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35

# From Oral to Written

## A Text-linguistic Study of Wakhi Narratives

Jaroslava Obrtelová

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**Abstract**

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Wakhi is one of the endangered "Pamir" languages belonging to the East Iranian group of Indo-European. A total of around 72,000 Wakhi speakers live in the border areas of four countries: Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China. This study focuses on the Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan, which for a long time was unwritten. Recently, however, native speakers have made significant efforts to preserve and develop their mother tongue in written form.

This study examines textual differences between oral and written narratives in Wakhi from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. It addresses issues relating to the transition from an unwritten to an early-stage written language. Rather than finding a clear boundary between the two, it proposes a continuum with spontaneous narratives at one end and written narratives at the other, and identifies both syntactic and textual differences between them. Oral narratives prepared in advance differ from the spontaneously told ones and share some characteristics with written narratives.

The first and most extensive part of the study compares interclausal coordinate and subordinate relations in the oral and written narratives. Coordination in written narratives is usually achieved using unmarked forms and with fewer types of coordinating devices than in oral narratives. Unmarked patterns of complementation are also more frequent in written than in oral narratives. However, temporal subordinate clauses in written narratives favour the post-nuclear form that is described as marked, whereas oral narratives prefer the unmarked pre-nuclear order.

The second part analyses significant differences between the two forms of expression from the perspective of their function in the overall structure of narratives. One significant difference concerns story development techniques. Development in oral narratives is marked primarily through a "then"-type conjunction, but in written narratives is signalled through certain forms of references to agents.

An annotated corpus of 29 written and 13 oral narratives accompanies the publication (available in electronic format).

*Keywords:* Wakhi, Iranian languages, text-linguistics, oral narratives, written narratives, discourse analysis

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*To my Jan*

# Contents

List of Tables . . . . . 11

List of Figures . . . . . 15

Abbreviations . . . . . 17

Acknowledgements . . . . . 19

1. Introduction . . . . . 23
   1.1. Research topic . . . . . 23
   1.2. Wakhi in context . . . . . 25
      1.2.1. An overview of the history of the Pamir area . . . . . 25
      1.2.2. Classification and genetic relations . . . . . 35
      1.2.3. Pamir languages in Tajikistan . . . . . 38
         1.2.3.1. Geographic and social setting . . . . . 38
         1.2.3.2. Sociolinguistic situation of the Pamir languages 39
         1.2.3.3. History and the current state of language development . . . . . 43
   1.3. Wakhi in Tajikistan . . . . . 44
   1.4. Previous studies on Wakhi . . . . . 48

2. Wakhi language description – selected topics . . . . . 53
   2.1. Verbs . . . . . 53
      2.1.1. Non-tense . . . . . 55
      2.1.2. Past tense . . . . . 60
      2.1.3. Perfect . . . . . 63
      2.1.4. Derived finite forms . . . . . 66
      2.1.5. Non-finite verb forms . . . . . 67
   2.2. Sentence, clause, and clause combining in Wakhi . . . . . 68
      2.2.1. Independent clauses in Wakhi . . . . . 69
         2.2.1.1. Light verb constructions . . . . . 70
         2.2.1.2. Serial verb constructions . . . . . 70
         2.2.1.3. Modal constructions . . . . . 72
         2.2.1.4. Multiple repetition of a verb . . . . . 73
      2.2.2. Subordinate constructions . . . . . 73
         2.2.2.1. Complement clauses . . . . . 78

2.2.2.2. Adverbial clauses . . . . . 83
2.2.2.3. Relative clauses . . . . . 92
2.2.2.4. Subordinate clauses with ambiguous interpretations . . . . . 96
2.2.3. Coordinate constructions . . . . . 99

3. Corpus of Wakhi narratives . . . . . 105
3.1. Wakhi narratives . . . . . 105
3.2. Fieldwork and data gathering . . . . . 111
3.3. Transcription, translation and glossing . . . . . 113
3.4. Segmentation of the text . . . . . 115
3.5. Analysed Wakhi narratives . . . . . 116

4. Theoretical background and methodology . . . . . 123
4.1. Oral versus written language – overview of the literature . . . 123
4.2. Approaches to text-linguistic (discourse) analysis . . . . . 134
4.3. Methodological approach . . . . . 142

5. Interclausal logical relations . . . . . 153
5.1. Method . . . . . 153
5.2. Analysis - discussion . . . . . 156
5.2.1. Syntactic structure . . . . . 157
5.2.2. Coordination . . . . . 163
5.2.2.1. Conjoining . . . . . 163
5.2.2.2. The development marker . . . . . 197
5.2.2.3. Tail-head linkage . . . . . 206
5.2.2.4. Additives . . . . . 214
5.2.2.5. Adversative coordination . . . . . 224
5.2.3. Subordination . . . . . 231
5.2.3.1. Complementation and reported speech . . . . 231
5.2.3.2. Relative clauses . . . . . 255
5.2.3.3. Adverbial clauses . . . . . 264
5.3. Summary . . . . . 271

6. Narrative structure . . . . . 275
6.1. Foreground and background . . . . . 275
6.2. Deictic shift . . . . . 280
6.2.1. Deictic shift – GROUP 1 . . . . . 281
6.2.2. Deictic shift – GROUP 2 . . . . . 284
6.2.3. Deictic shift – GROUP 3 . . . . . 284
6.2.4. Deictic shift – summary . . . . . 289
6.3. Story development techniques . . . . . 290
6.4. Summary . . . . . 296

7. Conclusion and final remarks . . . . . 299

Appendix A EGIDS . . . . . 305

Appendix B Wakhi Cyrillic and phonemic alphabet . . . . . 307

Appendix C List of Wakhi narratives . . . . . 309

Appendix D Examples of analysed texts . . . . . 313
D.1. Analysed oral text O_Z03: Frog . . . . . 313
D.2. Analysed written text W_Z03: Frog . . . . . 318

References . . . . . 323

Appendix E Wakhi Text Corpus . . . . . online
http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-381858

# List of Tables

Table 1. Personal pronouns and corresponding subject-marking suffixes 57
Table 2. Personal pronouns and corresponding subject-marking enclitics 60
Table 3. List of analysed Wakhi written narratives . . . . . 117
Table 4. List of analysed Wakhi oral narratives . . . . . 119
Table 5. Distribution of narratives per genre categories . . . . . 120
Table 6. Distribution of narratives per form . . . . . 121
Table 7. Sample of an analysed text . . . . . 146
Table 8. Group 1: Spontaneous oral stories and their edited written versions . . . . . 150
Table 9. Group 2: Prepared oral stories and their edited written versions 151
Table 10. Group 3: Spontaneous oral stories and independent written stories . . . . . 152
Table 11. Group 1: Average number of clauses per sentence . . . . . 157
Table 12. Group 2: Average number of clauses per sentence . . . . . 157
Table 13. Group 3: Average number of clauses per sentence . . . . . 158
Table 14. Group 1: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses in the oral and written narratives 164
Table 15. Group 1: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses, intra-sententially . . . . . 166
Table 16. Group 1: Conjoining strategies in direct speech in relation to total number of independent clauses, intra-sententially . . . . . 167
Table 17. Group 1: Conjoining patterns in the oral and written narratives 167
Table 18. Group 2: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses in the oral and written narratives 183
Table 19. Group 2: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses, intra-sententially . . . . . 184
Table 20. Group 2: Conjoining patterns in the oral and written narratives 185
Table 21. Group 3: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses in the oral and written narratives 187
Table 22. Group 3: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses, intra-sententially . . . . . 189
Table 23. Group 3: Conjoining strategies in direct speech in relation to total number of conjoined independent clauses, intra-sententially . 189
Table 24. Group 3: Conjoining patterns in the oral and written narratives 189
Table 25. Groups 1–3: Conjoining by juxtaposition . . . . . 195

Table 26. Groups 1–3: Intra-sentential preferences . . . . . 196
Table 27. Group 1: The DM *yan* in the oral and written narratives . . 198
Table 28. Group 1: The DM *yan* in the foreground and background of the oral and written narratives . . . . . 198
Table 29. Group 1: Patterns in which the DM *yan* is found . . . . . 201
Table 30. Group 2: The DM *yan* in the oral and written narratives . . 202
Table 31. Group 3: The DM *yan* in the oral and written narratives . . 203
Table 32. Group 3: Patterns in which the DM *yan* is found . . . . . 204
Table 33. Groups 1–3: Occurrences of the DM *yan* . . . . . 205
Table 34. Group 1: Tail-head linkage in the oral and written narratives 206
Table 35. Group 3: Tail-head linkage in the oral and written narratives 212
Table 36. Groups 1–3: Occurrences of tail-head linkage . . . . . 214
Table 37. Group 1: Total occurrences of additive particles . . . . . 215
Table 38. Group 1: Occurrences and percentages of the pragmatic functions of the additive particle *bə* in relation to its total occurrences 218
Table 39. Group 2: Total occurrences of additive particles . . . . . 220
Table 40. Group 3: Total occurrences of additive particles . . . . . 221
Table 41. Group 3: Occurrences and percentages of the pragmatic functions of the additive particle *bə* in relation to its total occurrences 221
Table 42. Groups 1–3: Occurrences of additive particles . . . . . 223
Table 43. Groups 1–3: Occurrences and percentages of the pragmatic functions of the additive particle *bə* in relation to its total occurrences 224
Table 44. Group 1: Adversative connectives in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 225
Table 45. Group 2: Adversative connectives in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 229
Table 46. Group 3: Adversative connectives in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 229
Table 47. Groups 1–3: Occurrences of adversative connectives . . . . 230
Table 48. Group 1: Complement-taking verbs and their occurrences in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 235
Table 49. Group 1: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of *ki* . . . . 236
Table 50. Group 1: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of deictic shift 236
Table 51. Group 1: Reported speech patterns . . . . . 237
Table 52. Group 1: Perception verbs – presence vs. absence of *ki* . . . 240
Table 53. Group 1: Perception verbs – presence vs. absence of deictic shift . . . . . 241
Table 54. Group 1: Presence vs. absence of *ki* and deictic shift in the remaining complement clauses . . . . . 243
Table 55. Group 2: Complement-taking verbs and their occurrences in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 245
Table 56. Group 2: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of *ki* . . . . 245

Table 57. Group 2: Reported speech patterns . . . . . 245
Table 58. Group 2: Perception verbs – presence vs. absence of *ki* . . . 247
Table 59. Group 2: Perception verbs – patterns . . . . . 247
Table 60. Group 3: Complement-taking verbs and their occurrences in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 248
Table 61. Group 3: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of *ki* . . . . 249
Table 62. Group 3: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of deictic shift 249
Table 63. Group 3: Reported speech patterns . . . . . 249
Table 64. Group 3: Perception verbs – presence vs. absence of *ki* . . . 250
Table 65. Group 3: Perception verbs – patterns . . . . . 250
Table 66. Group 3: Presence vs. absence of *ki* and deictic shift in the remaining complement clauses . . . . . 251
Table 67. Groups 1–3: Occurrences of the speech and perception verbs 252
Table 68. Groups 1–3: Patterns for speech and perception clauses . . 253
Table 69. Group 1: Occurrences of adverbial clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 265
Table 70. Group 1: Occurrences of temporal clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 267
Table 71. Group 2: Occurrences of adverbial clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 268
Table 72. Group 3: Occurrences of adverbial clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 269
Table 73. Group 3: Occurrences of temporal clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 269
Table 74. Groups 1–3: Occurrences of temporal clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 270
Table 75. Group 1: Foreground and background clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 276
Table 76. Group 2: Foreground and background clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 277
Table 77. Group 3: Foreground and background clauses in the oral and written narratives . . . . . 277
Table 78. Wakhi demonstrative pronouns . . . . . 281
Table 79. Fairy-tale Z03 (Frog): Story development techniques . . . . 292
Table 80. Story development techniques: Excerpt from Z03 . . . . . 293
Table 81. Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale. . . 305
Table 82. Wakhi alphabet: Cyrillic – Phonemic – IPA . . . . . 307
Table 83. List of analysed Wakhi written narratives . . . . . 309
Table 84. List of analysed Wakhi oral narratives . . . . . 311

# List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of Tajikistan showing the Pamir region . . . . . 34
Figure 2. Map of Pamir languages in Tajikistan . . . . . 34
Figure 3. Villages in the Wakhan valley . . . . . 46
Figure 4. Continuum Fiction–True story . . . . . 111
Figure 5. Group 1: Distribution of clauses per sentence in percent . . 159
Figure 6. Group 2: Distribution of clauses per sentence in percent . . 159
Figure 7. Group 3: Distribution of clauses per sentence in percent . . 160
Figure 8. Group 1: Percentages of subordinate, direct speech and independent clauses in the total number of clauses in the oral and in written narratives . . . . . 161
Figure 9. Group 2: Percentages of subordinate, direct speech and independent clauses in the total number of clauses in the oral and in written narratives . . . . . 161
Figure 10. Group 3: Percentages of subordinate, direct speech and independent clauses in the total number of clauses in the oral and in written narratives . . . . . 162
Figure 11. Group 1: Distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction in the oral and written versions of individual narratives . . . . . 165
Figure 12. Group 2: Distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction in the oral and written versions of individual narratives . . . . . 184
Figure 13. Group 3: Distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction in the oral narratives . . . . . 188
Figure 14. Group 3: Distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction in the written narratives . . . . . 188
Figure 15. Continuum Oral–Written . . . . . 300

# Abbreviations

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ∅ | = | zero morpheme |
| 1 | = | first person |
| 2 | = | second person |
| 3 | = | third person |
| // | = | clause break |
| ABL | = | ablative |
| ACC | = | accusative |
| ADD | = | additive particle |
| ADR | = | form of address |
| AKDN | = | Aga Khan Development Network |
| B-EV | = | evaluation clause |
| B-INF | = | informative clause |
| B-REP | = | repetition clause |
| CA | = | Complicating Action |
| CC | = | complement clause |
| CW | = | Central Wakhan |
| DAT | = | dative |
| DEM1 | = | proximal demonstrative (this) |
| DEM2 | = | middle distance demonstrative (that - middle distance) |
| DEM3 | = | distal demonstrative (that - far distance) |
| DIM | = | diminutive |
| DirS | = | direct speech |
| DirS-sub | = | subordinate clause in direct speech |
| DM | = | development marker |
| DS | = | deictic shift |
| EGIDS | = | Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale |
| EI | = | East Iranian |
| ELA | = | Endangered Languages Alliance |
| EMP | = | emphatic particle |
| EV | = | Evaluation |
| EZ | = | ezafe (linking particle) |
| F | = | fiction |
| F-CO | = | coordinate narrative clause |
| F-NAR | = | narrative clause |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| F-SUM | = | summative result clause |
| FGed | = | foregrounded |
| GBAO | = | Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast |
| HERE1 | = | proximal adverb (here – near distance) |
| i | = | facultative suffix *-i* (or its dialectal variant *-əy*) |
| IND | = | individuation suffix (also specific, referential indefinite) |
| INF | = | infinitive/verbal noun on *-ak* |
| INF2 | = | infinitive/verbal noun on *-n* |
| IPFV | = | imperfective |
| LW | = | Lower Wakhan |
| MF/MD | = | multi-feature/multi-dimensional approach to linguistic variation |
| NEG | = | negation, negative |
| NGO | = | non-governmental organization |
| OBL | = | oblique |
| OR | = | Orientation |
| PF | = | perfect |
| PL | = | plural |
| PPF | = | pluperfect |
| PROH | = | prohibitive |
| PRX | = | proximal/proximate |
| PST | = | past |
| PTCP | = | participle |
| Q | = | question particle/marker |
| RC | = | relative clause |
| REL | = | relative particle |
| SBJV | = | subjunctive |
| SG | = | singular |
| SUB | = | subordinator |
| SubC | = | subordinate clause |
| SUB-COMP | = | subordinator/complementizer |
| T | = | reported true story (non-witnessed) |
| T/W | = | reported true story told in witnessed form |
| TEMP | = | adverbial temporal subordinate clause |
| THERE2 | = | middle distance adverb |
| THERE3 | = | far distance adverb |
| UW | = | Upper Wakhan |
| V | = | default tense- and aspect-neutral verb form (non-tense) |
| VOC | = | vocative |
| W | = | witnessed story |

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Research topic

Wakhi is a relatively little researched minority language spoken in Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and China. It is an East Iranian language belonging geographically to the group of Pamir languages. Wakhi native speakers refer to it as *Ǐikwor* or *Ǐik zik* (lit. 'Wakhi language').

The selection and delimitation of the present research topic has been motivated by several factors and questions that arose when I was studying Wakhi for my MA thesis and got involved in the documentation of the language.

This study is primarily about how oral and written forms of Wakhi narratives differ, and is a logical continuation of my earlier study on the narrative structure of Wakhi oral stories (Obrtelová 2017). I have had a chance to study the Wakhi language in Tajikistan during a special period of time when the long-felt concerns about the endangerment of the language resulted in a number of publications written in Wakhi. The emergence of the Wakhi written narrative material in recent years contributed significantly to my curiosity about the linguistic forms and their functions in both oral and written Wakhi texts. Noticeable differences in form between the spontaneously told narratives recorded during my research trips and the edited narratives published in books caught my attention and raised a number of questions, some of which I am attempting to address in this study.

Two main factors delimit the scope of this study: form and function. The first thing to ask is in which forms do Wakhi oral and written narratives diverge. Because the scope of this study does not allow for addressing all possible differences, this research is limited to the syntax and discourse levels. More precisely, the investigation focuses on interclausal logical relations and on narrative structures. The second question then relates to the function of the forms in which the differences occur. Assuming that each form has its own discourse-pragmatic function in the structure of a narrative text, I investigate how these functions are fulfilled in oral and written narratives when the forms differ. At the same time, I investigate how the cohesion of the narrative text is secured in both oral and written form. The questions in this study are investigated on the text-linguistic level.

Apart from the above-stated overt questions, there are background questions to which I may not have definite answers. This study, though primarily text-linguistic, necessarily also involves language documentation and language development, as well as language status, all of which are essentially sociolinguistic topics. The description of the sociolinguistic situation of the Wakhi language, specifically in Tajikistan, provides important background for interpreting the findings and outlining possible further developments of the language.

One of the background questions has to do with how an unwritten minority language adopts a written form; to what extent does this happen under the influence of the literary official language(s) and to what extent do Wakhi writers and editors follow their own intuitively felt norms for a vernacular written form? Another background question relates to the future development of Wakhi. A natural expectation among the Wakhi speakers is that the written form will contribute to the documentation and preservation of this endangered language, and consequently to language development. However, the question arises whether the adoption of a written form may, on the contrary, contribute to replacing the vernacular language form by forms adopted from the surrounding literary languages, and thus indirectly become an endangering factor.

The content of this study thus reflects the above-outlined research questions. The introductory chapter constitutes a background for the subsequent theoretical and analytical parts and presents the Wakhi speakers and the language in their broad historico-socio-linguistic context. It also gives a chronological and topical summary of previous studies on Wakhi. Chapter 2 presents the linguistic context, and Chapter 3 describes the corpus of Wakhi narratives analysed in this study. Chapter 4 discusses methodology. Chapters 5 and 6 constitute the main analytical part of this study and are followed by a final chapter presenting the summary of the findings and concluding remarks.

The study is complemented by Appendices A–D which provide supplementary material for the discussion in this study. Appendix E, which is published separately and is available only in electronic version, presents the full corpus of annotated and translated Wakhi oral and written narratives. It consists of two parts. The first part, E.1 consists of written narratives (W_narratives) and the second part, E.2 of oral narratives (O_narratives). In both the oral and written corpora of Wakhi narratives, the first line represents the original Wakhi text in the Cyrillic script, the second line gives the transliteration in phonemic Latin script, the third line gives glosses for the words and morphemes, and the last line is a free sentence-by-sentence translation. An overview of the entire corpus is presented in Appendix C.

## 1.2. Wakhi in context

This section presents the broader socio-historical and language context of the Wakhi language. Wakhi has typically been described as belonging to the Pamir group of East Iranian languages (Eberhard et al. 2019), and therefore it will be useful, in this study, to draw a picture of the historical background, and of the language situation in the whole region, both in recent history and the present time. The development of the language communities of the Pamir group, and their interactions and language contact, have significantly reflected the socio-political situation during the course of history. Nowadays, in the era of digitalization and virtual communication, language contact, cross-language and cross-cultural communication, as well as rapid technological development bring new possibilities and new challenges for these remote communities. The above-mentioned factors significantly facilitate language development, but at the same time they contribute to the language endangerment.

### 1.2.1. An overview of the history of the Pamir area

The Pamir area, also known in Tajik as *bom-i dunyo* 'the roof of the world', despite its high altitude, harsh living conditions and climate, and difficulty of access, has witnessed significant events and developments throughout history. According to Bliss (2006: 51), the earliest known settlements in Pamir go back to the so-called "mountain Neolithic period" in the 7th–2nd millenia BCE. Aknazarov et al. (2005a: 124) claim that a Bronze Age settlement of the Western Pamir, and perhaps even earlier, is a reliable fact. Tribes speaking East Iranian dialects began settling in the Pamir area from the 2nd millenium BCE (ibid.: 122). The Sakas, Indo-Europeans speaking an East Iranian language, are claimed to be "the oldest historically accessible people of the Pamirs" (Bliss 2006: 52).

The historical region known as Bactria was situated in the mountainous area of Central Asia (nowadays comprising parts of Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan). Its capital was Bactra (nowadays Balkh) in Afghanistan. Alexander the Great with his army was expanding his influence in Central Asia in the first half of the 4th century BCE. There is no evidence, however, that he himself reached the Pamir area. It is interesting, though, that until the present, many local Pamiri legends speak about the deeds of Alexander the Great in the territory of Pamir, and he is also mentioned in the legendary genealogies of the historical rulers of Badakhshan (Aknazarov et al. 2005a: 256). The Pamiri people often refer to themselves as descendants of Alexander the Great. The origin of such legends may be attributed to the later Hellenistic influence in the Pamir region when Bactria became part of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom (around the 3rd century BCE).

## 1. Introduction

Ancient constructions testify to the era of the Hellenistic empire of Bactria and the Kushan empire. Impressive ruins of the ancient fortresses Qah-Qah and Yamchun, which until the present day have been admired by tourists passing through Wakhan, date back to the 3rd century BCE–1st century CE (ibid: 162). For centuries, the development of the region was boosted by the existence of an active trade route between China and western empires. Wakhan itself, through which the southern branch of the famous Silk Road (also called "the Buddhist passageway") passed, was a crossroad of cultures and religions, and "played a significant role in the transit of goods and ideas" (Iloliev 2018: 98). This is testified by various historical monuments, such as the remains of many fortresses, a Buddhist monastery and a stupa in Wakhan, and temples of fire worshippers (a religion closely related to canonical Zoroastrianism), as well as many shrines, caves and inscriptions on rocks. Already at that time, Wakhan was known for its exported goods, such as gold and precious stones, and even saddle cloths and arrows (ibid.: 100). The ruby of Badakhshan (*la'l-i Badakhshan*) "became associated with local culture and poetry as a symbolic expression of wealth, both material and intellectual" (ibid.). The oral legend O_SF (Silk Fortress) and its written variant W_A02 (Rukhshona) in the present corpus tell the story of the origin of the name *La'l* ('ruby') named after the son of *Ruxšona*, the queen of *Vərṣəm Qal'a* ('the Silk Fortress') who was famous for her beauty and bravery. A similar story associated with the origin of the word for ruby is mentioned in (ibid.: 101). As was noted by Bliss (2006: 58), up until the Islamic conquest, the area was continuously inhabited by East Iranian peoples.

From the middle of the 7th century CE, the Arab Islamic conquest expanded towards Central Asia, and already in the 8th century, most of Central Asia was Islamified. However, the inhabitants of the mountainous Pamir areas were able to resist the Arab Islamic expansion for centuries. The spread of Islam in Western Pamir is often associated with the missionary activity of the famous Ismaili philosopher and scholar Nasir Khusraw in the second half of the 11th century. He travelled in the region and settled in Yamgan in today's Afghanistan (Aknazarov et al. 2005a: 247). However, Bliss (2006: 60) assumes that Badakhshan was Islamified already in the 9th–10th century, when the region was part of the Samanid empire, where the Ismaili confession grew in importance.

During this time different religious traditions co-existed. According to Aknazarov et al. (2005a: 247), the fire-worshipping religion was dominant in the region. Apart from that, Buddhism, Islam and local pagan traditions were also present. It is possible that such religious diversity was caused by the pressure of Arab expansion in the more accessible areas, and that the Zoroastrians found refuge in the high Pamir mountains. However, the mission of Nasir Khusraw was ultimately successful, and the whole region accepted the Shiʿa Ismaili branch of Islam.

