Thematic(3)(50%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (135) presents the figures for the two male folktales and the two female folktales.

Table 135. Comparison of male and female folktales, S3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33; 33</td>
<td>33; 67</td>
<td>0; 33</td>
<td>23; 50</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>17; 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54; 72</td>
<td>14; 35</td>
<td>14; 20</td>
<td>14; 40</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Table 136. Context S4, folktales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Default</th>
<th>Marked</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MNJ.m</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>NP (22)</td>
<td>under-encoding (20) (37%)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (8) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>∅/PC (7)</td>
<td>Thematic (15) (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(43%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (7)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (8) (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (5)</td>
<td>Emphasis (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding (11) (20%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding (1) (43%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNJ.f</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>NP (34)</td>
<td>under-encoding (29) (41%)</td>
<td>under-encoding</td>
<td>VIP (15) (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (16)</td>
<td>Main/Minor (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(49%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (9)</td>
<td>Thematic (15) (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (4)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (5) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding (7) (10%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding (2) (6%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST+NP (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB.m</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>NP (20)</td>
<td>under-encoding (9) (28%)</td>
<td>∅ (5)</td>
<td>VIP (5) (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (4)</td>
<td>Thematic (6) (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(66%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding (2) (6%)</td>
<td>PROX+NP (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding (4) (13%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB.f</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>NP (20)</td>
<td>under-encoding (4) (13%)</td>
<td>∅ (2)</td>
<td>VIP (2) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (5) (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(74%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under-encoding (4) (13%)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (137) presents the figures for the two male and the two female folktales.

Table 137. Comparison of male and female folktales, S4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S4</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>49; 74</td>
<td>13; 41</td>
<td>10; 13</td>
<td>23; 50</td>
<td>3; 7</td>
<td>7; 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>43; 66</td>
<td>28; 37</td>
<td>6; 20</td>
<td>19; 28</td>
<td>0; 15</td>
<td>15; 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA.f</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>∅ (36)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>NP (5)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (4) (10%) Highlighting (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(88%)</td>
<td>5 (12%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA.m</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>∅ (39)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>NP (9)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (3) (6%) Highlighting (6) (12%) Thematic (1) (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(80%)</td>
<td>10 (20%)</td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB.f</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>∅ (87)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>NP (9)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (3) (3%) Discontinuity of action (1) (1%) Highlighting (2) (2%) Clarification (3) (3%) Emphasis (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(90%)</td>
<td>10 (10%)</td>
<td>+∅ (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB.m</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>∅ (78)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (3)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (1) (1%) Discontinuity of action (5) (5%) Highlighting (5) (5%) Clarification (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td>17 (18%)</td>
<td>NP (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (4)</td>
<td>Thematic (7) (7%) Non-thematic (1) (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>clarif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>88; 90</td>
<td>10; 12</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>3; 10</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>0; 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>80; 82</td>
<td>18; 20</td>
<td>2; 7</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>1; 6</td>
<td>5; 12</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mark VIPs 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>117) Khodanazar Khan’s days were up and Khodanazar Khan died.</td>
<td>36d) Khodanazar khan’s life ended (lit. was completed) and Khodanazar Khan died.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118) When Khodanazar Khan died,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119 Pirak became mad out of grief for Khodanazar Khan.</td>
<td>37) Pirak became insane out of grief for Khodanazar Khan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nextimportant 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA.f</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>∅ (3)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (1) (11%) Highlighting (5) (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA.m</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>∅ (5)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>NP (2) DIST (1)</td>
<td>Discontinuity of action (1) (13%) Highlighting (1) (13%) Non-thematic (1) (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB.f</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>∅ (20)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>NP (2) PROX (1) DIST (1)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (2) (8%) Thematic (1) (4%) Non-thematic (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB.m</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>∅ (25)</td>
<td>over-encoding</td>
<td>PROX+NP (1) DIST+NP (1) NP (7) PROX (3) DIST (4)</td>
<td>New narrative unit (1) (2%) Discontinuity of action (1) (2%) Highlighting (7) (17%) Thematic (4) (10%) Non-thematic (5) (12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>dis.act</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33; 83</td>
<td>17; 67</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>8; 11</td>
<td>0; 56</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>61; 63</td>
<td>38; 39</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>12; 13</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>13; 17</td>
<td>2; 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.”</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28) The drum just like the way it is playing and the party that is happening let it be for Pirak.”</td>
<td>29) Sabzo’s father went to receive the camels, the seventy camels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90) He [∅] got Sabzo’s divorce and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

389
9.2.3. Context S3

Table (142) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S3.

Table 142. Context S3, biographical tales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA.f</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>under-encoding (3) (43%)</td>
<td>under-encoding ∅ (3)</td>
<td>VIP (3) (43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (1) (57%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA.m</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
<td>under-encoding (2) (33%)</td>
<td>under-encoding ∅ (1)</td>
<td>VIP (1) (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(67%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (1)</td>
<td>Thematic (1) (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB.f</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
<td>under-encoding (10) (62)</td>
<td>under-encoding ∅ (7)</td>
<td>VIP (7) (44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(25%)</td>
<td>over-encoding (2) (13)</td>
<td>PROX (3)</td>
<td>Thematic (5) (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB.m</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>NP (11)</td>
<td>under-encoding (12) (46%)</td>
<td>under-encoding ∅ (7)</td>
<td>VIP (6) (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(42%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX+NP (2)</td>
<td>Major versus minor (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PROX (4)</td>
<td>Thematic (7) (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIST (1)</td>
<td>Non-thematic (1) (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (143) presents the figures for the two male and the two female biographical tales.

Table 143. Comparison of male and female folktales, S3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25; 57</td>
<td>43; 62</td>
<td>0; 13</td>
<td>0; 31</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>43; 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42; 67</td>
<td>33; 46</td>
<td>0; 12</td>
<td>17; 27</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>17; 23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Marked</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) His cousin’s name was Pirak.</td>
<td>under-encoding (2) (14%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (1)</td>
<td>VIP (1) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) <strong>Pirak</strong> had fallen in love with Sabzo.</td>
<td>under-encoding (3) (16%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (3)</td>
<td>Thematic (1) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a) Khodanazar Khan had a cousin called Pirak.</td>
<td>under-encoding (2) (14%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b) [he] was in love with Sabzo.</td>
<td>under-encoding (3) (16%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2.4. Context S4

Table (144) displays the results in the biographical tales for context S4.

Table 144. Context S4, biographical tales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Default</th>
<th>Marked</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA.f</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>NP (12) (86%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (2) (14%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (1)</td>
<td>VIP (1) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (1) (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA.m</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>NP (16) (84%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (3) (16%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (3)</td>
<td>VIP (3) (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB.f</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>NP (34) (60%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (9) (16%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (5)</td>
<td>VIP (5) (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (10) (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (2) (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB.m</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>NP (24) (56%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (15) (26%)</td>
<td>under-encoding (7)</td>
<td>VIP (7) (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic (13) (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-thematic (5) (9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S4</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Default</th>
<th>Under</th>
<th>Over</th>
<th>Them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>VIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>70; 86</td>
<td>14; 16</td>
<td>0; 14</td>
<td>7; 18</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>56; 84</td>
<td>16; 26</td>
<td>0; 18</td>
<td>0; 23</td>
<td>0; 9</td>
<td>12; 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>78; 79</td>
<td>72; 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bio</td>
<td>88; 90</td>
<td>80; 82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (146) shows that marked encoding is higher in the folktales than in the biographical tales.

Table 147 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>highlight</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>1; 12</td>
<td>3; 3</td>
<td>2; 6</td>
<td>3; 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>12; 12</td>
<td>0; 6</td>
<td>2; 7</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>3; 10</td>
<td>1; 6</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>5; 12</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>59; 82</td>
<td>77; 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>33; 83</td>
<td>61; 63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>dis. ac</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>4; 15</td>
<td>2; 13</td>
<td>2; 3</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>2; 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>8; 11</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>2; 13</td>
<td>0; 56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 1 (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>33; 33</td>
<td>45; 72</td>
<td>33; 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>25; 57</td>
<td>42; 67</td>
<td>43; 63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>17; 39</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>22; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>43; 44</td>
<td>17; 23</td>
<td>0; 31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>default</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>49; 74</td>
<td>43; 66</td>
<td>13; 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>70; 86</td>
<td>56; 84</td>
<td>14; 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>7; 21</td>
<td>15; 16</td>
<td>17; 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td>12; 16</td>
<td>7; 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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, KoB 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>17; 20</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>CoB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>KoB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>21; 22</td>
<td></td>
<td>SiB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 156. Comparisons of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>new narrative unit</th>
<th>discontinuity</th>
<th>highlighting</th>
<th>thematic</th>
<th>non-thematic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>6; 7</td>
<td>3; 3</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>8; 10</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>1; 3</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>3; 3</td>
<td>3; 8</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>0; 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>9; 10</td>
<td>2; 3</td>
<td>8; 9</td>
<td>4; 9</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>3; 6</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>1; 4</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>1; 12</td>
<td>2; 6</td>
<td>4; 4</td>
<td>12; 12</td>
<td>1; 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>marked</th>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>26; 38</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>26; 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>30; 35</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>28; 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>18; 41</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>22; 23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 158. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>new narrative unit</th>
<th>highlighting</th>
<th>additive</th>
<th>thematic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>11; 13</td>
<td>6; 8</td>
<td>8; 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>9; 17</td>
<td>4; 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>4; 15</td>
<td>2; 23</td>
<td>14; 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>14; 18</td>
<td>12; 13</td>
<td>2; 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>7; 24</td>
<td>12; 12</td>
<td>0; 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>2; 13</td>
<td>4; 6</td>
<td>0; 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 Where marked encoding for a particular motivation was found in only one dialect, it has not been included in these tables.

400
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>57; 73</td>
<td>4; 9</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21; 28</td>
<td>0; 9</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22; 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33; 67</td>
<td>0; 33</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14; 35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>35; 38</td>
<td>13; 27</td>
<td>4; 9</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>10; 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>16; 21</td>
<td>0; 16</td>
<td>0; 3</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>22; 27</td>
<td>0; 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>17; 39</td>
<td>23; 50</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>14; 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>38; 51</td>
<td>10; 19</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>17; 25</td>
<td>9; 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0; 12</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>18; 33</td>
<td>0; 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>13; 41</td>
<td>10; 13</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>28; 37</td>
<td>6; 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>19; 27</td>
<td>15; 22</td>
<td>10; 19</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>13; 14</td>
<td>11; 14</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>0; 12</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>18; 24</td>
<td>0; 18</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>7; 21</td>
<td>23; 50</td>
<td>3; 7</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>15; 16</td>
<td>19; 28</td>
<td>0; 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>25; 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>11; 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>10; 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>18; 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>19; 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>18; 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 164. Comparison of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>clarif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>4; 4</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>3; 9</td>
<td>8; 17</td>
<td>0; 3</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>1; 3</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>3; 9</td>
<td>4; 5</td>
<td>1; 1</td>
<td>1; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>3; 10</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>2; 2</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>10; 12</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>5; 6</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>3; 10</td>
<td>3; 3</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>1; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>1; 6</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>5; 12</td>
<td>2; 7</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55; 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40; 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17; 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>33; 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25; 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>38; 39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>ADD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>9; 20</td>
<td>5; 5</td>
<td>15; 36</td>
<td>0; 41</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>3; 13</td>
<td>7; 8</td>
<td>7; 10</td>
<td>0; 8</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>8; 11</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 56</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m</th>
<th>narr</th>
<th>dis.ac</th>
<th>highlt</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th>ADD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>8; 13</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>8; 9</td>
<td>8; 19</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
<td>0; 1</td>
<td>5; 12</td>
<td>5; 7</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>1; 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>2; 13</td>
<td>13; 17</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>12; 13</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30; 63</td>
<td>11; 15</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>21; 61</td>
<td>5; 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20; 62</td>
<td>0; 7</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21; 35</td>
<td>5; 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>43; 63</td>
<td>0; 13</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33; 46</td>
<td>0; 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>15; 21</td>
<td>10; 16</td>
<td>10; 16</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>11; 39</td>
<td>11; 14</td>
<td>5; 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>13; 52</td>
<td>10; 13</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>5; 30</td>
<td>5; 10</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>43; 44</td>
<td>0; 31</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>17; 23</td>
<td>17; 27</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>21; 44</td>
<td>9; 18</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>33; 37</td>
<td>3; 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>10; 37</td>
<td>4; 10</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>13; 13</td>
<td>0; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14; 16</td>
<td>0; 14</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>16; 26</td>
<td>0; 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>them</th>
<th>n.them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>12; 24</td>
<td>12; 30</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>18; 20</td>
<td>15; 17</td>
<td>3; 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>3; 22</td>
<td>10; 19</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>4; 12</td>
<td>2; 11</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td>7; 18</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>12; 16</td>
<td>0; 23</td>
<td>0; 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
<td>folk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>17; 20</td>
<td>25; 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td>11; 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>21; 22</td>
<td>10; 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>new narrative unit</th>
<th>discontinuity of action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk biog</td>
<td>folk biog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>6; 7</td>
<td>4; 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>1; 3</td>
<td>3; 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>4; 8</td>
<td>3; 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk biog</td>
<td>folk biog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8; 9</td>
<td>5; 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1; 2</td>
<td>1; 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>26; 38</td>
<td>55; 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>30; 35</td>
<td>40; 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>18; 41</td>
<td>17; 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>new narrative unit</th>
<th>discontinuity of action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>11; 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>4; 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 176. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>highlighting</th>
<th>additive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>6; 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>2; 23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 177. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thematic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>57; 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>21; 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>33; 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td></td>
<td>14; 35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (178) shows that the figures for under-encoding are highly overlapping in S3.

Table 179. Frequencies of over-encoding in percentages, S3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>4; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>0; 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biog</td>
<td></td>
<td>14; 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>thematic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>35; 38</td>
<td>15; 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>16; 21</td>
<td>13; 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>17; 39</td>
<td>43; 44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 181. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-thematic</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>4; 9</td>
<td>10; 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>38; 51</td>
<td>21; 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 12</td>
<td>10; 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>13; 41</td>
<td>14; 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 183. Frequencies of over-encoding marked in percentages, S4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th></th>
<th>m</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>10; 19</td>
<td>9; 18</td>
<td>9; 10</td>
<td>3; 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 10</td>
<td>4; 10</td>
<td>0; 16</td>
<td>0; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>10; 13</td>
<td>0; 14</td>
<td>6; 20</td>
<td>0; 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VIP</th>
<th>thematic</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>19; 27</td>
<td>12; 24</td>
<td>13; 14</td>
<td>18; 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>3; 22</td>
<td>18; 24</td>
<td>4; 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>7; 21</td>
<td>7; 9</td>
<td>15; 16</td>
<td>12; 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 185. Frequencies of motivations for marked encoding in percentages, S4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>non-thematic</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>biog</td>
<td>folk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoB</td>
<td>10; 19</td>
<td>3; 4</td>
<td>2; 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KoB</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
<td>0; 5</td>
<td>0; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiB</td>
<td>3; 7</td>
<td>0; 4</td>
<td>0; 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, 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.

---

96 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., gošī/ošī/ošī ‘he/she says’) and sometimes in past tense (e.g., gošī/’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 (Ø 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 ∅/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.

∅/PC>pronouns>REFL>demonstrative pronouns>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 across 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 Neykadjar 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.
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).

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.
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.”

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.”
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

wā'nage wās'tā 'ančē ze'renge... sak'kē
wān-ag-e wāstā ančē zereng=e sakk-ē
read.NPST-INF-GEN for the sake of such.ATTR clever=IND very-ATTR

ze'renge bī saj'jē ja'nek wā'nagā 'ē
zereng=e b-ī sajjē janek wān-ag-ā ē
clever=IND become.NPST-3SG all.ATTR girl read.NPST-INF-OBL PROX

dros'tān ē ze zereng'ter ē
drost-ān ē ze 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
'nī 'ešīa goš'ī ke... ja'nek čār'et... mol'lā
nī ešīa goš-ī ke ğanek čāret mollā
own PROX.OBL say.NPST-3SG CLM girl look.PST Mullah

čār'ī zeren'gēnē
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
ya 'rōčē neš'ta dros'tā sa'bak 'dā
ya rōč=ē neš-t-a=∅ drost-ā sabak dā-∅
one day=IND sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG all-OBL.PL lesson give.NPST-3SG

'ešīa 'nadā
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
'ē goš'ī 'mnā sa'bak 'beday
ē goš-ī mnā sabak be-day-∅
PROX say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG.OBJ lesson IMPV-give.NPST-2SG
This one said, “Teach me; I know my lesson; [why] don’t you teach me?”; he said, “Wait a little.”

He dismissed all the girls.

You know, the Mullah was cheating the girl.

Then he said, “You wait; later I will teach you.”
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.

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.
She did not tell [her father]; she got a fever; she fell ill for several days.

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!

Take her!” Again, the father took her.
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

KD.f:19
wā'nīt ʾē ʾpadā ya ʾrōčē ʾhančō ʾkant
wān-īt ē padā ya rōc=ē hančō kan-t
read.NPST-3SG PROX again one day=IND like this do.NPST-3SG

ē
=ʾē
=COP.NPST.3SG

She studied, again, this one did the same thing [to the girl].

KD.f:20
ʾhančō drosʾāt saʾbak dāʾ ʾešīa ʾnadā
hančō drost-ā sabak dā-∅ ešā na-dā-∅
like this all-OBL.PL lesson give.NPST-3SG PROX.OBL NEG-give.NPST-3SG

čāʾrī ʾē ʾmnā koʾšī ʾmnā ʾwālla
čār-ī ē mnā koš-ī mnā wālla
look.NPST-3SG PROX PN.1SG.OBJ kill.NPST-3SG PN.1SG.OBJ by God

saʾbak ʾde ʾē ʾnī ʾtorsa deʾlāp ʾē
sabak ∅-de-∅ ē nī tors-a delāp =ē
lesson IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PROX now fear-OBL scared =COP.NPST.3SG

ʾzāna ᾠezān ʾtāl ē ʾā ʾrōʾēti
zāna be-zān-∅ tāl =ē ā rōc-ī
you know IMPV-know.NPST-2SG proud =COP.NPST.3SG DIST day-ADJZ

ʾmanā saʾbak ʾnadātāgī ʾnī ʾpadā marʾēti
man-ā sabak na-dāt-ag=ī nī padā marčī
PN.1SG.OBJ lesson NEG-give.PST-PP=PC.3SG now again today

ʾmanā saʾbak ʾnadāťī
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
ʾē ʾnī ʾdēr ē sajʾjē ʾjaʾnek tāʾtīl kanā
ē nī dēr =ē sajį jānekJ tātīl kan-ā
PROX now late =COP.NPST.3SG all.ATTR girl dismissal do.NPST-3PL
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'rītī 'dastā 'ē 'dast
raw-∅ ger-īt=ī dast-ā ē dast
go.NPST-3SG take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG hand-OBL PROX hand

'nadantī 'padā ta'cī ta'cī
na-dan-t=ī padā tač-ī tač-ī
NEG-give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG again run.NPST-3SG run.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 'ē
ē kawnš-e tā kap-īt =ē ē
PROX shoes-GEN match fall.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST-3SG PROX

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 ta'pīg
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG arrive.NPST-3SG village-OBL again feverish
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.

Then the father asked her [what had happened].

The father asked her; she did not say anything to the father.

She did not say [anything] until the Mullah himself came; he took her shoe [and] came.
He said, “Look, you are a famous king, king over [many] countries; your daughter is doing such and such a thing.

This father got very sad; [he said to himself] “She is [my] only daughter; what should I do now?” Then he called the brothers.
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

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.”

You know, the brothers were three persons.

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.

They went to a desert.
You know, they left her [in the desert] (lit. they take the girl, they take [and] release her); they shook a Jujube-tree.

This one started to pick Jujube-fruits; [one of them] said, “Pick Jujube-fruits here; we will go [and] shake that [other] Jujube-tree.

Pick them up here.” This one was picking [them] up; these brothers ran away.
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.

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.”

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).

\[42\]

\begin{verbatim}
\textbf{KD.f:42}

'naraw    'dāke    'sālē    gwa'zī    'ešīe    'god    'mod
na-raw-∅  dāke   sāl=ē  gwaz-ī   ešīe   god   mod
NEG-go.NPST-3SG then  year=IND pass.NPST-3SG PROX.GEN cloth echo

\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\textbf{KD.f:43}

'dāke    'dege    bā'zāre    'dege    'molke    'dege    ya    bādšāhe
dāke   dege   bāzār-e  dege  molk-e   dege   ya   bādšāh=e
then another   market place GEN another   land GEN another   one king=IND

\end{verbatim}

\[43\]

\begin{verbatim}
\textbf{KD.f:44}

'kay
k-ay-∅
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

[This was the situation] until from another town, from another country, another king came.

\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\textbf{KD.f:44}

'mar'domē    'ē    'čiyē    'edā    'ē    'raw    'padā    'otī
mardom=ē   ē  čī=ye ē  edā  ē  raw-∅   padā   otī
people=IND  PROX what=IND here  PROX go.NPST-3SG  again REL.GEN

\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\textbf{KD.f:44}

'logā
log-ā

\end{verbatim}

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.

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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.

He himself went [and] hid; this one came.

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.
[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.

He captured her; he said, “Are you a human?; Are you a person?; Are you a genie?; Whatever you are tell me?”

She said, “I am a human like you.”
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

KD.f:51
\[\begin{align*}
'nī & zi'rī & 'bārte & 'oṭī & 'molkā \\
nī & zār-ī & bār-t=e & oṭī & molk-ā
\end{align*}\]

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
\[\begin{align*}
'oṭī & 'molkā & 'bārtī & 'hamōdā \\
oṭī & molk-ā & bār-t=ī & ham=ōdā
\end{align*}\]

REL.GEN land-OBL take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG EMPH=there

dā'rītī bal'lokē 'būtī \\
hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG grandmother=IND become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

bal'loka 'dantī 'oštī 'ešīa \\
grandmother-OBL give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG say.PST=PC.3SG PROX.OBL

'ḍār \\
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
\[\begin{align*}
'ē & bal'lok & 'jān & 'mānā & šō'dītī & 'ē & 'god \\
ē & ballok & jān mān-a & šōd-īt=ī & ē & god
\end{align*}\]

PROX grandmother body echo-OBL wash.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG PROX cloth

gwa'rā dan̂tī 'sara ran'dītī \\
gwar-ā dan-t=ī sar-a rand-īt=ī

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
\[\begin{align*}
'nī & 'harčī & 'jost & kantī & 'to & 'kayī & 'čok \\
nī & harčī jost kan-t=ī & to & kay-ī & čok
\end{align*}\]

now whatever question do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG PN.2SG who-GEN child
Then, however much she asked her whose daughter (lit. child) she was; she did not tell.

KD.f:55
'harkada jöst kanante čōbī gošī nā
harkada jöst kan-ant=čōbī goš-ī nā
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
'ni hame bādšāh padā ne'kā kantī
'ni hame bādšāh padā ne'kā kantī
now EMPH=PROX king again betrothal do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Then, after this, this king married her.

KD.f:57
ne'kā kantī 'sīr kā hame
ne'kā kantī 'sīr kā hame
betrothal do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG wedding do.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX

ja'nekā gō
ja'nekā gō
girl-OBL with

He married her; he married this girl.

KD.f:58
'hame ja'nekā čōbī do say čok
ham=e ja'nek-a čōbī do say čok
EMPH=PROX girl-OBL you know two three child

'bitī
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).
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.

This one listened from [behind] the window.

He listened [and] she was crying.
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

She said, “No one has argued with me.”

KD.f:64

He said, “For sure, you have a problem, [a] trouble (lit. there is a problem, sadness for you); tell me.”

KD.f:65
She said, “I do not have any problem; I miss my father and mother.”

He said, “Alright, who is your father?”; she said, “It is king so-and-so.”

He said, “This one is my friend, why haven’t you told me before?; let’s go; I will take you.”

She said, “Alright, let’s go.”

This one left (lit. comes out) from there.
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.

When this one saw that a Mullah was with them, immediately she, the poor girl, got scared (lit. this one heart’s breath goes).

She got scared (lit. goes); now they left from there; it is said this father’s country was very far away.
These were on their way; night fell at a [certain] place; they stopped overnight. 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.
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].”

These kept going (lit.go [and] go), and stopped [at night] in another [certain] place.

They stopped; it was night.

They stopped in a [certain] place, you know; the king came… they slept at night; the
Mullah came to the woman.
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

The woman said, “No, do not come close [to me].”; he said, “I will kill your child.”; she said, “Kill him right now.”

He killed one of her children.

When he had killed (lit. kills) her child, he came to the second stop.

When he had killed (lit. kills) her child, he came to the second stop.

When he had killed (lit. kills) her child, he came to the second stop.
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.”

Again they (lit. he) came to the third stop; he killed her third son.

Then it was the fourth stop.

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 zi'rī
sar-ā zi'r-i
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-i mollā goš-i by-ā-e
other all say.NPST-3SG Mullah say.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2PL

do'sī 'say mēn'zela 'say 'čok bādšāhe jen'nā
došī say mēnzel-a say čok bādšāh-e jenn-ā
last night three stop-OBL three child king-GEN genie-OBL.PL

gay'bā koš'tagā mar'ē ğende bor'ta
gayb-ā košt-ag-ā marē jende=b 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.”
Well, again this woman did not tell the others.

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).

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.

Then, in the morning (lit. it becomes morning), a shepherd came.
A shepherd came, he looked [and saw that] a person was sitting there (lit. here) inside the well.

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.”

She said, “Fine, do you have a mother, sister, relative?”; this shepherd said, “I have all of them.”
She said, “So let’s go.

Take me to your place.”

This one took her there to his grandmother.

To his grandmother, to his grandmother, she stayed there.

Now, her father’s country was also close now.
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

KD.f:102
'hame  ya'kê  bā'zār  ē
ham=e  yak=ē  būzār  =ē
EMPH=PROX  one-ATTR  market place  =COP.NPST.3SG

It was in the same town.

KD.f:103
'hame  bā'zāra  'nī  'raw  bal'loke
ham=e  būzār-a  nī  raw-∅  ballok-e
EMPH=PROX  market place-OBL  now  go.NPST-3SG  grandmother-GEN

er'rā  bal'loka  dā'rītī  'nī  'bīs  'sap
kerrā  ballok-a  dār-īt=ī  nī  bīs  ṣap
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
'ā  hā  'dāke  kā'yā  ra'sā  'čōbī
ā  hā  dāke  kā-yā  ras-ā  čōbī
DIST  ADD  then  IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL  arrive.NPST-3PL  you  know

'hame  bād'sāhe  mē'tagā  'mard  ham  go'lām  'padā
ham=e  būdšāh-e  mētag-ā  mard  ham  golām  padā
EMPH=PROX  king-GEN  village-OBL  man  ADD  male  slave  again

'mard  'padā  tarre'tā  'ā  'dega  mollā  'drō  'padā
mard  padā  tarret-ā  ā  dega  mollā  drō  padā
husband  again  turn.PST-3PL  DIST  other  Mullah  all  again

kā'yā  ē  'pete  lō'gā  ē
kā-yā  ē  pet-e  lōg-ā  ē
IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL  PROX  father-GEN  house-OBL  PROX

'nagošā  'odā  'nām  'nagerī  'mard  ke  'mā
na-goš-ā  odā  nām  na-quer-ī  mard  ke  mā
NEG-say.NPST-3PL  there  name  NEG-take.NPST-3SG  husband  CLM  PN.1SG

'čīye  wās'tā...  'śī  'mā  'wat  tar'raga
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

465
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.”

He said, “We have come to pay a visit.”

Then it became night.

Then he said… that king called all the people of the village, the town, [and] said, “Come [and] tell stories.”
Come [and] tell stories”. Well, all the people went in [large] groups; this girl said, “Grandmother, I will go too.”

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).”

This one dressed up as a man.
She dressed up [and] went.

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].”
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.

She said, “Once upone a time (lit. there was a day, a time), there was a king.
The king had seven sons [and] one daughter.

He was very protective (lit. he is not happy for anything); this girl was an only child (lit. valuable) to him.

This one went (lit. has gone) [and] placed her at the Mullah’s [to study].
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

molā'ay'gān če zereng'ter bi'ta
molā-ay-gān če zereng-ter bit-a=∅
Mullah-GEN-OBL.PL from clever-CMP become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

mol'lāya sajjē sa'bak dā'tagā 'ē sa'bak
mol-lā-ya sajjē sabak dā-t-ag-ā ē sabak
Mullah-OBL all.ATTR lesson give.PST-PP-3PL PROX lesson

'nadātagī
da-dāt-ag=ī
NEG-give.PST-PP=PC.3SG

This Mullah took (lit. has taken) her… she was (lit. has been) very clever; she was (lit. has been) the most clever student of the Mullah; the Mullah taught (lit. has taught) all [the students], [but] he did not teach (lit. has not taught) this one.

KD.f:119
'
ja'nekē sa'bak 'nadēta
ē janek=ē sabak na-dāt-a
PROX girl=PC.3SG lesson NEG-give.PST-PP

He did not teach (lit. has not taught) this girl.

KD.f:120
'nī ā'kera 'ē ja'nekē sa'bak dā'ta ja'nek
nī āker-a ē janek=ē sabak dāt-a janek
now end-OBL PROX girl=PC.3SG lesson give.PST-PP girl

ra'wagā bīta
raw-ag-ā bīt-a=∅
go.NPST-INF-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM REL.GEN

ko'rāna 'ēr bekā mol'lāya gep'ta 'dasta
korān-a ēr be-kā-∅ mollā-ya gept-a dast-a
Koran-OBL PREV SBJV-do.NPST-3SG Mullah-OBL take.PST-PP hand-OBL

'dasta 'nadēta mol'lāya če at'ka
dast na-dāt-a mollā-ya če atk-a=∅
hand NEG-give.PST-PP Mullah-OBL from come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Then, at the end [of the day] he taught (lit. has taught) this girl; the girl was (lit. has been going) going to put down her Koran; the Mollah took (lit. has taken) her hand; she did not give (lit. has not given) her hand for [the Mullah to touch]; she came (lit. has came) [home] from the Mullahˈs.
You know, until... she got (lit. has been) a fever for a week.

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.

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.
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

Again, the Mullah did not (lit. has not taught) teach her; you know he made (lit. has made) her uncomfortable [and gave] her a hard time; he took (lit. has taken) her [hand] like that; again she came (lit. has come); this girl got (lit. has been) sick; she got (lit. has been) a fever; again the Mullah came (lit. has come) [to the king] [and] told (lit. has told), “Look, what your daughter is doing (lit. what your daughter’s actions are).”; that one was (lit. has been) a king; he was (lit. has been) the king over [many] countries; this word caused (lit. has been) a bad reputation for that one.
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.”

They took this girl; you know, the brothers were very protective (lit. have not been happy) of this girl.

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.
The brothers themselves ran away (lit. have gone). You know, they took (lit. have taken) the girl [and] left (lit. have thrown her 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/,... You know, they left her (lit. have thrown her away); you know, the brothers went away (lit. have gone).
The brothers went away (lit. have gone); well after that, this girl was (lit. has been) there under this Jujube-tree.

**KD.f:132**

bī'tā

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.

bī'tā

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.
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

KD.f:133
śo'ta 'otī lōgā 'hameš
śot-a=∅ otī lōg-ā ham=eš
go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG REL.GEN house-OBL EMPH=PROX

ē wa'rāg ma'rāg 'aḍī kot-a
=ē warag marag aḍ=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
āwor'ta 'ērī kot-a ko'nare ěrā 'wat
āwort-a īr=ī kot-a konar-e ěrē ě wat
bring.PST-PP PREV=PC.3SG do.PST-PP Jujube-GEN under REFL

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
lappet-a nī ē bādšāh zor'ta ē ko'nar... ē
lappet-a nī ē bādšāh zort-a ē konar ē
hide.PST-PP now PROX king take.PST-PP PROX Jujube PROX

śo'ta warag'ānī ker'rā īrānī 'pāč
śot-a=∅ warag-ānī kerrā īrān=ī pāč
go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG food-GEN.PL beside dish=PC.3SG open

kot-a 'sī 'lāle 'manī māte 'pete
kot-a sī lāle man-ī māt-e pet-e
do.PST-PP say.NPST-3SG brother PN.1SG-GEN mother-GEN father-GEN

'baṭṭ ā 'mā 'našamoštagā
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 opended) 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

'pade  'nī  'hameš  ē  'ē  bād’šāh
pade  nī  ham=eš =ē  ē  bādšāh
again  now  EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG PROX  king

'kay
k-ay-Ø
IMP.k-come.NPST.3SG

Again, you know, this king came.

KD.f:137

gē’rītī  'nī  bād’šāh  'jost  kantē
gēr-it=ī  nī  bādšāh  jost  kan-t=ē
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG  now  king  question  do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

go’sī  'taw  čō’nē  'kase  ē
goš-ī  taw  čōn-ē  kas=ē  =ē
say.NPST-3SG  PN.2SG  what  kind-ATTR  person=IND  =COP.NPST.2SG

'bogoš  o’sī  'mā  mar’domē  en’sānē
bo-goš-Ø  oš-ī  mā  mardom=ē  ensān=ē
IMPV-say.NPST-2SG  say.NPST-3SG  PN.1SG  people=IND  human=IND

ẑ ā
=ẑ 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

'sī  'gorā  'berē  'mā  'tarā
š-ī  gorā  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].”
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

'dā'rī
dār-ī =ī
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG grandmother-obl grandmother=PC.3SG

'mān-a sar mar-a ran'dītī baz'zāg 'nī jos
mān-a sar mar-a rand-īt=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=ē 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
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
'dâ bâdšāh ne'kā kantî
dâ bâdšāh nekâ kan-t=î
until king betrothal do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

After that, the king married her.

 KD.f:142
ne'kā 'kantî 'eda 'do 'say 'sâl gwa'zî 'do
nekâ kan-t=î eda do say sâl gważ-î do
betrothal do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG here two three year pass.NPST-3SG two

'say 'čokê bî
say čok=î bî-∅
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
'nî ya 'rōčê a'yâla ka'pî go'šî
nî ya rôc=ê ayâl-a kap-î goš-î
now one day=IND imagination-OBL fall.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG

lag'gî grê'waga bâdšâh 'raw ne'mâza ā
legg-î grêw-ag-a bâdšâh raw-∅ nemâz-a ā
start.NPST-3SG cry.NPST-INF-OBL king go.NPST-3SG pray-OBL DIST
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**

\[\text{bād'sāh 'kay} \quad \text{gwa'zī} \quad \text{'bas kā} \]

This one cried and sang sad songs; she cried, then the king came (lit. comes, passes) [inside]; she stopped [crying].