Nowadays, many local legends tell of heroic deeds and miracles performed by *Hazrat Ali* (historically, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib – the son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad) in Pamir, although his presence there is not attested. Iloliev (2015) examines two famous legends: the story of *Qah-qahah* who was described as an incestuous fire-worshiping infidel, and the story of a dragon oppressing the local people – both evil creatures finally being defeated by *Hazrat Ali*. I recorded and transcribed several similar legends during my field trips in Tajik Wakhan, though they are not part of the present corpus. Also, many legends refer to the deeds performed by *Sho Nosir* (Nasir Khusraw) and other holy men of the Ismaili religion who were guiding the local people to the "path of the truth", by converting them to Islam or teaching them moral lessons. An example of such legends is the story HS (Hazrati Shoh Nosir) (Obrtelová 2017: 155–161). The Zoroastrians in those legends are depicted as enemies; they are referred to as *kafir* ('non-believer') or *siahpush* ('black-dressed'). It is interesting that in those legends, the local Pamiri people never associate themselves with Zoroastrians or Buddhists.

Between the 13th and 15th centuries, the whole of Central Asia was subject to the rule of the Mongol empire of Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, a Turco-Mongol conqueror, and their descendants. Although the Mongol conquests brought severe devastation to Central Asia and the Iranian plateau, it is believed that the Pamir region was spared from the atrocities of the Mongol army (Aknazarov et al. 2005a: 257). However, since the economy of Central Asia was severely hit by the Mongol invasion (ibid.: 258), it can be assumed that the consequences were felt in Pamir as well. Especially the trade routes must have been disrupted by these invasions. The Pamir region is also remembered in the famous book of travels by Marco Polo, who reportedly travelled through Wakhan in the 13th century.

The 16th century in Pamir and Badakhshan is marked by repeated conflicts between the Sheibanids (nomadic Uzbeks of Turkic origin, fighting against Shi'ism) on the one side, and the Safavids (of Persian origin, supporters of Shi'ism), the Timurids (descendants of Tamerlane) and the sultan Babur (of Turco-Mongol origin, founder of the Indian Mughal dynasty, which also ravaged the region), each following their own interests, on the other side. During all that time, the local population carried out active resistance and, despite being subdued by the Sheibanids and later put under the jurisdiction of the Emir of Bukhara, Badakhshan remained relatively independent (ibid.: 263–267).

In the 17th–18th centuries in Central Asia, the central power of the Khanate of Bukhara was weakened and parts of Badakhshan (present-day Afghan Badakhshan) fell under the jurisdiction of Afghan rulers. The emir of Bukhara was "forced to recognize Amu Darya as the boundary separating his dominions from those of the Afghan king" (Pirumshoev & Dani 2003: 233). Local feudal rulers were not only strengthening their independence, but were also trying to

expand their influence. Badakhshan suffered from feudal wars, and by the end of the 18th century the territory was broken down into small regional domains (Aknazarov et al. 2005a: 268–269).

The regions of Badakhshan (Shughnan, Rushan, Ishkashim and Wakhan) had close economic and cultural ties. From ancient times, Wakhan had played an important role in connecting the mountainous regions with Ferghana, Eastern Turkestan and India (ibid.: 273). The taxes collected from merchants travelling through the Wakhan were the main source of income of the *mir* ('ruler') of Wakhan who, in turn, had to ensure the safety of the passing caravans and pay taxes (usually half of the income) to the ruler of Badakhshan. The rulers of Shughnan, Rushan, Wakhan, and Ishkashim often fought with each other. Wakhan was repeatedly attacked by the people of Shughnan. Moreoever, they were often attacked by the armies of Badakhshan and Kunduz, as well as by the newly formed Khanate of Kokand. Tens of thousands of people died in these conflicts, many others were sold into slavery, and many families decided to save themselves by fleeing to safer regions. As a result, the population of the Pamir region had been reduced significantly by the beginning of the 19th century (ibid.: 294–295).

Parallel to the above-described political instability in the Pamir region, the great powers of that era were extending their sphere of interest in Asia. In the second half of the 19th century, having already colonized India, the British Empire became concerned about the advancement of the Russian Empire in Central Asia, which created increasing tension between the two countries. Great Britain thus initiated a dialogue with Russia about a division of the spheres of influences in Asia and suggested the creation of a neutral buffer zone between the two empires. The river Panj was proposed as the border between Afghanistan and the Emirate of Bukhara. The agreement between Russia and Great Britain was signed in 1873. However, the quarrels and discussions on the exact understanding of the boundary, as well as attempts to gain as much advantage as possible in the given situation, continued, and the conflict escalated until 1895. Only then was the border confirmed, and it has been respected until today.

The years from 1883–1895 represent one of the most tragic periods in the history of the region. The population of Western Pamir was devastated by a series of invasions of Afghans supported financially by the British. The local uprisings against the Afghans were followed by even more cruel punishing raids against the local population. Those who were not tortured, killed, sold into slavery, or who did not manage to escape, were crushed by unbearable taxes and forced labour for the emir of Afghanistan. It is no surprise perhaps that the local population would place their hopes in the Russians for help against the Afghan invasions. Thus, it was the local population of Pamir who most directly experienced the political intrigues and struggle for power between the

two empires, which cost them their independence. In the present corpus, the stories that recount these troubled times are W_A03 (Story of an old house) and W_B03 (How a strong man saved a girl), and the story SK (Story about the kidnapped girl) in Obrtelová (2017: 199–211). Most likely, the stories FM (From the history of Mir Bugha) (ibid.: 132–142), MB (Mir Bugha) (ibid.: 163–176), and SB (Shodmonbig) (ibid.: 180–198) are related to this period, as well.

For the purpose of this study, a detailed analysis of the conflict between Russia and Great Britain, also known as "the Great Game", is not as relevant as the consequences of its resolution, which have affected the lives of almost all families in Pamir since then. The sad fact is that the agreed borderline carelessly divided families who for centuries had lived on both sides of the river Panj. Ever since that time, Wakhis, Shughnis, Rushanis and Ishkashimis have been forced to live in two countries, on either side of the border. The academic community, on the other hand, gained many priceless linguistic, ethnographic, geographic or cartographic descriptions produced by the political agents from both empires who were exploring the area at that time.

It must also be noted that the Pamiri people did not revolt against the Russian occupation. In fact, the situation of these small ethnic groups became better and more stable after they came under Russian rule. The Russian presence put an end to the constant attacks by stronger neighbours, and provided protection against slavery and invasions, at least from the Afghan side. In 1897 Khorugh became a centre of the Russian administration. The first roads began to be built in the difficult and inaccessible terrain of the Pamir region connecting it with the Ferghana valley, which was a significant step in tackling its isolation. The first medical centres were opened at the Russian military posts in Ishkashim, Murghab and Khorugh. They did not only serve the Russian military staff but also provided medical help to the local population, and helped combat epidemic diseases. Because the Russians needed to communicate with the local people, who did not speak Russian, it was necessary to open a school. On the subjugated territory of Turkestan (Central Asia), the Russians created Russian-native schools where instruction was given in both Russian and the vernacular language. One such school was opened in Khorugh.

Soon after conquering Central Asia, Russia experienced a dramatic turn of events. In 1917, the tsar was overthrown in the October Revolution led by the Bolsheviks, and the Communist Party took power. The news soon reached the area of Pamir. In 1918, the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established covering the area of today's Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Pamir was included in the Turkestan republic as a separate administrative region.

At the end of 1918, the Basmachi uprising started spreading across Turkestan, as a revolt against the Soviet government. The movement was spreading

among the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmens. Stories reporting about the presence of the Basmachis in the early years of the Soviet era are also found in Pamir. However, the very poor population of the Pamir region generally did not revolt against the Soviet economic policies, and the Pamiris did not take part in the Basmachi movement. Compared to the suffering and extreme poverty in the years prior to the coming of the Russians, the Soviet policies brought a significant economic improvement that until now has been acknowledged by the Pamiris themselves.

In 1924, the Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was created as part of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, and in 1925 the Pamir region became the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast (GBAO). The Soviet rule in Turkestan was met with mixed feelings. The support for independence of the non-Russian nations promoted by Lenin and the Bolsheviks appealed to the local rulers and religious authorities. However, it was soon understood that the reality would be different. Soviet Russia would certainly not give up the territories gained by tsarist Russia. The positive expectations based on Lenin's concept of Soviet society were soon replaced by the disillusionment caused by Stalin's approach.

As in every system and society, not everything is completely bad or completely good. Also, different social groups reacted differently to how the Soviet society was being established. For instance, the collectivization of land and livestock was naturally met with opposition by affluent peasants. They were labelled "kulaks" and persecuted, which was a common practice across the whole Soviet Union.

A significant positive initiative promoted in the Soviet Union in the 1920s–1930s was the campaign for the eradication of illiteracy (*Likbez*, standing for "*likvidatsiya bezgramotnosti*"). According to Aknazarov et al. (2005a: 394), at the beginning of the 20th century, around 97% of the population of Pamir were illiterate. The goal of the Soviet government was to reach full literacy in the entire Soviet Union. In the 1920s, new schools for children were established in the GBAO, including boarding school for orphans and children from poor families. In addition, literacy courses were established for adults. By 1940, illiteracy in Pamir was basically eradicated (Aknazarov et al. 2005b: 87). Naturally, the Soviet rulers were also concerned about ideological education, and alongside the schools of general education, special "Sovpart" (Soviet-party) schools were established to recruit Communist party members (ibid.: 85). The instruction was given in Tajik and Russian, and thus, the Russian Soviet representatives were not falling behind with spreading the dominance of the Russian language and culture in the whole Soviet Union. In the early Soviet years, in accordance with the Soviet policy of the right of peoples to self-determination proclaimed by Lenin, significant support was given to the development of ethnic minorities and their languages.

A question related to the spread of literacy was that of the alphabet. During the pre-Soviet era, the Persian language in the Perso-Arabic script was used as a language of education. After the Communists came to power, and during the campaign against illiteracy, the Perso-Arabic script was replaced by the Latin script. The reasons for this were both practical and ideological. The aim of the Soviet government was to develop alphabets in the unwritten languages, and to provide literacy to the illiterate masses of people as rapidly as possible. However, this required an accessible alphabet, easy to learn and easy to use. For this purpose, the Latin script seemed to be much more convenient than the Perso-Arabic script, which was more suitable for Arabic than for the Turkic and Iranian languages.

The ideological reason behind this decision was the separation of education from religion. As Dickens (1988)[1] claims, the Perso-Arabic alphabet, which is also used in the Qur'an and in religious literature, "served as a powerful symbol of the natural ties that the Turkestanis had with the rest of the Muslim world, particularly the Arabs and Persians, who had so shaped the religious and cultural landscape of the area." There was also concern about the spread of pan-Turkism, which was not in the interest of the Soviet government. In Tajikistan, Tajik writing fully switched from Perso-Arabic script to the Latin script in 1935, when the Perso-Arabic script was officially banned. The unwritten minority languages in the GBAO also started designing their alphabets in the Latin script.

Already in the late 1930s, during the hard Stalinist era of the "Great Terror" or the "Great Purge", the intelligentsia were subject to fierce persecution. During that time, a decision was made to exchange the Latin script for Cyrillic. By 1940, the Latin script had been replaced by Cyrillic for Tajik. While there may have been some advantages of one script being used throughout the entire Soviet Union, the reasons for this change were certainly more ideological than practical. One of them was to promote the Russification of the non-Russian peoples living in the Soviet Union and Russian-native bilingualism. Another reason, though rather complex, was related to the earlier change of the script from Arabic to Latin in Turkey, which once again stirred up concerns of the spread of pan-Turkism. Changing the script from Latin to Cyrillic in the Soviet Union thus secured the isolation of the Turkic peoples of the Soviet Union from the rest of the Turkic world. At the same time, the once generous support for the development of the unwritten minority languages was halted. In the GBAO, the consequences were perceptible. The local intellectual elite did not escape persecution, the support for all Pamir languages was stopped, and Tajik became the official language. Religion was not supported anywhere in Soviet Union. Local religious leaders were persecuted, and possession of religious

[1] http://www.oxuscom.com/lang-policy.htm

literature was strictly prohibited (see Story from the early Soviet era, SE in Obrtelová 2017: 211–215).

Relocations of the population were also part of the Soviet policy. Many families were relocated from the high mountain areas to the lowlands where they had to work on the cotton fields. There are many tragic personal stories behind these relocations. For the inhabitants of the high mountain areas (often starting from 2,500 to 3,000 m above sea level), with their cool climate and fresh clean water, it was physically hard to get used to the lowlands where the heat in summer reached 45°C or more. Only the strongest survived; many died of infections and epidemics (see story Resettlement, O_RS and W_A05 in the present corpus).

Although the first years under the Soviet Union in the GBAO may have been rather hard, the economic situation gradually became more stable. The central supply system made sure that even the most remote villages had enough food and basic supplies, although the climatic conditions would not have been able to guarantee it. Equal and free access to health care and education, which were among the core values of the Soviet system, made sure that children from even the most remote village had a relatively good chance to receive a good education, and many of them indeed ended up in top positions in Moscow or elsewhere in the Soviet Union. The infrastructure developed considerably during the Soviet rule. The entire region was soon electrified and roads and bridges were built. In 1929, the first flight between Stalinabad (now Dushanbe) and Khorugh took place (Aknazarov et al. 2005b: 83). Later, in the 1930s, flight connections were established between Khorugh and Murghab, and Khorugh and Ishkashim. Almost every village had a school and public transport. Even today, in the villages of Pamir, we can find solid-looking bus stops made of stone, although there are no buses operating anymore. The Soviet policy of equality considerably improved the situation for girls and women.

The overall perception of the Soviet era by the Pamiri people is not negative at all. As noted by Bliss (2006: 81), "[t]he Pamiris are indeed aware of the negative aspects of the Soviet system (...) but these are set against their previous living conditions."

Life under the Soviet Union continued until 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed and independent countries emerged from the former Soviet Socialist Republics. The independent Republic of Tajikistan was created in 1992. The GBAO (in Tajik, *Viloyati Mukhtori Kuhistani Badakhshon*) is an autonomous region in the eastern part of the Republic of Tajikistan. Soon after the declaration of independence, a civil war started in Tajikistan and lasted for five years, until 1997. If Tajikistan has been called the poorest of the post-Soviet republics, it is all the more true of the GBAO. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, and because of the civil war, most of the Russians who held key positions in industry left Tajikistan, and the country was abandoned to the chaos of the war.

During the civil war, when ethnic background became one of several excuses people used for killing each other, the Pamiris fled to the safety of their native land in the GBAO, where they were not a minority and not under the threat of being killed because of their ethnic origin. They left behind all their possessions and fled for their lives. The Pamir region became full of Pamiri refugees from other parts of Tajikistan, more than the land could feed. Since the GBAO had depended almost entirely on the central supply system during the Soviet era, after the sudden collapse of the central management, the region did not have any infrastructure for self-sufficiency. Moreover, during the war, the roads to the region were blocked and the supply of food and goods ceased completely. This was a catastrophic situation for the population of the Pamir. The world was preoccupied with other dramatic events happening in Eastern Europe which were more under the flashes of the journalists' cameras, and therefore few knew about the imminent humanitarian catastrophe in Pamir. In fact, the Pamiris would have died of starvation without the intervention of their Ismaili religious leader, the Aga Khan, who organized humanitarian aid and literally saved their lives. The stories in the present corpus describing the life during the years of the civil war are W_A04 (War) and O_6S (Sixth sense).

In 1997 a peace agreement was signed, the war ended, and the situation calmed down. The Pamiris who had fled because of the war could return to where they lived before. Nowadays, many Pamiris live and work in Dushanbe, Khujand, and other places in Tajikistan. Those living in the GBAO had to learn how to set up a more or less self-supporting economy because in the post-Soviet world they cannot rely on a central-managed economy. They had to learn how to operate water-mills (to mill flour) and other useful crafts from their grandfathers. Nowadays, the local economy also depends to a great extent on income from abroad. Almost every Pamiri family has a member working abroad, mostly in Russia, to sustain the rest of the family. In big families, the men often take turns, each spending a few years abroad to earn money, then returning back home to their families only to be replaced by another family member abroad. This income is then used to pay for weddings, school fees for children and other expenses. Those who stay at home in Pamir take care of the livestock and the small fields which provide the basic food for living. The region remains one of the poorest in Central Asia.

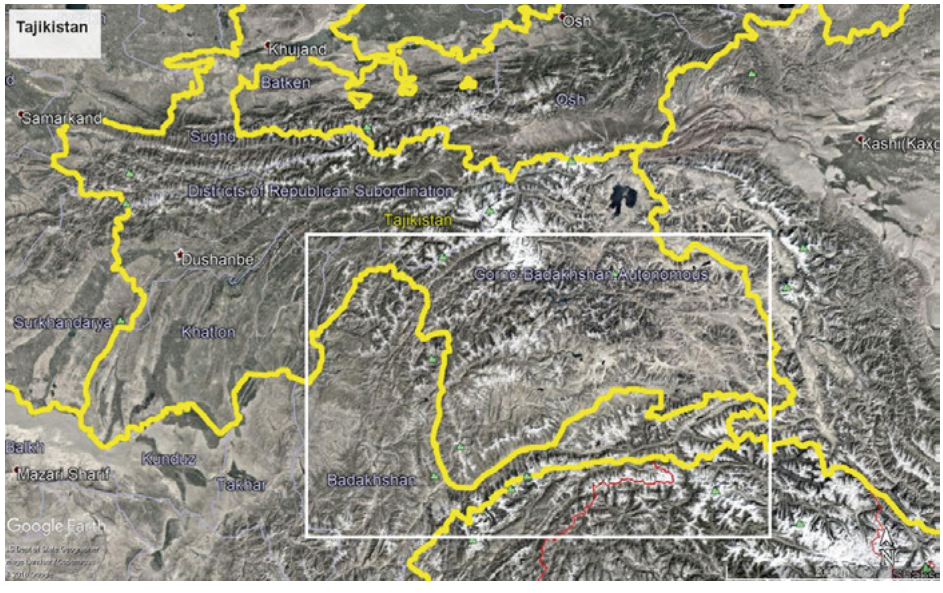


*Figure 1.* Map of Tajikistan showing the Pamir region. ©2018 Google.

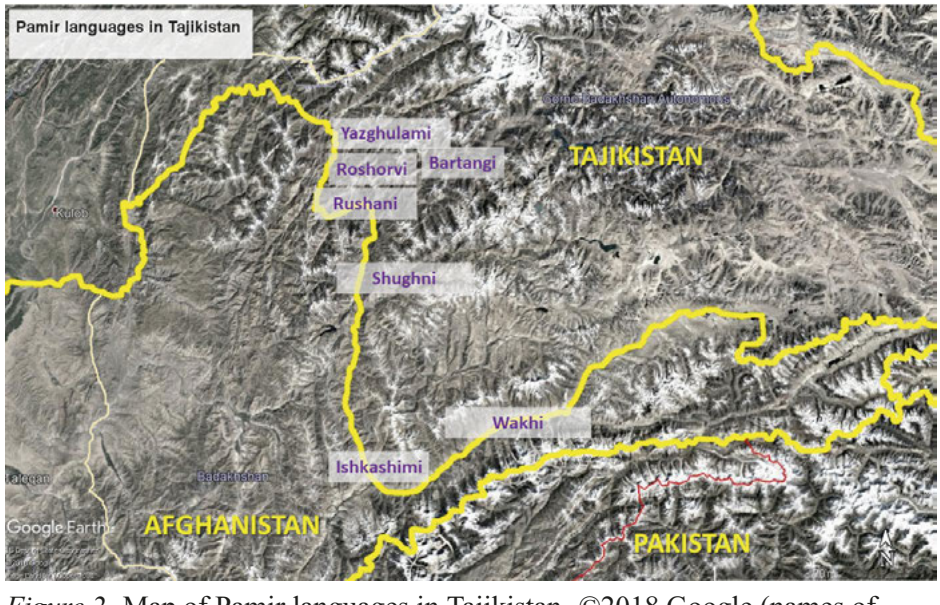


*Figure 2.* Map of Pamir languages in Tajikistan. ©2018 Google (names of languages and countries added by the author).

## 1.2.2. Classification and genetic relations

The term "Pamir languages" designates a set of languages spoken in the Central Asian mountain ranges of Western and Southern Pamir and the bordering areas of the northern Hindu Kush and Karakoram. The speakers of these languages live in the regions that nowadays fall under the administration of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region (GBAO) in Tajikistan, the province of Badakhshan in northern Afghanistan, the provinces of Gilgit-Baltistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in northern Pakistan, and the Xingjian Uyghur Autonomous Region in western China.

When it comes to the classification of the Pamir languages that, together with Pashto, belong to the southeastern branch of the East Iranian languages (Eberhard et al. 2019), geographic location seems to be the most substantial indicator unifying this group of languages under the name of Pamir languages. The genetic relations of these languages rather point to a certain heterogeneity. There is not full agreement among linguists on the question of which languages are to be counted as Pamir languages and how they should be classified.

Pamir languages (or at least some of the languages designated by this name today), as a distinct language group, have been studied and described since the second half of the 19th century[2]. It was in the second half of the 20th century that more significant research was undertaken by several linguists, providing more detailed language descriptions and substantial language data collections which allowed a deeper study of genetic relations among these languages. In the Iranists' descriptions, the list of Pamir languages most commonly includes:

1. Shughni-Rushani group:
   a. Shughni with its dialectal variants Baju, Shahdara, and Barwoz;
   b. Rushani with its sub-dialect Khufi;
   c. Bartangi;
   d. Roshorvi (also called Oroshori); and
   e. Sariqoli;
2. Yazghulami;
3. Ishkashimi – Sanglechi – Zebaki (extinct), three closely related dialects of one language;
4. Wakhi;
5. Munji - Yidgha.

This above distribution, with slight modifications, is common to Sokolova (1953), Oransky (1960), Pakhalina (1969), Gryunberg (1973), Payne (1989), and Dodykhudoeva (1999). In addition, Pakhalina (1969) and Payne (1989) also mention two extinct languages that in their opinion belonged to the group

[2] Shaw (1876) and Grierson (1921) refer to them as "Ghalchah languages".

of Pamir languages: Vanji and Sarghulami. On the other hand, Oransky (1960) and Payne (1989) do not include Munji and Yidgha in the list of the Pamir languages.

In recent years, we have seen a more detailed discussion of the genetic relations among East Iranian (EI) languages, to which the Pamir languages are claimed to belong, and a classification of Pamir languages. The until now accepted distinction between the Northern branch (represented by Ossetic and Yaghnobi) and the Southern branch (Parachi, Ormuri, Pashto, Pamir languages) of EI languages[3] has been questioned, as a considerable number of phonological and morphological similarities and isoglosses have been identified between the Pamir languages and the Yaghnobi language (Wendtland (2008: 173). It has been agreed that Pamir languages do not constitute a homogeneous language group from which it would be possible to reconstruct a proto-Pamiri language as a single ancestor. The existing lexical and syntactic similarities can be explained by their coexistence in a common ethnolinguistic area (Jamshedov & Mirboboev 2012: 101–102). There have been several attempts to re-classify the Pamir languages within the EI branch based on their genetic relations. Edelman & Dodykhudoeva (2009a: 773) distinguish "four distinct genetic sub-groups that derive from several distinct proto-dialects of Eastern Iranian origin", which are as follows:

1. "North Pamir" group: (a) Old Wanji (extinct), (b) Yazghulami, (c) Shughni-Rushani group;
2. Ishkashimi group: (a) Ishkashimi, (b) Sanglechi, (c) Zebaki (extinct);
3. Wakhi;
4. (a) Munji, (b) Yidgha.

Jamshedov & Mirboboev (2012) make their distinction based on geographic location rather than on the historical-genetic relations of the Pamir languages; thus they distinguish between South-Pamir languages (Wakhi, Ishkashimi) and North-Pamir languages (Shughni-Rushani group, Yazghulami). Payne (1989: 420) defines three genetic groups: 1. Shughni-Rushani – Yazghulami – Wanji, 2. Ishkasimi-Zebaki-Sanglechi, 3. Wakhi. Wendtland (2008: 184) claims that there are no phonological and morphological features that are shared by all Pamir languages, and that "exclusive features by which the Pamir languages can be distinguished from all other East Iranian languages cannot be found either." She therefore defines the Pamir languages as a "Sprachbund" (linguistic area). The study of genetic relations among EI languages presented in a table by Wendtland (2008: 185) disproves the distinction between a Northern and a Southern branch of the East Iranian languages (ibid.: 173, 185). She groups

[3] Gippert (2000), http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/iran/iranstam.htm

the languages that are related to a certain extent, and classifies them in the following way (ibid.: 186):

1. Shughni-Yazghulami group:
   a. Shughni group: Shughni-Bajuvi, Rushani-Khufi, Bartangi-Roshorvi, Sarikoli;
   b. Yazghulami;
2. Ishkashimi-Zebaki-Sanglechi;
3. Munji-Yidgha.

Wakhi, Yaghnobi, Ossetic, Pashto, and Parachi-Ormuri are listed under EI languages separately, i.e. as more isolated.