**KD.f:145**

\[\text{grē'wag} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{'bogoš} \]

Then his majesty the king said, “Why are you crying?; tell me.”

**KD.f:146**

\[\text{to grē'wagā} \quad \text{bī'tage} \quad \text{to 'hatman} \]


A. Text Corpus

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.”

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].”

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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.”
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

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].
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.”

He said, “I will kill one of your children.”; she said, “From my honour… I love my
honour more than my children.”

So he killed her child.
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
é 'nī 'hamedā jā 'dapnī ka'nā 'dar
é nī ham=edā jā dapn=i 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 é janē padā nām na-ger-i
IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL PROX woman again name NEG-take.NPST-3SG

'ā hamrā'hā gō
ā hamrāh-ā 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'wā dī'ge men'zelē
raw-ā 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 wābb'band kā
dīge menzel=ē hančō padā drost-ā wābbband 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**
wābb'band kā 'kay ē ja'nēne
wābb'band 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'īka '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'sītū
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'sītū '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.
Then he killed the third child too.

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.”

The woman lay down (lit. here)…
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

zī'rīt 'rawt 'rawt dā ya bā'zāra
take.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG until one market place-OBL

'hamā bā'zāre na'zīka 'raw 'hamē
ham=ā bāzār-e nazīk-a raw-∅ 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

[There was] a well near there; she went inside the well.

KD.f:167

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

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.

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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.

You know, he knew that the (lit. this) story was about him.

This Mullah was trembling too.

Now it so happened that in the morning, a shepherd came.
Then the shepherd came; she asked him, she said, “Do you have relatives or not?”; he said, “I do.”

That shepherd asked her from inside the well, “What are you?”; she said [from] inside the well, “I am a human; do you have a mother, a sister, a relative [or] not.”; this one said, “I do”; Then she said, “Take me there.”
This shepherd pulled her up [and] took her to his grandmother’s place.

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.
A.1. Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

The father stood up; now he hugged her; he said, “From where have you brought this story?”

KD.f:177

She said, “Leave me alone; don’t ask me.”

KD.f:178

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
She said, “This story has not happened to the two of you; it has happened to me.”

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.
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.
The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

Rahimbakshe Kessaw

recounted by Rahim Shakalzahi

Once, there was a man who was called (lit. that his name was) Rahimbaksh.

He was a very poor man, [that] fellow
A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

gwâzên'agâya
gwâzên-ag-ä=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**

'bale 'čonke 'ē ka'sān a 'ā 'wakt ka'sān
bale čonke ē kasān =a-∅ ā wakt kasān
but since PROX young =COP.PST-3SG DIST time young

=a-∅ ēšīe 'omr 'hapt 'sāl at 'hapt 'sāl
=COP.PST-3SG PROX.GEN age seven year =COP.PST-3SG seven year

=a-∅ ēšīe 'omr 'gorā ēšī 'pet... 'har 'wahde
=COP.PST-3SG PROX.GEN age then PROX.GEN father every time=IND

ke 'ē gō 'petā ham'rāh bī'ta
ke ē gō pet-ā hamrāh bīt-a=∅
CLM PROX with father-OBL companion become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'pet 'har jā'gaha nešt-a kes'sāī jata
pet har jāgah-a nešt-a=∅ kesā=ī jat-a
father every place-OBL sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG story=PC.3SG hit.PST-PP

ba'talī jata 'gapī kota dī'wānī
batal=ī jat-a gap=ī kot-a dīwān=ī
proverb=PC.3SG hit.PST-PP talk=PC.3SG do.PST-PP meeting=PC.3SG

kota 'ē 'hamēša gō ēšā 'hōr a
kot-a ē hamēša gō ēš-ā hōr =a-∅
do.PST-PP PROX always with PROX-OBL.PL together =COP.PST-3SG

'sak mohe'bat o 'sak dōṣṭī gō 'ī kes'sāčīnā o
sak mohebat =o sak dōstī gō ī kesācīn-ā =o
very love =and very friendship with PROX storyteller-OBL.PL =and

=gō gapwā'lä o gō dī'wā pasan'dē
gō gapwālā o gō dīwā pasand-ē
with good speaker.OBL.PL =and with meeting admiring-ATTR
A. Text Corpus

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 assemblng to gather] of the meetings; he was very interested in them.

RB.m:5

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

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'šī bābā 'mā 'čī 'tī ham'rāh
goš-ī bābā mā čī tī hamrāh
say.NPST-3SG father PN.1SG why PN.2SG.GEN companion

'mabay
ma-b-ā
PROH-become.NPST-1SG

He said, “Father why shouldn’t I follow you?”

RB.m:9
go'šī 'taw no'kī 'manī ďaw'lā
goš-ī taw nok-ī man-ī ďawl-ā
say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG new-ADVZ PN.1SG.GEN manner-OBL

kessawālāyē 'nabay šērwālāe 'nabay
kessawālā=yē na-b-ay šērwālā=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

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He said, “You will not be like me, a storyteller, a poet, a teller of idioms; why are you wasting your time?”

He said, “Well, it is no problem; do not prevent me from coming with you (lit. do not kill me in your company), alright?”

He said, “Alright.”

The father and the son were together everywhere, and the father was working and the son was working, and they were spending their time.
A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

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.”

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.”

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.”
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).

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).

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

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.

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.
A. Text Corpus

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) beǰārī; [there was] someone who gave beǰārī to someone; someone else asked for beǰārī; how much was the beǰārī?; 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

'ā wā'dī 'say ha'zār to'mō šo'wāz ko 'sī mes'xāl
ā wād-ī say hazār tomō sowāz ko sī mesxāl
DIST time-ADVZ three thousand toman collected do.PST thirty meskal
telā 'zo
telā zo
gold buy.PST

At that time he collected three thousand toman, [and] bought thirty meskal of gold.

RB.m:21

'sī mes'xāl te'lā 'zo o 'čār 'panč ha'zār to'mō čēs
sī mesxāl telā zo =o čār panč hazār tomō čēs
thirty meskal gold buy.PST =and four five thousand toman up

do.PST =and EMPH=DIST girl-GEN dowry give.PST =and

go'dānī 'mard 'bort o 'sīr dāt
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).
The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

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.

After two, three years, he got a child (lit. there was a child for him); the child was a daughter.

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 know.
A. Text Corpus

The child was nice.

He sent (lit. took and sent) the child to school and the child started studying at school.

After two years, three years, he got (lit. gets) (lit. there is an another child to him) another [child], a son.
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

ešā ke rahīm'bāxš 'dī gošī 'mā
PROX-OBL.PL CLM Rahimbaksh see.PST say.NPST-3SG PN.1PL

'tarā yak jā'gahē dī'ta gošī 'kajā šo'mā
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

'manā dī'ta gošī 'mā yak zamā'negē 'mā
man-ā dīt-a goš-ī mā yak zamāneg=ē mā
PN.1SG-OBJ see.PST-PP say.NPST-3SG PN.1PL one time=IND PN.1PL

šo'mā pe'lānā pe'lānē jā'gah 'to ka'sā
šomā pelān-ā pelān=ē Jāgah to kasā
PN.2PL so and so-OBL so and so=IND place PN.2SG young

bī'tage 'mā 'tarā dī'ta o
bīt-ag=e mā ta-rā dīt-a =o
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG PN.1PL PN.2SG-OBJ see.PST-PP =and

'mā yak īnçok-ē 'čīzē yak rī'đūē yak zap'tokē
mā yak īnçok-ē čiz=ē yak riḍū=ē yak zapt-ok=ē
PN.1PL one such-ATTR thing=IND one radio=IND one recorder-DIM=IND

gwan'dokē lōte'ta 'to 'mārā 'čes kota
gwand-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

dā'ta 'byā 'to 'mārā yak 'zaptē
dāt-a by-ā∅ to mā-rā yak zapt=ē
give.PST-PP IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.2SG PN.1PL-OBJ one recorder=IND

dā'ta mar'ē 'mā 'tarā yak hančē 'čīzē
dāt-a marē mā ta-rā yak hančē čiz=ē
give.PST-PP today PN.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ one such-ATTR thing=IND
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.”

This Rahimbaksh was surprised; [he said], “Alright.”
That one gave him [Rahimbakhsh] a small stone [gem], similar to the stone thay put on a ring; he gave (lit. lifted and gave) this stone to him [Rahimbakhsh], 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.”

She said, “Are the fakirs’ words right?”

[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.”

By the will of God, the woman gave birth to a son (lit. delivered [and] gave birth).

After two, three years, the woman gave birth to an another son.
More or less according to those fakirs’ word God gave five sons to this man.

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.
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.”

[She said] “What do you want?”; this one said, “Whatever you give”.
A. Text Corpus

RB.m:40

'harčē 'to 'bogošay 'gorā gohāra o'iī ěok
harčē to bo-goš-ay gořā gohār-a oťī ěok
whatever PN.2SG SBJV-say.NPST-2SG then sister-OBL REL.GEN child

gō e’šīā zā’māt ko
gō ešīā 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 lōṭā‘ēnt 'hamē maj’lese tō’kā ke 'ta
āxer lōtāēnt-∅ ham=ē majles-e tōkā ke ta
end call.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX meeting-GEN in CLM PN.2SG

'oťī hak’kā o ma’harā 'bogoš
oťī 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’šīā o'iī go’hār 'go mas’ter ‘manī ham ‘taw
ešīā oťī gohār go mas-ter man-ī ham taw
PROX.OBL REL.GEN sister say.PST big-CMP PN.1SG-GEN ADD PN.2SG

ay ‘harčē ke ‘to ‘manā ‘day
=ay harčē ke to man-ā ∅-d-ay
=ÇOP.NPST.2SG whatever CLM PN.2SG PN.1SG-OBJ SBJV-give.NPST-2SG

‘mana de’ga ete’rāżē ‘nēstē
man-a dega eterāz=ē nēst=ē
PN.1SG.OBJ another objection=IND NEG.be.NPST=ÇOP.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 ‘śī ‘panč mes’kāl te’lāh
goḥār-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
da’yā 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

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.”

This one said, “You can decide (lit. you are bigger).”

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

You know, father bride =FOC daughter=IND PN.2SG how
A. Text Corpus

"kāre o'tī lō'gā go'sī 'bas mà
IMP.k-bring.NPST-2SG REL.GEN house-OBL say.NPST-3SG just PN.1SG

kā'rāne ja'nēne 'zedd kon'nat
IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG woman-GEN insistence insistence

ja'nēnā o'tī kon'nat 'pūro kot o 'hame bā'nōr
woman-OBL REL.GEN insistence filled do.PST =and EMPH=PROX bride

'hamā janenčo'kīyā gō go'dā o poč'čā
EMPH=DIST daughter-ADJZ-OBL with cloth-OBL.PL =and clothes-OBL.PL

cēs o'tī lō'gā 'jole 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
bā'nōre 'pet bečā'ra tar'ragē
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
ā'hā bā'nōr jo'lā ko o'tī lō'gā
ā-hā bānōr jol-ā ko o'tī lōg-ā
DIST-OBL.PL bride bridal chamber-OBL do.PST REL.GEN house-OBL

=and wedding=PC.3SG give.PST =and betrothal=PC.3SG give.PST =and

ēšīā 'go 'sokr alamdol'lāh 'ya janenčokē a
ēšīā go šokr alamdollāh ya janenčok=ē =a-∅
PROX.OBL say.PST thank thanks God one daughter=IND =COP.PST-3SG

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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

\[ \text{ke 'bača 'trā zā'māt kanā 'sīr dayā} \]

These children are the boys.”; He asked (lit. took) this son /that/,”I will get you engaged [and] marry you off.”

RB.m:50

\[ \text{ešīā 'go 'manī 'pet da'nīgā 'mā ka'sān} \]

\[ \text{ka'sān} \]

=\[ \text{COP.NPST.1SG} \]

He (lit. this) said, “My father, I am still young.”

RB.m:51

\[ \text{'sī 'bīs 'pā 'sāl 'omr e 'bīs 'sāl mar'dome} \]

\[ \text{bīs sāl mardom-e} \]

=\[ \text{COP.NPST.2PL twenty year people-GEN} \]
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**

go'šī 'na 'me 'yabare sī're barnā'meyā

He said, “No, for now, do not talk about our wedding plans.”

**RB.m:53**

go'šī 'šarr ē

He said, “Alright.”

**RB.m:54**

This Rahimbaksh kept travelling (lit, turing, turing, turing) until he went to a
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).

"Amī tālām a'layk wā alay'kosa'lām jo'dī da'dī
tāt-[∅] salām alay k wā alaykosalām jo'dī da'dī
come.PT-3SG greeting and greeting fine-NMLZ fine-NMLZ

"bīt o ē'sānī gwa'ra' 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.

"hamī mardo'mā ěgorā ějos ko 'to 'dir
ham-[∅] mardom-ā ěgorā ějos ko to 'dir
EMPH=PROX people-OBL.PL then question do.PST PN.2SG far

"=ē nay-ātk-ag=ay ěto
tarra'gāy ěto
tarr-ag-ā=ay to
=COP.NPST.3SG NEG-comE.PST=PP=COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG

tarra'gāy ěto 'me ěmolke ětōkā
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 'bekote 'yak ja'nenē
yak sāng-ē be-kot-ē yak janen-ē
one betrothal=IND SBJV-do.PST-SBJV one wife=IND

"begeptē 'mā 'sak rā'zīg 'bītagatē
be-gept-ē mā sak rāzīg bīt-ag=at-ē
SBJV-take.PST-SBJV 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**

ēšīā ja’wāb dā ke ‘manā ‘na ‘zar  
ēšīā jawāb dāt ke man-ā na zar  
PROX.OBL answer give.PST CLM PN.1SG-OBJ no money  

'hast o 'na ‘pūl ‘hast o  
hast=∅ =o na pūl hast=∅ =o  
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG =and no money be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG =and  

'heč ‘manā ‘nēstē ‘ē’taw šo’mā  
heč man-ā nēst=ē ē’taw šo’mā  
anything PN.1SG-OBJ NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG how PN.2PL  

mop’ta ‘manā zī’ret  
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**

go’šī ‘mā ‘tarā zī’rē ‘taw o’ṭī  
goš-ī mā ta-rā zīr-ē taw oṭī  
say.NPST-3SG PN.1PL PN.2SG-OBJ take.NPST-1PL PN.2SG REL.GEN  

'gapā ‘bekā  
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**

‘cōbī ‘hamē rahım’bakš ‘go ke šo’mā pe’lāna  
cōbī ham=ē rahimbakš go ke šomā pelān-a  
you know EMPH=PROX Rahimbaksh say.PST CLM PN.2PL so and so-OBL  

mar’dome gwa’rā ‘gap ‘bekanet agar ‘wakteke  
mardom-e gwarā gap be-kan-et agar wakteke  
people-GEN to talk IMPV-do.NPST-2PL if when  

zī’rē ‘mā zī’rānē  
zīr-ē 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.”

518
A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

Sir, people came [and] gave the news /that/, “Look, this one [is] such and such a person, this one wants to get married.”

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.
But this girl has a fiancé; the fiancé is a foreigner.”

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.”

[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.”
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**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>goś-ī</th>
<th>'goṛā'</th>
<th>'ā'</th>
<th>mar'dom</th>
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say.NPST-3SG then DIST people who =COP.NPST.3SG CLM
A. Text Corpus

'sāṅgī 'ka
sāṅg=i 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'šīa 'go ke 'man ā ě'taw 'to
ēšīa go ke man =ā četaw to
PROX.OBL say.PST CLM PN.1SG =COP.NPST.1SG how PN.2SG

'sāṅgī kanay gošī 'mā han'čō
sāṅg=i kan-ay goš-i mā hančō
betrothal=PC.3SG do.NPST-2SG say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG like this

daste he'nī ka'ňa 'pāde he'nī kanā
dast=e henī kan-ā pād=e henī kan-ā
hand=PC.3SG henna do.NPST-1SG foot=PC.3SG henna do.NPST-1SG

go'dā gwa'rā ka'ňa ra'wā bā'nōre gwa'rā
go'dā gwar-ā kan-ā raw-ā bānōr-e gwarā
cloth-OBL.PL breast-OBL do.NPST-1SG go.NPST-1SG bride-GEN beside

nen'đā 'gorā gošī 'to ge'ray ě'šīā
nen-ā gorā goš-i to ger-ay ěšīā
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
'sarrē 'to 'begere 'gorā
šarr=e to be-ger-Ø=gorā
dine=COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG then

tarā čā'rā
ta-rā čār-ā
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

RBM.69
'sarr =ē
fine =COP.NPST.3SG

He [Rahimbakhsh] said, “Alright.”

RBM.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.”

RBM.71
'dōst 'bī 'šo'mā o'tī ja'hāzā 'begoštēt
dōst b-ī Šomā oṭī Jaḥāz-ā be-gošt-ēt
friend become.NPST-3SG PN.2PL REL.GEN dowry-OBL IMPV-say.NPST-2PL

go'stī 'harētī ke 'taw zā'nay
gošt-ī harētī 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).