Yet another recent study on genetic relations and reclassification of EI languages, by Novák (2014: 82), claims that the South EI languages form several nuclei (Saka-Wakhi, Ishkashimi-Sanglechi, Shughni-Yazghulami, Munji-Yidgha and Bactrian, Pashto-Wanetsi), and that from the point of view of genetic relations the label "Pamir languages" "should only apply to the Shughni-Yazghulami languages together with Munji-Yidgha."

In the light of the above-mentioned studies it is possible to conclude that the term "Pamir languages" applies to a group of languages based on their geographic location. These languages do not appear to be derived from a common "pre-Pamirian" proto-language. According to Edelman & Dodykhudoeva (2009a: 776) they "derive from several distinct proto-dialects of East Iranian origin." The only group that can claim similarities based on genetic relationship, and that allows for a reconstruction of a common proto-language, is the Shughni-Yazghulami group of languages. Wakhi, on the other hand, "shows distinct reflexes of Khotanese and Tumshuqese Saka" (Windfuhr 2009: 15). The existing similarities among the Pamir languages can be explained by their convergence in the region, i.e. by the influence of the common early substrate dating from the pre-Indo-European Pamir languages, and by the influence of Tajik/Persian/Dari in the last centuries (Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009a: 776–777).

It is also important to mention the wider Sprachbund of the whole Pamir-Hindukush area that encompasses Nuristani[4] and Dardic[5] languages, or even larger area of the "Central-Asian" or "Himalayan" Sprachbund (Edelman cited in Payne 1989: 423). According to Payne (ibid.) "the features which link the Pamir languages into this wider Sprachbund are however probably to be interpreted as the largely sporadic effects of a substrate language like Burushaski."

[4]Nuristani languages are a sub-group of Indo-Iranian. They are spoken in Afghanistan (Ashkun, Kamviri, Kati, Prasuni, Tregami, Waigali).

[5]Dardic languages, belonging to Indo-Aryan languages, are spoken in northern Pakistan, northern India and eastern Afghanistan. The group includes the Chitral languages (Kalasha and Khowar), Kasmiri, the Kohistani languages, Kunar, Pashai, and Shina.

In this chapter, the term "Pamir languages" will primarily be used to refer to the languages spoken in the territory of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region (GBAO) in Tajikistan, namely the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group (except for Sarikoli, which is spoken in China), Yazghulami, Ishkashimi and Wakhi (see Figure 2).

## 1.2.3. Pamir languages in Tajikistan

Several factors influence the overall picture of the status of the languages spoken in the Pamir region in Tajikistan. As will be shown, some of these factors can have both positive and negative impacts on language vitality. In any case, they constitute the reality in which the Pamir languages live and develop.

### 1.2.3.1. Geographic and social setting

The Pamir language communities live in high mountain settings with rather limited accessibility. The harsh living conditions, remoteness, and difficult access from the administrative centre affect the life of the language communities. The supply of food and other goods from outside is not regular, which forces the communities to rely on a self-sufficient economy. Regular job opportunities are rare, and are mostly related to administration, education and military services. Jobs in the medical services are even more rare, because there are not many medical centres in the remote mountain communities. The rest of the population work in the fields and pastures to support themselves. We can dare say that this geographic remoteness has protected the small language communities from the intensive influence of the larger cultures and helped the languages to survive in a quite compact way. On the other hand, the same conditions make the life of these communities difficult, and as a result, many are forced to leave the communities in search of jobs elsewhere. There are large Pamir communities in Dushanbe, the capital city of Tajikistan, and in the big cities of the Russian Federation.

There is a school in almost every village in the GBAO. This is supported by the government making education compulsory for every child from the age of six and building schools in the villages. Significant support for education comes also from the Aga Khan Development network (AKDN), which supports pre-school activities for children to facilitate the transition from their mother tongues to Tajik. This initiative significantly contributes to the mastering of Tajik, which increases the educational potential and opportunities for young speakers of the Pamir languages. As an effect of this, the influence of the Tajik language on the Pamir languages is indisputable, and only time will tell whether the Pamir languages will be able to survive. On the other hand, a positive effect of such a focus on education has been observed in an increased interest in developing the native languages. In the recent years, the AKDN has

also been involved in producing materials for schoolchildren in both the Tajik and Pamir languages, and in educating parents as the co-educators of their children, alongside teachers. It thus seems that both Tajik and the native languages benefit from the support for education. In the ideal situation, instead of forcing people to choose between their native language and the official language, this development may lead to a bilingual community where progress will not be slowed down, and the linguistic/cultural heritage will not be lost.

All Pamir communities, except for the Yazghulami one, belong to the Ismaili sect of the Shi'a branch of Islam. The Ismaili religious teaching is known for supporting enlightenment, humanist ideas, education, and respect for human rights, especially the rights of women and girls. In this sense, the Pamir communities, despite their remoteness and poor economic conditions, produce open-minded personalities.

### 1.2.3.2. Sociolinguistic situation of the Pamir languages

All the Pamir languages, in each of the four countries where they are spoken, can be described as minority languages in relation to the official and majority languages. The total population of Tajikistan is around 9 million inhabitants, of which around 220,000 live in the GBAO. Based on the 1999 census, Edelman & Dodykhudoeva (2009a: 775) estimate the population speaking the Pamir languages in the GBAO to be around 170,000.

In the GBAO, the majority population are Shughni speakers; other language groups are minorities in relation to the Shughni population.

The Shughni-Rushani cluster (sometimes also called the Shughni group) is the largest group of the Pamir languages, with Shughni being the most dominant language in both the Shughni-Rushani cluster and among the Pamir languages. Besides Shughni, this cluster comprises Rushani, Khufi, Bartangi, Roshorvi, Bajuvi and Barwozi.

There are various approaches to categorizing these varieties (Shughni, Rushani, Khufi, Bartangi, Roshorvi and Bajuvi) as dialects of one or more languages (Shughni being the dominant language of the Shughni-Rushani cluster)[6]. Some define Shughni, with the dialectal variety Bajuvi, and Rushani, with the dialectal varieties Bartangi, Khufi, Roshorvi, as separate languages[7]. Beck (2013a: 267), based on her thorough sociolinguistic assessment of the Rushani variety in Afghanistan, claims that the high intelligibility between the Shughni and Rushani speech varieties suggests that they are not separate languages. Edelman (1999: 209–210); Edelman & Dodykhudoeva (2009a: 787), as well as Jamshedov & Mirboboev (2012: 106), suggest that the Shughni-Rushani group consists of the following languages (i.e. not dialects): Shughni,

[6] Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2019): https://www.ethnologue.com/language/sgh

[7] Abbess et al. (2005: 187)

Rushani, Bartangi, and Sarikoli. Edelman (2016: 88) refers to them as "languages or dialects".

The case of the Shughni-Rushani group only shows how subtle the border between language and dialect can be. Although these languages are closely related, the arguments in favour of regarding them as languages are the lack of one unifying standard variant, and the lack of an ethnic name unifying all these variants (Edelman 1999: 209). However, Shughni, being the largest of these variants and spoken in the provincial centre, and having started to develop a written literature before other languages in the region, may aspire to promotion to the status of the standard variant. The other variants of the Shughni-Rushani group would then be regarded as dialects of Shughni.

The above observation could also explain Beck's claim about Rushani being a dialect of Shughni in Afghanistan, which is in slight contrast with the claims of the linguists describing Shughni and Rushani as languages spoken in Tajikistan. A vast majority[8] of the inhabitants of Tajikistan, including those living in the GBAO, are literate in Tajik; thus, both Shughni and Rushani still share more or less the same status as minority languages not used in official communication. In Afghanistan, however, as Beck (2013a: 269) states, proficiency in Dari (official language in Afghanistan) is not very high, especially among women. Thus, the ongoing language development of Shughni in Afghanistan, aiming to transfer the literacy programme from Dari to Shughni, where the language is spoken, may promote Shughni to the role of a more dominant language in relation to Rushani.

SHUGHNI, in Tajikistan, is spoken in the Shughnon and Roshtqalʿa regions along the river Panj. It is also spoken in the valleys of Bajuv (known as Bajuvi micro-dialect) Shokhhdara and Ghund. Khorugh is the administrative centre of the GBAO as well as of Shughnon. As mentioned above, the speakers of Shughni constitute the largest ethnic minority in Tajikistan. In the GBAO, Shughni is the largest of the Pamir languages and serves as the lingua franca in the whole region. Outside of the Pamir area and in Shughnon, the Shughni language is sometimes called "Pamiri", possibly implying the superior status of the language. However, this term is not used or supported by the speakers of other Pamir languages. Edelman & Dodykhudoeva (2009a: 788) estimate the number of speakers of the Shughni language to be around 80,000–100,000. The Endangered Language Alliance (ELA)[9] estimates that there are around 75,000 Shughni speakers in the GBAO in Tajikistan and around 20,000 in Badakhshan in Afghanistan. Müller (2015: 1) claims that there are approximately 130,000 Shughni speakers living in Tajikistan and Afghanistan.

[8] According to UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS 2019), the literacy rate in Tajikistan is more than 99% (http://en.unesco.org/countries/tajikistan).

[9] http://elalliance.org/languages/iranic/shughni/(ELA 2012)

RUSHANI is the second largest language in the Shughni-Rushani cluster. It is spoken in the area of Rushon, north of the Shughnon district, along both sides of the river Panj in Tajikistan and Afghanistan. The Khufi dialect is spoken in the Khuf valley. The number of the Rushani speakers in Tajikistan is estimated to be around 18,000, and the number of Khufi speakers to be around 2,400 (Abbess et al. 2005: 189).[10]

BARTANGI is spoken in the valley of the river Bartang in Tajikistan, north-east of Rushan. A similar discussion about whether Bartangi should be counted as a dialect or a separate language has been led as for Rushani. Bartangi is closer to Rushani than to Shughni. Closely related to Bartangi is Roshorvi (or Oroshori). According to Ethnologue.com (Eberhard et al. 2019), there are around 3,000 Bartangi speakers and around 2,000 Roshorvi (Oroshori) speakers.

YAZGHULAMI, which is genetically related to the languages of the Shughni-Rushani cluster, is spoken in Tajikistan, in the valley of Yazghulom (the border area of the GBAO neighbouring the majority Tajik language). There are also displaced communities in the Kuybishev area (nowadays the district A. Jomi) south of Dushanbe, and in Dushanbe. Tiessen et al. (2005: 110) estimate that there are around 9,000 Yazghulami speakers in Tajikistan, of which around 6,000 live in the Yazghulam valley.

ISHKASHIMI is genetically related to Sanglechi, spoken in Afghanistan, and to Zebaki, which is reportedly extinct (Pakhalina & Kurbanov 1999: 197). In Tajikistan, Ishkashimi is spoken in the village Ryn, in the close proximity of Ishkashim, the regional centre on the southwestern border of the GBAO. According to Nazarova & Nazarov (2011: 42), there are around 1,000 Ishkashimi speakers in the village Ryn. Latifov (2018) claims that there are around 1,200 speakers of the Ishkashimi (Ryni) language living in Ryn. In the past, Ishkashimi was also spoken in the village of Sumjin, north of Ishkashim, in the Ghoron region. However, since Ghoron is a Tajik-speaking area, the Ishkashimi language is gradually being replaced by Tajik. In 2011, Nazarova & Nazarov (ibid.: 46) claimed that there were 365 Ishkashimi speakers living in Sumjin. Latifov (2018) claims the number of speakers to be 382.

The Sumjin language variety differs from the variety spoken in the village of Ryn. Apart from being more similar to the Ishkashimi variety spoken in Afghanistan, it is also heavily influenced by Tajik. The Ishkashimi in Ryn is more vital, despite being located between the Tajik-speaking town Ishkashim on one side, and Wakhi-speaking villages on the other side. The whole population of the village Ryn speaks Ishkashimi. Even in mixed marriages, the wives

[10] Beck (2013a: 241) estimates the number of Rushani speakers in Afghanistan to be around 7,000.

coming from other language communities (mostly Wakhi) have to learn Ishkashimi and speak it with their children. Ishkashimi is thus sometimes called "the father's language" (Müller et al. 2005: 249 and Latifov 2018).

All of the above-mentioned languages in Tajikistan are listed as endangered minority languages (Eberhard et al. 2019 and Moseley 2010). In Tajikistan, the official language and the language of media and education is Tajik. The literacy rate in Tajikistan is more than 99%.[11] The majority of all speakers of the Pamir languages in Tajikistan are bi- or multilingual. The Pamir languages are used in the home setting and between speakers. Because of the close contacts between the Pamir communities, many speakers of one Pamir language also speak one or more other Pamir languages. The bigger and more important the language, the more people who speak it. Thus, many speakers of Ishkashimi and Wakhi also speak Shughni, and many Ishkashimi speakers also know Wakhi, but not vice versa. Shughni speakers do not understand Wakhi or Ishkashimi, unless they come in close contact with these languages.

According to Ethnologue.com (Eberhard et al. 2019)[12], using the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) of endangerment (Lewis & Simons 2010: 110), in Tajikistan, Shughni and Ishkashimi have been classified as "vigorous"[13], and Yazghulami as "threatened". The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010)[14], also known as the Red Book of Endangered Languages, lists Shughni as vulnerable, Rushani as definitely endangered, and Bartangi, Roshorvi, Sanglechi, Yazghulami and Ishkashimi as severely endangered. The methods for evaluating the degree of endangerment use various criteria, and therefore the results may differ depending on the methodology employed. For a more detailed discussion of the various frameworks assessing language status and vitality see Lewis & Simons (2010). The EGIDS and UNESCO levels of endangerment, with a brief description for each level taken from Lewis & Simons (2010), can be found in Appendix A. Apart from different evaluation criteria, we must also take into consideration that the languages are living organisms and the results of the assessment are valid at the moment of the assessment, but the language situation may be changing and the language status may be moving either upwards towards a safer status, or downwards towards more endangerment.

[11] UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS 2019), http://en.unesco.org/countries/tajikistan

[12] https://www.ethnologue.com/country/TJ/languages

[13] Ishkashimi in Afghanistan has been labelled as "threatened".

[14] http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/

### 1.2.3.3. History and the current state of language development

Until recently, all of the Pamir languages had the status of unwritten languages, though the first documented attempts to set up a writing system occurred already in the 1930s. This was in the early years of the Soviet era, during the campaign for eradication of illiteracy which promoted literacy in the people's own languages. The first alphabets were designed for Shughni and Wakhi. They were based on the Latin script, as was also the Tajik alphabet, after the Perso-Arabic script was banned in the Soviet Union in 1935. Several textbooks were published in the Shughni language and were successfully used in schools. Also, two publications for children were translated from Russian into Shughni at that time, and a translation of the novel "Mother" by Gorky was prepared for publication, but was never published (Edelman 2016: 95). These activities contributed to the development of a literary style of the Shughni language and encouraged local writers.

The Wakhi alphabet, though prepared, could never be implemented. Already in the late 1930s, the era of the ''Great Terror'' saw the halting of all support for language development of Pamir languages and was followed by the persecution of the intellectual elite (ibid.). By 1940, the Latin script was replaced by Cyrillic for the Tajik language, the support for minority languages was completely stopped, and Tajik became the official language of the entire territory of Tajikistan. In 1972, the complete Shughni collection at the Public State Library of Tajikistan in Dushanbe was destroyed (Khudoyorov 2011: 192).

The second wave of Pamir written literature came at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s. In the last decade of the Soviet era, a Shughni-Russian dictionary in three volumes was published (Karamshoev 1988–1999). Stories and poems in the Pamir languages (mostly Shughni, but also Rushani, Bartangi, Ishkashimi, Yazghulami and Wakhi) were published in the local newspapers. In Shughni and Rushani, collections of poems were published. Although there were enthusiastic writers and readers, there was no functional alphabet. At that time, the writers used the Tajik alphabet, which was not sufficient for representing the phonetic repertoire of the Pamir languages. In 1992 Karamshoev suggested an alphabet for all Pamir languages, and in 1996 he published the Alphabet textbook for the Shughni language. This alphabet was based on the Tajik alphabet. The additional phonemes existing in Shughni and other Pamir languages were represented either with digraphs or diacritic symbols. However, the users of this alphabet did not employ it in a consistent way. Since then, there have been several other attempts to create functional alphabets. The civil war (1992–1997) that erupted shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the declaration of independence in Tajikistan suspended all further efforts for language development in the country.

Since the 2000s, a new wave of language development activities has been developing. In 2001, the Institute for Bible Translation IBT (2001) in Moscow published fragments of the Gospel of Luke in the Shughni[15], Rushani[16], Yazghulami[17], and Wakhi[18] languages. They were published in both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. For this purpose, new Cyrillic alphabets for the Pamir languages were designed. However, it seems that these alphabets have not found their way into the Pamiri communities. In Shughni, other variants appeared. The latest and best accepted variant of the Shughni alphabet seems to be the one used for developing children's books published by the NGO "Nur" in Khorugh with the support of the AKDN. This alphabet is based on the Cyrillic script, but additional phonemes are represented by Latin or Greek letters. Several booklets for children have already been published using this alphabet.The NGO "Nur" has been developing alphabets and publishing booklets for children also in the Rushani and Bartangi languages.

In Ishkashimi, a collection of poetry was published already in the early 2000s, and in 2013 a collection of stories with the title *Remůzd leftok* 'Sunrise' (Nazarov 2013) was printed introducing a new alphabet based on the Cyrillic script. In recent years, however, the community has begun designing a new, slightly modified version of the alphabet based on the Cyrillic script. This alphabet has been tested in the community and the first publication for children, *Afsonaoi škošəmi* 'Ishkashimi fairy-tales' (Latifov 2019), has been published. Recent language development activities and achievements for the Wakhi language will be described in more detail in the following section.

While in previous years most of the language-related work was coming from foreign sources, mostly Russian linguists, in recent years, the communities themselves are taking the initiative to document and develop their own languages.

## 1.3. Wakhi in Tajikistan

This section focuses specifically on describing the current sociolinguistic situation in the Wakhi language in Tajikistan. Although Wakhi has previously been described in several linguistic studies, as will be presented in more detail in Section 1.4, it is necessary to do so again here not only to deepen the research on the topics that have not been described so far, but also to keep updating the language description and to address questions brought up by current developments.

[15] https://ibtrussia.org/en/projects?id=SHG
[16] https://ibtrussia.org/en/ebook?id=RSH
[17] https://ibtrussia.org/en/ebook?id=YZG
[18] https://ibtrussia.org/en/ebook?id=WKH

Wakhi stands genetically apart from the other Pamir languages. It is spoken in four countries: Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China. According to Gulomaliev (2018: 47), the total number of Wakhi speakers is around 72,000 in the above-mentioned four countries. Out of the total number of speakers, around 24,000 live in Tajikistan, 17,500 in Afghanistan, 22,500 in Pakistan and 8,000 in China.

The inhabited Wakhi-speaking area in the Wakhan valley extends from the east along the river Wakhan (Wakhan darya) in the territory of Afghanistan, and after meeting the river Pamir on the border to Tajikistan it continues westwards as the river Panj, and constitutes the border between the two countries. In Tajikistan, the Wakhi villages stretch from the small settlement Ratm in the east along the river Pamir, and further down along the river Panj. The village Namadgut is the last Wakhi-speaking village in the Wakhan valley in Tajikistan.

Wakhi in Tajikistan shows some slight dialectal variation, but all variants are more or less mutually intelligible. Scholars have divided the Wakhi dialects in Tajikistan in two ways. Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 10) identifies three dialectal variants which reflect their geographical position: the dialect of the Upper Wakhan (UW) spoken in the villages from Ratm to Drizh, the dialect of the Central Wakhan (CW) spoken between Shirgin and Zmudg, and the dialect of the Lower Wakhan (LW) spoken between Shitkharv and Namadgut. Similarly, Pakhalina (1975: 8) identifies the eastern (corresponding to the UW), central (CW) and western (corresponding to LW) dialects.

However, this distribution of the dialects has been questioned by other scholars. Gulomaliev (2018) and Lashkarbekov (2018) prefer a two-dialectal variant division. Lashkarbekov (2018: 16) distinguishes two main dialects: the Lower (western) dialect, spoken between the villages Namadgut and Darshai, and the Upper (eastern) dialect spoken between the villages Shitkharv and Ratm, with its own sub-variety spoken in the villages Asor, Langar and Ratm. Gulomaliev's current research provides good support for the two-dialectal variant division in the Tajik Wakhan. Gulomaliev (2018: 49) presents the results of his recent research, showing that the variety spoken in the central part of Wakhan (identified as the central dialect) in fact overlaps with both, the Upper (eastern) and the Lower (western) dialect, and therefore there is no reason to count it as a separate dialect. Nevertheless, according to my own observations, the question remains of where the border-line is between the dialects, if there is any. Because of the difficulty to identify the border between the two dialects, in the presentation of the text corpus I refer to the narrators of individual oral stories as belonging to Upper, Central or Lower speech variety, a division which is more geographical than linguistic. Dialect differences are, in any case, not very relevant in this study.


*Figure 3.* Villages in the Wakhan valley (Obrtelová 2017: 18)

Apart from in Wakhan, Wakhi speakers also live in Murghab, a town in the eastern part of Pamir, close to the border with China. There is also a fully Wakhi-speaking village called Pomir in the district A. Jomi, south of Dushanbe.

The Wakhi language community is surrounded by several neighbouring language communities: Ishkashimi and Tajik in the west, Shughni in the north, and Kirghiz (Turkic) in the east. To the south, the Wakhi-speaking communities spread through Wakhan in Afghanistan to northern Pakistan, where they are adjacent to the languages Khowar (Dardic, Indo-Aryan language) and Burushaski (language isolate). In Tajikistan, the entire Wakhi-speaking area is administered by the Ishkashim district within GBAO.

Similar to other Pamir languages described above, Wakhi is described as an endangered language. Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan has been classified on Ethnologue.com (Eberhard et al. 2019) as "threatened"[19], which on the EGIDS scale of endangerment (Lewis & Simons 2010: 110) is explained as a language being "used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children" (see Appendix A). However, my observation confirms the observation made by Müller et al. (2008: 23), who describe Wakhi in Tajikistan as a "highly vital and strong language in most of the communities in which it is spoken." It is used by all generations and it is the preferred language of communication among the Wakhi speakers. Nevertheless, as claimed by Obrtelová & Sohibnazarbekova (2018: 94), this does not exclude strong endangering factors which pose a threat to the language vitality and can trigger language shift.

Among the endangering factors, Obrtelová & Sohibnazarbekova (ibid.) list diglossia and bi- or even multilingualism. Also, early exposure of the Wakhi

[19] Ethnologue.com (Eberhard et al. 2019) describes Wakhi spoken in Afghanistan and Pakistan as "vigorous" and in China as "shifting".

children to the Tajik language (normally at the age of six when they start school, but often even earlier) reduces the length of time when they are solely exposed to their mother tongue. Obrtelová & Sohibnazarbekova (ibid.) describe the concept of *sadik* 'kindergarten', which has been introduced in Wakhan with the aim to facilitate the children's transition from their mother tongue to the Tajik taught at school. Under this initiative, pre-school children from as early as age four are taught Tajik, which is certainly a very helpful practice in making the education for the Wakhi children as accessible as possible. Nevertheless, in terms of language vitality, it can constitute a language endangering factor.

It was noted by Lashkarbekov (2013) and Obrtelová & Sohibnazarbekova (2018: 94) that language shift is underway under the influence of Tajik and Russian, and is reflected in all domains of language – phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon. Vernacular expressions are often used in parallel with Tajik or Russian variants in the same context. This can be observed clearly in the oral narratives in the text corpus of this study.

The Wakhi speakers themselves are aware that their language is endangered and are actively seeking ways not only to preserve their language for future generations but also to develop it and keep it vital in all generations. Obrtelová & Sohibnazarbekova (2018) describe the creation and implementation of the Cyrillic-based Wakhi alphabet in Tajikistan. The question of the choice of script to serve as the basis for the Wakhi alphabet is rather complex. The fact that the language is spoken in four different countries with different official languages (and scripts), education systems, and socio-political contexts complicates the situation. A majority of the Wakhi speakers in Pakistan and some Wakhi speakers in Tajikistan would advocate for an alphabet based on the Latin script, arguing that one language (although spoken in four countries) should have one alphabet common to all. However, the reality is that such an alphabet would be accessible only to some Wakhi speakers, and the majority of the Wakhis living in the Tajik and Afghan Wakhan would not be able to benefit from it. Wakhi is only taught as a subject in schools in Pakistan, and not in the other three countries where it is spoken.

As noted by Sohibnazarbekova & Obrtelová (2018), the Wakhi alphabet in Tajikistan based on Cyrillic script does not exclude the possible future adoption of a single alphabet (probably based on the Latin script, if the whole community finds it acceptable) for the Wakhi speakers in all four countries. However, at this stage of language endangerment, and in the current sociolinguistic situation, the main priority seems to be the collection and publication of the oral material that may otherwise disappear within a few years.