RBM.72
'harētī ke 'to 'mārā 'day 'māe
harētī 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'tē
lōt-ē
want.NPST-1PL

Whatever you give to us, we will accept (lit. want it).”
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.

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.”
A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

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.

If you, the girl, want to marry me, I am this [person].
A. Text Corpus

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.

RB.m:78

So she said, “I accept you.”

RB.m:79

[He said] “Do you accept [me]?”; she said, “Yes.”

RB.m:80

[He said] “Do you accept [me]?”; she said, “Yes.”
A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

[He said], “What do you want (lit. give)?”; she said, “Whatever you wish (lit. know).”

RB.m:81

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

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.
A. Text Corpus

"byā  'tarā 'wāmē ge'rē  da'yē'
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
"'ča  'koǰā  če
ča koǰā če
from where from"

[He said], “From where?”

RB.m:84
"'šī  masa’la kome’tayā yā 'bāke se’pāyā yā
š-ī masala kometa-yā yā bāk=e sepā-yā yā
say.NPST-3SG for example Komite-OBL or bank=EZ Sepah-OBL or"

de’ga jā’gahē  'tarā 'wāmē ge'rē  da'yē'
de’ga 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
"šarr  če’taw  'to  ge'ray  'manā  'day
šarr cetaw 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
"go’šī  'mā  'hančō ge'rā  da’yā
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
"'taw  šas’tiyē  'naye
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'šī 'enna
goš-ī enna
say.NPST-3SG no

He said, “No.”

RB.m:89

'to kome'teiyē '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'šī 'enna
goš-ī enna
say.NPST-3SG no

He said, “ No.”

RB.m:91

'sarr 'šī ya 'dawlē ka'nene
šarr š-ī ya dawl=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-∅
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-∅
do.PST =and up do.PST give.PST say.NPST-3SG IMPV-go.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.”

This one went, you know; he found a guaranty.
A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

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

She said, “Alright, let’s go.”

RB.m:97

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.”
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.”
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.”

The woman did not believe, she did not believe; [she said], “Who has given money you to marry.”

The man put all the receipts, all the receipts for the blankets, the blankets, the gold, in front of the woman.
[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).

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?”
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].”
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.”

This one took (lit. came and took) a car and went to the wedding.
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
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.
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.”

The oldest sister said, “Alright, let’s go; [but] you must accept whatever I say.”
This one said, “Alright, I will accept it.”

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.
A.2. Text 2: The Story of Rahimbaksh, male, Coastal Balochi

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

gos'ī mīlūn-e to'mō 'mā lōt-ā
say.NPST-3SG million=IND toman PN.1SG want.NPST-1SG

She said, “I want one million toman.”
[She said], “What else do you want?”

“She said” “Earlier, he sold (lit. has taken and broken) and spent (lit. has eaten), my ten [meskal] of gold; I want them too.”

Now [his sister] asked the man, “Will you give [then] back.”

He said, “Yes, I will give… I will give her gold too.”

[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**

gošī de’ga zem’īnī hā pa ‘manī wās’tā
say.NPST-3SG another land=IND ADD for PN.1SG-GEN for the sake of

ham ‘bezīrī
ADD SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

She said, “He should buy [a piece of] land for me too.”

**RB.m:121**

‘ē ‘mardā ja’wāb ‘dā ke ‘šarr ē ‘dah ‘sor
PROX man-OBL answer give.PST CLM fine =COP.NPST.3SG ten gold

‘yak mīlūne to’mō ze’mīnī ‘ēš o no’kē ja’nēnē
yak million=IND toman land=IND PROX =FOC new-ATTR wife=IND

ra’śī ‘taw o kwā’nē ja’nēn ay ‘taw
arrive.NPST-3SG PN.2SG =FOC old-ATTR wife =COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG

‘čōna ka’nay
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**

gošī bas ‘manī ‘šart ‘hameš ē
say.NPST-3SG just PN.1SG-GEN condition EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG

‘ē ‘mardā ‘go ‘šarr ē ‘manā ka’būl
PROX man-OBL say.PST fine =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ accepting

=ē le’ket o ‘česte ko ‘dātī
=and leket =o česte ko dat=ī
=COP.NPST.3SG write.PST =and up=PC.3SG do.PST give.PST=PC.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
ye 'šāhe boda ya 'jane
ye šāh=e bod-a=∅ ya jan=e
one king=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one wife=IND

boda o ya 'bačče
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
'jane am 'godde ya mo'date ma'ɾīz
jan=e =am godd=e ya modat=e marīz
wife=PC.3SG =ADD after=EZ one time=IND ill

a[b̪ː]-d o ame'ɾ̪̄id o xolā'sa šāh
a=b-īd =o a=mer-īd =o xolāsa šāh
VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and VCL=die.NPST-3SG =and in short king

am ar'raft o ye 'jane de'ya am
=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
ē 'šāh 'jane do'womī 'xaylī ā'dame 'xūbī
e 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

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

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.”
A. Text Corpus

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

**KS.f:7**

a'sī 
' na  
'ta 
'bega 
'če'tar 
'gottī

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

ka'nān 
'man 
'wadom 
as'pokā 
gott

∅-kan-ān man wad=om asp-ok-ā gott

SBJV-do.NPST-1SG PN.1SG REF=PC.1SG horse-DEF-OBL big

akenān

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**

xolā'se 
as'pok 
'ā 
'sāl 
bo'kānī 
boda

xolāse asp-ok ā sāl bokān=ī bod-a

in short horse-DEF DIST year want.NPST=PC.3SG become.PST-PP

kor'raga 
'byārīd 
o 
es'ān 
jo'gā'lok 
kor'rage

korrag-a by-ār-īd =o esān joğal-ok korrag=e

foal-OBL SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG =and like this boy-DEF foal=PC.3SG

a'gūt 
'o 
a'sīī 
wadom 
gottē

a=gūt =o a=š-ī wad=om gott=e

VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and VCL=say.NPST-3SG REF=PC.1SG big=PC.3SG

akenān

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**

as'pok 
bah'ray 
a'sīī 
ke 
'ta

asp-ok bahr=ay a=š-ī ke ta

horse-DEF to=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.2SG

bā'ḥāt en 
'haftēī 
'haftā 
mēšā 
boko'say

bāḥāt=en haftā-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

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.

The horse said to him /that/, “Alright.”; the king’s son said, “Alright, I will raise it myself.”
He took it and did all (lit. this job) that the horse had told him.

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

[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.
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**

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

*Ar'raf* lō'gā a'nawārt xorā'kokā
*Ar=raf-∅* lōg-ā a=na-wār-t xorā-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.
[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.
When the boy came back from school, he used to go to his horse first of all; his horse said /that/, "Today when you go to the place (lit. there) where she has spread the carpet, your stepmother, don’t sit down there; go [and] sit down in another place; she has dug… dug a well there; you will fall into the well."

So the boy obeyed, and you know, whatever the woman did to kill the boy she was
not able [to do so]; the horse informed him [about it].

KS.f:19

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

a'sīi ke 'man če'taw kanān ke
a=š-ī ke man četaw Ø-kan-ān ke
VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG how SBJV-do.NPST-1SG CLM

'betānān 'ē joغا'lokā 'bokošān
be-tān-ān ē jōgal-okā 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

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

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

'nakošay joغا'loka a'natānay
na-koš-āy jōgal-ok-ā a=na-tān-āy
NEG.SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG boy-DEF-OBL VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-2SG

'bokošay as'pok bah'ray maga'sagen
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

a'sīi 'xo če'taw kanān ke
a=š-ī xo četaw Ø-kan-ān ke
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well how SBJV-do.NPST-1SG CLM

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

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

KS.f:22

\[ a's\)i \; ar'r\)ay \; ke \; 'wadet \]
\[ a=\text{š-i} \; ar=r-\text{ay} \; ke \; wad=\text{et} \]
\[ \text{VCL}=\text{say.NPST-3SG} \; \text{VCL}=\text{go.NPST-2SG} \; \text{CLM} \; \text{REFL}=\text{PC.2SG} \]

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

KS.f:23

\[ '\varepsilon \; \text{ašdarmānī} \; \text{am} \; a'\text{gūt} \; a'\text{zay} \; o \]
\[ \text{ya} \; \text{ašdarmānī} \; =\text{am} \; a=g-\text{īt} \; az=\text{ay} \; =\text{o} \]
\[ \text{one} \; \text{turmeric} \; =\text{ADD} \; \text{VCL}=\text{take.NPST-3SG} \; \text{from}=\text{PC.3SG} \; =\text{and} \]

\[ a'\text{jant} \; ba'danay \; a's\)i \; ke \; '\text{ta} \]
\[ a=\text{jan-t} \; \text{badanay} \; a=\text{š-i} \; ke \; \text{ta} \]
\[ \text{VCL}=\text{hit.NPST-3SG} \; \text{body.OBL.PC.3SG} \; \text{VCL}=\text{say.NPST-3SG} \; \text{CLM} \; \text{PN.2SG} \]

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

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

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].
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).”

The king agreed /that/ to kill the horse.

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

The boy’s father had told him several times, “We must kill the horse” but he was not happy (lit. satisfied), you know; he did not consent. Well, one day, (lit. it was one day) they said /that/..., they made a plan in secret to kill the horse, that day when the boy was at school; they would (lit. we will) kill the horse before he returns from school.
A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

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

KS.f:30

'ašī  na  'man  ar'rān  madra'sā  'wale
a=š-ī  na  man  ar=r-ān  madrašā  wale
VCL=say.NPST-3SG  no  PN.1SG  VCL=go.NPST-1SG  school.OBL  but

ākā'yān  a'naylān  'tarā
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

'ašī  'xob  aga  raf'tay  madra'sa  'saytā  šay'ha
a=š-ī  xob  aga  raft-ay  madrasa  say-tā  šayha
VCL=say.NPST-3SG  well  if  go.PST-2SG  school  three-CL  neighing

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

'wadet  ra'sāntet  'narasāntet  de'ya  'manā
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.”
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.”
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!

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

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.

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

KS.f:37

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

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

When he threw out the salt, the children looked up /that/ to see (lit. let's see) let's
see what this is; salt poured into their eyes.

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

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

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.”
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.”

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.”
They said, “Alright.”; so the boy took a ride on it and jumped over the king’s head; he escaped; he ran away.
After he had run away, he arrived in a city; the horse said to him /that/,… it gave its mane to him. It took [it and] gave to him; It said, “Keep these; whenever you need me, burn one of [these] hairs of mine; I will turn up.”

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

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.
A. Text Corpus

\( a'dā \quad čūbā'\text{nokā} \)
\( a=ðā-∅ \quad čūbān-\text{ok-ā} \)
\( \text{VCL}=\text{give.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{shepherd-DEF-OBL} \)

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

**KS.f:51**

\( \text{ar'raft} \quad o \quad \text{xolā'sa} \quad \text{dobā'ra} \quad 'mā \quad \text{ya...} \quad \text{arra'sī} \)
\( \text{ar}=\text{raf-t} \quad =o \quad \text{xolāsa} \quad \text{dobāra} \quad \text{mā} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{ar}=\text{ras-ī} \)
\( \text{VCL}=\text{go.NPST-3SG} \quad =\text{o} \quad \text{in short} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{in one} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{arrive.NPST-3SG} \)

be \quad bāġ'bānā

be \quad bāġbān-ā
to \quad \text{gardener-OBL}

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

**KS.f:52**

\( \text{ya} \quad 'bāģe} \quad '\text{gotte} \quad \text{bodagen} \quad o \quad '\text{por as} \)
\( \text{ya} \quad bāģ=e \quad \text{gott}=e \quad \text{bod-ag}=\text{en} \quad =o \quad \text{por as} \)
one \quad \text{garden=EZ} \quad \text{big=IND} \quad \text{become.PST-PP=\text{COP.NPST.3SG}} \quad =\text{and full from} \)

\( '\text{gol} \quad o \quad ē'sān \quad \text{ar'raft} \quad \text{hade} \quad \text{ćūb...} \quad \text{'hamī} \)
\( \text{gol} =o \quad ēśān \quad \text{ar}=\text{raf-t} \quad \text{had}=e \quad \text{ćūb} \quad \text{ham-ī} \)
\( \text{flower} \quad =\text{and like this} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{go.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{to=\text{EZ}} \quad \text{FRAG EMPH=PROX} \)

\( \text{pīramar'dokā} \quad a'sī \quad \text{ke} \quad '\text{ta} \quad \text{ē'dān ay} \)
\( \text{pīramard-ok-ā} \quad a=\text{s-ī} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ēdān} =\text{ay} \)
\( \text{old man-DEF-OBL} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{say.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{CLM PN.2SG here} \quad =\text{COP.NPST.2SG} \)

\( \text{bāģ'bān} \quad \text{ay} \quad '\text{man} \quad \text{akā'yān} \quad \text{ko'maket} \)
\( \text{bāģbān} \quad =\text{ay} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{a=\text{k-ā-yān}} \quad \text{komak=et} \)
gardener \quad =\text{COP.NPST.2SG} \quad \text{PN.1SG} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG} \quad \text{help=PC.2SG} \)

\( '\text{kār} \quad \text{akanān} \quad '\text{mā} \quad '\text{tā} \quad \text{bāģā} \)
\( \text{kār} \quad a=\text{kan-ān} \quad \text{mā} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{bāģ-ā} \)
work \quad \text{VCL}=\text{do.NPST-1SG} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{PROX} \quad \text{gardener-OBL} \)

There was a big garden and [it was] full of flowers; you know, he went to this shepher… 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**

\( \text{fa'gat} \quad '\text{ta...} \quad '\text{man} \quad \text{ye wa'da} \quad \text{xo'rākom} \quad \text{bo'kā} \quad \text{fa'gat} \)
\( \text{fağat} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{ye} \quad \text{wada} \quad \text{xorāk}=\text{om} \quad \text{bokā} \quad \text{fağat} \)
only \quad \text{PN.2SG} \quad \text{PN.1SG} \quad \text{one portion} \quad \text{food=PC.1SG} \quad \text{want.NPST only} \)

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

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

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

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

ơ bāğbā’nī maka’nā boda
=o bāğbānī 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 ešānī
šāh ya rōč gō janek-obār=ay eš-ān=i
king one day with girl-PL=PC.3SG PROX-PL=PC.3SG

a’kay ‘mā ’ē bā’gā ba taf’rīyā
a=k-ay-∅ mā ē bāg-ā ba tafṛī-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 joğa’lok ham ’hamedān boda
xolāsa joğal-ok ham ham=edān bod-a=∅
in short boy-DEF ADD EMPH=here become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

šā’hay janeko’bār a’gen’nīdo e’sān
šāh-ay janek-obār a=genn-id=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... ešān 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’gā ba
mā-hēn bod-a mā bāg-ā ba
IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP to garden-OBL to
Now... these, his daughters used to come to this garden every day to relax, you know.

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.
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.

She asked the gardener [and] said, “Who is this boy?”
A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

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

KS.f:64

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

KS.f:65

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

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

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

He said, “Alright.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

In short, the king said, “Well, no, it was a mistake; this one shouldn’t choose this one.”
Again, they took the apple and gave (lit. he gave) [it] to her; again she threw it [and] hit that Hasan the Bald.

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

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 ga'būl akant gō hamīšī hamedāna'kō
deya gabūl 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
zendeği ma-kan-ā bod-a ē hasan kačal
life IMP=do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP PROX Hasan bald

hammer şā'hay gātero'bār o aspo'bārā
hammer şāh-ay gāter-obār =o asp-obār-ā
ADD king-GEN donkey-PL =and horse-PL-OBL

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

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

ham=īš-ān 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=šīt 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-ja-net 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

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.”
He said, “Alright, I will go too.”

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 saddlebag so that this one can go as well.”
So this one threw the saddle-bag onto his lame mule and went to the mountains.

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.”
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

dūmād-obār=ay  ā=k-ā-yant
son in law-PL=PC.3SG  VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL  however much

ma-gard-ēn  bod-a  še'kāl-ā  pedā
IMP-go around.NPST-BACKG.3PL  become.PST-PP  prey-OBL  visible

na-ma-kan-ēn  bod-a  ke  'beǰanan
NEG-IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3PL  become.PST-PP  CLM  SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL

ma-yaš-ēn  bod-a  xo'dā  hālā  'mā  'das
IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3PL  become.PST-PP  God now  PN.1PL  hand

xālī  ke  a'nabī  'berren  hade
empty  CLM  VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG  SBJV-go.NPST-1PL  to=EZ

šā'hā  'bāhāt  en  'begarden  belaxa're  ya
king-OBL  must =COP.NPST.3SG  SBJV-go around.NPST-1PL  anyway  one
The sons-in-law came, [and] however much they were looking for prey, they were not able to find any prey; they were saying, “Oh God, well, we cannot go to the king empty-handed; we must look around [and] find something anyway.”

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

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

[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’va 'šīštā šekāl-ay sar-ā abor’īd o ‘ē ham
deya šišt-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=ēš ke ma-borr-ā
each which=IND head=PC.3PL CLM IMP-cut.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda mēšā 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.3PL taste=PC.3PL to head=PC.3PL CLM

'hay e’sā mēšā 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 maja’nā boda 'mā ‘ē
dassay ma-ĝan-ā bod-a mā ‘ē
hand.OBL.pc.3SG IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP in PROX

šekālo’bāre hōnā o maja’nā boda
šekāl-obār-e hòn-ā =o ma-ĝan-ā bod-a
prey-PL-GEN blood-OBL =and IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

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

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

KS.f:97

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

akanant ‘mā xor’ǰīneš o ȧkā’yant
a=kan-ant mā xorǰin=ēš =o ȧ=k-āyant
VCL=do.NPST-3PL into saddlebag=PC.3PL =and VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL
So these took the prey and put them into their saddlebags and returned to the palace.

[So] this one collected the heads and trotters [and] put [them] into his saddlebag [and] returned home on his limping mule, you know.
A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Baluchi

'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 kallapāča'okā
ā kassān-o-ēn janek =am kallapāča-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'wāay dō'īhay… bo'wāay namawa'rā
bowāay dōī-ay bowā=ay na-ma-war-ā
father.OBL.PC.3SG mother-GEN father=PC.3SG NEG-IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG

bodagen ašī '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

kallapāčao'bārā a'navarān dō'īay
kallapāča-obār-ā a=na-war-ān dōī=ay
head and trotters-PL-OBL VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-1SG mother=PC.3SG

ašī ke hālā' 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=∅
PROH-break.NPST-2SG IMPV-eat.NPST-2SG PN.2SG ADD one bowl=IND

az ē kallapā'čae ke ā'ortayī
az ē kallapā'ca=∅ 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
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.”

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.
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
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

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.”
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.”

It said, “Alright, I will do that this job.”
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).”

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).”
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.”

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.

The king's son, female, Koroshi Balochi
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.”

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.”
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**

<table>
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<th>mas'alan</th>
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<th>šā'hā</th>
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<td>mā-ī</td>
<td>šāh-ā</td>
<td>nābūd</td>
<td>na-kan-ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

for example

PN.1PL-GEN king-OBL annihilated NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

'čīet | bo'kā | a'sī | ke | 'man | 'hiči̇om
|-----|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|
| čī=et | bokā | a=š-ī | ke | man | hīči̇=om

what=PC.2SG want.NPST VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG nothing=PC.1SG

'nabokān | fa'gat | īdānā'kō | šīštā | naw'kar | o
|-------|------|---------|-------|--------|---|
| na-bokān | fağat | īdānākō | šīš-tā | nawkar | =o

NEG-want.NPST only right here six-CL male servant =and

ka'nīzom | 'assen | ba'hāt | en |
|--------|-------|-------|---|
| kānīz=om | ass=en | bāhāt | =en

maidservant=PC.1SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG must =COP.NPST.3SG

ā'sānā | 'biyāret | 'bedet | a'zam |
|------|--------|-------|-----|
| āšān-ā | biy-ār-et | be-d-et | az=am

DIST.PL-OBJ IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL IMPV-give.NPST-2PL to=PC.1SG

a'sī | 'xo | 'šīštā | naw'karet | 'kay | en |
|-----|----|-------|--------|-----|---|
| a=š-ī | xo | šīš-tā | nawkar=et | kay | =en

VCL=say.NPST-3SG well six-CL male servant=PC.2SG who =COP.NPST.3SG

ē'sī | nawkar-o'barā | pay'dā | kanant | 'mā | šāh'rā |
|-----|----------------|-------|--------|-----|-------|
| ēšī | nawkar-obār-ā | paydā | ō-kan-ant | mā | šāhr-ā

PROX.GEN male servant-PL-OBL visible SBJV-do.NPST-3PL in city-OBL
He said, “I have put six marks on their backs; I have made a tattoo on their backs, their shoulders.”; he said, “Ok.”; they went to search [and] find his servants; however much they looked for [them] in the town, they did not find them; they came to [the people] around the king, these people who were at the king’s court (lit. around the king), they looked at these [and] saw that this was the king’s six sons-in-law who had that (lit. this) sign.
A.3. Text 3: The King's Son, female, Koroshi Balochi

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

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

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

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

In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful O God.

SD.m:2
'arz konam as gad… daw'raye gadīm ya
statement SBJV-do.NPST-1SG from FRAG time=EZ old one
mēdagī boda be nāme korōš
encampment=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG for name=EZ Korosh

hāǰihaydarīrī
Hajihaydari

Let me tell from ol… in the old times there was a tribe-section (lit. encampment) called Korosh Hajihaydari

SD.m:3
o ya mēdagī boda dobāra tork
and one encampment=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG again Turk
boda darašorī boda
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Darreshuri become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

be nāme bayle tā'lōb
for name=EZ lineage=EZ Talob

And there was another lineage; it was Turkic; it was Darreshuri, called Talob lineage.
[In] this Talob tribe, there was a girl called Mashhadi Dastan.

A person, [by name] Hosayn, from the Korosh [tribe] fell in love with Dastan.
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.
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.”

For this reason, the girl fell in love with him [and] this one also fell in love with the girl.

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.
A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

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].

Well, after [some time]; Hosayn and the girl fell in love, you know; they came and decided on (lit. cut) the bāšloğ (Pe. širbahā; a gift given to the bride’s mother before the wedding).

They paid the bāšloğ as well.

After quite some time Hosayn died.
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].

Well, he went and there he said, “Hey there.” [That other person] said, “Yes.”
He said, “[She] is my brother’s fiancée.”

She is Hosayn’s fiancée; Mashhadi Dastan is Hosayn’s fiancée; well, Hosayn was about to marry her when he died young.

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.”
“Well, what is your name?” he said “I am this Hosayn’s brother [and] my name is Kakol.”

He said, “We don’t regard you as a person; get lost (lit. go).”

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.”
A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

\[ a'kay \quad ba \quad ran'nā \quad ba \quad mē'dagī \quad ta'rif \]
a=k-ay-∅ \quad ba \quad rannā \quad ba \quad mēdag=ī \quad tarif
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG \quad for \quad behind \quad for \quad encampment=PC.3SG \quad account

akant \quad a=š-ī \quad man \quad ke \quad 'raptān \quad na
a=kan-t \quad a=š-ī \quad man \quad ke \quad rapt-ān \quad na
VCL=do.NPST-3SG \quad VCL=say.NPST-3SG \quad PN.1SG \quad CLM \quad go.PST-1SG \quad no

'pūlam \quad 'dādeš \quad 'gašteš \quad ke \quad āšoġay \quad 'pūl
pūl=am \quad dād=eš \quad gašte=eš \quad ke \quad āšoġ-ay \quad pūl
money=PC.1SG \quad give.PST=PC.3PL \quad say.PST=PC.3PL \quad CLM \quad in love-GEN \quad money

mā \quad jībā \quad 'narafta
mā \quad jīb-ā \quad na-raft-a=∅
into \quad pocket-OBL \quad NEG-go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

bodagan \quad 'na \quad ham \quad ke \quad ja'nekā \quad 'dādeš
bod-ag=an \quad na \quad ham \quad ke \quad jānek-ā \quad dād=eš
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL \quad no \quad ADD \quad CLM \quad girl-OBL \quad give.PST=PC.3PL

pas \quad 'man \quad bā'hā \quad ět'aw \quad kanān
pas \quad man \quad bā'āh \quad ětaw \quad Ø-kan-ān
then \quad PN.1SG \quad must \quad how \quad SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

So, this one became disappointed and came back; Hosayn came… Kakol came back. Kakol came back [and] told his encampment; he said, “When I went [there] they neither gave back my money and they said the lover’s money has not gone into [their] pocket, nor did they give the girl; so what should I do?”

SD.m:24

mē'dagay \quad mazan'ter \quad 'as \quad haza'rāte \quad korošo'bār \quad az
mēdag-ay \quad mazan-ter \quad as \quad hazarāt=e \quad koroš-obār \quad az
encampment-GEN \quad big-CMP \quad from \quad gentleman.PL=EZ \quad Korosh-PL \quad from

'i \quad 'jat \quad o \quad ko'roš \quad o \quad jān'gānī \quad ta'mam \quad hāżihayda'rī \quad 'gerd
'i \quad jat \quad =o \quad koroš \quad =o \quad jāngānī \quad tamam \quad hāżihaydarī \quad gerd
PROX \quad Jat \quad =and \quad Korosh \quad =and \quad Jangani \quad all \quad Hajihaydari \quad gathered

abant \quad šahrīyārī \quad o \quad 'mār \quad ko'roš \quad ham \quad 'xaylī
a=b-ant \quad šahrīyārī \quad =o \quad mār \quad koroš \quad ham \quad xaylī
VCL=become.NPST-3PL \quad Shariyari \quad =and \quad Mir \quad Korosh \quad ADD \quad very

yen \quad ko'roš \quad 'xaylī \quad tāye'fa \quad 'xayle \quad got=ī \quad yen
=yen \quad koroš \quad xaylī \quad tāye'fa \quad xayle \quad got=ī \quad =yen
=CO.P.NPST.3SG \quad Korosh \quad very \quad tribe \quad very \quad big=IND \quad =CO.P.NPST.3SG

The elders of the encampment gathered the gentlemen from the Korosh, from these
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.

They gathered [and] said, “Now let’s go, either we bring the girl or our money.”

They gathered [and] said, “Now let’s go, either we bring the girl or our money.”

They gathered [and] said, “Now let’s go, either we bring the girl or our money.”
Well, Kakol appointed a spy for himself, a pedlar (lit. by the name of pedlar), who was a travelling merchant (lit. by the name of goldsmith); he was a pedlar (lit. his name was pedlar); [Kakol] said, “You search here; you are from that (lit. this, but it refers to where the girl is, not where the pedlar and Kakol are) encampment; you look; let’s see if girl is willing [or] not willing to come with us; if she is willing, then we will come and take the girl. If she is not willing, do something in order to get our money.”

**SD.m:27**

ašī ē pīlawar ġann čāhī o rō'gen o mā
VCL=say.NPST-3SG PROX pedlar sugar tea =and oil =and into

hamī mi’dagā magar’dā
EMPH=PROX encampment-OBL IMP-go around.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda rō'genā madī'yā boda
bod-a rōgen-ā ma-diy-ā bod-a
become.PST-PP oil-OBL IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP
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 ĥanek ām ba'sāb ĥanek-e
when VCL=go.NPST-3SG girl =ADD anyway girl-GEN

mī'dagā ha ar'ra 'bale ṣeje-nī ta
encampment-OBL ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG yes VCL=see.NPST-3SG that

ĵa'nekī 'ray ba 'hamā kā'kol en kā'kolī
girl-GEN vote for EMPH=DIST Kakol =COP.NPST.3SG Kakol=PC.3SG

bo'kā jānek o 'nomatāna
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 ĥa'nek ētarā bo'kānī
Kakol a=š-ī kākol jānek ta-rā bokānī
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
'tarā bo'kānī 'ta ham 'dass o 'pādat
ta-rā bokān=i ta ham dass =o pād=at
PN.2SG-OBJ want.NPST=PC.3SG PN.2SG ADD hand =and foot=PC.2SG

'gerd ka
gerd Ø-ka-Ø
gathered IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

She wants you, so you should get ready (lit. gather your hand and foot).”

SD.m:31
hame'dān 'tūl akaš'īt ja'nek go be'rāday
ham=edān tūl a=kaš-īt janek go berād-ay
EMPH=here length VCL=pull.NPST-3SG girl with brother-GEN

'ja'nay mara'wā boda hā'lā yā
janay ma-raw-ā bod-a hālā yā
wife.OBL.PC.3SG IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP now or

'yāfā yā 'lōgay 'harjāh neš'ta
āf-ā yā lōg=ay harjāh nešt-a
water-OBL or house=PC.3SG wherever sit down.PST-PP

boda ta'rīf akanan be'rāday
bod-a=Ø tarīf a=kan-an berād-ay
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG account VCL=do.NPST-3PL brother-GEN

'ja'nī hay sar'kofī hā'lā yā ben'wāne sar'kofī yā
jan=i hay sarkoft=i hālā yā benwān=e sarkoft yā
wife=PC.3SG ITER taunt=PC.3SG now or as=EZ taunt or

tahad'dī bah'ray ašī 'ta korošo'bāray tahmon'na
tahaddī bahr=ay a=šī ta koroš-obār-ay tahmonna
sarcasm to=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG Korosh-PL-GEN leftover

ay =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**

<table>
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<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>'ta korošo'bāray tahmon'na ay</td>
<td>'ta dya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta koroš-obār-ay tahmonna =ay</td>
<td>ta dya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN.2SG Korosh-PL-GEN leftover =COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG well</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

You are the leftover from the Korosh; you should go to hell.”

**SD.m:33**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ē'dān ke 'čō ašīt maša'dī dāš'tān ke</td>
<td>ēdān ke čō ašīt mašadī dāstān ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here CLM like this VCL=say.NPST-3SG Mashhadi Dastan CLM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When she said this way, Mashhadi Dastan, who was that girl, was offended; she became sad.

**SD.m:34**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ašī</td>
<td>'man 'harjāh 'berrān ě sarkoš'ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a=š-ī</td>
<td>man harjāh ber-r-ān ě sarkoš'ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG wherever SBJV=go.NPST-1SG PROX taunt-DEF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'gon enom</td>
<td>'gon =en=om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

She said, wherever I go I have to put up with this taunting (lit. this taunting is with me).

**SD.m:35**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'man hā'lā ba'hā 'berrān ba 'hamā korošo'bārā</td>
<td>man hālā bahā ber-r-ān ba hamā koroš-obār-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN.1SG now must SBJV=go.NPST-1SG for EMPH=DIST Korosh-PL-OBL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'roşay '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'roşay
ā=b-ān ā=b-ān ham=ā koroş-ay
VCL=become.NPST-1SG VCL=become.NPST-1SG EMPH=DIST Korosh-GEN

'jan 'bel har'čī abī
jan b-el-∅ harčī 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'ġāmā arasā'nī pay'ġāmā a'dā ba
payğām-ā a=rasān-ī payğām-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

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

If you have zeal (lit. there is zeal for you) come [for me] I am coming [with you].

SD.m:41

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.
A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

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
kā'kol ham agar'dī mā mē'dagā čan'ta
Kakol ADD VCL=go around.NPST-3SG in encampment-OBL some-CL
na'far xo'ben ze'reyen zeb'den ā'dam pī'dā
nafar xob-en zeren-en zebd-en ādam pīdā person good-ATTR clever-ATTR brave-ATTR human being visible
akant ašī 'xob mom'ken en
a=kan-t a=š-ī xob momken =en VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG well possible =COP.NPST.3SG
'rāhay je'lōyen be'geran jār kanant
rāh-ay jelō=yen be-ger-an jar Ø-kan-ant way-GEN front=PC.1PL SBJV-take.NPST-3PL quarrel SBJV-do.NPST-3PL
'bejanant 'bwaran ba'sāb bād zepe'zel
be-Jan-ant b-war-an basāb bād zepezel SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL SBJV-eat.NPST-3PL anyway should brave
ben jār kanen ja'nekā
Ø-b-en jar Ø-kan-en janek-ā SBJV-become.NPST-1PL quarrel SBJV-do.NPST-1PL girl-OBL
'beğeren har 'tawre bī ja'nekā
be-ger-en har tawr=e Ø-b-ī janek-ā SBJV-take.NPST-1PL each manner=IND SBJV-become.NPST-3SG 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

a’sī  ākā’yant o… ‘čan na’far  
a=š-ī ā=k-ā-yant =o čan nafar  
VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL =and some person

ākā’yant  ‘ya ‘haf ‘haš ‘dah na’far  
ā=k-ā-yant ya haf haš dah nafar  
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL one seven eight ten person

It is said [that] they came and… A few people came, some seven, eight, ten people came.

SD.m:45

'pan 'šeš le’ra ākā’ran a jom’la ‘ya ‘aspī  
pan šeš le’ra ā=k-ār-an a jomla ya asp=ī  
five six camel VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL from all one horse=IND

yada’kī ākā’ran ba’hre ma’šī dās’tānā ke  
yadakī ā=k-ār-an bahr=e mašī dāstān-ā ke  
extra VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL for=EZ Mashhadi Dastan-OBL CLM

bo’kā ‘bīyāran ‘swāre ‘aspā kanan  
bokā bīy-ār-an swār=e asp-ā ơ-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

mi’yān ‘rāhā ākā’yant ta ‘bale ja’nek ham  
miyān rāh-ā ā=k-ā-yant ta bale janek ham  
between way-OBL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL MIR yes daughter ADD
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

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

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.
Again, Kakol took her and once again, put her in front of (lit. with) himself on the horse, in order to see if the girl would jump down to run back; then he would put her back on the horse again, [and] bring her; he brought her to the encampment.

He brought her to the encampment, you know; after [some time] her brother came back.

Her brother who had gone for trading returned.
A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

So his mother, when they took the girl to run away… his mother, there was a child; it was Hosayn’s child, I think.

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.

Sarmas said, “Where is my wife (lit. encampment)?; Where is my sister?”; she said, “Your sister went with the Korosh.
A. Text Corpus

SD.m:54

Your sister went with the Korosh.”

SD.m:55

Well, when (lit. here that) she said, “Your sister went with the Korosh.”; he said, “Well, it is your conspiracy that my sister went with the Korosh; put the child on the ground; I am going to kill you.”