The creation of the Wakhi alphabet in Tajikistan led to several publications. The first book to use the Cyrillic-based Wakhi alphabet created in 2011 was the collection of Wakhi short stories for children *Xikwor naqliš zavər*

(Shaidoev 2012). This was followed by a collection of Wakhi folklore genres, such as fairy-tales, legends, proverbs and riddles, titled *Wuǩ diyor ganǰ* (Davlatmamadov 2015) and a year later by a collection of Wakhi fairy-tales *Ǩikwor ǯindaiš* (Obrtelová et al. 2016) collected and recorded in the Tajik Wakhan. The previously mentioned NGO "Nur" (see Section 1.2.3.3) has so far published three booklets for school children – *Čistoniš* ('Riddles', Matrobov & Sohibnazarbekova 2016a), *Mətališ* ('Proverbs', Matrobov & Sohibnazarbekova 2016b) and *Asob* ('Counting', Matrobov 2016). More publications are planned in the near future.

A very significant initiative contributing to the documentation of Wakhi is the work of the Endangered Languages Alliance (ELA).[20] The Alliance is working on building a corpus of Wakhi texts. This being achieved by digitizing and analysing material published earlier by Russian linguists, as well as by collecting new original language data. The uniqueness of this initiative lies in the fact that the Wakhi language is audio- and video-recorded in its natural environment. The interviews are led in Wakhi, most being conducted by Husniya Khujamyorova, a native Wakhi speaker originating from Tajikistan. She is also the one who supplies the transcriptions and translations for all the Wakhi recordings. Most of the recordings were made in the villages of Tajik Wakhan and in other locations in Tajikistan, but the current collection also includes recordings of Wakhi speakers living in Moscow or originating from Pakistan and living in the USA. All transcribed and translated video recordings with the original language data are made publicly available on the website of the ELA. As the project continues, transcribed and translated recordings keep being added.

## 1.4. Previous studies on Wakhi

The aim of this section is to present an overview of the literature contributing to the linguistic description and documentation of the Wakhi language. The historical overview will only briefly describe the major publications. I will further give an overview of recently published and unpublished works which address in more or less detail various aspects of the Wakhi language.[21]

The history of Wakhi description and documentation dates back to the second half of the 19th century. If we omit the first brief mentions of the Wakhi language and a few lexical collections, the first significant description of Wakhi available to Western scholars is a grammatical sketch produced by Shaw (1876). In addition to language description, the study is complemented with samples of texts and a lexicon. Although Shaw does not specify where and how his

[20] http://elalliance.org/languages/iranic/wakhi/

[21] A list of literature is also provided on: https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/wakh1245

language data was collected, Pakhalina (1975: 4) believes that his study was based on the Wakhi variant spoken in Xinjiang in China. Grierson (1921), in his multi-volume *Linguistic survey of India* dedicates a chapter to the description of Wakhi inspired by the work of Shaw.

The first description and samples of original language data of Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan is presented by Klimchitsky (1936) in the publication *Wakhi texts*. The study includes four narrative texts and one song recorded in Langar, a village in the eastern part of Tajik Wakhan. Klimchitsky gives a brief phonetic and morphological description and includes a Wakhi-Tajik-Russian lexicon.

In 1938, Morgenstierne published a chapter on the Wakhi language in his two-volume study *Indo-Iranian frontier languages*. The study is based on language data collected by himself among the Wakhis in Chitral in Northern Pakistan and on data (at the time unpublished) provided by Lorimer and Sköld. Morgenstierne's informants were Wakhi speakers originally from Tajik and Afghan Wakhan (the villages Namadgut and Yamg in Tajik Wakhan, and the villages Khandut and Wark in Afghan Wakhan).

In 1953, Sokolova published a detailed phonetic description of the Wakhi language in the two-volume *Sketch of the phonetics of Iranian languages*. This study, too, is supplemented by original Wakhi language data and translations into Russian of two narrative texts recorded in the villages Zong and Ptup in Tajik Wakhan.

An extensive two-volume study, *Wakhi language*, was published in 1958 by Lorimer. This study is to date the most comprehensive description of Wakhi available in English. Lorimer's linguistic description covers the areas of phonetics, morphology and syntax. The study is supplemented by seven texts and a collection of sample sentences and phrases. The second volume is a Wakhi–English lexicon. Lorimer worked with data collected in Northern Pakistan.

In 1969, Pakhalina published a study on the Pamir languages a chapter of which is dedicated to Wakhi. In the 1970s two major studies were published by Russian scholars. Pakhalina (1975) and Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976) each published a comprehensive linguistic description of Wakhi. The publications consist of discussions on Wakhi phonetics and phonology, including descriptions of dialectal variations, and detailed descriptions of the grammar. They include a large corpus of original language data with Russian translations. Pakhalina's language data were recorded among Wakhi speakers in Tajikistan, Afghanistan and China. Her published corpus consists of folk-tales, songs, sample sentences and a Wakhi-Russian and Russian-Wakhi lexicon. A significant part of the study by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976) consists of an extensive corpus of folklore and ethnographic material in Wakhi with Russian translations. The corpus comprises texts such as folk-tales, songs, poetry, proverbs, and riddles, as well as description of ceremonies,

rituals, games and other material recorded among the Wakhi speakers in Tajikistan and Afghanistan. This study also includes a Wakhi-Russian lexicon.

Starting from the late 1970s, studies started to emerge focusing on specific linguistic topics. Thus in 1976, Lashkarbekov published the first in a series of publications on the Wakhi verbs studied from a historical perspective. It was followed by a study on the historical reconstruction of the Wakhi language based on the verb stems (Lashkarbekov 1982a), and further specified in Lashkarbekov (1985a) with discussion of the whole *Wakhi verb system in the light of historical evolution*. These studies, originally published as articles in various journals, were finally compiled and published posthumously as a comprehensive study *The Wakhi verb in a historical perspective* (Lashkarbekov 2018). Being himself a native Wakhi speaker and an Iranist, Lashkarbekov studied various aspects of the Wakhi language, such as the dialectal variation (Lashkarbekov 1975), the ergative (oblique) construction (1982b), phonetic features (1985b), and the sociolinguistic situation (2006, 2013), both from a synchronic and diachronic perspective. Another work on Wakhi by a native speaker is a study on verb-noun constructions by Saidmamadov (1985).

Payne contributes to the research on the Wakhi ergative constructions in two studies, *Transitivity and intransitivity in the Iranian languages of the U.S.S.R.* (Payne 1979) and *Decay of ergativity in the Pamir languages* (Payne 1980) studied from a diachronic perspective. The topic of ergativity provides a great deal of material for discussion because the constructions identified in Wakhi as "ergative" are far from canonical. Payne discusses in detail topics related to the interpretation of the ergative constructions, such as case system and verb-agreement. In 1989, Payne also contributed a chapter on *Pamir languages* to the *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*.

Ergativity in Wakhi is also addressed by Bashir (1986) in the article *Beyond split-ergativity: Subject marking in Wakhi*. Bashir argues that the interpretation of the constructions in Wakhi identified as "split-ergativity" is not applicable, and that new principles of analysis should be considered. To explain what superficially looks like a "split-ergative pattern" Bashir proposes to apply a semantic parameter of activity/volitionality and suggests that the evolution into the current pattern may be the result of several influencing factors. Bashir (2006) addresses the topic of evidentiality in Wakhi, and (Bashir 2009) furthermore contributes a chapter on Wakhi to the volume *Iranian languages* edited by Windfuhr. Yet another study addressing ergativity in Pamir languages, including Wakhi, and attempting to explain the unusual constructions found in these languages is undertaken by Wendtland (2008).

Three more recent unpublished studies also continue the discussion on the agreement clitics, subject- and object-marking strategies and case system, topics which are closely related to the discussion of ergative-like constructions. Hughes, in his MA thesis (2011) and subsequently in his PhD dissertation

(2014) investigates the subject-marking clitics. The MA thesis is based on a limited set of data of the Pakistani Wakhi speech variety. In the PhD dissertation the set of his language data is limited to one village in Tajikistan (Darshai). Another MA thesis, *Differential subject marking in Wakhi* (SanGregory 2018), is based on data obtained from Wakhi speakers in Afghanistan. This is one of very few studies based on Wakhi spoken in Afghanistan. SanGregory discusses the case-marking system and concludes by identifying six cases and two additional subcases for Wakhi. The study is undertaken from a purely typological perspective, not accounting for the discussion and patterns studied within Iranian linguistics. A sample of annotated language data is provided in the Appendix of her study.

Further away from the grammar topics, a noteworthy work has been produced by Steblin-Kamensky (1999) with the publication of the *Etymological dictionary of the Wakhi language* containing a sketch of Wakhi phonetics and including illustrations of specific traditional Wakhi objects in order to give a better understanding of Wakhi lexis. Bashir (2001) investigates Wakhi lexis from an areal perspective and addresses the topic of contact relationships between Wakhi and Khowar as they are reflected in the vocabularies of the two languages.

With regard to sociolinguistic topics, a sociolinguistic survey report has been published by Backstrom (1992) about the Wakhi situation in Northern Pakistan and another by Müller et al. (2008) about the situation in Tajikistan. In 2006, Reinhold published a sociolinguistic study on the Wakhi language in Gojal which is supplemented by thirteen texts collected among Wakhi speakers in Pakistan. Matrobov (2012) published an ethnolinguistic study *Traditional games of the Wakhi people* based on material collected in the Tajik Wakhan. An article by Obrtelová & Sohibnazarbekova (2018) *Steps being taken to reverse language shift in the Wakhi language in Tajikistan* describes the history and current situation of the Wakhi language development, including the creation and use of a new alphabet. An earlier article by the same authors, *Reduced vowels and consonant clusters in the Wakhi language* (Obrtelová & Sohibnazarbekova 2012), investigates Wakhi phonology with regard to orthography. Two recent studies by Gulomaliev (2017, 2018) address the topics of dialect variations in Tajik Wakhan and endangerment of Wakhi, and bring very valuable updated information on the number of Wakhi speakers in Tajikistan as well as in all four countries where Wakhi is spoken. Two other articles dealing with sociolinguistic topics from the perspective of the Wakhi spoken in Pakistan are currently in press. In one of them, Mock (In Press) discusses the topic of orality and literacy, focussing on a specific, traditional Wakhi poetic genre, *bulbulik*. The second article (Baig et al. In Press) gives a description of recent developments in Wakhi orthography.

Finally, the studies that are more closely related to my present research and to the topic of narratives and discourse analysis are a study undertaken by Mock (1998) *Discursive construction of reality in the Wakhi community in Northern Pakistan*, and my earlier study *Narrative structure of Wakhi oral stories* (Obrtelová 2017). These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. Yet another study discussing discourse features of the Wakhi language is an unpublished MA thesis by Beck (2013b) *Backgrounding and Foregrounding, Prominence, and Highlighting in Afghan Wakhi*. It is complemented by a sample of annotated texts.

A forthcoming publication (Obrtelová forthc. 2019) discussing the pragmatic functions of the tense-aspect verb forms in Wakhi from the point of view of the deictic centre and suggesting a re-analysis of the Wakhi tense-aspect verb system is referred to and described in more detail in Section 2.1.

# 2. Wakhi language description – selected topics

In this chapter I will address selected topics of Wakhi grammar. They have been chosen on the basis of two criteria: that they (1) are relevant for the purpose of this study, and (2) have not been sufficiently described in previous studies, or in the light of the text analysis, need to be re-analysed.

## 2.1. Verbs

Traditionally, Wakhi verbs used to be described from a linear tense-based perspective. However, a study of the discourse-pragmatic functions of Wakhi verbs presented in Obrtelová (forthc. 2019) points to certain contradictions in the tense-based interpretation and describes Wakhi verbs from a deictic-centre perspective. In this section, I will give an overview of both approaches. However, since the deictic-centre based approach will be used in this study, I will describe Wakhi verbs from the perspective of this approach in more detail.

The traditional tense-based approach adopted in earlier studies by Morgenstierne (1938), Lorimer (1958), Pakhalina (1975), Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976), Lashkarbekov (1982a, 2018) and Bashir (2009) describes three main finite verb forms with their own stems: present-future tense, past tense, and perfect.[22] Apart from these, derived (complex) finite verb forms are described for Wakhi: distant past (or pluperfect), distant perfect, and perfect subjunctive. A specific present subjunctive form in Wakhi is described only for the existential verb 'be' *ыту-*/*ыты-*. Aspectual particles are attached to the above-mentioned finite forms, the enclitic particle=*əṣ̌* for expressing immediacy, imperfectivity, iterativity, specificity, and continuity, and the particle *əp,* described in Bashir (2009: 836), for expressing future or tenseless/generic value. The latter is not attested in Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan (Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky 1976: 655, Obrtelová forthc. 2019). Verb forms normally agree with the subject in person and number. The form that in the above-mentioned studies is called present-future/non-past tense takes attached suffixes agreeing with the subject. The same is true for the present subjunctive form of the verb 'be' *ыту-*/*ыты-*. However this form is only rarely used in other than 3SG form. The remaining finite verb forms described above mark

[22] A more detailed discussion about the formation of the Wakhi verb stems from a historical perspective is presented in Lashkarbekov (2018).

agreement with the subject using enclitics, which can be attached to the verb stem or to another constituent of the clause in the pre-verbal position. The discussion on the inflection and formation of Wakhi verbs is given in the relevant sections below, addressing each verb form individually.

The definition of the verb forms in the tense-based approach, however, poses certain problems when larger discourse units than sentences are studied. One of the inconsistencies of the tense-based approach is that the form described as the present-future/non-past tense is used not only to describe present and future events, but also past events when they were not witnessed by the speaker. Moreover, when referring to present (ongoing) events, this form is normally accompanied by the aspectual enclitic particle *=əš*. Another problem arises when trying to explain the use of the present-future/non-past tense describing past events as a historical present. The regular and relatively strictly rule-governed ways that the form called present-future/non-past tense is used in describing past events calls for a different interpretation. The form described as present-future/non-past tense is itself never used to refer to witnessed past events, but is the default form for referring to non-witnessed past events. The description of the past tense as a form referring to any past event is also problematic because it refers only to those events that are directly related to the deictic centre and that were witnessed by the speaker. A detailed argumentation about the shortcomings of the tense-based approach is presented by Obrtelová (forthc. 2019).

In the deictic centre oriented approach, as I claim (ibid.), "[t]he Wakhi verb system is not based on a linear concept of time" because each verb form "carries much more than just temporal information, adding aspectual, modal, and evidential values" (ibid.). The main distinction in this approach is between the witnessed and the non-witnessed perspective, i.e. the relation to the deictic centre, based on which two cognitive domains are described, each with its own set of verb forms. The domain anchored in the deictic centre is described in tense-aspectual terms and is based on a linear temporal perspective (ibid.). The underlying form of this domain is the past tense, which has been identified as the only tense in Wakhi (ibid.). The domain dissociated from the deictic centre is described in aspectual-modal terms and the underlying form of this domain is the non-tense, labelled as V (ibid.). The functions of each of the verb forms are discussed in the following sections.

It should also be noted that Wakhi verbs have derived causative forms. The causative stems have regular forms which are conjugated in the same way as the non-causative verb forms.

## 2.1.1. Non-tense

Non-tense or "V" (in Obrtelová forthc. 2019) is the verb form that in the traditional tense-based approach used to be called present-future tense or non-past tense. As I argued (ibid.), it is not present-future/non-past because it is used for referring to past, present and future events. It is not a tense either, since it does not mark the opposition between past and non-past events. The non-tense is defined as "a default tense- and aspect-neutral verb form" (ibid.). In discourse-pragmatic terms, it is an unmarked verb form. It is used to refer to actions that are not anchored in the deictic centre. Thus, this form is used in: a) general statements (Example 1);[23]

(1) Змистон юпки вандән, [W_A01: 1.8]
zmiston yupk-i vand-ən
winter water-ACC shut-3PL

аӭи ки цə сыриəн ӗодищ иӽ
aʒi ki cə sɨri-ən wod-iš iӽ
because from cold-ABL irrigation ditch-PL ice

царəн.
car-ən
do-3PL

*In winter, the water is shut off [lit. 'they shut off the water' in [V], because the irrigation ditches freeze [V] in the cold.*

[23] In the examples in this study, the text in the Cyrillic script with punctuation is only shown for the data taken from the written corpus, and thus represents the text exactly as it was written by the Wakhi writers. Examples from the oral corpus, on the other hand, only have the transcription in Latin script with no punctuation.

b) the foreground (event-line) of non-witnessed narratives (Example 2), including non-witnessed narratives referring to the past;

(2) И рӗвор рəшт шкор, зəм дəйт тə [W_Z12: 1.2]
i rwor rəš-t škor zəm dəy-t tə
one day go-3SG hunt snow hit-3SG in

ку сар, ӗост сыр.
ku sar wos-t sır
mountain top become-3SG cold

*One day he went [V] to hunt, it snowed [V] on top of the mountain, it became [V] cold.*[24]

c) subjunctive meaning (apart from the verb *ыту/ыты* 'be' which has a specific subjunctive form), as in Example (3);

(3) Сакəн дəо кəртəн ки, [W_N30: 3.2]
sak=ən dəo kərt=ən ki
we=1PL prayer do.PST=1PL SUB

яв тан сиат, яв руй сəкр ымыт,
yav tan siat yav ruy səkr ыты-t
their body healthy their face red be.SBJV-3SG

баф хизмат царəнəт
baf xizmat car-ən=ət
good servis do-3PL=and

бə сиати ӽы хунəрк пщəӗəн.
bə siati ӽы xun-ərk pšəw-ən
to health own house-DAT return-3PL

*We said the prayer, may [lit. 'that'] their bodies be well, their faces happy [lit. 'red'], (may) they serve [V] well, and (may) they return [V] home in good health.*

[24] In the text corpus and examples of my previous study (Obrtelová 2017), I translated the non-tense form (identified there as the non-past) with the present tense in English. In this study, however, in light of the re-analysis of the Wakhi verb system, I choose to translate the non-tense occurring in the foreground of Wakhi narratives, where it is the default form, by the past tense in English, as that is the default form in English narratives. This is to avoid a misleading interpretation of the Wakhi non-tense as a "historical present".

d) imperative meaning (Example 4).

(4) “Pəӵ, харбыза ӑзым!” [W_Z18: 6.2d–e]
rəč̣ xarbыza wыzым
go watermelon bring

*Go [V], bring [V] the watermelon!*

The non-tense stem occurs with subject-marking suffixes. The subject marking suffix attached to a verb is sometimes the only indicator of subject in a clause. The personal pronouns in singular (SG) and plural (PL) and the corresponding subject-marking suffixes are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.** *Personal pronouns and corresponding subject-marking suffixes*

| **Pronoun SG** | | **Suffix SG** | **Pronoun PL** | | **Suffix PL** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | *wuz* | *-əm* | 1PL | *sak* | *-ən* |
| 2SG | *tu* | *-i* / ∅ | 2PL | *saiš* | *-əv* |
| 3SG | *yaw (yəm, yət)*[25] | *-t* | 3PL | *yawiš (yəmiš, yətiš)* | *-ən* |

As claimed by Obrtelová (forthc. 2019), there is no present tense in Wakhi. However, the present value is expressed by the aspectual enclitic particle *=əṣ̌* (labelled as IPFV). This enclitic particle can be attached to the verb, after the subject-marking suffix, or it can attach to another constituent in a clause, prior to the verb. When the non-tense form is accompanied with *=əṣ̌,* it refers to an ongoing action in the present, and marks the verb for “presentness” (Obrtelová forthc. 2019). Similarly, Lorimer (1958: 152) observes that this enclitic particle adds a “present force”, and according to Bashir (2009: 837), it marks the verb for “specificity or immediacy, either present relevance or immediate future”. All these statements confirm that the enclitic particle *=əṣ̌* grounds the non-tense in the deictic centre.

In Wakhi narratives, the non-tense accompanied with *=əṣ̌* usually occurs in direct speech, where it is anchored in the shifted deictic centre. In Example (5) it is found in the context anchored in the deictic centre. The past tense in the first part of the sentence also shows anchoring in the deictic centre (see discussion in Section 2.1.2).

[25] Demonstrative pronouns are also used as 3rd person personal pronouns. The distal demonstratives (DEM3) *yaw* (SG) and *yawiš* (PL) are used as default 3rd person personal pronouns. The proximal (DEM1) *yəm*, *yəmiš* , and the middle (DEM2) *yət*, *yətiš* can also be used.

(5) Ўузəм žиґ гоχтиət [W_B17: 4.4]
wuz=əm δiɣ goχt-i=ət
I=1SG doogh make.PST-i=and

ме нивəш молви žицəм.
me niv=əš mol-vi δic-əm
behold.PRX now=IPFV livestock-PL.OBL milk-1SG

*I made doogh [PST] and now, look, I am milking [V+ əš] the livestock.*

The non-tense with =*əš* is also found in subordinate complement clauses which are either direct speech (Example 6) or complements of perception verbs (Example (7). In these examples deictic shift occurs in the subordinate clauses. In (6) it is the shift from the un-anchored domain, expressed by the non-tense, to the anchored domain, with the deictic centre made for the situation described in the subordinate clause. In (7), the shift is from the deictic centre of the speech situation, expressed by the past tense, to the deictic centre anchored in the story.

(6) Мəрдымищ хŭос ŭоцəн ки, [W_B18: 2.2]
mərdым-iš xwos woc-ən ki
people-PL concerned become-3PL that

пуп Зафар дəм сырī дə
{pup Zafar d-əm sыгī də
grandfather Zafar in-DEM1 cold with

молвəн тət куəш
mol-v-ən t-ət ku=əš
livestock-PL.OBL-ABL in-DEM2 mountain=IPFV

црəнг гоχт.
crəng goχ-t}$_{SubC}$
how do-3SG

*The people became [V] concerned [saying 'that']: "How Grandfather Zafar is doing [V + əš] in this cold weather with the livestock on the mountain?"*

(7) А тум дидиǧдəм ки, [W_N05: 2.4]
a tum didiɣ̌d=əm ki
EMP as.much look.PST=1SG SUB

йəм жы щач тəр нəғəрдум наг
{yəm ẓ̌ы šač tər nəɣ̌ərdum nag
DEM1 my dog to bear side

рыйдəш.
rыy-d=əṣ̌}$_{SubC}$
bark-3SG=IPFV

*I looked more (closely and saw) [PST] that my dog was barking [lit. 'is barking'; V + əṣ̌] in the direction of the bear.*

Thus, it is the aspectual enclitic particle *=əṣ̌* that anchors the verb in the deictic centre.

It is also claimed (in Obrtelová forthc. 2019) that the non-tense does not have the function of historical present. It is the default verb form used in narration in non-witnessed stories. It is not used in the narration in the witnessed stories. However, the non-tense with *=əṣ̌* seems to function in a similar way as what in other languages is described as historical present. Example (8) below is a sentence in the non-tense with *=əṣ̌* occurring in a witnessed story told in the past tense. The immediate context of the sentence is given in the free translation in brackets.

(8) Цумəш хы нани қывəм, [W_B17: 3.1]
cum=əṣ̌ хы nan-i qыw-əm
how.much=IPFV own mother-ACC call-1SG

явəш фар бə нəǩирд.
yaw=əṣ̌ far bə nə-ɣ̌ir-d
she=IPFV turn ADD NEG-turn-3SG

*(I arrived near the shepherd's hut and saw that there was a woman... I assumed that it was my mother.) However much I call [V + əṣ̌] my mother, she does not even turn [V + əṣ̌] to me. (I was surprised and went down to the shepherd's hut...)*

Wakhi does not have a specific verb form for expressing future. As I claim (Obrtelová forthc. 2019), "[t]he future value is added by temporal adverbials".

It can be expressed by a specific temporal reference such as *sarək/sarər* 'tomorrow' and/or by *yan* 'then' (Example 9). These adverbials are used when the future value of the action has to be emphasized or stated clearly (e.g., in order to avoid ambiguity).

(9) Сарəр ян яв̆ в̆ызмəн. [W_B09: 7.1]
sarər yan yaw wɨzm-ən
tomorrow then her bring-1PL

*We will bring her tomorrow.*

However, it must be noted that *yan* 'then' is used as the marker of future only in contexts anchored in the deictic centre. In this function, in the narratives, it is used only in direct speech. *Yan* 'then' is found very frequently in both witnessed (in the past tense) and non-witnessed (in the non-tense) narrations, and functions as a device to move the action forward (see Section 5.2.2.2).

## 2.1.2. Past tense

In the deictic-centre based approach, past tense is the only tense identified in Wakhi (Obrtelová forthc. 2019). It is used in the domain anchored in the deictic centre, more specifically, it is used to refer to the events witnessed by the speaker. In Wakhi narratives, past tense is used as the default form in all witnessed stories. In non-witnessed stories, past tense is used only in direct speech, which is anchored in its own deictic centre (within the story). Past tense stems for regular verbs are formed by adding *-d/-t* to the default (non-tense) stem (Example 10).