SD.m:56

She didn’t put the child on the ground; again he said, “No, put it on the ground; I will kill you.”
A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

SD.m:57
mašadī dāstānī dōī a=genn-ī tā bač=ī
Mashhadi Dastan-GEN mother VCL=see.NPST-3SG MIR son=PC.3SG

bo'kā 'bokošīdī aga 'bokošīdī
want.NPST SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG if SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

‘bačā ham ākošīd ‘čokā ‘ēr akant
boy-OBL ADD VCL=kill.NPST-3SG child-OBL PREV VCL=do.NPST-3SG

You know, she put the child down at a distance and she raised up her hands, and he shot her.

SD.m:58
‘xob ‘čokā ‘ēr aka ‘āŋa o ‘dassay
well child-OBL PREV VCL=do.NPST-3SG there =and hand.OBL.PC.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 dōīray mīānay 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

\[ a'ǰant \quad dō'īay \quad ham \quad ame'rī \]
\[ a=ǰan-t \quad dōī=ay \quad ham \quad a=mer-ī \]
\[ VCL=hit.NPST-3SG \quad \text{mother}=\text{PC.3SG} \quad \text{ADD} \quad VCL=die.NPST-3SG \]

He shot her; he shot his mother in the chest so his mother died.

\text{SD.m:60}

\[ dō'īay \quad ame'rīd \quad o \quad dō'īay \quad ham \quad 'wel \]
\[ dōī=ay \quad a=mer-īd \quad =o \quad dōī=ay \quad ham \quad wel \]
\[ \text{mother}=\text{PC.3SG} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{die.NPST-3SG} \quad =\text{and} \quad \text{mother}=\text{PC.3SG} \quad \text{ADD} \quad \text{loose} \]

\[ adā \quad a'kay \quad a \quad mē'dagā \]
\[ a=dā-∅ \quad a=k-ay-∅ \quad a \quad mēdag-ā \]
\[ \text{VCL}=\text{give.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{encampment-OBL} \]

\[ 'wale \quad korošo'bāra \quad 'pēdāom \quad nako \]
\[ \text{wale} \quad \text{koroš-obār-a} \quad \text{pēdā}=\text{om} \quad \text{na-ko} \]
\[ \text{but} \quad \text{Korosh-PL-OBL} \quad \text{visible}=\text{PC.1SG} \quad \text{NEG-do.PST} \]

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.”

\text{SD.m:61}

\[ korošo'bārom \quad 'paydā \quad nakod \quad dō'īyam \quad 'koštom \]
\[ koroš-obār=\text{om} \quad \text{paydā} \quad \text{na-kod} \quad \text{dōī}=\text{yam} \quad \text{košt}=\text{om} \]
\[ \text{Korosh-PL}=\text{PC.1SG} \quad \text{visible} \quad \text{NEG-do.PST} \quad \text{mother}=\text{PC.1SG} \quad \text{kill.PST}=\text{PC.1SG} \]

I did not find the Korosh, [but] I killed my mother.

\text{SD.m:62}

\[ mē'dageš \quad 'gerd \quad abīd \quad 'hamī \]
\[ mēdag=\text{eš} \quad \text{gerd} \quad a=b-īd \quad \text{ham}=\text{i} \]
\[ \text{encampment}=\text{PC.3PL} \quad \text{gathered} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{become.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{EMPH}=\text{PROX} \]

\[ 'wadī \quad mē'dageš \quad 'gerd \quad abīt \]
\[ \text{wad}-\text{i} \quad \text{midag}=\text{eš} \quad \text{gerd} \quad a=b-īt \]
\[ \text{REFL-GEN} \quad \text{encampment}=\text{PC.3PL} \quad \text{gathered} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{become.NPST-3SG} \]

\[ ho'saynī \quad dō'īyā \quad aba'rant \]
\[ hosayn-ī \quad dōī-\text{yā} \quad a=\text{bar-ant} \]
\[ \text{Hosayn-GEN} \quad \text{mother-OBL} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{take.NPST-3PL} \]

Their encampment came together; this his encampment came together; they took
Sarmas (lit. Hosayn)’s mother.

SD.m:63
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aba'rant} & \quad \text{kā'hom} & \text{akanant} \\
\text{a=bar-} & \quad \text{a=kan-} \\
\text{VCL=take.NPST-3PL} & \quad \text{VCL=do.NPST-3PL}
\end{align*}
\]

They took [her and] buried [her].

SD.m:64
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aba'rant} & \quad \text{kā'hom} & \text{akanant} & \text{god'dā} & \text{ke} & \text{kā'hom} \\
\text{a=bar-} & \quad \text{a=kan-} & \text{goddā} & \text{ke} & \text{kāhom} \\
\text{VCL=take.NPST-3PL} & \quad \text{VCL=do.NPST-3PL} & \text{then} & \text{CLM} & \text{buried}
\end{align*}
\]

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
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a'sant} & \quad \text{'xo} & \text{bā'hād} & \text{'berren} & \text{talā'fī} \\
\text{a=š-} & \quad \text{xo} & \text{bāhād} & \text{ber-r-en} & \text{talāfī} \\
\text{VCL=say.NPST-3PL} & \quad \text{well} & \text{must} & \text{SBJV-go.NPST-1PL} & \text{revenge}
\end{align*}
\]

They said, “Well, we must go and take revenge, kill [them].

SD.m:66
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'čōn} & \quad \text{e'sān} & \text{baha'sābe} & \text{'wadeš} & \text{'ya} & \text{'naanje} \\
\text{čōn} & \quad \text{eš-ān} & \text{bahasāb=e} & \text{wad=eš} & \text{ya} & \text{naŋ=e} \\
\text{how} & \quad \text{PROX-PL} & \text{according=EZ} & \text{REFL=PC.3PL} & \text{one} & \text{disgrace=IND}
\end{align*}
\]
Because they, according to themselves, they brought disgrace on us.

We must go and kill the Korosh.”

They gathered, a hundred people or so gathered.

"They gathered, a hundred people or so gathered.

PROX Korosh-PL-GEN encampment-OBL 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 Korosh; I know their behaviour.”

SD.m:70
\text{baen\textquoteright w\textacute{a}ne} \text{balat\textquoteright c\textacute{e}} \text{aka\textacute{f}i} \text{go} \text{\'e\textacute{s}\textacute{a}n} \text{o}
\text{baenw\textae{a}ne} \text{balat\textc{c}i} \text{a=kaf\textacute{i}} \text{go} \text{\'e\textacute{s}\textacute{a}n} \text{=o}
\text{as} \text{guide} \text{VCL=fall.NPST-3SG} \text{with PROX-PL =and}
\text{\'ak\textacute{a}yan} \text{ke} \text{\'e\textacute{s}\textacute{a}n\acute{a}} \text{\'p\textacute{e}d\acute{a}} \text{kanan}
\text{\=a=k-\textacute{a}yan} \text{ke} \text{\=e\textacute{s}-\textacute{a}n\acute{a}} \text{\textacute{p}e\textacute{d}\acute{a}} \text{\=O-kan-an}
\text{VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL} \text{CLM} \text{PROX-PL-OBJ} \text{visible} \text{SBJV-do.NPST-3PL}

\text{\'bo\text-
ko\textacute{s}\textacute{a}n}
\text{bo-ko\textacute{s}\textacute{-an}}
\text{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
\text{\'ham\acute{a}} \text{\=gob\textacute{a}n\acute{a}l\textacute{i}} \text{\=a\textacute{han}g\textacute{ar}} \text{a\textacute{k}ay}
\text{ham=\textae{\textacute{a}}} \text{\=gob\textacute{a}nal\textacute{i}} \text{\=a\textacute{han}g\textacute{ar}} \text{a=k-ay-\=O}
\text{EMPH=PROX} \text{Ghorban Ali Ahangar} \text{VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG}
\text{m\textacute{e}d\textacute{a}g\textacute{a}} \text{p\textacute{e}d\acute{a}} \text{akant}
\text{m\textacute{e}dag-\=a} \text{p\textacute{e}d\acute{a}} \text{a=kan-t}
\text{encampment-OBL} \text{visible} \text{VCL=do.NPST-3SG}

This Ghorban Ali Ahangar came [and] found the encampment.

SD.m:72
\text{\=gob\textacute{a}n\acute{a}l\textacute{i}e} \text{\=a\textacute{han}g\textacute{ar}} \text{a\textacute{k}ay} \text{ko\textacute{r}o\textacute{s}\textacute{a}y}
\text{\=gob\textacute{a}nal\textacute{i}=e} \text{\=a\textacute{han}g\textacute{ar}} \text{a=k-ay-\=O} \text{koro\textacute{s}\textacute{a}y}
\text{Ghorban Ali=EZ Ahangar} \text{VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG} \text{Korosh-GEN}
\text{m\textacute{e}d\textacute{a}g\textacute{a}} \text{p\textacute{e}d\acute{a}} \text{a\textacute{k}an} \text{a\textacute{k}ay} \text{ba}
\text{m\textacute{e}dag-\=a} \text{p\textacute{e}d\acute{a}} \text{a=kan-\=O} \text{a=k-ay-\=O} \text{ba}
\text{encampment-OBL} \text{visible} \text{VCL=do.NPST-3SG} \text{VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG} \text{for}
\text{\=e\textacute{s}\textacute{a}n\acute{a}} \text{ha\textacute{m}\acute{a}} \text{ax\textacute{b}\textacute{a}r\acute{a}} \text{a\textacute{d}\acute{a}} \text{ke} \text{ba\textacute{e}le}
\text{\=e\textacute{s}-\=a\textacute{n}\acute{a}} \text{ham=\=a} \text{axb\textacute{a}r-\=a} \text{a=d\textacute{a}-\=O} \text{ke} \text{bale}
\text{PROX-PL-OBJ EMPH=DIST news.PL-OBL} \text{VCL=give.NPST-3SG} \text{CLM} \text{yes}
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 negahbānīya madi'yā boda di'ya
ēdān negahbānī-a ma-di'y-ā bod-a diya
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 negahbānīya
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'šī
madīy-ēn bod-a yak=e a=š-ī
IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP one=IND VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'bowā 'byā 'berren lō'gā
bowā by-a-∅ 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
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.”

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.

SD.m:74

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.
So that very night when these did not keep watch, the gentlemen of the Darreshuri arrived at the guard post, at the place where they had kept watch.

You know, the watchmen’s place was empty; they took over the guard post.
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).

These shot (lit. took gun) at these tents; it was at night and everybody was asleep.

They shot at this tent.
They shot as much as they could; maybe they shot (lit. emptied) one hundred bullets on each house.

SD.m:81

'bad  ő'dān  ke  xo'dā  bo'kārī  a'bīd
bad  ōdān  ke  xodā  bokār=i  a=b-īd
then  there  CLM  God  want.PST=PC.3SG  VCL=become.NPST-3SG

'hağeš  boda  'ē  koroš'o'bār
hağ=eš  bod-a=∅  ē  koroš-obār
right=PC.3PL  become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG  PROX  Korosh-PL

'hōn  a'nayay  fa'ɡat  bā'leštī  'ya  'moštī
hōn  a=nay-ay-∅  faɡat  bālešt=i  ya  mošt=i
blood  VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG  only  pillow=IND  one  handful=IND

bā'lešt  gulla  alag'gī  'mānī  'ya  'moštī  hay'wān
bālešt  gulla  a=lagg-ī  mān=i  ya  mošt=i  haywān
pillow  bullet  VCL=hit.NPST-3SG  in=PC.3SG  one  handful=IND  animal

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**

\[\text{axbār ar'ra ba sawladawlā ke 'hamī} \]
\[koroš:obār-ay xān bod-a=∅ a=š-ī} \]
\[Korosh-PL-GEN khan become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG \]

The news reached Sawladawla, who was Khan of these Korosh; someone said, "Last night there was shooting in the Korosh encampment."

**SD.m:84**

\[\text{tīrbārāneš koda 'wale ō'dān ke xo'dā bo'kārī} \]
\[tīrbārān=eš kod-a wale ōdān ke xodā bokār=ī} \]
\[shooting=PC.3PL do.PST-PP but there CLM God want.PST=PC.3SG \]

There was shooting in the Korosh’s encampment, but now that God so wanted, no one died.

**SD.m:85**

\[\text{yang mošt=ī hay'wān o ošt'or o mošt'or zaxmī} \]
\[ya mošt=ī haywān =o ošt'or =o mošt'or zaxmī} \]
\[one handful=IND animal =and camel =and echo injured \]

Some animals, camels and the like were injured, but [no] child not even one child died."
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.”
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.”

Well, a message arrived to Mashhadi Dastan’s brother, “Well, you came to strike this much [but] no one died.
It was their right.”

So the Korosh people said, “Sir, this one came [and] shot in our encampment and he really wanted to kill the people; give us permission to fight”; he said to Sawladawla.
A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a'sī</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>šō'mā</th>
<th>'jar</th>
<th>'makanet</th>
<th>'man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a=š-ī</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>šömā</td>
<td>'jar</td>
<td>ma-kan-et</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SD.m:94**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a'sī</th>
<th>de'ya</th>
<th>dobā'ra</th>
<th>hā'lā</th>
<th>yā</th>
<th>ba'hār</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a=š-ī</td>
<td>deya</td>
<td>dobara</td>
<td>hala</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>bahar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

boda

He said, "No, don’t fight; I myself, I myself, will arrange things; don’t fight.”
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 mašī dāse'tānī berādo'bārā
a=genn-ant ham=ī mašī dāsetān-ī berād-obār-ā
VCL=see.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX Mashhadi Dastan-GEN brother-PL-OBL

agen'nī ašī 'xob ta go ko'roš hālā
a=genn-ī a=š-ī xob ta go koros hālā
VCL=see.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2SG with Korosh now

yā 'bāhā solh kanay yā 'jar 'kanay
yā bāhā solh ð-kan-ay yā jar ð-kan-ay
or must peace SBJV-do.NPST-2SG or quarrel SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

go Ko'rosh bokā 'jar kant
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**

ašī '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

'haġom 'nāboda 'man ūrannā'zīom
hāg=om nā-bod-a=ð man ūrannāzī=om
right=PC.1SG NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG shooting=PC.1SG

do. PST-PP en-campment-OBL actually annihilated SBJV-do.NPST-1SG but

Korošo'bār 'haġī boda
Koros-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.
The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

A.4. Text 4

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.”

So who... Kakol got married, you know.

Kakol got married, after that (lit. this) shooting, and after their fighting and so on, they got married.
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  hāǰīhayda'rī  o  'jat  o  sīnazard  o  jānā'nī
korōš  diya as  ḥājjīhaydarī =o  āt =o   zupełnie =o  ānjānī
Korosh well from Hajihaydari =and  Jat =and  Sinezard =and  Jangani

o  'nazānon  ko'roš  'xaylī  en
=o  Ø=na-zān-on  korōš  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
shāhrīyārī  =o  koroš  ham  edda=ye  xaylī
Shahriyari =and  Korosh ADD one group=EZ very

'gottīyan  arrē'čan  'bahre  zu...  kā'kol
gottīyan  ārēč-an  bahr=e  zu  kākōl
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  'bodāgī  'ā  daw'rā  'xayle  ham...
harka  ke  bod-āg=ī  ā  dawrā  xayle  ham
whoever  CLM  become.PST-PP=PC.3SG  DIST  time very  ADD

'nesfī  boda  'nesfī  'nāboda  ba'sābe
nesfī=ī  boda=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  'panǰ
ā дора  a=rēč-ānt  harka  dāh  haywān =o  panj
DIST  time  VCL=pour.NPST-3PL  every one  ten  animal =and  five
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.

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.
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.”
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.”
Well, the fighting finished at that point (lit. here) [and] they made peace; they took whom… [they took] Kakol to the “welcoming party”.

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.
A.4. Text 4: The Story of Dastan, male, Koroshi Balochi

They took him for the welcoming party [Turkic] ġayağačma, 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.

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).
They gave a horse to Kakol as a present and they gave a horse to their sister as well, as a gayaqačma-gift, as a present.

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).

They are of the grandchildren and relatives and cousins of Kakol.
You know, [they are] Kakol’s children; well, that’s it.
A. Text Corpus

A.5 Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

Mullah Neykadar Jān
recounted by Rahim Narui

Once upon a time (lit. there was and there was, there was nobody better than God).