(10) a. gox̆-əm 'I make' [non-tense]
b. gox̆-t=əm 'I made' [past tense]

The past tense stems are usually accompanied by subject-marking enclitics which can attach either to the verb or to a constituent prior to the verb. The personal pronouns in singular (SG) and plural (PL), and the corresponding subject-marking enclitics, are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2.** *Personal pronouns and corresponding subject-marking enclitics*

| **Pronoun SG** | | **Enclitic SG** | **Pronoun PL** | | **Enclitic PL** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | *wuz* | *=əm* | 1PL | *sak* | *=ən* |
| 2SG | *tu* | *=ət* | 2PL | *saiš* | *=əv* |
| 3SG | *yaw (yəm, yət)* | ∅ | 3PL | *yawiš (yəmiš, yətiš)* | *=əv* |

To the past tense stem, a suffix *-i*/*-əy* is attached optionally. Its function, however, has yet to be studied in more depth. In my corpus, and in the examples, this suffix is glossed as '*-i*'. The preliminary observations indicate that the suffix *-i*/*-əy* is optionally added to the past stem when the subject-marking enclitic is attached to a constituent other than the verb. It is also observed in my corpus that in the Lower Wakhi speech variety, in the villages from Namadgut to Shitkharv (see Section 1.3), the suffix *-i* is always added to the past stem when the subject-marking enclitic is not attached to the verb. It thus seems to have become a grammaticalized, regular past-tense marker. However, in the Central and Upper Wakhi speech varieties, the suffix *-i*/*-əy* is not always required (Example 11), which suggests that there are different criteria for its presence or absence, which will have to be studied in greater detail. Also, the *-i*/*-əy* in Central and Upper speech varieties may even be an enclitic, as it is sometimes found attached to other constituents in a clause, prior to the verb[26], as shown in Example (12).

(11) Ўуз тру лойəм йəти рəмəти, [W_Z18: 6.13]
wuz tru loy=əm yət=i rəmət=i
I three time=1SG DEM2-ACC order.PST-i

йəт тру лой рəў̆д,
yət tru loy rəў̆d-∅
DEM2 three time go.PST-∅

нəйи нəх̆атəй.
nəy=i nə-x̆at-əy
no-ACC NEG-say.PST-i

*I ordered her three times, she went three times, didn't say no.*

(12) Йəм шапт мажи хуб тмощо [W_B10: 3.8]
yəm šapt maẓ̌-i xub tmošo
DEM1 wolf I.OBL-ACC good look

кəртиət а драи нəйни.
kərt-i=ət a dra-i nəyn-i
do.PST-i=and EMP THERE3-i sit.PST-i

*This wolf watched me intensively and sat there (-i).*

[26]This suffix/enclitic *-i*/*-əy* is treated differently than the accusative case ending *-i*/*-əy* (differential object marking). However, it is not excluded that they share a certain common ground.

In a coming study (Obrtelová forthc. 2019), I claim that the past tense is "used in future temporal clauses that indicate that the condition must be witnessed before another event in the future can take place". Thus, in this case, too, the past tense indicates anchoring in the deictic centre (Example 13). The use of the past tense in future temporal clauses is also attested in other Iranian languages (Jahani 2017: 267).

(13) Пырз ки вити, [W_Z18: 2.19]
рыгz ki vit-i
evening SUB become.PST-i

да хы ǯəǩдəкəн и
d-a хы δəɣ̌d-ək-ən i
with-DEM3 own daughter-DIM-ABL one

скəнəт и кв̆от юнд каӈ тə и
skən=ət i kwot yund kaṭ tə i
puppy=and one young donkey take put in one

мала, саарӣ рəӵ яв дидиǩ.
mala saarī rəč̣ yav didiɣ̌
room in the morning go they.OBL see

*When evening comes [lit. 'came'], put a puppy and a young donkey in a room with your daughter, in the morning go see them.*

The past tense form can also be accompanied by the aspectual enclitic particle *=əṣ̌* (IPFV), in which case it indicates imperfective or iterative meaning (Example 14).

(14) Яв дгар прчодви ранг нэту, [W_GF: 1.6]
yaw dgar prčod-vi rang nə-tu
she other girl-PL.OBL like NEG-be.PST

бдили хатэш штик кэрти,
bdili xat=əṣ̌ štik kərt-i
with self=IPFV playing do.PST-i

доимэш тоқа тоқа нэйни.
doim=əṣ̌ toqa toqa nəyn-i
always=IPFV alone alone sit.PST-i

*She was not like other girls, she used to play on her own, all the time she used to sit all alone.*

The past tense combined with the enclitic particle *=əṣ̌* is also used in counterfactual (irrealis) conditional clauses (Example 15), and thus can also add a modal meaning (Obrtelová forthc. 2019).

(15) нив цэ каби ти ӵэжмнаǧдиэн йэм [W_N29: 2.7b]
niv cə kabi ti ǯəǯmnaǧdi-ən yəm
now because of your avarice-ABL DEM1

диёри силэш юти.
diyor-i sil=əṣ̌ yut-i
village-ACC flood=IPFV take.PST-i

*(It was good that the little shovel stayed in the soil), otherwise because of your avarice the village would have been taken by the flood.*

## 2.1.3. Perfect

Similar to Bashir (2009: 839), the perfect in Wakhi is described by Obrtelová (forthc. 2019) as a resultative-stative, aspect-based form not anchored primarily in the deictic centre. The reference point for the verb in perfect is another action to which it expresses anteriority or a state resulting from a previous action (Example 16). In this sense, the reference point may also be the present moment.

(16) Дə скорд cap ӂəздəн ки, [W_N07: 2.5]
də skord sar wəzd-ən ki
in bridge beginning come.PST=1PL SUB

скорди юпк ютк.
skord-i yupk yutk
bridge-ACC water take.PF

*We arrived at the bridge and (saw) that the bridge had been taken (out) by the water [lit. 'bridge water take.PF'].*

In Wakhi narratives, the perfect is most often used in the background, i.e. in those parts of the narrative that describe a state constituting the background to the action expressing the foreground (event-line) of the story. As such, it occurs most frequently in the non-witnessed stories, i.e. in narratives which have the foreground (event-line) in the non-tense (Example 17).

(17) Туəтк нəтуəтк и подщо туəтк. [W_Z03: 1.1–1.2]
tuətk nə-tuətk i podšo tuətk
be.PF NEG-be.PF one kind be.PF

Яӂəн туəтк тру пəтр.
yaw-ən tuətk tru pətr
his-ABL be.PF three son

*Once upon a time [lit. 'be.PF - not be.PF'] there was [lit.'be.PF'] a king. He had [lit. 'of him be.PF'] three sons.*

The transition between the foreground and background of a non-witnessed story is thus reflected in the change of verb form, which has also been observed by Obrtelová (2017: 70). In Example (18), the first sentence (18a) represents the foreground of the story and is in the non-tense (V). The second sentence (18b) describes the situation/state at the time of the action described in (18b), as well as anteriority to the action in the foreground.

(18) a. Йəм ǯай ӑизит а рət [W_Z12: 2.1–2.2]
уəm ðay wizi-t a r-ət
DEM1 man come-3SG EMP to down-DEM2

диёр, рəшт тə ӽы хун.
diyor rəṣ̌-t tə ӽы xun
village go-3SG to own house

*The man arrived [V] in that village, he went [V] to his house.*

b. Йəм татнанищ, йəм хиштборищ хёləв кəрк
уəm tatnan-iš уəm xiṣ̌tbor-iš xyol=əv kərk
DEM1 parent-PL DEM1 relative-PL assuming=3PL do.PF

ки, яӑ алба мəрткəй.
ki yaw alba mərtk-əy
SUB he perhaps die.PF-i

*His [lit. 'these'] parents, his [lit. 'these'] relatives thought [lit. 'think.PF'] perhaps that he had died [lit. 'die.PF'].*

The perfect is also used to convey inferential and mirative meaning (Obrtelová forthc. 2019), as in Example (18b) above.

(19) яӑ жы пəтрəт жы зман нəтуəтк, [W_N01: 6.1]
yaw ẓ̌ы pətr=ət ẓ̌ы zman nə-tuətk
he my son=and my child NEG-be.PF

ту, мар сдыйд ки, хтоəш цар.
tu mar sdыy-d ki xto=əṣ̌ car
you.SG to me seem-3SG SUB mistake=IPFV make

*(The old woman paused in thought and said:) "(...) he won't be [lit. 'not be.PF'] my son and my child, it seems to me that you are making a mistake".*

The perfect stems are usually accompanied with subject-marking enclitics. These can attach either to the verb or to a constituent prior to the verb. They are the same as those described for the past tense in Table 2 above. The aspectual enclitic particle *=əṣ̌* (IPFV) normally does not occur in perfect. Sometimes, the suffix *-i*/*-əy* is attached to the perfect stem, like in the past tense. However, its occurrence in the perfect is rare. The question also remains whether this suffix is the same as the one used in the past tense.

## 2.1.4. Derived finite forms

Derived finite verb forms are rare in Wakhi narratives. Pluperfect occurs occasionally, but distant perfect is not attested in the Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan (Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky 1976: 632, Obrtelová forthc. 2019). Pluperfect as described by Obrtelová (forthc. 2019) is an aspect-based verb form expressing a remote resultative-stative meaning, anteriority, or a remote (past) form of perfect, as in Example (20).

(20) Трəм бар зəм дйəтк. [W_B08: 5.4–5.5]
tr-əm bar zəm dyətk
in-DEM1 door snow hit.PF

Сакəн хуб ки баԛ-баԛ
sak=ən xub ki baǰ-baǰ
we=1PL good SUB thick-thick

бəẗви пумцвəту.
bəṭ-vi pumcvətu
clothing-PL.OBL put on.PPF

*Outside, it was snowing [PF]. (It was) good that we had put on [PPF] very thick clothes.*

Pluperfect, in the function described above, is found more frequently in written narratives. It seems that in spontaneous speech, pluperfect "is gradually being replaced by the perfect for expressing anteriority" (Obrtelová forthc. 2019).

Pluperfect is also used in combination with the enclitic particle *=əš̌* (IPFV), in which case it refers to unrealized actions and counter-factual conditions (Pakhalina 1975: 84, Bashir 2009: 839, Obrtelová forthc. 2019), as in Example (21).

(21) Жы бəчəш агар хбар нəйост, [W_B11: 6.4]
ẓ̌ы bəč=əš̌ agar xbar nə-wos-t
my uncle=IPFV if aware NEG-become-3SG

йузəмəш пдингту.
wuz=əm=əš̌ pdingtu
I=1SG=IPFV catch fire.PPF

*If my uncle hadn't woken up I would have caught fire.*

## 2.1.5. Non-finite verb forms

In Wakhi, two forms of infinitive or verbal nouns are described (see Example 22). The form made up of present stem + suffix *-ak*, according to Bashir (2009: 834), is more agent-focussed, and the form made by the suffix *-n* is more activity focussed. According to Lashkarbekov (2018: 84), the form with *-ak* is an infinitive, while the form made with the suffix *-n* is a verbal noun. He claims (ibid.: 85), however, that both forms, the infinitive and the verbal noun, are interchangeable and that the distinction is only based on the observation that the form with *-n* is gradually being used more as a verbal noun (ibid.).

(22) a. ǰoy-ak ‘to read’
b. ǰoy-n ‘reading’

In my corpus, the form with *-ak* (that I label as INF) is used far more frequently than the form with *-n* (that I label as INF2). The infinitive with *-ak* most often occurs in clause union constructions (syntactically complex single clauses). In such cases, the infinitive precedes the finite verb, as in Example (23).

(23) Бәт pə хун ӑəзяк [W_Z12: 1.4]
bət rə xun wəzy-ak
anymore to.down house come-INF

нəбасӑизит.
nə-baswizi-t
NEG-be able-3SG

*He was not able to return home anymore.*

The infinitive with *-ak* is also often used with the dative case suffix *-ər/-rək* expressing intention. It usually represents the predicate of a clause, as in Example (24).

(24) Ӈаӑакəрəт диқон ӽанд: [W_Z18: 6.10]
čaw-ak-ər=ət diqon ӽan-d
set off-INF-DAT=and farmer say-3SG

*(They were) about to leave and the farmer said: (...)*

The form with *-n* (INF2) does not occur as a single predicate in my corpus. Usually it occurs with a light verb (see Section 2.2.1.1 below) and functions as a verbal noun, as in Example (25).

(25) Ўузəм дə ныйн дəйтиəт ҳатəм: [W_B10: 5.3]
wuz=əm də ныw-n dəyt-i=ət ҳat=əm
I=1SG in cry-INF2 hit.PST-i=and say.PST=1SG

*I started crying and I said: (...)*

The present participle is described by Pakhalina (1975: 88), Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 602), Bashir (2009: 834), and Lashkarbekov (2018: 94) as formed from the infinitive (*-ak* form) by adding the suffix *-ызg/-кызg*. However, this form is not found in my corpus, though its presence in the Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan is attested.

The form described as a perfect participle by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 601) and Bashir (2009: 835), or as a past participle by Pakhalina (1975: 89) and Lashkarbekov (2018: 94), is made with the perfect stem + an adjectival suffix *-in/-ың* and expresses resultativity (Lashkarbekov 2018: 96). In this form and function, it also occurs in my corpus (Example 26), however, it is rather rare.

(26) Луп завəр то синфи ны мактаб [W_A05: 11.2]
lup za-v-ər to sinf-i ны maktab
big child-PL.OBL-DAT to class-EZ nine school

ҳəткин.
ҳətkin
make.PTCP

*There is a school made for big children up to grade nine.*

## 2.2. Sentence, clause, and clause combining in Wakhi

Wakhi syntax has been addressed briefly by Lorimer (1958), Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976), and Bashir (2009). Some syntactic topics were studied in more detail by Saidmamadov (1985). This section will offer a more detailed view, as well as some new insights based on the data in my corpus, and on selected topics in Wakhi syntax, namely those directly related to the present analysis. The definition of sentence units, and the boundaries and relations between them, are crucial for the segmentation of the text. The complexity of the syntactic structure will then also be a topic of the analysis of oral and written expressions in Wakhi and their comparison.

For the purpose of the present analysis of oral and written texts, the key syntactic units distinguished in the text structure will be clauses and sentences. A CLAUSE, as defined by Dixon (2010a: 93), is "the description of some activity,

state, or property". The required components of a clause are the predicate and some core arguments (Dixon 2010a: 333). A simple SENTENCE, according to Dixon (ibid.: 132) "has just a main clause. A complex sentence has one or more clauses linked together". However, defining a sentence is a more challenging task. Dixon notes some ambiguities in defining sentence boundaries. In written language, punctuation is a relatively reliable marker of a sentence boundary, although "the use of punctuation marks is variable from writer to writer and from style to style" (ibid.). Similarly, in spoken language, various languages may recognize sentence boundaries in various ways, such as by means of prosodic signals or grammatical markers.

Most broadly, clauses can be described as independent (main) clauses and various types of dependent (subordinate) clauses. According to Payne (1997: 306), "an independent clause is one that is fully inflected and capable of being integrated into discourse on its own", and "a dependent clause is one that depends on some other clause for at least part of its inflectional information". The combination of clauses then forms various types of coordinate or subordinate structures. In the following sub-sections I will describe and discuss the types of clauses and their combinations found in my Wakhi data corpus.

## 2.2.1. Independent clauses in Wakhi

In Wakhi, an independent clause typically consists of a predicate and core argument(s). The predicate can be simple, complex (with a light verb) or compound (serial verb construction). The predicate is usually represented by a conjugated finite verb or a verb phrase, but other types of predicates can also occur. These are, according to Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 662), various types of nominal predicates represented by nouns, adjectives, demonstratives and verbal nouns, such as infinitives, participles or gerunds; but also by locative adverbial expressions. They can occur with or without the copula. Constructions without the copula, or verbless predicates, are found frequently in Wakhi (Example 27).

(27) Нив явән дрәт фақат 60 гиктар змин. [W_A05: 11.7]
niv jav-ən drət faqat 60 giktar zmin
now they.OBL-ABL only 60 hectare field

*Now, they have only 60 hectares of fields there. [lit. 'Now, of them there only 60 hectares field.']*

The subject can be expressed by a noun phrase or can appear in the form of just a pronominal subject-marking suffix attached to the verb (Example 28), or a pronominal subject-marking enclitic attached to the verb or to any constituent preceding the verb.

(28) Цанән йәтви юндән Роштқла дә [W_A05: 5.2]
can-ən yət-vi yund-ən Roṣtqla də
from it-ABL DEM2-PL.OBL take-3PL Roshtqala in

“Зиндагони нав” нунг калхоз.
“Zindagoni nav” nung kalxoz
“New Life” name kolkhoz

*From there, (they) took them to Roshtqala, to the kolkhoz*[27] *named “New Life”.*

**2.2.1.1. Light verb constructions**

Like other Iranian languages and many languages of South Asia, Wakhi has light verb constructions (Korn 2016: 64).[28] These are complex predicates and consist of a nominal element and a verb. The verbs serving as light verbs in Wakhi are: *cərak/car*[29] ‘do’, *dingak/di* ‘hit, beat’, *goxăk/gox̌* ‘make, do’ *xəšak/xaš* ‘pull’, *itak/it* ‘eat’, *wɨdrak/wɨdr* ‘hold’, *kəṭak/kaṭ* ‘put’, *wocak/woc* ‘become’, *δɨrak/δɨr* ‘have, hold’ (Pakhalina 1975: 92, Bashir 2009: 833).

**2.2.1.2. Serial verb constructions**

In Wakhi, we find occurrences of serial verb constructions. According to Dixon (2010a: 109), these are constructions “where the predicate includes two (or more) verbs, each of which could make up a predicate on its own”. Bashir (2008: 65) defines a serial verb construction as “[a] sequence of finite verbs in the same tense/aspect, person and number, and having the same subject without an overt conjunctive element”. In written Wakhi texts, serial verbs are not separated by commas, a feature that distinguishes them from other multi-verb constructions that are separated by commas and treated as separate clauses. Serial verb constructions are distinguished by the absence of conjunctions connecting them. They also share at least one core argument. In oral narratives, serial verb constructions are identified by prosodic properties that distinguish them from other multi-verb constructions. In the case of serial verbs in oral expression, there is no intonational disruption or break; the series of verbs are spoken in one go.

As stated by Payne (1997: 307), the serial verb constructions “express various facets of one complex event”, and semantically, “often mean something slightly different than what the same series of verbs would mean if they were cast in separate clauses” (ibid.: 310). There is usually a set of verbs that in

[27] Collective farm in Soviet Union.

[28] In literature dealing with Indo-Aryan languages, these types of complex predicates are sometimes referred to as conjunct verbs (Hock et al. 2016: 549).

[29] Hereafter, when referring to Wakhi verbs in the neutral setting, the infinitive form (V-*ak*) will be used.

combination with any other verb make a serial verb construction and modify the head. According to Dixon (2010a: 109), "typically, these may indicate direction (e.g. 'come'), aspectual-type meanings (progressive or habitual), or they may code secondary concepts".

In Wakhi, the verbs forming serial verb constructions segment the main event into smaller units. Usually, they are verbs of motion *rəčak* 'go', *wəzyak* 'come', *čawak* 'leave', *ɣətak* 'arrive' (Example 29) or the verbs *dыrzak* 'take', *yundak* 'carry', *kəṭak* 'put', *dingak* 'hit', etc., as in Example (30). The verbs in the Wakhi serial verb construction do not have to be placed next to each other (Examples 29 and 31).

(29) И подщо ӳизит карт вул рəшт, [W_Z18: 1.6a]
i podšo wizi-t kar-t vul rəš-t
one king come-3SG put-3SG fragrance go-3SG

*One king performed the engagement ceremony [lit. 'came-put fragrance-went[30]'], (...)*

(30) да хы ӡəѓдəкəн и [W_Z18:2.19b-c]
d-a хы δəɣd-ək-ən i
with-DEM3 own daughter-DIM-ABL one

скəнəт и кӳот юнд каӈ тə
skən=ət i kwot yund kaṭ tə
puppy=and one young donkey take put in

и мала,
i mala
one room

*(...) put [lit. 'carry-put'] a puppy and a young donkey in a room with your daughter, (...)*

(31) Яӳищ ӳəзйəн ти хокхонаи [W_Z18: 2.7]
yawiš wəzy-ən ti хokхona-i
they come-3PL your the whole household-ACC

ғəлбил хашəн.
ɣəlbil хaš-ən
sieve pull-3PL

*They will come-tear up all your household like a sieve.*

[30]I.e. to perform the ceremony by kindling the ritual fragrance.

Similar types of multi-verb predicates are also found in other Iranian and many South Asian languages (Hock et al. 2016: 550). According to Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 495), what they call "conjunct verb constructions" "[a]lso known as serial verbs [...] are a salient feature of Tajik" and "they seem to have originated as calques on Turkic usage" (ibid.). Unlike the Wakhi serial verb constructions, which consist of two or three inflected finite verbs, in the Tajik construction, the non-finite past participle form of the main verb is followed by an inflected form of an auxiliary verb which adds an Aktionsart or adverbial nuance to the whole construction (ibid.).[31]

### 2.2.1.3. Modal constructions

A special case that needs to be addressed is a construction made of a fully inflected modality verb (in Wakhi, the verbs *kəcrak* and *baswəzyak* 'can / be able to') and a verbal complement of reduced finiteness, e.g., INF + modality verb, as in Example (32). In syntactic terms, the non-finite construction *rə xun wəzyak* 'come back home' is the argument of the finite conjugated head verb *nəbaswizit* 'is not able to'. The default position of the argument is pre-verbal. In the present study, this type of construction, that is, a modality verb having a non-finite (most often infinitive) verb as argument, will be treated as a clause union (syntactically complex single clause).

(32) Бәт pə хун ӂəзяк [W_Z12: 1.4]
bət rə xun wəzyak
anymore to.down house come.INF

нəбасӂизит.
nə-baswizi-t
NEG-be able to-3SG

*He was not able to return home anymore.*

On the other hand, there are instances where the modal construction will be treated as a two-clause construction. This is the case when the argument of the modality verb is a clause with a finite verb having at least one argument of its own. The default position of the argument – clause – is post-verbal and it typically represents a subordinate clause, albeit not necessarily, introduced by the complementizer (subordinator) *ki* (see 2.2.2.1 and Example 47). In Example (33), the first clause is analysed as a main clause, and the following one is analysed as a dependent complement clause.

[31] In Indo-Aryan terminology these are also referred to as compound verbs, as by Slade (2016: 559).

(33) tu aʒi baswəzy-a ki [O_EF: 51b-e]
you.SG such be able to-Q SUB

{mar i čiz goǩ}$_{SubC}$
to me one thing do

*Can you do something for me, (...)? [lit. 'are you able (to do) such that {you do one thing for me}?']*

**2.2.1.4. Multiple repetition of a verb**

Another special construction is made by a multiple repetition of the verb that can be translated as "keep doing something" (Example 34). The function of this construction is to mark the continuation or repetition of a certain action for a period of time. It may serve as a rhetorical device used in narratives. Although in written texts the repeated verbs are separated by commas, in the present study this type of construction will be treated as a single clause.

(34) я гушти оста-оста ит, ит, [W_Z12: 1.9b]
ya guṣt-i osta-osta i-t i-t
DEM3 meat-ACC gradually eat-3SG eat-3SG

ит, ит,
i-t i-t
eat-3SG eat-3SG

*gradually, he kept eating that meat (...) [lit. 'eat, eat, eat, eat']*

A similar construction in Balochi was identified and described by Nourzaei (2017: 150).

## 2.2.2. Subordinate constructions

Wakhi has only a small set of subordinators that are used for a wide range of syntactic functions. The two main general subordinators in Wakhi are *cə/cəy*[32] and *ki*. It is interesting to note the forms of the subordinators in the neighbouring languages. The subordinators described for some languages of the East Iranian group are *ce* and *če* in Pashto (Robson & Tegey 2009: 759), *če* in Parachi (Kieffer 2009: 713), and *ca* in Shughni. The latter is used for relative, adverbial temporal, concessive and conditional clauses (Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009b: 811) in the same way as the Wakhi subordinator *cə/cəy*. The

[32] In the corpus published by Obrtelová (2017), the subordinator *cə/cəy* was described as a relative particle and labelled REL. However, in this study I treat it as a subordinator and label it SUB.

neighbouring languages of the West Iranian group, such as Tajik/Persian/Dari (as well as other Western Iranian languages) widely use the subordinator *ki/ke* (Windfuhr & Perry 2009: 502). Therefore, the existence of the subordinator *ki* in Wakhi suggests that it probably made its way into Wakhi under the influence of neighbouring Western Iranian languages. There are indications that the Wakhi subordinator *cə/cəy* is gradually being complemented or replaced by the subordinators *ki* ('that'), *agar* ('if') and other borrowed subordinators.

The subordinator *cə* is always placed before the verb in the subordinate clause (Example 35). When there is no verb in the subordinate clause, the form *cəy* is used, in which case it is in clause-final position (Example 36). Occasionally it can occur in a subordinate clause with a verb, but in such cases its position is always post-verbal and clause-final, as in Example (37).

(35) Рӗор то пырз цə ғирдəм, [W_N05: 1.3]
{rwor to pɨrz cə ɣird=əm}$_{SubC}$
day until day SUB walk=1SG

шкор рӗоҷ нəвити.
ʂkor rwoǰ nə-vit-i
hunt success NEG-become-i

*{Even though I walked from morning till evening}*[33]*, I didn't find anything to hunt.*

(36) Щояд цə вдəкəн ӡиртəрəт учтəр цəй, [W_A02: 2.3]
{šoyad cə vdək-ən δirtər=ət učtər cəy}$_{SubC}$
perhaps from road-ABL farther=and higher SUB

кам халгищ а йəт қлаи ӗинəткəв.
kam xalg-iš a yət qla-i winətk=əv
few man-PL EMP DEM2 fortress-ACC see.PF=3PL

*{Perhaps as it is farther from the road and higher}, few people have seen this fortress.*

[33]The curly brackets { } in examples indicate the subordinate clause, which is labelled as SubC.

(37) Яйәш агар а я ранг нәтуәту [W_GF: 4.9a-b]
{yaw=əš agar a ya rang nə-tuətu
it=IPFV if EMP DEM3 way NEG-be.PPF

цәй,
сәу}$_{\text{SubC}}$
SUB

яйәш нәхнәту,
yaw=əš nə-xnətu
she=IPFV NEG-say.PPF

*{If it hadn't been that way}, she wouldn't have said (...).*

The subordinator *cə/cəy* is used in relative clauses as a relativizer (see Section 2.2.2.3), and in some adverbial clauses (see Section 2.2.2.2). Its use in complement clauses is not attested. Because of its position in the clause (pre-verbal or clause final), it can co-occur with the borrowed subordinators *ki* or *agar* ('if') without any clashes. In such cases, one of them can be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence. However, the presence of both seems to add more specification to the sentence in which they occur (Example 37).

It was noted by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 653) and Lashkarbekov (2018: 41) that *cə/cəy* can function as an indicator of subjunctive use. In my language data, the subordinator *cə/cəy* seems to add some modal dimension to the clause in which it occurs. This subordinator will need more attention and research, especially regarding its interaction with other subordinators with which it co-occurs.

The subordinator *ki* is used in a large variety of subordinate constructions, such as complement, adverbial, and relative clauses, and it can be translated into English with the words 'when', 'as', 'because', 'that', 'in order to', etc. The position of *ki* depends on its function in the clause.

In constructions with a complement clause, the position of the subordinator *ki* is always immediately preceding the complement clause (see also Section 2.2.2.1). In speech, *ki* forms a phonological unit with the main clause at the end of which it is placed, and is separated from the complement clause by a pause. In writing, the separation between the main and the subordinate complement clause is indicated by a comma that comes after *ki*, as shown in Example (38).[34]

[34] In the transliteration of some examples, the symbol // is used to indicate the clause break.

(38) Дидиғд ки, и мусфид да прыт. [W_Z18: 2.10]
didiɣ-d ki //{i musfid d-a pryt}$_{SubC}$
see-3SG SUB one old man in-DEM3 front

*He saw that {there (was) an old man in front of him}.*

This pattern, where a conjunction is an enclitic attaching to the end of the first of the connected clauses, is also observed in the coordinate construction with the conjunctions *x̌ə* and *=ət* ('and') (see Section 2.2.3), though the latter shows even more adhesion with the preceding element and therefore is explicitly marked with the enclitic marker. *Ki*, having a wider range of functions and positions, and showing a little less adhesion with the preceding element than is the case for *=ət* ('and'), will not be formally marked as an enclitic.

In adverbial clauses (see also Section 2.2.2.2), the subordinator *ki* has two possible positions. Adverbial temporal clauses are typically pre-nuclear, and in such cases, the subordinator *ki* is placed inside the subordinate clause, usually after the first constituent of the clause. The main clause is then separated from the temporal clause only by a pause in oral expression, or by a comma in written expression, as in Example (39).

(39) жы ӂахт ки ӂәзди, ян дищән. [W_Z03: 1.9e-f]
{ӂы waxt ki wəzd-i}//$_{SubC}$ yan dišən
my time SUB come.PST-i then know-3PL

*{When my time has come [lit. 'came']}, then they will know/understand.*

Other adverbial clauses with the subordinator *ki* are post-nuclear. The subordinator in such a construction forms a phonological unit with the main clause at the end of which it is placed, thus separating it from the adverbial clause, as in Example (40).

(40) саарӣ ӂахтәр гизән ки, [W_B08: 4.4b-c]
saarī waxtər giz-ən ki//
in the morning early get up-1PL SUB

тқи халг дра ҷам мәӂост.
{tqi xalg dra ǰam mə-wos-t}$_{SubC}$
many people gathered PROH-become-3SG

*We will get up early in the morning, so that {there are not too many people gathered there}.*

Relative clauses (see also Section 2.2.2.3) show a different pattern, and in them one of the subordinators *cə/cəy* often occurs together with the subordinator *ki*.

As mentioned above, the subordinator *cə/cəy* is placed in pre-verbal/clause-final position, while *ki* introduces the relative clause. In speech, *ki* makes a phonological unit with the relative clause and cannot be treated as an enclitic, which is a different pattern than what is observed in complement and adverbial clauses (Example 41).

(41) [W_GF: 1.1a]

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | дət | солови | ки | сакəш | дə | |
| a | d-ət | sol-o-vi// | {ki | sak=əš | də | |
| EMP | in-DEM2 | year-PL-PL.OBL | SUB | we=IPFV | in | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| C | зиндагӣ | цə | кəртəн... |
| S | zindagī | cə | kərt=ən}$_{SubC}$ |
| S. | living | SUB | do.PST=1PL |

*In those years {when we were living in S.} (...)*

Pakhalina (1975: 114) and Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 650) describe *ki* as not only a subordinator but also a coordinating conjunction. However, contrary to their claims, I regard *ki* solely as a subordinator. The types of examples given by Pakhalina (1975: 114) and Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 650) to support their claim are found also in my data corpus. However, I analyse the clauses introduced by *ki* as subordinate complement clauses (see Section 2.2.2.1, Example 46) or as syntactically focused (foregrounded) temporal clauses (see Section 2.2.2.2, Example 50).

The various functions of the subordinator *ki* in another Iranian language, Balochi, were investigated by Farrell (2005) from a Relevance-Theoretic perspective. Farrell tried to accommodate the wide variety of uses of *ki* in Balochi under one comprehensive term – the notion of "interpretive use", where *ki* "may be broadly analysed in all its uses as introducing a representation of another representation – a thought, utterance or state of affairs that could possibly be entertained" (Farrell 2005: 17). Farrell supports his claim by discussing the use of *ki* in Balochi as a relative, comparative, purpose, reason, time, disjunction marker, or speech introducer. In all of them, according to Farrell (ibid.: 2), *ki* can be understood as marking metarepresentation. Similarly, although with a narrowed focus on complement clauses reporting speech, Levinsohn (2012), using the same Relevance-Theoretic approach, describes *ki* in Balochi as an interpretive use marker. More discussion on the interpretation of *ki* in Wakhi as an interpretive use marker will be provided in the following section 2.2.2.1.

The subordinator *agar* ('if') is used in conditional clauses, and can co-occur with the subordinator *cə/cəy*, in which case *agar* is placed near the beginning of the conditional clause and *cə/cəy* in the pre-verbal or clause-final position, as in Example (37). Other subordinators used in Wakhi narratives are formed in combination with the subordinator *ki*, and will be discussed below.

### 2.2.2.1. Complement clauses

A complement clause is defined by Dixon (2010b: 370) as a dependent (subordinate) clause "which fills an argument slot in the structure of another clause". In traditional terminology, the subordinator *ki* in the complement constructions can be described as a complementizer. As was mentioned above, Farrell (2005) and Levinsohn (2012) claim that, in Balochi, the subordinator *ki* has a role of interpretive use marker.

In Wakhi, the most frequent type of complement clause is a clause representing object arguments of complement-taking verbs such as verbs of speaking, thinking or perception: *x̌ənak* 'say', *naql cərak* 'tell', *pərsak* 'ask', *nwišak* 'write', *xyol cərak* 'assume', *fiqr cərak* 'think', *didy̌ak* 'watch, see', *vinak/ winak* 'see', *kṣ̌ыyak* 'hear', *dišak* 'understand, know', etc. Such complement clauses are post-nuclear and are separated from the main clause by the subordinator *ki*, which is an enclitic and forms a phonological unit with the verb (in clause-final position) of the main clause. *Ki* is followed by a comma in written texts, or by a pause in oral texts (Example 42). The Wakhi subordinator *cə/cəy* is not used in complement clauses.

(42) Йəм татнанищ, йəм хиштборищ [W_Z12: 2.2]
уəm tatnan-iš уəm xištbor-iš
DEM1 parents-PL DEM1 relative-PL

хёлəв кəрк ки,
xyol=əv kərk ki //
assuming=3PL do.PF SUB

яв̆ алба мəрткəй.
{yaw alba mərtk-əy}$_{CC}$
he perhaps die.PF-i

*His [lit. 'these'] parents, his [lit. 'these'] relatives thought {perhaps that he had died}.*

This type of construction is also used in reported speech. The clause introducing the reported speech is the main clause taking the reported speech utterance as a subordinate complement clause (argument of the verb of speech). The reported speech does not necessarily need to be introduced by *ki*. In Wakhi, there is no distinction between direct and indirect speech in terms of deictic forms. Normally, all reported utterances appear in the form of verbatim quotations[35] of what was said. A deictic shift (DS) occurs in these utterances affecting

[35]Not all such occurrences of reported speech are verbatim quotations in meaning, but they share the same form as those that are verbatim quotations. More discussion on how distancing from the direct speech effect is achieved in Wakhi is found Section 5.2.3.1.

the form of the pronouns and verbs. In Example (43) *i xalg* ‘one man’, indicated by 3SG verb ending, shifts in reported speech to the 1SG pronoun *wuz* ‘I’. Similarly, the woman referred to by a 3SG pronoun *yaw* ‘she’ (‘to her’) is addressed with a vocative form and with a 2SG possessive pronoun *ti* ‘your’. The verb form used for referring to the event-line in the narration (non-tense, not anchored in the deictic centre) changes when it refers to the action in direct speech (past tense, anchored in the deictic centre of the story).

(43) И рӑвор и халг ӑзитэт [W_N01: 2.1]
i rwor i xalg wizi-t=әt
one day one man come-3SG=and

яӑәр хӑанд:
yaw-әr xӑan-d
she-DAT say-3SG

„Э нанӌон, ӑуз флонӣ, шарәм
{e nanǰon wuz flonī šar=әm
VOC dear mother I so-and-so town=1SG

ту, ти пәтри виндәм.
tu ti pәtr-i vind=әm}$_{DS}$
be.PST your son-ACC see.PST=1SG

*One day a man came [V] and said [V] to her: “Mother, I am so and so, I was [PST] in the city, I saw [PST] your son.”*

However, some of these reported utterances are linked with the main clause by *ki*, and some are not. In the published Wakhi texts, these two types of complement clauses are distinguished by different punctuation. While the clauses without the complementizer are usually formally treated by the Wakhi writers/editors as direct speech, that is, using quotation marks (44), the clauses introduced by the complementizer *ki* are formally treated as indirect speech (45), with only a comma separating them from the main clause and the complementizer. Nevertheless, in the unpublished written Wakhi texts, both types of reported speech (with or without *ki*) often occur without the quotation marks, as if they were formally examples of indirect speech. It is possible that the Wakhis do not make a strict distinction between direct and indirect speech because both are expressed in the same way. In fact, the quotation marks are visible only in written texts, and even there they are not used consistently. Otherwise, the only difference would be the presence or the absence of the complementizer *ki*.

(44) Йәт кәмпир ға дә чәрт [W_N01: 6.1]
yət kəmpir ɣa də čərt
DEM2 old woman very in thought

ӆостәт ӽанд:
wos-t=ət ӽan-d
become-3SG=and say-3SG

"Э татӌон, яӆ жы пәтрәт жы зман
{e tatǰon yaw ẓ̌ы pətr=ət ẓ̌ы zman
VOC dear father he my son=and my child
нәтуәтк
nə-tuətk}$_{DS}$
NEG-be.PF

*The old woman paused in thought and said: "Dear son [lit. 'father' – a respectful form of address], he won't be my son and my child (...)"*

(45) Я ӡай ӽанд ки, [W_N01: 5]
ya δay ӽan-d ki
DEM3 man say-3SG SUB

э нанӌон, ти пәтр ӽикӆори рымшәтк
{e nanǰon ti pətr ӽikwor-i rымṣ̌ətk}$_{DS}$
VOC dear mother your son Wakhi-ACC forget.PF

*The man said: [lit. 'that'] "Mother, your son has forgotten Wakhi (...)"*

A similar pattern has been identified in Balochi by Levinsohn (2012: 147) who claims that when *ki*, as an interpretive use marker "introduces a reported speech, the speech is to be understood not as a description of what was said on a particular occasion, but rather as a representation of an utterance or thought" (ibid.: 147). Further (ibid.: 153) he claims that "[r]eported speeches in Balochi that are introduced with *ki* are not classified as indirect, since they retain first and second person pronominal references. Nevertheless, they tend to behave like indirect speeches as far as grounding is concerned". In this regard, the complementizer *ki*, as used in introducing Wakhi reported speech, functions as "an interpretive use marker" as described by Levinsohn.

A more unusual type is a complement clause that is the argument of an elided verb of perception. It is unusual in that it occurs with a verb that normally does not take an object argument. This is why the interpretation of such clauses is

not without a certain ambiguity. As mentioned above, Pakhalina (1975: 114) and Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 650) interpret such constructions as coordinate. The sentence (ibid.) *saar wəzdi ki ič kuy dra nast* is translated as 'пришёл утром, а там никого нет' ('he came in the morning and/but there is nobody there'). While the translation makes perfect sense as a coordinate construction in both Russian and English, we should not neglect the fact that in Wakhi, the two clauses are connected with *ki*, which is widely used in all types of subordinate constructions in Wakhi. For coordination, Wakhi has other conjunctions (see Section 2.2.3) that could easily have been used here if the construction had been meant to be coordinate. This can challenge the analysis of this type of construction as coordinate. In fact, we are not analysing the language of the translation, but the vernacular language, which may not exactly fit the expected typological criteria. In this study, I prefer to analyse this construction as a subordinate complement construction, as is demonstrated in the following example (46).

(46) чирмит та мала ки, [W_Z18: 3.1c-d]
čirmit ta mala ki
enter-3SG in-DEM3 room SUB

дра тру хəщруй хəщруй прчод,
{dra tru xəšruy xəšruy prčod}$_{CC}$
THERE3 three pretty pretty girl

*(...) he entered the room (and saw) that {there (were) three very pretty girls}, (...)*

The clause introduced by *ki* is analysed as a subordinate complement clause. However, it is not the complement of the verb "enter". It is the argument of an elided verb of perception, as is shown in the free translation in English. Such ellipsis occurs frequently in Wakhi. The pattern of such construction is: elided verb of perception + *ki* + the situation that is perceived (seen, heard, thought). This analysis can also be applied to the examples given by Pakhalina (1975: 114) and Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 650), and shows that what was analysed as a coordinate construction with *ki* may in fact be a subordinate complement clause following an elided verb of perception and the complementizer *ki*. That this analysis does not go against similar patterns in Iranian languages is shown in the discussion by Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 516) about the non-canonical use of the complementizer *ke* in the colloquial register in Persian. Rather than identifying it as a distinct non-subordinating enclitic, they prefer to explain it as en elliptic construction which, they claim, is typical for the colloquial register. Examples of constructions with an elided verb

of perception are found in the Balochi text corpus (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 366–367, clauses 11–12 and 13–14).

If we consider Levinsohn's interpretation of *ki* as an interpretive use marker in this construction, we can see parallels here as well, in that it indicates "a representation of an utterance or thought" (Levinsohn (2012: 154), or describes "a state of affairs" (Levinsohn 2015a: 117). Levinsohn (2012: 151 & 154) also points to the backgrounding pragmatic effect of the interpretive use marker *ki*. This interpretation of the backgrounding effect of *ki* in Wakhi can very well be applied to the reported speeches, as well as to the clauses that are arguments of an elided verb of perception.

Another type of complement clause in Wakhi is a clause that is a complement of a modality verb. This type of complement clause can occur with (Example 33 above) or without the preceding complementizer (Example 47). The arguments of the two modality verbs/expressions *majbur wocən* 'be/become forced' (47a) and *ijozat randəv* 'give permission' (47b) are finite verbs with their own arguments, and therefore they are analysed as complement clauses.

(47) a. Охирон маҷбур ӗоцән то Москва [W_A05: 8.1]
oxiron majbur woc-ən {to Moskva
finally forced become-3PL to Moscow

ариза нӗвищән (...),
ariza nwiš-ən}$_{CC}$ (...)
request write-3PL SUB

*Finally, they were forced {to write [lit. 'we write'] a request to Moscow} (...)*

b. сакәр иҷозат рандәв, рәӵән ӽы ҷайәр.
sak-ər ijozat rand-əv {rəǰ-ən ӽы ǰay-ər}$_{CC}$
we-DAT permission give-2PL go-1PL own place-DAT

*Give us permission {to go [lit. 'we go'] back to our place}.*

As mentioned above, the unmarked position of a complement clause is post-nuclear. The complement clause may also be pre-posed, in which case it is topicalized and functions as a point of departure[36] for the main clause, as in Example (48).

[36]Point of departure, as defined by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 35), "designates an initial element, often fronted or left-dislocated, which cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e., to something accessible in the hearer's mental representation)".

(48) А йәт бу сол црәнг щәхәсти, [W_N30: 2.10]
{a yət bu sol crəng šəxəsti}$_{CC}$
EMP DEM2 two year how pass.PST-i

ӑуз дищәмәт жы Хәдо.
wuz diš-əm=ət ẓy Xədo
I know-1SG=and my God

*{How those two years passed}, I and my God know.*

**2.2.2.2. Adverbial clauses**

Adverbial clauses are distinguished from complement clauses in that "they are not complements because they do not constitute logical arguments of the main verb; rather, they simply add 'adverbial' information" (Payne 1997: 317). Like adverbs, adverbial clauses can express time, location, manner, purpose, condition, concession, etc. It must be noted, however, that in Wakhi, the distinction between complement, relative and adverbial clauses is not always clear. The use of a single subordinator *ki* in different contexts sometimes allows more than one interpretation of the subordinate clause. Some cases of ambiguous interpretation are discussed in Section 2.2.2.4. The following patterns of adverbial clauses have been found in my data corpus.

TEMPORAL CLAUSES in Wakhi can be pre-nuclear or post-nuclear. When the temporal clause is pre-nuclear, the subordinator is placed inside the subordinate clause. A typical unmarked temporal (WHEN) clause is pre-nuclear and reflects the temporal sequence of the actions, as in Example (49), repeated from (39). Bashir (2009: 851) describes this type of construction in Wakhi as referring to simultaneous actions/events.

(49) жы ӑахт ки ӑәзди, ян дищән. [W_Z03: 1.9e-f]
{ẓy waxt ki wəzdi}$_{TEMP}$ yan dišən
my time SUB come.PST-i then know-3PL

*{When my time has come [lit. 'came']}, then they will understand.*

A similar type of temporal construction with the subordinator *ki* has been identified in the Balochi language by Jahani & Korn (2009: 681) and Farrell (2005: 8). In Pashto (Robson & Tegey 2009: 763) and Parachi (Kieffer 2009: 714), temporal clauses show the same structure with the subordinator *če*. Such temporal clauses typically provide a point of departure for the following statement.

When the temporal clause is post-nuclear, the subordinating conjunction *ki* is placed between the main and the subordinate clause, and forms a phonological unit with the main clause. This is the type of construction where the main

clause describes an ongoing action or situation, and the subordinate clause describes an event that interrupts or happens during the action in the main clause (Example 50). Bashir (2009: 852) describes it as a construction referring to a punctual event. Such a construction has also been described for Persian and Tajik, by Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 522), as a syntactically focused clause, a syntactic operation "that involves the switch of the subordinator between two clauses". In this study, this type of post-posed temporal clause introduced by *ki* will be analysed in discourse-pragmatic terms as a highlighted (foregrounded) subordinate clause, with the main clause being backgrounded. As Hwang (1990: 69 in Levinsohn 2015a: 75) claims, "[p]ost-nuclear subordinate clauses often contain theme-line information".

(50) А ранг ӆшык ӆшык алдән ки [W_A04: 2.9]
a rang wṣ̆ık wṣ̆ık ald=ən ki
EMP manner fear fear remain.PST=1PL SUB

соати 4 и мощин - Самосвал ӆəзди.
{soat-i 4 i mošin - Samosval wəzd-i}$_{TEMP}$
hour-EZ 4 one car - Samosval come.PST-i

*This way we remained scared, when {at 4 o'clock a vehicle – Samosval [type of a heavy truck] came}.*

Another pattern for expressing temporal relations is an infinitive construction, as in Examples (51) and (52). The BEFORE relation expressed by a construction 'until' + INF (+DAT) is demonstrated in Example (53). Temporal relations involving the infinitive are only pre-nuclear.

(51) Охирон шуми торик ӆоцакəр [W_GF: 3.10a-b]
{oxiron ṣumi torik wocak-ər}$_{TEMP}$
finally in the evening dark become.INF-DAT

и лой дгар шфанир барəв əї
i loy dgar ṣfanir bar=əv əṭ
one time other wardrobe door=3PL open

кəрти,
kərt-i
do.PST-i

*{Finally, in the evening when it was getting dark}, they opened the wardrobe door one more time (...),*

(52) А я даӂра тәр саветӣ наг щәхсак, [W_A05: 4.2]
{a ya dawra tər savetī nag šəxsak}$_{\text{TEMP}}$
EMP DEM3 era to Soviet side pass.INF

5, 7, 10, 12, солаәв туәтк.
5 7 10 12 sola=əv tuətk
5 7 10 12 years old=3PL be.PF

*At that time when they were passing to the Soviet side,*
*they were 5, 7, 10 and 12 years old.*

(53) Дәӂраои ға тәр мис то русви [W_A03: 2.1a-b]
{dəwra-o-i ɣa tər mis to rus-vi
era-PL-EZ very early until Russian-PL.OBL

ӂәзякәр
wəzyak-ər}$_{\text{TEMP}}$
come.INF-DAT

цәм ца наг ғоратгарищ
c-əm c-a nag ɣoratgar-iš
from-DEM1 from-DEM3 side bandit-PL

ӂәзгәв халгәвәш юткәт
wəzg=əv xalg=əv=əš yutk=ət
come.PF=3PL people=3PL=IPFV lead away=and

*{In times long ago, before the coming of the Rus-*
*sians}, from this or that side robbers used to come,*
*lead the people away and (...)*

There are not many subordinate clauses expressing CAUSE/REASON in my corpus. Those that exist are usually introduced with the conjunction *аʒi ki* ('because, since, as'; this should not be confused with the other constructions with *аʒi* which will be discussed below). Typically, they are in post-nuclear position, as in Example (54), repeated from (1). They can also form sentences on their own and provide a cause/reason for something stated in the larger context, as in (55). Occasionally, a cause/reason subordinate clause may appear in pre-nuclear position, as in (56). However, since there is only one occurrence of this type of clause, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about this pattern. It is possible that, like in temporal clauses, the position of *аʒi ki* in such pre-nuclear cause/reason subordinate clauses is following the topical subject. Alternatively, a construction borrowed from Tajik *broi (on) ki* ('because') can

be used, but in my corpus this is found only in oral narratives. Example (57), like (55) refers to the context.

(54) Змистон юпки вандән, [W_A01: 1.8]
zmiston yupk-i vand-ən
winter water-ACC shut-3PL

аӣи ки цə сыриəн ӑодищ ихӑ
{aʒi ki cə sɨri-ən wod-iš iχ
because from cold-ABL irrigation canal-PL ice

царəн.
car-ən}$_{SubC}$
do-3PL

*In winter, the water is shut off {because the irrigation ditches freeze in the cold}.*

(55) Аӣи ки явищ а наѓд ки йəтищ цə [W_A05: 4.6]
aʒi ki yawiš a naɣd ki yət-iš cə
because they EMP night SUB DEM2-PL SUB

рəдəн,
rəd-ən
escape-3PL

дəм да хиш-тборви хунəв
d-əm d-a xiṣ̌-tbor-vi xun=əv
in-DEM1 in-DEM3 relative-PL.OBL house=3PL

туəтк.
tuətk
be.PF

*(It is) because on the night when those escaped, they were here and there with their relatives.*

(56) Яв бәч, <u>ази ки</u> химик ё биологи [W_GF: 2.6]
yaw bəč <u>{azi ki</u> ximik yo biolog-i
her uncle because chemist or biologist-EZ

номиәт малими бақ̆ват ки ту,
nomi=әt malim-i baqwat ki tu}$_{SubC}$
famous=and teacher-EZ strong SUB be.PST

яв дә жы ёд в̆рәх̆к.
yaw dә ẑy yod wәrәx̆k
he in my memore remain.PF

*Her uncle, {<u>because/since</u> he was a famous chemist or biologist and a great teacher}, he has remained in my memory.*

(57) <u>broi on ki</u> ya vayin-iš sak-ər rәt=әv [O_6S: 120]
because DEM3 soldier-PL we-DAT give.PST=3PL

*(It is) <u>because</u> those soldiers used to give (it) to us.*

There are two ways that PURPOSE or GOAL subordinate clauses can be formed. One is to form a purpose/goal subordinate clause by means of an infinitive construction (it can appear with or without the dative case suffix), in which case it immediately follows the main clause, as in Example (58). The second way is using the subordinator *ki*, in which case the purpose/goal subordinate is in the subjunctive mood, which is explicitly marked only on the forms that allow a distinct subjunctive form, such as the prohibitive particle *mә-*, as in Example (59), or the verb *ытыы/ытту* 'be', as in Example (60). The subjunctive mood indicates a 'wish', the purpose/goal not being realized so far.