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/,
“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

\[ 'ê 'hamedā 'ąd o pay'mān kortant o 'harkas \]
\[ ē ham=edā ād =o paymān kort-ant =o harkas \]
\[ PROX EMPH=here covenant =and agreement do.PST-3PL =and everyone \]

\[ 'šot be 'wīḫ kār o šog'lay pa'dā \]
\[ šot-∅ be wīḫ kār =o šogl-ay padā \]
\[ go.PST-3SG with REFL GEN work =and job-GEN on \]

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

\[ 'yak 'brāsē be 'šār o šahres'tānān zende'gīa kort \]
\[ yak brās=ē be šār =o šahrestān-ān zende=īya kort-∅ \]
\[ one brother=IND with city =and town-OBL.PL life=VCL do.PST-3SG \]

\[ o sar'ābādārīyā... o bā'zārā o 'yakkē šwā'nagē \]
\[ =o sar'ābdārī-īyā =o bāzār-ā =o yak=kē šwānag=ē \]
\[ =and rich-NMLZ-OBL =and market-OBL =and one=IND shepherd=IND \]

\[ at o 'laṭṭē 'dāšt o pa \]
\[ =at-∅ =o laṭṭ=ē dāšt-∅ =o pa \]
\[ =COP.PST-3SG =and wooden stick=IND have.PST-3SG =and for \]

\[ mar'domān mozzūrīya ko \]
\[ mardom-ān mozzūr-ī=ya ko-∅ \]
\[ people-OBL.PL wage earner-NMLZ=VCL do.PST-3SG \]

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

\[ čan'dīn zamā'nag o rōze'gār ke 'gwast 'ê ke \]
\[ čandīn zamānag =o rūzegār ke gwast-∅ ē ke \]
\[ several period =and time CLM pass.PST-3SG PROX CLM \]

\[ šwā'nagē at xo'dā e'šerā al'lāhay ra'zā \]
\[ šwānag=ē =at-∅ xođā ešerā allāh-ay razā \]
\[ shepherd=IND =COP.PST-3SG God PROX.OBL.OBJ God-GEN satisfaction \]

\[ bačakē 'dāšt o 'ā ke pūl'dār at xo'dā \]
\[ bačak=ē dāšt-∅ =o ā ke pūldār =at-∅ xođā \]
\[ son=IND give.PST-3SG =and DIST CLM rich =COP.PST-3SG God \]
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

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.”
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'gošť</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>'bābā</th>
<th>'mādar</th>
<th>'jān</th>
<th>'aybe</th>
<th>'nadārī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gošt-∅</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>bābā</td>
<td>mādar</td>
<td>jān</td>
<td>aybe</td>
<td>na-dār-ī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

say.PST-3SG CLM father mother dear defect=IND NEG-have.NPST-3SG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'man</th>
<th>'tī</th>
<th>pe'sā</th>
<th>gen’dīn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>tī</td>
<td>pes-ā</td>
<td>gend-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pe'say</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>'dīst</th>
<th>'pesay</th>
<th>'gošť</th>
<th>ke</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pesay</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>dist-∅</td>
<td>pes=ay</td>
<td>gošt-∅</td>
<td>ke</td>
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</table>

father.OBL.PC.3SG CLM see.PST-3SG father=PC.3SG say.PST-3SG CLM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'āxer</th>
<th>'xānom</th>
<th>'byā</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>'ay</th>
<th>je’nēn</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>äxer</td>
<td>xānom</td>
<td>by-ā-∅</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>jenēn</td>
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</table>

you know wife IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM VOC wife

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'byā</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>an'čēn</th>
<th>zamā'nağē</th>
<th>'man</th>
<th>o</th>
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<tr>
<td>by-ā-∅</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ančēn</td>
<td>zamānag=ē</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>=o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM such.ATTR period=IND PN.1SG and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'mnī</th>
<th>'brāš</th>
<th>'ādē</th>
<th>kortan</th>
<th>'ta</th>
<th>'man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mnī</td>
<td>brās</td>
<td>ād=ē</td>
<td>kort-an</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PN.1SG GEN brother covenant=IND do.PST-1PL MIR PN.1SG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'braīn</th>
<th>'bārēn</th>
<th>a'mē</th>
<th>'brās</th>
<th>'wātí</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>braīn</td>
<td>bārēn</td>
<td>am=ē</td>
<td>brās</td>
<td>wātí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SBJV-go.NPST-1SG question EMPH=PROX brother RELF.GEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ā'day</th>
<th>sa'rā</th>
<th>en</th>
<th>yā</th>
<th>'na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ād-ay</td>
<td>sarā</td>
<td>=en</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.”
A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadār Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

**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 meğ'dārē... šame'dā 'mālē om 'wī

yak meğdār=ē šamēdā māl=ē =om wī

one amount=IND from.EMPH.of animal=IND =ADD REFL.GEN

dastā 'gept o 'šo pwa'tī brā'say

dast-ā gept-∅ =o šo-∅ pwaṭī 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 'wī brā'say mē'mān

šwānag 'šot-∅ =o marōčī wī 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).
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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MNJ.m:15</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bass ša'mōdā 'āt o say'miēn rōčā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bass šamōdā āt-∅ =o say-mī-ēn rōč-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just from.EMPH.there come.PST-3SG =and three-ORD-ATTR day-OBL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| '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 'wyl |
| 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-ūt |
| IMP.k-come.NPST-2SG =and good news SBJV-become.NPST-3SG |

| 'enšālā 'gošt ke 'hān 'lālā ha'mā daw'rāe 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 harbar 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 |
| hanūn ges-i =o taklīp-i 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-i |
| sure PN.2SG.GEN daughter =ADD duty-ADJZ |

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A. Text Corpus

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.”
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].”
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.”
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. 
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

{o 'bass pamēšī kanā'hata kanant
o bass pamēšī kanāhat=a kan-ant
and just for.EMPH.PROX.OBL satisfaction=VCL do.NPST-3PL

a'mē 'say 'čār na'par o a'mā je'nek om
am=č say ċār napar =o am=a jenek =om
EMPH=PROX three four person =and EMPH=DIST girl =ADD

xoš'hāla bīt ke 'xob ša 'mnī sa'rā
xošhāl=a b-īt ke xob ša mnī sarā
happy=VCL become.NPST-3SG CLM alright from PN.1SG.GEN on

'ē masa'la 'gwast
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

{o 'mā hapto'miēn 'rōčā 'padā šwā'nag bečā'rag
o mā hapto-omiēn rōč-ā padā šwānag bečārag
and EMPH.DIST seven-ORD-ATTR day-OBL again shepherd poor

ša'mōdā be'rāh ent o 'pasē om
šamōdā be-rāh =ent =o pas=č =om
from.EMPH.there in-way =COP.NPST.3SG =and sheep=IND =ADD

āor'ta pa brā'sā ke 'lālā 'mnī
āort-a=∅ pa brās-ā ke lālā mnī
bring.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG for brother-OBL CLM brother PN.1SG.GEN

zā'gay ja'wāb ċī buū 'šī 'lālā
zāg-ay jawāb ċī buū-∅ s-ī lālā
child-GEN answer what become.PST-3SG say.NPST-3SG brother
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].”
He said, “It’s OK, no problem.”

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).”
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.

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.”

And I you know,… we heard this much [and] we did not hear more”; he said,
Alright.

**MNJ.m:26**

'ẽšā 'rawt 'gō 'me maške'čokkay
eš-a raw-t gō me maškečokk-ay
PROX=VCL go.NPST-3SG with EMPH.PROX small goat skin-GEN

ā'pān o 'gō a'mē wa'riā wa'tīyā
āp-ān o gō am=ē wari-ā wat-ī-yā
water-OBL.PL =and with EMPH=PROX bread-OBL REFL-GEN-OBL

'čenka ʃa p o 'rō 'rāha rawt o 'yak ṭū'ēn
čenka ʃap =o rō rāh=a raw-ī =o yak ṭū-ēn
so much night =and day way=VCL go.NPST-3SG =and one big-ATTR

pīra'mardē pay'dāa kant be 'mā ma'sīrā
pīramard=ē paydā=a kan-t be mā masir-ā
old man=IND visible=VCL do.NPST-3SG in EMPH.DIST way-OBL

šā'īā por'sī ke amēran'gēn
šāi-a pors-ī ke am=ē-rang-ēn
from.DIST.OBL=VCL ask.NPST-3SG CLM EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR

'čīzē a'wāl ḥast yā 'nē ṣī 'bale
čīz=ē awāl hast-∅ yā nē ṣī 'bale
thing=IND first be.NPST-3SG or NEG.COP.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG yes

'ḥast be'mē rō'cāy bo'nā en ke 'bale
ḥast-∅ bemē rōc-ay bonā =en ke bile
be.NPST-3SG in.EMPH.PROX sun-GEN under =COP.NPST-3SG FRAG but

'ḥarkas ke ʃā'dā ʃō'ta ʃā'ta ʃō'a ʃō'a ʃā'ta
harkas ke ʃūdā ʃot-a=∅ ʃā'ta ʃā'ta ʃō'a ʃō'a ʃā'ta
whoever CLM there go.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG still PREV

'nagašta 'ā elmwālā'ēn mar'dome
na-gašt-a=∅ ā elmwālā-ēn mardom=ē
NEG-turn.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG DIST knowledgeable-ATTR people=IND

'bale bāz jā'wān ʃō'ta o 'ber
bale bāz jawān ʃot-a=∅ =o ber
but much youth go.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG =and PREV

'nagašta 'ay jā'wān bīčā'rag ʃā ta
na-gašt-a=∅ ay jawān bīčārag ta
NEG-turn.PST-PP=COP.NPST-3SG VOC young poor PN.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].”

He said /that/, “No, I must learn his knowledge and if I don’t learn [it], there is no choice [for me].”
A. Text Corpus

['ta pa’čē ʼē ʼkāra ka’nay ʼšī
ta pačē ē kār-a kan-ay š-ī
PN.2SG why PROX work-OBL do.NPST-2SG say.NPST-3SG

'hyā ke amēran’gēn masa’laē o
by-ā-∅ ke am=e-rang-ēn masala=e =o
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR issue=IND =and

amēran’gēn 'nangē be ’mnē gar’denā
am=e-rang-ēn nang=ē be mnē garden-ā
EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR zeal=IND with PN.1SG.GEN neck-OBL

en 'heč ’rāē ’nadārī yā ’marga
=en heč rā=e 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=e 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

'sī '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 'ṭrā nešāna 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’wēn ša’mā
=an draxt =ant kawē-ēn šamā
=TOP.NPST.3PL tree =TOP.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
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**

'yak 'rāhēa 'rawt kō'ntagēn ke sā'lay sa'rā
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

mom'ken en be 'ā ma'sīrā 'padē o 'rāhēa
momken =en be ā maśīr-ā pad=ē =o rand=ē
possible =COP.NPST.3SG in DIST way-OBL trace=IND =and trace=IND

'o yak 'rāhēa nō'kēn 'ta
O=b-īt =o yak rāh=ē nōk-ēn ta
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG =and one way=IND new-ATTR PN.2SG

nō'kēn 'rāha 'wayla kanay be 'mā kō'ntagēn
nōk-ēn rāh-a wayl=ā kan-ay be mā kōnag-ēn
new-ATTR way-OBL loose=VCL do.NPST-2SG to EMPH.DIST old-ATTR

'rāha raway
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**

o 'šī 'xayle 'xob 'ēša 'kayt
o š-ī xayle xob ēš=a k-ay-t
and say.NPST-3SG very alright PROX=VCL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

be'mē ma'sīrē ke 'ē ban'day xo'dā
bemē maśīr=ē ke ē banda=y xodā
in.EMPH.PROX way=IND CLM PROX servant=EZ God

goš'ta
be 'mē ma'sīrā ke
goš-t=a=∅
be mē maśīr-ā ke
say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG to EMPH.PROX way-OBL CLM

'kayt o ra'sīt 'padā 'ēš 'yak
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 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'nā
tī sarā be tī badan-ā grān-ā=a
PN.2SG.GEN on on PN.2SG.GEN body-OBL heavy-NMLZ=VCL

'kant 'ē 'ēi ha'barē ke 'kasē ke 'trā
dō.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
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.”

[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?”
And it will be clear to you; I leave you in the hands of (lit. to) your God and your fate.”

Well, this one prayed for this one as well.

 Antoine Baudouin de Courtenay

And it will be clear to you; I leave you in the hands of (lit. to) your God and your fate.”

Well, this one prayed for this one as well.
He prayed and this one old... 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.
A. Text Corpus

ta'wār... ja'wāba dant ke 'bale 'man šwā'nągē
tawār jawāb=a dan-t ke bale man šwānag=c
sound answer=VCL give.NPST-3SG CLM yes PN.1SG shepherd=IND

lō'tīn o pēšxez'mattē 'pas o 'māl 'mnī
lōt-in =o pēšxezmat=c pas =o māl mnī
want.NPST-1SG =and servent=IND sheep =and animal PN.1SG.GEN

'bāz 'astan 'bale ke 'bāz ehtī'yāj
bāz ast=an bale ke bāz ehtīyāj
much be.NPST=COP.NPST.3PL but CLM much need

'nadārīn a'mē aπtā'wagā pa 'man 'āpa
na-dār-in am=c āptāwag-ā pa man āp=a
NEG-have.NPST-1SG EMPH=PROX ewer-OBL for PN.1SG water=VCL

'kant o a'mē 'mnī xed'mattā
kan-t =o am=c mnī xedmatt-ā
do.NPST-3SG =and EMPH=PROX PN.1SG.GEN service-OBL

'bkant o hā'barē ke bgošīn an'ǰām
b-kan-t =o hābar=c ke bgoš-in anǰām
SBJV-do.NPST-3SG =and word=IND CLM SBJV-say.NPST-1SG do

dant o 'čenkara 'lōṭay
Ø-dan-t =o čenkara=a lōt-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

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He agreed with him [and said] /that/ "Well, I will give your expenses (i.e. food and accommodation), 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* "ěš* kā'naya* bit* o *'ēserā*
bass *ěš* kāna=ya b-īt =o ēšerā

*just PROX satisfaction=VCL become.NPST-3SG =and PROX.OBL.OBJ*

*jāē* nešāna dant o ōjrā'okē ke
jā=ē nešān=a dan-t =o ōjrā-ok-ē ke

*place=IND sign=VCL give.NPST-3SG =and chamber-DIM=IND CLM*

*ša'pā* *hamēdā* *waspay* o *ha'mē* ṭaporokā
šap-ā ham=ēdā wasp-ay =o ham=ē ṭapotok-ā

*night-OBL EMPH=here sleep.NPST-2SG =and EMPH=PROX carpet-DIM-OBL*

*wtī* *sa'rā* *pre'nay* o *hamē* mālānā
wtī sarā prēn-ay =o ham=ē māl-an-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=ē

*PROX-kind water=VCL give.NPST-2SG =and EMPH=PROX*

*mālānā* *ērang* xed'matta kanay o
māl-an-ā ē-rang xedmatt=a kan-ay =o

*animal-OBL.PL-OBJ PROX-kind service=VCL do.NPST-2SG =and*
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

ʼšī xay’le ʼxob  kā’na  yon  ʻēš  om
š-Ī xayle xob kāna =yon ēš =om
say.NPST-3SG very alright satisfaction =COP.NPST.1SG PROX =ADD

šorū=a  kan-t  ē  wat-ī  mašīr-ā  šorū=a
start=VCL do.NPST-3SG PROX REFL-GEN way-OBL start=VCL

kant  o  ʻā  ʻwtī  ʻkārāa  kant  o
kan-t =o ē wtī kār-ā=a kant-t =o
do.NPST-3SG =and DIST REFL-GEN work-OBL=VCL do.NPST-3SG =and

Dar'zemn  ʼhamērang  ʻē  ba’čak  ʻwtī  ha’wāsā
meanwhile EMPH=PROX-kind PROX boy REFL-GEN senses-OBL

gīt  ke  ʻbāre  ʻē  ʻčōna  kant
g-Īt ke bāre ē čōn=a kant-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

gen’dī  ʼbale  ʻē  byā  ke  hap’tagay  sa’rā
gend-Ī bale ē by-ā-∅ ke hap’tagay sarā
see.NPST-3SG yes PROX IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM week-OBL on

ha’mē  ʼbād  ša  pišīnay  ne’māzā  ʻēša
ham=ē bād ša pišīn-ay nemāz-ā ēš=a
EMPH=PROX after from afternoon-GEN prayer-OBL PROX=VCL

674
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).
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.

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.
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**

- jenēn'zāg pay'dā büt
- Jenēnzhāg paydā büt-∅
- girl visible become.PST-3SG

 arbitrarily say.PST-3SG poor fellow PN.2SG why here

 arbitrarily say.PST-3SG man PN.1SG

 arbitrarily say.PST-3SG man wage earner-NMLZ=VCL do.NPST-1SG

 arbitrarily say.PST-3SG poor fellow
A. Text Corpus

'ta 'wtī 'ēsk o 'āška 'sayl kan ha'mē
ta wī ēsk o 'āška sayl µ-kan-µ ham=ē
PN.2SG REFL.GEN around looking IMPV-do.NPST-2SG EMPH=PROX

'harčī ke 'ta gen'day a'mē 'māl o
harčī ke ta gend-ay am=ē māl o
however much CLM PN.2SG see.NPST-2SG EMPH=PROX animal =and

'hamē 'sengē ke 'tī at'rāfā
ham=ē seng=ē ke tī atrāf-ā
EMPH=PROX stone=IND CLM PN.2SG.GEN around-OBL

has'tan zenda'ǰān o mor'da... 'ā ke 'seng
hast=an zendaǰān =o morda ā ke seng
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3PL living soul =and FRAG DIST CLM stone

ant ha'mē ger'dēn 'čō 'īyā
=ant ham=ē gerd-ēn čō tī-yā
=COP.NPST.3PL EMPH=PROX all-ATTR like PN.2SG.GEN-OBL

'būtan 'ātan pēšī 'kār kortan o
būt-an āt-an pēšī kār kort-an o
become.PST-3PL come.PST-3PL for.PROX.OBL work do.PST-3PL =and

'ēš ēšī nāparmā'nīyā ke 'kortant yā ke
ēš ēšī nāparmānī-yā ke kort-ant yā ke
PROX PROX.GEN disobedience-OBL CLM do.PST-3PL or CLM

ē'šerā ke nāra'hat kortan 'bass ēšānā
ēšerā ke nārahat kort-an bass ēšānā
PROX.OBL.OBJ CLM angry do.PST-3PL just PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ

'werdē wā'nīt o 'ē a'mōdā 'senga
werd=ē wān-īt =o ē am=ōdā seng=a
incantation=IND read.NPST-3SG =and PROX EMPH=there stone=VCL

'bayant yā 'gōkē bīt yā 'pasē
bay-ant yā gōk=ē b-īt yā pas=ē
become.NPST-3PL or cow=IND become.NPST-3SG or sheep=IND

bīt wa pa sā'ēlā a'mōdā
b-īt wa pa sā-ēl ām=ōdā
become.NPST-3SG and for year-OBL EMPH=there
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.”

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

**MND.m:46**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha'mērang</th>
<th>molā'gāta</th>
<th>korta</th>
<th>o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ham=ē-rang</td>
<td>molāgāt=a</td>
<td>kort-a=∅</td>
<td>=o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EMPH=PROX-kind visit=VCL do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šo'ta</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>kā'ta</th>
<th>o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šot-a=∅</td>
<td>=o</td>
<td>k-āt-a=∅</td>
<td>=o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and IMP.k-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>āje'zagā</th>
<th>dīs'ta</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>'bass 'na 'yak 'jāē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ājezag-ā</td>
<td>dīst-a=∅</td>
<td>=o</td>
<td>bass na yak jā=ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

girl-OBL see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and just no one place=IND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'ēšī</th>
<th>el'mā</th>
<th>'yāta</th>
<th>gīt</th>
<th>'do 'jā 'say</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čēšī</td>
<td>elm-ā</td>
<td>yāt=a</td>
<td>g-īt</td>
<td>do jā say</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PROX.GEN knowledge-OBL memory=VCL take.NPST-3SG two place three

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jā</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>hamē'šānā</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>bā'zēn</th>
<th>čī'zāna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āj</td>
<td>=o</td>
<td>ham=ēšānā</td>
<td>=o</td>
<td>bāz-ēn</td>
<td>čīz-ān-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

place =and EMPH=PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ =and much-ATTR thing-OBL.PL-OBJ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>on</th>
<th>ha'mē</th>
<th>āje'zag</th>
<th>'ārā</th>
<th>'yāta</th>
<th>dant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=on</td>
<td>ham=ē</td>
<td>ājezag</td>
<td>ārā</td>
<td>yāt-a</td>
<td>dan-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

=ADD EMPH=PROX girl DIST.OBL.OBJ memory=VCL give.NPST-3SG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ke</th>
<th>'agar</th>
<th>'ta</th>
<th>'waxt</th>
<th>dā'ray</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>be'joz</th>
<th>jo'maān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>agar</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>waxt</td>
<td>dār-ay</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>bejoz</td>
<td>joma-ān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CLM if PN.2SG time have.NPST-2SG CLM except Friday-OBL.PL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ke</th>
<th>'ā</th>
<th>'kayt</th>
<th>'ta</th>
<th>šambayān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>k-ay-t</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>šamba-yān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CLM DIST IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG PN.2SG Saturday-OBL.PL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'byā</th>
<th>'aga</th>
<th>'ā</th>
<th>gen'day</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>'bād</th>
<th>ša</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>byā-∅</td>
<td>aga</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>gend-ay</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>bād</td>
<td>ša</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMPV-come.NPST-2SG if DIST see.NPST-2SG CLM after from

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ne'māzā</th>
<th>pěšī'nayā</th>
<th>'kayt</th>
<th>'ta</th>
<th>so...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nemāz-ā</td>
<td>pěšin-ay-ā</td>
<td>k-ay-t</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

prayer-OBL noon-GEN-OBL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG PN.2SG FRAG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sō'bay</th>
<th>ne'māzā</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>'kant</th>
<th>'ā</th>
<th>waspī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sō-ay</td>
<td>nemāz-ā</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>kan-t</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>waspī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

morning-GEN prayer-OBL CLM do.NPST-3SG DIST sleep.NPST-3SG
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.”

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].

This situation went on for seven years.
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.”

And [the boy] (lit. he) said, “Trusting in God, you know, I will do something now.”
One day, while these were talking to each other like this, by chance the Mullah caught them.

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.

He made [himself] a crazy camel, and he was just about to run after the Mullah.
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.

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.”
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-i ā =o lēra=ē mnā wā-∅
camel say.NPST-3SG DIST =FOC camel=IND PN.1SG.OBJ eat.NPST-3SG

'sī 'na 'ta bar o ha'mē ma'hārē
š-i na ta bar =o ham=ē mahar=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.”
This one went and removed this bridle from its nose and, well, he brought it.

As soon as he brought it, you know, she suddenly blew on this bridle inside her hand, this girl.

When the girl blew on [the bridle], this one became a dove and flew by God's power.
A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

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 े watrā šay'nakkē kant o bēšī
bass े wat-rā šaynak-k=ē kan-t =o bēšī
just PROX REFL-OBJ falcon=IND do.NPST-3SG =and to.PROX.GEN

pa’dāa kapī ta ’waxte ke bēšī
padā=a kap-ī ta waxt=e ke bēšī
behind=VCL fall.NPST-3SG until time=IND CLM to.PROX.GEN

pa’dāa bit ta ’rōča bit... 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 ēšerā ’brasēnī ē
waxt=e ke lōš-ī ēšerā b-rasēn-ī ē
time=EZ CLM want.NPST-3SG PROX.OBL.OBJ SBJV-take.NPST-3SG PROX
A. Text Corpus

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.

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.
A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

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
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.

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**

pādeśāhay ge'sā ke kā'rant o da'ray
pādešāh-ay ges-ā ke k-ār-ant =o dar-ay
king-GEN house-OBL CLM IMP.k-take.NPST-3PL =and door-GEN

da'pā 'ši ke 'ēšerā 'čīzē
dapā š-ī ke ēšerā čīz=ē
in front of say.NPST-3SG CLM PROX.OBL.OBJ thing=IND

'bdet ke 'braw pwat 'harčīa
b-d-et ke b-raw-∅ pwat harčī=a
IMPV-give.NPST-2PL CLM SBJV.NPST-3SG for.REL whatever=VCL

'dayante 'narawt a'xera 'ši
day-ant=e na-raw-t āxer-a š-ī
give.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG NEG-go.NPST-3SG end-OBL say.NPST-3SG

'mna ha'mā go'lā 'beday
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**

'šī ke 'gessōtag 'heč 'rāč 'nadārī
š-ī ke gessōtag heč rā=č na-dār-ī
say.NPST-3SG CLM poor fellow no way=IND NEG-have.NPST-3SG

'man 'ē go'lā 'trā 'heč em'kān 'nadārī
man ē gol-ā trā heč emkān na-dār-ī
PN.1SG PROX flower-OBL PN.2SG.OBJ no possible NEG-have.NPST-3SG

ā'xerā ēšānā 'hančōs seze'rēnūt ke
āxer-ā ēšānā hančōs sezerēn-ūt ke
end-OBL PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ such insist.NPST-3SG CLM

ha'mārang ha'mē beselā pādeśāh ha'mē
ham=ā-rang ham=ē beselā pādešāh ham=ē
EMPH=DIST-kind EMPH=PROX you know king EMPH=PROX

691
[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.”

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.
When this was spread out, the people saw /that/ a [strange] scene was taking place there (lit. here); the people got shocked.

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.
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

ha'mēke kōš'tī pa ne'māzā šwā'naga
hamēke k-ōšt-ī pa nemāz-ā šwānag=a
as soon as IMP.k-stand.NPST-3SG for prayer-OBL shepherd=VCL

kōš'tī pa ne'māzā o ne'māzā wa'tīyā
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

ke wā'nī mar'dom om 'yak 'kammē 'sareš
ke wān-ī mardom =om yak kamm=ē sar=eš
CLM read.NPST-3SG people =ADD one little=IND head=PC.3PL

'hōša kant 'čakka ja'nant ta 'way 'ēš
hōš=a kan-t čakk=a ja'nant ta way ēš
sense=VCL do.NPST-3SG turning=VCL hit.NPST-3PL MIR Oh dear PROX
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?”

They said /that/…; he himself said /that/, “Yes, I was, I am.”; they said, “Well, what kind of a story was this?”
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

a’nūn ke ‘pawk ūtaon... nā’kōē
now CLM win become.PST-PP=COPI.PST.1SG uncle=PC.3SG

’sī ’xo ’aybe ’nadārī ’ta ke ‘pawk
say.NPST-3SG good defect=IND NEG-have.NPST-3SG PN.2SG CLM win

ūt-ag=ay šar’ta bor’tagay o
become.PST-PP=COPI.PST.2SG bet-OBBL take.PST-PP=COPI.PST.2SG =and

’byā ke ‘watī je’nekā ’tarā
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM REFLEX-GEN daughter-OBBL PN.2SG.OBJ
A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

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
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.
A.5. Text 5: Mullah Neykadar Jan, male, Sistani Balochi

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 an end, and I send... entrust you to the holy God; that’s all.
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.
The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

Sabzōī Kessa

recounted by Bibi Jan Nourzaei

It is said [there] was a khan called (lit. by name of) Khodanezar Khan.

He had a neighbour, [who] had a daughter called Sabzo.

Khodanezar Khan had a cousin called Pirak; he was in love with Sabzo.
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'i '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=e 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

krap'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

=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

'Tāt  'sayla  kort  o  tamāšā
k-āt  sayl=a  kort-∅  =o  tamāšā=a

IMP.k-come.PST-3SG looking=VCL do.PST-3SG =and watching=VCL

kort  pīrakā
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'ṇagā  ke  'deleša
bād  mardom  ša  kast  =o  kēṇag-ā  ke  del=eš=a

then people from intention =and aversion-OBL CLM heart=PC.3PL>VCL

'Nakaššet  ke  pīrak  ē'dā  'bīt  kawšay  '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  rē-tant  tāgazz-ē  eškar  rē-tant  =o
live ember pour.PST-3PL tamarisk-GEN live ember pour.PST-3PL =and

pīrak  ša  'base  ke  'hōš  o  'sār  'nadāšt  ša  āšexīā
pirak  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  mālūm  'nawat  ke  āī
čāp=a  kort-∅  =o  mālūm  nawat  ke  āī
dance=VCL do.PST-3SG =and aware NEG.COP.NPST-3SG CLM DIST.OBL

'Pa'd  ěčōna  ba'yant  o  'ćēna  'nabayan
pa'd  ěn=a  bay-ant  =o  ěn=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.
That’s it (lit. then nothing).

He came and sat down beside Khodanezar Khan.

When Khodanezar Khan saw the vesicles on his feet, he said, “What is happening Pirak?; 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)?”
A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

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

Khodanezar Khan said /that/, “Is that so, Pirak?”; he said, “Yes.”
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.”

He called Sabzo’s father, Khodanezar Khan.
A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

He called her father and said /that/…; he called him by name [and] said, “You, at any cost, since Pirak is in love with your daughter, with Sabzo, and Sabzo is also in love [with Pirak...].

I, by God (lit. there is a covenant to me with my God), however much wealth you want, I will give you wealth. But if you want a fight whoever is killed from your side and whoever is killed from my side you will be responsible [for it all].
You must accept [one of] these two things.”

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.

Let me make a decision (lit. do a thought) [to] ask for wealth.”

He said, “I want seventy camels.”
A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

SA.f:24
xodānezar'xān 'gošte ke 'wtī mar'domānā
xodānezarxān gošt=e ke wtī mardom-ān-ā
Khodanezar Khan say.PST=PC.3SG CLM REFL.GEN people-OBL.PL-OBJ
'dēm day
dēm Ø-day-Ø
face IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

Khodanezar Khan said /that/, “Send your people.”

SA.f:25
'gošte ke 'wtī mardo'māna 'dēm
gošt=e ke wtī mardom-ān-a dēm
say.PST=PC.3SG CLM REFL.GEN people-OBL.PL-OBJ face
day ke be 'mnī bag'gay sa'rā
Ø-day-Ø 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'bilt
dēm dāt-Ø haptād ošter-ā jetā kort-ant tābilt
face give.PST-3SG seventy camel-OBL separate do.PST-3PL delivery
dāt be sab'zōī pe'sā
dāt-Ø 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
Khodanezar Khan said to Sabzo’s father, “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.

The drumming should continue just the way it is playing and there is a party, let it be for Pirak.”
A.6. Text 6: The Story of Sabzo, female, Sistani Balochi

He went, Sabzo’s father, to receive the camel, the seventy camels.

SA.f:30

\[\text{zā'māsā 'gošt ta'lākānī 'bdāy}}\]
\[\text{zāmās-ā gošt-∅ talāk-ān=i b-day-∅}}\]

bridgroom-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

\[\text{ta'lākānā 'zīt o xodānezar'xān ne'kēye}}\]
\[\text{talāk-ān-ā zīt-∅ =o xodānezarxān nekē=ye}}\]

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

\[\text{ē'sānā 'ges dāt o 'zort o}}\]
\[\text{ēsānā ges dāt-∅ =o zort-∅ =o}}\]

PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ house give.PST-3SG =and take.PST-3SG =and

'bort 'bād še'sī ā'rōs ke a'las
bort-∅ bād šešī ārōs ke alās

take.PST-3SG after from.PROX.GEN wedding celebration CLM finish

būt 'bort 'wtī kow... kow'mīay 'tā
būt-∅ bort-∅ wtī kow kawmī-ay tā
become.PST-3SG take.PST-3SG REFLEX.GEN FRAG tribesman-GEN in

\[\text{kow'mīay 'tā ke 'bort xodānezar'xān 'hokm}}\]
\[\text{kawmī-ay tā ke bort-∅ xodānezarxān hokm}}\]

tribesman-GEN in CLM take.PST-3SG Khodanezar Khan order

\[\text{ko kaw'mīā 'jam ko ke 'šmā an'dāz}}\]
\[\text{ko-∅ kawmī-ā jam ko-∅ ke šmā andāz}}\]

do.PST-3SG tribesman-OBL gathered do.PST-3SG CLM PN.2PL cooperation
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.”

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. me) father married her (lit. me) off to a rich man and Khodanezar Khan became a mediator and married me off to a poor [man].

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].
SA.f:34
čsäse  ġarībī  'makant
čsä=e  ġaribī  ma-kan-t
feeling=EZ  poverty  PROH-do.NPST-3SG

She should not feel poor (lit. poverty).

SA.f:35
'bād  'īččī
bād  īččī
then  nothing

That’s it (lit. then nothing).

SA.f:36
'ē  hamē'dā  'wṭī  zende'gīā  'kortant  o
ē  ham=ēdā  wṭī  zendeği-ā  kort-ant  =o
PROX  EMPH=here  REFL GEN  life-OBL  do.PST-3PL  =and

xodānezar'xān  om  'ṣōt  'wṭī  zende'gīāy  sa'rā  wa
xodānezarxān  =om ṣōt-∅  wṭī  zendeği-ay  sarā  wa
Khodanezar Khan  =ADD go.PST-3SG  REFL GEN  life-GEN  on  and

'yak  'sālē  ke  ša  ĕšānī  ārōsā
yak  sāl=ē  ke  ša  ĕš-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
pi'rak  ša  xodānezar'xānī  ǧa'mān  ga'nōk  üt
pi'rak  ša  xodānezarxān-ī  ǧam-ān  ganōk  üt-∅
Pirak  from  Khodanezar Khan-GEN  grief-OBL.PL  mad  become.PST-3SG

Pirak went insane out of grief for Khodanezar Khan.
He cried night and day and screamed and stopped caring about anything (lit. became insane).

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

'bād  ha'mā  'būt  ke  'bād  ša  'yak  'sālā
bād  ham=ā  būt-∅  ke  bād  ša  yak  sāl-ā
afterwars  EMPH=DIST  become.PST-3SG  CLM  after  from  one  year-OBL

xodānezar'xānī  mar'kayā  pī'rakī  'omr  pū'ra
xodānezarxān-ī  mark-ay-ā  pīrak-ī  omr  pūra
Khodanezar Khan-GEN  death-GEN-OBL  Pirak-GEN  life  completed

'būt  o  pī'rak  'mort
būt-∅  =o  pīrak  mort-∅
become.PST-3SG  =and  Pirak  die.PST-3SG

Afterwards it so happed /that/ one year after Khodanezar Khan’s death, Pirak’s life ended (lit. was completed) and Pirak died.

SA.f:41

pī'rak  'mort  o  'yak  aw'lādē  xo'dā  ēšāna
pīrak  mort-∅  =o  yak  awlād=ē  xodā  ēšāna
Pirak  die.PST-3SG  =and  one  child=IND  God  PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ

'dāt  ba'čakkē
dāt-∅  bačakk=ē
give.PST-3SG  son=IND

Pirak died and God gave them one child, a son.

SA.f:42

ha'mūn  sab'zō  gō  'mā  ba'čakka  pākes'tān  zende'gūa
hanūn  sabzō  gō  mā  bačakka-a  pākestān  zendeği=a
now  Sabzo  with  EMPH.DIST  son-OBL  Pakistan  life=VCL

kant  wa  'mardē  om  'nagepta
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.
5. ASHK DAHLÉN, Deciphering the meaning of revealed law. The Surūshian paradigm in Shi'i epistemology. 2001.
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