(58) Қап царт Рухщонаи [W_A02: 4.25]
qap car-t Ruxšona-i
seize do-3SG Rukhshona-ACC

сә х̆ы ящ <u>кәӈакәр</u>.
{sә х̆ы yaš <u>kәṭak-ər</u>}$_{SubC}$
on own horse put.INF-DAT

*He seized Rukhshona {in order to put her on his horse}.*

(59) саарӣ ӽахтəр гизəн ки, [W_B08: 4.4b-c]
saarī waxtər giz-ən ki
in the morning early get up-1PL SUB

тқи халг дра ҷам мəӽост.
{tqi xalg dra ǰam mə-wos-t}$_{SubC}$
many people gathered PROH-become-3SG

*We will get up early in the morning, {so that there are not too many people gathered there}.*

(60) Сакəн дəо кəртəн ки, [W_N30: 3.2a-b]
sak=ən dəo kərt=ən ki
we=1PL prayer do.PST=1PL SUB

яв тан сиат, яв руй сəкр
{yav tan siat yav ruy səkr
their body healthy their face red

ымыт,
ымы-t}$_{SubC}$
be.SBJV-3SG

*We said the prayer, {may [lit. 'that'] their bodies be well, their faces happy}, (...)*

CONCESSIVE subordinate clauses in Wakhi are usually pre-nuclear and are formed with a quantifier and the subordinator *cə/cəy*, as in Example (61). The subordinator *ki* is not used in concessive clauses.

(61) а тум дəм халгви бар [W_N28: 1.2b-c]
{a tum d-əm xalg-vi bar
EMP as much in-DEM1 people-PL.OBL door

цə рəшт,
сə rəš-t}$_{SubC}$
SUB go-3SG

əч куй яӣи тə ӽы хун нəлəцəрт.
əč kuy yaw-i tə ӽы xun nə-ləcər-t
nobody he-ACC in own house NEG-let-3SG

*(...) {however much he knocked on the people's doors}, nobody allowed him into their house.*

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES in Wakhi have several possible patterns. They can be constructed with the subordinator *cə/cəy* or with the conditional subordinator *agar* borrowed from Tajik, or with both. Furthermore, the conditional clauses may show different degrees on the scale irrealis – counter-factual (hypothetical)[37], which is expressed by the use of different verb tense and aspectual forms. For the counter-factual condition, the IPFV marking enclitic *=əṣ̌* is used in both the subordinate and the main clause. The following three examples show counter-factual conditional clauses (62), (63) and (64). Irrealis conditional clauses are not very frequent in Wakhi narratives. An example of an irrealis conditional clause is illustrated in (65). Conditional clauses are usually pre-nuclear, followed by the main clause.

(62) агар ти щачэш нэтуэту, [W_B18: 6.2c-d]
{agar ti šač=əṣ̌ nə-tuətu}$_{SubC}$
if your dog=IPFV NEG-be.PPF

сакэнэш нив ти чроғи пицвэту.
sak=ən=əṣ̌ niv ti čroɣ-i picvətu
we=1PL=IPFV now your lamp-ACC burn.PPF

*(...) {if your dog hadn't been there}, we would had now been mourning*[38] *you.*

(63) Яв̌эш жы пэтр цэ туэту, [W_N01: 6.2].
{yaw=əṣ̌ ẓ̌ы pətr cə tuətu}$_{SubC}$
he=IPFV my son SUB be.PPF

х̌ы татэт нан зики
х̌ы tat=ət nan zik-i
own father=and mother language-ACC

нэромоштиш.
nə-romoṣ̌t-i=ṣ̌
NEG-forget.PST-i=IPFV

*{If he had been my son}, he wouldn't have forgotten his mother and father's language.*

[37] I follow the classification presented by Givón (2001: 331), who defines the irrealis conditionals as those falling "under the scope of non-fact modality" and whose "truth value depends on the truth value of their associated main clause." Counter-factual (hypothetical) conditional clauses, in this classification, are defined as "propositions that could, would or should have been true — if other propositions were also true. But since those other propositions turn out to be false, the conditionally-marked proposition is also false" (ibid.: 332).

[38] Lit. 'light the lamp' – a ceremony performed on the third night after the funeral.

(64) Яйəш агар а я ранг нəтуəту [W_GF: 4.9a-b]
{yaw=əš agar a ya rang nə-tuətu
it=IPFV if EMP DEM3 way NEG-be.PPF

цəй,
сəу}$_{SubC}$
SUB

яйəш нəхнəту,
yaw=əš nə-xnətu
she=IPFV NEG-say.PPF

*{If it hadn't been that way}, she wouldn't have said (...)*

(65) Халг бафӣ цə царт, [W_B18: 6.18]
{xalg bafī cə car-t}$_{SubC}$
man good SUB do-3SG

нəғəрдум бə яй бафии пщыйд.
nəɣərdum bə yaw bafi-i pšyw-d
bear ADD his good-ACC return-3SG

*{If a man does good}, a bear also returns his good (deed).*

The conditional subordinator *agar* is typically placed within the conditional clause, usually closer to the beginning, after a topical first constituent (Examples 63 and 64). This pattern is similar to the position of *ki* in the temporal clauses discussed above (39). However, *agar* can also be in clause-initial position, which sometimes can indicate focalization of the following element (see the focalized 'dog' in Example 62), or it can copy the Tajik clause structure.

In Wakhi, however, in the conditional clauses, the subordinator *cə/cəy* is used more frequently, and its occasional parallel use with the conditional subordinator *agar* suggests that the latter has been adopted into Wakhi from Tajik. The position of *cə* in the subordinate clause is before the verb (Example 63), while *cəy* is placed after the verb (Example 64). If both conditional subordinators are present in the conditional clause, the subordinator *agar* is always placed before *cə/cəy*, as illustrated in Examples (63) and (64).

In addition, there are construction with *aʒi* intensifying an adjective, adverb or a verb in the main clause conveying the meaning 'so, in such a way' and the clause introduced by the subordinator *ki* is a RESULT or EFFECT (also known as "consecutive") subordinate adverbial clause, as illustrated in Example (66).

(66) Аӷи шух рам даст [W_B04: 2.4a-b, unpublished]
аʒi ṣux r-am dast
in such way hard to.down-her hand

дәйт ки,
dəy-t ki
hit-3SG SUB

яв даст шкәлтәт
{yaw dast ṣkəl-t=ət}$_{SubC}$
her hand break-3SG=and

*He hit her so hard on her hand that*
*{her hand broke and (...)}*

There are other types of constructions with *aʒi*, such as *aʒi bə təy ki* ('it is also the case that'), which introduces a complement clause (see Section 2.2.2.1), not an adverbial clause, as in Example (67).

(67) Аӷи бә тәй ки, [W_A05: 7.8]
aʒi bə təy ki
such ADD is SUB

цә и хунән труй цбыр нфарәт
{cə i xun-ən truy cbır nfar=ət
from one house-ABL three four person=and
а дәт қәщлоқ и рвор 10–11
a d-ət qəšloq i rwor 10–11
EMP in-DEM2 village one day 10–11

нфарәш мирит.
nfar=əš mir-it}$_{SubC}$
person=IPFV die-3SG

*It is also the case that {from one house three–four people and in that village 10–11 people are dying in one day}.*

Another similar construction is *aʒi ... ki* ('so/such/in such a way ... that') where *aʒi* (here meaning 'such') is followed by a noun. The subordinate clause introduced by the subordinator *ki* in such a case is a relative clause, as in Examples (68) and (69); see Section 2.2.2.3.

(68) аӣи прчод ки, [W_Z18: 6.11c-d]
аʒi prčod ki
such girl SUB

ғаш йəмəн тəйəт сдо наст.
{ɣaš yəm-ən təy = ət sdo nast}$_{SubC}$
mouth DEM1-ABL is=and sound is not

*(...) (she is) a girl that {has a mouth but doesn't say a word}.*

(69) Амо дə аӣи ҷайəв туəтк ки, [W_A05: 5.4]
amo də aʒi ǰay = əv tuətk ki
but in such place=3PL be.PF SUB

дра əчəк юпк наст.
{dra əčək yupk nast}$_{SubC}$
THERE3 by no means water is not

*But they were in such a place where [lit. 'that'] {there was no water at all}.*

**2.2.2.3. Relative clauses**

A relative clause is defined by Dixon (2010a: 93) as a clause "which modifies the head of an NP that fills an argument slot in another clause". The two above mentioned subordinators, *ki* and *cə/cəy*, are also used as relativizers. A relative clause can be formed with either of them (Examples 70 and 73). They can also occur together, in which case *ki* marks the beginning of the relative clause while *cə/cəy* immediately precedes or follows the verb (Examples 71 and 72). In such constructions, where both relativizers occur together, *ki* can usually be omitted.

(70) Ян я нунгви яв цә хати, [W_GF: 4.7]
yan ya nung-vi {yaw cə xa-ti}$_{RC}$
then DEM3 name-PL.OBL she SUB say.PST-i

а ранг халгищ бәт дә дәнёәв
a rang xalg-iš bət də dənyo=əv
EMP manner people-PL anymore in world=3PL

наст
nast
is not

*Then, those names {that she said}, people like that are not in this world anymore (...)*

(71) Аӷи ки явищ а наґд [W_A05: 4.6]
aʒi ki yawiš a naɣd
because they EMP night

ки йәтищ цә рәдән,
{ki yət-iš cə rəd-ən}$_{RC}$
SUB DEM2-PL SUB escape-3PL

дәм да хиш-тборви хунәв
d-əm d-a xiṣ-tbor-vi xun=əv
in-DEM1 in-DEM3 relative-PL.OBL house=3PL

туәтк.
tuətk
be.PF

*(It's) because on the night {when those escaped}, they were here and there with their relatives.*

(72) а дəм Щтхарв а да ҷай [W_N28: 1b–c]
a d-əm Štxarv a d-a ǰay
EMP in-DEM2 Shitkharv EMP in-DEM3 place

ки, мис щлах žанəт нив луп
{ki mis šlax δan=ət niv lup
SUB previously bare wasteland=and now big

ҷəнгал цəй,
ǰəngal cəy}RC
forest SUB

дə қдим ӂахт сисадə щастə щащ
də qdim waxt sisadə šastə šaš
in old time three hundred and sixty six

бна туəтк.
bna tuətk
household be.PF

*(...) in Shitkharv, in that place {that (was) formerly a bare wasteland and where now (there is) a big forest}, in the past there were three hundred and sixty-six households.*

Typically, relative clauses in Wakhi are post-nominal; they immediately follow the NP (head) they modify. In Wakhi, there are instances where another constituent is placed between the head and the relative clause, as in Example (73). Such postposing of the relative clause suggests focal prominence. A similar pattern has been found for Persian relative clauses (Zeynali Dastuyi 2018: 61) and is also described for Balochi (Jahani forthcoming: Section 5.5.2).

(73) дəр бораи а йəт қлави бази [W_A02: 1.6]
dər borai a yət qla-vi bazi
about EMP DEM2 fortress-PL.OBL some

риӽоятищ бə тəй
riwoyat-iš bə təy
legend-PL ADD is

ки, цə аӽлодəн тəр аӽлод
{ki cə awlod-ən tər awlod
SUB from generation-ABL to generation

ӽрəӽк.
wrəӽk}$_{RC}$
remain.PF

*(...) there are also some legends about those fortresses, {which have been preserved from generation to generation}.*

In Wakhi, we also find headless relative clauses, i.e. relative clauses with no overt head in either the main or relative clause, as in Example (74).

(74) 99 фоиз а дрəт зиндагӣ цə [W_A05: 11.8]
{99 foiz a drət zindagī cə
99 percent EMP THERE2 living REL

царəн, кы ӽик.
car-ən}$_{RC}$ кы ӽik
do-3PL all Wakhi

*{99 percent (of those who) live there} are Wakhi.*

The majority of Wakhi relative clauses are restrictive, such as in Examples (70) or (71). Non-restrictive relative clauses (Examples 73 or 75) are less frequent.

(75) Təй цəқлай қлаищ ки, [W_A02: 1.5]
təy cəqlay qla-iš ki
is small fortress-PL SUB

дəр бораи яв камтəр малумот ӽəзг.
{dər borai yav kamtər malumot wəzg}$_{RC}$
about they.OBL less information come.PF

*There are smaller fortresses, {about which [lit. 'that about them'] less information has been preserved [lit. 'has come']}.*

**2.2.2.4. Subordinate clauses with ambiguous interpretations**

It has been noted in 2.2.2.2 that the distinction between different types of subordinate clauses, as they have been described above, is not always clear. The general subordinator *ki* can be used in various types of subordinate constructions, and its interpretation depends mostly on context and on the perspective and understanding of the analyst. The following are some examples of ambiguous interpretations, in terms of the syntactic description presented above. In Example (76), the subordinate clause can be interpreted as a highlighted (foregrounded) temporal clause or as a complement clause with an elided verb of perception. Both interpretations make sense in the given context. There are many similar constructions in my corpus.

(76) Камək хамəн ки, [W_B18: 3.5]
kamək xam-ən ki
a little go down-3PL SUB

пуп Зафар щач явəр дəйт
{pup Zafar šač yav-ər dəy-t
grandfather Zafar dog they.OBL-DAT hit-3SG

дичор.
dičor}$_{SubC}$
facing

*1) They went down a little bit when (suddenly) Grandfather Zafar's dog appeared in front of them.*
*2) They went down a little bit (and saw) that Grandfather Zafar's dog appeared in front of them.*

Example (77) is a construction where the subordinate clause is introduced by *azi ki*, but it is different from the conjunction *azi ki* ('because') described

above. Here *aʒi* is an adverb meaning ‘such, in such a way’ and *ki* is the subordinator. Such a construction can be interpreted as a complement clause with *ki* introducing the argument of the assertion “our wish is such that...”, but it can also be interpreted as a purpose clause, which is supported by the use of the prohibitive particle *mə-*, instead of the indicative form *nə-* that would have been used in a manner or result adverbial clause.

(77) Спо армон аӂи ки, [W_A05: 12.2]
spo armon aʒi ki
our wish such SUB

бәт әчәк хорәт зор
{bət əčək xorət zor
anymore by no means suffering
мәӗоцән,
mə-woc-ən}$_{SubC}$
PROH-become-3PL

*1) Our wish is such [lit. ‘that’]: “May they never suffer (...)”*
*2) Our wish is such that they (should) never suffer (...)*

There are other unusual constructions where the interpretation of the main clause is disputable. In Examples (78) and (79), the clauses following the subordinator *ki* appear to be subordinate, highlighted (foregrounded) temporal clauses. The clauses which are formally expected to be main clauses are backgrounded non-finite constructions (infinitive, and infinitive+dative case marker).

(78) Пәрсими хәмак ки, [W_B09: 5.6]
pərsimi xəmak ki
beginning go down.INF SUB

чәрха ӗост.
{čərxa wos-t}
rock fall become-3SG

*1) He had started descending when a rock fall came.*
*2) As he started descending, (he saw) that a rock fall came.*

(79) Ца бланд кузән хәмакәр [W_A04: 4.4]
c-a bland kuz-ən xəmak-ər
from-DEM3 high truck-ABL go down.INF-DAT

ки,
ki
SUB

кы тлапас ӑазәнәш а ра
{kы tlapas waz-ən=əṣ a r-a
all flat fall-1PL=IPFV EMP to down-DEM3

бән.
bən}
down

*1) We are about to go down from the high cargo bed when we all fall down flat.*
*2) When going down from the high cargo bed we are all falling down flat.*

Example (80) appears to consist of two subordinate clauses. The second clause is introduced by the subordinator *ki*, and thus is formally interpreted as a subordinate clause. However, the first clause, which is formally expected to be the main clause, is introduced by the connector *to* ('until, by the time') which indicates that it is a subordinate temporal clause. It looks as if we have a sentence made up of two subordinate clauses with no main clause.

(80) То ӽат ғатывд ки, [W_A03: 4.3a-b]
to ӽat ɣatɨv-d ki
by the time self arrive-3SG SUB

йәм халгви тәм Вранг
{yəm xalg-vi t-əm Vrang
DEM1 people-PL.OBL in-DEM1 Vrang

рәзг ӌин санвәнәшәт
rəzg ʒin sanv-ən=əṣ=ət}
white soil direction make go up-3PL=IPFV=and

*By the time he himself arrived (he saw) that (the robbers) were making these people go up through the place of the salt deposits on the soil in Vrang and (...)*

When trying to understand sentences such as (80), an analyst must bear in mind that in Wakhi, it is common to find constructions with elided verbs of perception. This elided verb of perception, which would represent the missing main clause followed by the subordinator *ki*, could be the logical explanation for this unusual sentence consisting of two subordinate clauses. In fact, this can also be the explanation for (78) and (79). Thus, the first clauses in all three examples will be formally interpreted as subordinate temporal clauses, followed by an elided verb of perception which would constitute the missing main clause. The attached subordinator *ki* would then introduce the complement clauses representing the arguments of the omitted verb of perception. This ambiguity will, however, probably only be felt by a language analyst. A native speaker will probably not see any ambiguity in this type of construction.

All the above-mentioned constructions appear in written texts, and therefore they have to be treated as examples of regular and undistorted use of the language. Their existence may thus in some way question the traditional typology of subordinate clauses, as described above, and can lead to a re-examination and perhaps re-definition of the clause combination patterns and clause types in Wakhi. This question will certainly need to be addressed in more depth and with more data. The above discussion is just an attempt to indicate the complexity of Wakhi clause combinations and highlight certain questions that will need to be investigated in the future.

## 2.2.3. Coordinate constructions

Coordination is a strategy for linking two independent clauses. The logical relations between the clauses can be described in terms of conjunction, disjunction, and adversative coordination.

In Wakhi, the CONJOINING is most often realized by the coordinating conjunction enclitic *ət* 'and'. As in many other languages, this conjunction serves to conjoin clauses as well as noun phrases (81b).

(81) a. Тумək ӂарӂ пə хы ғаш дəйт хə, [W_B09: 8]
tumək žarž pə xы ɣaš dəy-t xə
a little milk to up own mouth hit-3SG and

*He swallowed a bit of milk and then*

b. щвənət войни дырздət ӵит.
švən=ət voyn-i dɨrz-d=ət ʧi-t
rope=and light-ACC take-3SG=and go away-3SG

*took the rope and the light and went away.*

When the conjunction *ət* conjoins two clauses, they do not necessarily have to share the same subject. The conjunction *ət* occurs between the two conjoined units (noun phrases or clauses); it attaches to, and forms an inseparable phonological unit with, the last element of the first conjoining proposition. In written texts, *ət* is realized as part of the word to which it attaches, and the two conjoined units are not separated by commas.

Conjoining in Wakhi can also be done by another coordinating conjunction, *x̌ə* 'and/and then' (Example 81a), which is mainly used in the central to eastern parts of Wakhan. Unlike the above-mentioned enclitic conjunction, *x̌ə* is only used to link two clauses, never for conjoining noun phrases. It is placed between the two conjoined clauses and makes a phonological unit with the first of them. Unlike *ət*, it is not inseparable from the preceding word. In written texts, *x̌ə* is separated from the following clause by a comma. The fact that both conjunctions can occur together in one sentence (in the central to eastern parts of Wakhan) suggests that there is a semantic distinction. Pakhalina (1975: 111) and Bashir (2009: 849) claim that *x̌ə* is used to indicate temporal succession. Example (81) shows that the use of *x̌ə* indicates a certain gap between the two actions it conjoins, while *ət* may indicate a stronger compactness of the conjoined events, sometimes maybe even close to a serial verb construction, which cannot be the case for *x̌ə*.

Levinsohn (2015a: 86) describes cross-linguistically two types of connectives that can be glossed as "and". One is described as "associative (non-distinctive)", the other as "distinctive". According to Levinsohn, associative connectives are used when "the events described in the conjoined propositions are closely related" and "may refer to two aspects of the same event" (ibid.). This would be the case for the Wakhi coordinating conjunction enclitic *ət* (as in Example 81b). Distinctive connectives are used when "the events described by the conjoined propositions are distinct", which would be the case for the Wakhi coordinating conjunction *x̌ə* (Examples 81a and 82).

(82) Я бу хыйнанищ бə ӂəздəв хə̌, [W_B08: 5.16]
ya bu xɨynan-iš bə wəzd=əv xə̌
DEM3 two woman-PL ADD come.PST=3PL and

pəǩдəн pə мала.
rəɣ̌d=ən rə mala
go.PST=1PL to down room

*Those two (other) women came, too, and we went to our room.*

The conjunctions *ət* and *x̌ə* normally do not occur clause initially. However, according to Pakhalina (1975: 112), *x̌ə* can occur at the beginning of a sentence.

In my text corpus, there is one instance of *x̌ə* being used clause initially in an oral story, as shown in Example (83). The immediately preceding context of the clause introduced by *x̌ə* is given in brackets in the free translation. In this example, *x̌ə* conjoins two events the first of which is represented by a complex construction with a direct speech.

(83) x̌ə šəxəst=əm rəɣ̌d=əm [O_EF: 15d]
and pass.PST=1SG go.PST=1SG

*(Moreover, I am saying: "Oh you damned one, are you dying, or what? [an expression when someone does something inappropriate], are you now taking bath here?"), and I went past her.*

The conjoining enclitic *ət* can also occur clause initially, however, being an enclitic, it is attached to the first word of the clause.

(84) aǰon yan=ət rəṣ̌-t a d-əm Obrtelová (2017: 182)
dear then=and go-3SG EMP in-DEM1

Fayzobod
Fayzabad

*My dear, and then he went to this Fayzabad.*

These clause-initial occurrences are rare and represent a marked use of such devices.

Another way of conjoining is by simple juxtaposition. In written language, the two juxtaposed clauses are separated by a comma. Juxtaposition should, however, be distinguished from the serial verb construction discussed in Section 2.2.1.2. Not every sequence of verbs indicates separate clauses. In oral expression it is sometimes hard to distinguish, as it is only indicated by prosody. In written expression, presence of a comma indicates that it is a juxtaposition (Example 85) and absence of a comma indicates a serial verb construction.

(85) Сәйым лой харбызаи чуӥ царән, [W_Z18: 6.9]
səyım loy xarbızya-i čuṭ car-ən
third time melon-ACC half do-3PL

каӈән дав прыт.
kaṭ-ən d-av prıt
put-3PL in-their front

*The third time, they cut the watermelon in half (and) put (it) in front of them [the guests].*

Other conjoining devices are borrowed from Tajik/Persian (Bashir 2009: 849). Among them we find the emphatic additive conjunction *am ... am* (from Tajik *ham ... ham*, 'also, too') and the emphatic negative conjunction *nə ... nə* ('neither ... nor'), which can conjoin clauses as well as noun phrases.

ADVERSATIVE coordination in Wakhi is most often expressed by *nəy ki* ('but, however'). Interestingly, this coordinator was not identified in any Wakhi grammar description, although in my corpus from Tajik Wakhan it occurs frequently and appears to be the genuine (not borrowed) Wakhi conjunction. *Nəy ki* can occur between two clauses which it coordinates, as in Example (86), but it can also introduce a single clause construction (like 'however' in English), as in (87). In both oral and written texts, *nəy ki* is a clause-initial coordinator. In oral language, it is preceded by a pause, and in written language by a comma.

(86) bartər = v = əṣ̌ kərt [O_6S: 128b-c]
bartər=3PL=IPFV do.PST

nəy ki ɣudiɣ = əṣ̌ nə-kərt əč waxt
but stealing=IPFV NEG-do.PST never

*(...) they used to barter but they were never stealing.*

(87) Нəй ки йəм ти ǯəǩд цə инсонəн. [W_Z18: 6.15]
nəy ki yəm ti δəɣd cə inson-ən
but DEM1 your daughter from human-ABL

*But this, your daughter, is human.*

For expressing adversative coordination, Wakhi also employs the borrowed coordinators *amo/ammo* and *lokin/lekin* ('but'), as in Example (88). The coordinator *amo/ammo* seems to be perceived as a more literary expression, while *lokin/lekin* is more colloquial because it only occurs in oral stories, not written ones. Like *nəy ki*, these coordinators can conjoin two clauses, as well as introduce a single clause construction.

(88) Аӂо бафәт бимур ту, [W_N04: 1.2]
awo baf=әt bimur tu
weather good=and cloudless be.PST

амо цә ӂуч наг кам-камәк
amo cә wuč nag kam-kamәk
but from upper side a little bit
нӂыкәш ди.
nwыk=әš di
cold east wind=IPFV hit

*The weather was good and clear, but from the upward direction a cold east wind was blowing a little bit..*

DISJUNCTIVE coordination is expressed by the borrowed coordinator *yo* ('or'), which can conjoin clauses as well as noun phrases. It can also be paired *yo ... yo* ('or ... or').

(89) Е лай лай, нив щач жы ӡәѓди алба [W_Z18: 2.22]
e lay lay niv šač ẓ̧ы δәɣ̆d-i alba
oh dear now dog my daughter-ACC perhaps

ити, ё кӂот жы ӡәѓди
it-i yo kwot ẓ̧ы δәɣ̆d-i
eat.PST-i or young donkey my daughter-ACC

қап ди.
qap di
bite hit

*Oh dear, now maybe the dog ate my daughter, or the young donkey bit my daughter.*

# 3. Corpus of Wakhi narratives

I this chapter I will first discuss the characteristics of Wakhi narrative genres in general. I will then describe in more detail the process of building the corpus of narratives used in the present study.

## 3.1. Wakhi narratives

Collecting narratives goes hand in hand with language documentation. The first samples of Wakhi tales were documented already at the end of the 19th century (beginning with Shaw 1876), and since then larger or smaller corpora of narratives appear in almost all studies describing and documenting the Wakhi language. Most of the collected narratives are limited to folktales, however. Only in the more recent studies is attention given to a wider range of narrative genres.

The first study addressing the discourse of Wakhi narratives was undertaken by Mock (1998) who collected his data in Northern Pakistan. In this study, we find examples of various types of stories (*žindak*)[39], from fully fictional ones to ones related to real places or events. Mock (ibid.: 202) identifies three types of *žindak* that are fictional: legendary tales, brief comic tales usually told to children, and parable-type tales with a moral. The author claims (ibid.: 203) that in Wakhi spoken in Gojal (northern Pakistan), *žindak*s can also be true stories. He describes three categories of these: founding legends, stories of supernatural occurrences, and stories of courage and hunting expertise (which are actually "stories of praise"). Mock was the first to address the question of the role of subjective and individual perception in distinguishing between truth/reality and fiction. He (ibid.: 201) finds that the *žindak*s told as fiction differ from the *žindak*s told as true stories, and that various narrators may evaluate truth and fiction differently (ibid.: 202). Referentiality to actual places, people, or events is, according to Mock (ibid.: 201), the criterion that distinguishes a *žindak* told as a true story from one told as fiction because "[s]uch referentiality is necessary for any expressive form to be regarded as true by Wakhi people" (ibid.). On the other hand, the fictional stories are often (although not always) introduced and closed by formulaic phrases that mark them as "not a true story" (ibid.: 202).

[39] According to Mock (1998: 44) "[t]he most common narrative genre is *zhindak* /žindak/, best translated as 'story'."

A more recent study (Obrtelová 2017) focuses on the narrative structure of oral stories in the Wakhi language recorded in Tajik Wakhan. In this study, I claim that in Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan the relation of the narrator to the narrated story is first of all reflected in the choice of the verb form in the foreground (event-line) of the story. With regard to this, two main types of narratives are distinguished in Wakhi: witnessed and non-witnessed. Witnessed stories are told using the past tense in the foreground. Non-witnessed stories, whether fully fictional stories or non-witnessed true stories, are told using the default non-tense (V) form, or occasionally perfect, in the foreground. Each of the two types of narratives thus has its own set of verb tense-aspectual forms for the foreground and background of the stories (see Section 2.1).

I also claim that in Wakhi, EVIDENTIALITY is distinguished on the discourse level by the choice of the verb form (Obrtelová 2017: 47). This is not, however, the only way that Wakhi marks the relation of the narrator to the narrated event/story. As noted later in the same study (ibid.: 94), Wakhi narrators often use additional means and expressions to support the credibility of their stories. The more that a true story sounds unbelievable (especially in the case of witnessed stories), the more credibility-building material it needs. This is often the case in stories reporting encounters with supernatural beings.

A further study on this topic was undertaken and presented by Obrtelová (2018). In that study I claim that in narratives Wakhi exhibits more than just a binary distinction of the evidentiality of the source of information (witnessed vs. non-witnessed). Wakhi has a whole repertoire of evidentiality strengthening or weakening devices able to express nuances of the speaker's assessment of actual source in a given communicative situation. Among them, I list EVIDENTIAL DIRECT SPEECH[40] where the whole story is told in the direct speech form. Only the introductory clause or sentence indicates the position of the actual speaker and his/her relation to the story, i.e. as narrator outside of the story. This type of story is usually introduced by a formulation like: "this story was told to me by so and so", after which the story continues in the witnessed form, i.e. in the 1st person, using the past tense in the foreground. This strategy is used when the speaker is fairly confident that the events occurred exactly as they are told. Most often this strategy is used when reporting a story about a close relative.

Sometimes, long passages of a true non-witnessed story are told in the witnessed form ("evidential direct speech" – 1st person and past tense in the foreground), thus interlacing with the default non-witnessed form (3rd person and

[40]Evidential direct speech is defined by Mushin (2001: 112) as a strategy where the story, or parts of the story are represented "as a *quote* attributed to the previous teller of the story". She further states (ibid.: 114) that "[e]vidential direct speech exploits the total deictic shift function of direct speech representation to completely efface the presence of the reteller, reconstructing narrative information as a purported verbatim rendition of what the previous teller said".

non-tense in the foreground). In such stories, it becomes difficult to know whether the 1st person refers to the narrator or the protagonist of the story. Wakhi has a device for solving this ambiguity, the reporting (hearsay) particle *ani*, which is used as a device for weakening the witnessed claim. A narrator that uses this particle in evidential reported speech uses it to distance himself/herself from the claims made in the 1st person by the protagonist of the story. It can also be used in a non-witnessed setting, in which case it is a hearsay particle that can be translated as "reportedly".

Another strategy, outlined already in Obrtelová (2017: 97) and further developed in Obrtelová (2018), involves the reportive framing. This can strengthen or weaken the credibility claim by using explicit evaluative comments about the source of the story or about how it was acquired. Sometimes these expressions use complex reasoning constructions, such as "it must be true because....", or "if it hadn't been that way....". They can also be used by the narrator to distance him/herself from the credibility claim of the story, either by stating from where the narrator obtained the story ("I heard it from so and so"), or clear statements by the narrator that he is not sure about the credibility of the story ("I don't know if the story is true", "I haven't seen it myself", etc.).

These above-described devices make up a complex system of Wakhi evidentiality strategies, and support and develop the observations made by Mock (1998: 201) about the importance of the distinction between truth and fiction in Wakhi stories, and in Obrtelová (2017) about the distinction between eyewitness and non-eyewitness stories being reflected in the choice of verb form. The conclusions drawn in Obrtelová (2018) demonstrate that the narrator's relation to the narrated event seems to be more important than situating the event on the time-line, and that evaluation of the narrated event may vary from narrator to narrator, causing the same plot to be told as a fiction (legend or traditional story) by one narrator and as a true historical event by another narrator. This has been observed in Obrtelová (2017: 62).

The above reflection about how the Wakhi people themselves perceive the stories they tell is important for outlining the GENRE boundaries and specifications of Wakhi narratives. It suggests that rather than drawing the fundamental boundary between true stories and fiction, it is more appropriate to describe the genres as falling under the categories of witnessed and non-witnessed stories that can be further specified by other criteria. Within the category of witnessed stories, I (ibid.: 31) distinguish between an autobiographic story, usually covering a longer period of the narrator's life, and a witnessed account proper, retelling an episodic event witnessed by the narrator.

The category of non-witnessed stories can further be specified according to the relation of the story to real places, people or events. All genres described in Mock (1998: 201) as *žindak* ('story') fall into the category of non-witnessed stories, and the distinction that he makes when specifying them as a *žindak*

told as true or a *žindak* told as fiction is based on the criteria of referentiality to actual places, people and events. Similarly, I (Obrtelová 2017: 30–31) describe two groups of non-witnessed genres, one containing the fictional genres such as folktales, traditional stories and legends, and the other containing the genres based more or less on truth and real life, such as historical accounts, ancestors' histories or anecdotes. The dividing line between truth and fiction does not seem to be very clear, since often these two elements overlap in a story and, as mentioned above, the decision depends on the narrator's assessment. Rather, we can say that the genres constitute a continuum with fiction at one end and true stories at the other. If we place the witnessed stories on this continuum, they are at the extreme end defined by true/real events + personally witnessed by the narrator.

Before describing Wakhi narrative genres, it is important to note that while the word *žindak* in the northern Pakistan Wakhi context is described by Mock (1998: 44) as referring to a story in general, and able to be applied to a wider range of genres, in the Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan the term *žinda/ǰinda* has a more narrow meaning, denoting specifically a folk-/fairy-tale (Obrtelová 2017: 30).

On the continuum from fiction to true story, *žinda* (folk/fairy-tale) is the genre at the extreme fiction end of the continuum. It is introduced by the formula specific for this genre: *tuətk–nətuətk*, or *tu–nətu* ('it was–it was not') which indicates the purely fictional character of the story. The plots in *žinda*s do not refer to any real events, historical places or personages, although, as noted by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 23), the described setting constituting the background of the story often reflects Wakhi realia familiar to the narrator and to the audience.

*Žinda* is not an original Wakhi genre. This can be demonstrated by the fact that rhymed versified insertions in the folktales are only in Tajik (ibid.: 23). Many examples of the Tajik verses in the Wakhi folktales can be found in the published collection of Wakhi folktales *Ǐikwor žindaiš* (Obrtelová et al. 2016). Similarly, some phrases and names indicate the non-Wakhi origin of the tales, as they are adopted from the neighbouring languages, usually Tajik/Persian.

The plot topics found in the Wakhi *žinda*s can be found in the stories of the wider region, in other Pamir languages as well as in the Tajik language. Mock (1998: 200) notes that "the stories rework widely-known concepts, themes and plots into narratives framed within the shared discourse of the teller and audience". Further, he adds that "[t]he details supplied from the shared referential context of the teller and audience are what make any given story a Wakhi story" (ibid.).

Among the typical personages of *žinda*s we can find mythical creatures or places such as *aẓdaor* ('dragon') or *simьıry* ('mythical bird'), or *ku-i Qof*

(‘mount Qaf’), supernatural beings such as *pari/prəy* (‘fairy’), *diw* (‘demon’), *alməstī*/*vaǰd* (‘ogre, a scary supernatural being’), and typical human personages such as *podšo* (‘king’), *podšobača* (‘king’s son’), *podšodыxtar* (‘king’s daughter’), *wəzir* (‘minister’), *wəzirbača* (‘minister’s son’), *wəzirdыxtar* (‘minister’s ʿdaughter’), *səwdogar* (‘merchant’), *diqon* (‘farmer’), *diqonbača* (‘farmer’s son’) or *diqondыxtar* (‘farmer’s daughter’). It is also typical that animals interact with humans and speak human language.

*Žinda* corresponds to the Tajik/Persian genre *afsona/afsâne*. The description of *afsona* given by Rahmoni (2010: 297) for the Tajik context can also be applied to *žinda* in the Tajik Wakhan. By this definition, the primary function of *afsona* is entertainment; it designates tales about magic, fables (animal tales), the realities of life, and love. All of these can be found in the Wakhi corpus of narratives.

A genre that resembles *žinda* by being purely fictional, but differs from it in its function, is what I call the traditional story, which is a story about an encounter between a human and a supernatural being (Obrtelová 2017: 30). The outcome of the encounter usually implies a more or less explicit moral lesson. This corresponds to the description given by Rahmoni (2010: 297) of the genre called *qissa*, in that it typically does not start with the formulaic phrase (Wakhi *tuətk-nətuətk*/*tu-nətu* ‘it was – it was not’ is reserved only for the genre of *žinda*) and its function is edification, rather than entertainment. Traditional stories are usually shorter than *žinda*s and centre around one episode, the resolution of which leads to the moral lesson, while *žinda*s tend to be longer and typically describe a chain of complications and resolutions.

Another difference between *žinda* and the traditional story is that the supernatural beings or phenomena in *žinda*s usually do not have connection with the local environment, and do not need to be believable. They belong to the fictional world (such as talking animals, dragons, etc.) On the other hand, in traditional stories we find a more believable and local set of personages, at least from the perspective of a Wakhi listener. Thus, we do not find talking animals and dragons, but we do find supernatural beings such as *prəy* (‘fairy’) or *šaxs* (‘old wise man with supernatural power’), *vaǰd* (‘ogre’ which in a Wakhi context is often represented as a terrifying female supernatural being with “hanging” breasts), or religious saints and prophets, all of which interact with ordinary humans. Wakhis commonly claim to have seen or met these types of beings (they can therefore also be found in witnessed stories) and encountering them always causes some transformation in the life of the human. Thus, we have words like *prəyzod* (‘someone of fairy origin’), and *prəynog* (‘a person who is able to communicate with the fairies’). In this sense, traditional stories are better localized for the Wakhi environment than *žinda*s, and more reality-like, and therefore I place them further from the fiction end of the continuum.

The next genre is *riwoyat* (legend). *Riwoyat*s usually explain the origin of a place or a phenomenon; they refer to real places and/or real personages, especially religious ones. Rahmoni (2010: 298), describing the genre *rivoyat* in the Tajik context, claims that it "is an essentially factual genre, based on events involving historical personages and the names of existing places" and that the term *rivoyat* can be used "for the type of tale that is based on historical reality". In Wakhi, the factual blends with the fictional to explain a phenomenon or demonstrate a moral lesson. The boundary between a traditional story and a *riwoyat* can be blurry, especially when it comes to stories about religious figures who teach people a moral lesson.

Moving more towards the factual end of the continuum, we find the genre that I call the ancestors' history (Obrtelová 2017: 31). The category of a founding legend corresponds, according Mock (1998: 276), to both *riwoyat* and ancestors' history, in the present description. As noted by Mock (ibid.), "legend and history are not separable categories from a Wakhi perspective". He further notes (ibid.: 277) that "Wakhi speakers of history also refer to the passing of tellings from one generation to another, and often provide genealogies" and "[t]hey describe the legends as 'our story from our grandfathers'." Ancestors' histories collected in Tajik Wakhan refer to the deeds and accomplishments of the ancestors, and often they are accompanied by genealogies and presented as the story of "my grandfather" (*ẓ̌ы pup*), as in the stories about *Mirbugha* in Obrtelová (2017: 132 and 163), or of "our great-grandfather" (*spo bobokalon*), as in the story *Shodmonbig* (ibid.: 180). The ancestors' histories are mostly based on what the narrator and the community understand as historical facts, and therefore they are more a historical story than a legend.

The historical account is another genre based on historical events, however, unlike the ancestors' history, which has a personalized element and serves to confirm one's identity, a historical account just tells the story of an event in the past, and thus is more neutral. The Wakhi narrators refer to this type of story as *tarix* ('history') / *tarixī* ('historical' event, story), as in the *Story about the kidnapped girl* in Obrtelová (2017: 199).

At the factual end of the continuum, just before the witnessed stories, we find reported true stories, designated as *naql* ('story'). Here, the credibility claim is usually supported by referring to the source of the story. If the narrator wants to emphasize the story's credibility, she/he chooses to tell it in the witnessed form (1st person, past tense), as was described above.

Witnessed stories and autobiographic stories are located at the very end of the continuum, and are distinguished from all the above-described genres by their form. Minimally, the credibility claim is made by the choice of the verb form (past tense for the witnessed form) but often this is complemented by other credibility-building material, as was described above.

Anecdotes are a specific genre that is difficult to place on the continuum. Its function is to entertain and make people laugh. Although anecdotes are very often funny episodes experienced or witnessed by the narrator, they are not told in the witnessed form and do not insist on the credibility claim. They may or may not contain made-up elements, but in fact, their source or credibility is not important for the narrator or for the listeners.

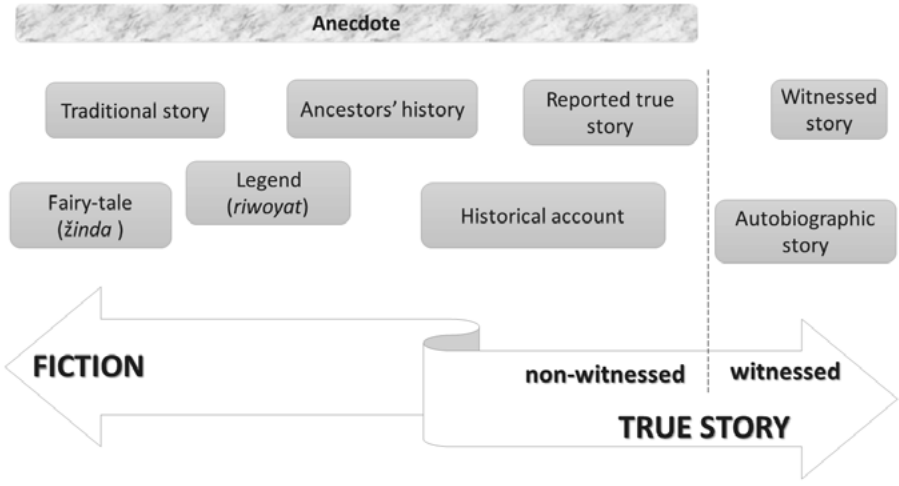


*Figure 4.* Continuum Fiction–True story

## 3.2. Fieldwork and data gathering

The oral narratives in the corpus of this study are part of two large collections of Wakhi language data recorded among the Wakhis in Tajikistan between June 2010 and March 2015. The first corpus (Co10–11) consists of data gathered during three visits in Tajik Wakhan between June 2010 and August 2011, and during a 2011 visit to the village Pomir in the district A. Jomi, south of Dushanbe, where re-settled Wakhis live. Various types of data were elicited and recorded with the aim of gaining a thorough understanding of the Wakhi language. The 2010–2011 Wakhi corpus consists of 160 recorded sessions with 54 speakers, totalling 810 minutes of audio material. The narratives constitute a large part of the corpus, comprising 546 in 105 recorded sessions. Part of this corpus of oral narratives was transcribed, glossed and analysed in the study on the narrative structure of Wakhi oral stories (Obrtelová 2017).

The second corpus (Co13–15), consists of 260 sessions totalling 1627 minutes of recorded audio material collected from 71 Wakhi speakers during a three-month field trip in Tajik Wakhan from July–September 2013, and during a visit to the village Pomir, south of Dushanbe, in 2015. In this corpus, too,

the narratives make up the largest part, 198 sessions totalling 1371 minutes of audio material.

Apart from a short first visit in the Tajik Wakhan, during which word lists and data for phonology and basic grammar analysis were collected, all the subsequent trips were planned with the goal of collecting various types of narrative material. The aim was twofold: to document the narrative genres of Wakhi as an unwritten endangered language, and to study the discourse features of Wakhi narratives.

In order to get as full a picture as possible about the speech and narrative varieties of the Wakhi language in Tajikistan, I wished to obtain narrative material from every Wakhi village in the Tajik Wakhan. Thus, in the gathered Wakhi oral material, all Wakhi-speaking villages in Tajikistan are represented. At the same time, care was taken to collect a variety of samples from male and female speakers of various ages, education and work experience. This strategy allowed me to observe some patterns in the language use, and which groups of speakers or which genres that are more susceptible to borrowing and influence from other languages.

Obtaining such an amount and variety of language data was only possible thanks to the great involvement of the Wakhi speakers themselves. It must be noted, that in most cases I was not the one interviewing the people and asking them to tell stories. Since the aim was to record as natural language specimens as possible, it was necessary to create a natural language and culture setting. The questions therefore had to be asked by a native Wakhi speaker and the narration directed to a native Wakhi speaker, i.e. someone sharing the same language, culture and context. Otherwise, the speakers would have focused their attention on me, a foreign researcher, which undoubtedly would have influenced their speech, for example by making them use more Tajik or Russian words, use simplified structures or give more explanatory comments. The role of the Wakhi speakers, not only in telling the stories but also in eliciting them for the documentation and research, is very significant. The small team of data collectors thus consisted of two Wakhi researchers, themselves native Wakhi speakers originating from the Tajik Wakhan, and myself, a foreign researcher.

First of all, the purpose of the data collection had to be well explained to the Wakhi speakers. It was made clear that the recorded stories were not merely being taken away for some distant research the results of which the speakers themselves would have no way to see, read or encounter. On the contrary, one of the outcomes of the documentation part of the research was to publish books of the collected stories and make them accessible to the Wakhi speakers themselves (see 1.3). A guiding idea throughout the entire data collection process was to bring back to the Wakhi speakers what was taken from them (Obrtelová & Sohibnazarbekova 2018: 97). In this way, all involved parties would benefit from the effort they put into it, and the speakers not only took

their input seriously, but also directed us to other skilled narrators that, on our own, we only would have found by mere chance. That this motivation played a significant role in the amount and quality of the gathered material was noticeable during the three-month field trip in Wakhan in 2013. This was about a year after the publication of the first book in the Wakhi language (Shaidoev 2012) when the Wakhi speakers could see that we took our promise to publish the books seriously.

Apart from narratives, both data collections contain other oral material that the Wakhi speakers themselves considered to be important for the documentation of their language, namely proverbs, riddles, poems, songs, recipes for making traditional meals and various descriptions of Wakhi customs and traditions, such as weddings, traditions related to the summer pasture migration, harvesting, pasturing, etc.

Each recording session was accompanied by a questionnaire/interview in order to obtain basic metadata for identifying the recording and the speaker, and for determining the dialect variant and possible influence of other languages or dialects. No less importantly, after explaining the purpose of the language-data gathering, we obtained informed consent from each speaker, who verbally expressed agreement or non-agreement with the recording itself, and was able to specify the level of publicity or confidentiality of each recording.

## 3.3. Transcription, translation and glossing

All gathered language data and metadata were organized and stored using the SayMore program[41] which links the recordings with the speakers and their metadata, including the uploaded signed and scanned informed consent forms. The current version of SayMore allows for the segmentation of the audio recordings and their transcription, translation and export to various formats. I was thus able to export the transcribed and translated stories directly to FieldWorks Language Explorer[42], the program that I used for the language analysis.

The transcription of the language data is a precise notation of the audio recordings. In this process, the assistance of the Wakhi native speakers was invaluable. Based on this transcribed material it was determined which stories would be further edited by the Wakhi editors and published. At the same time, I was selecting stories to be subject to analysis for the purpose of the current research. The transcribed oral stories are verbatim records of the spoken originals.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the selected narratives, I also double-checked the transcriptions that were made by Wakhi native speakers and made

[41] https://software.sil.org/saymore/

[42] https://software.sil.org/fieldworks/

sure that the transcriptions fully corresponded with the audio files. When necessary, I corrected the transcription so that it corresponded maximally with the oral version.

The initial transcription of the entire corpus was done using the Cyrillic version of Wakhi alphabet which was created in 2012 for the purpose of publishing books in Wakhi in Tajikistan, because it was the most accessible alphabet for the Wakhi transcribers. In the present corpus all stories were also transcribed in the phonemic alphabet (see Appendix B for both alphabets). I am aware that there are several ways that scholars have recently been transcribing Wakhi texts. If we omit the individual transcribing traditions used by the early scholars, there are two main ways. One is the traditional phonemic transcription and the other is a phonetic transcription.

The traditional phonemic transcription, which I have also chosen to use in my study, has been used more or less consistently by Sokolova (1953), Pakhalina (1975), Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976), Payne (1989), Mock (1998), Steblin-Kamensky (1999), Bashir (2009) and Reinhold (2006). Slight alterations occur in the transcription of the high central vowel *ы*, which is sometimes written *и* (Mock 1998 for Gojal Wakhi) or *i* (Payne 1989), depending on how much rounding the transcriber attributes to the vowel. Reinhold (2006) used the symbol *û* for this sound in Gojal Wakhi. In my data from Tajik Wakhan, the phonetic realization of this sound shows various degrees of rounding that could allow for it being written as a rounded high central [ʉ] or as a non-rounded high central [ɨ] (see also Pakhalina 1975: 16 and Sokolova 1953: 213). I therefore understand the symbols *и* and *i* as phonetic symbols that both can be transcribed by the single phonemic symbol *ы*, which I use in my transcription.

Another type of transcription is based on the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and was used in recent MA theses on the Wakhi language by Beck (2013b) and SanGregory (2018). However, different interpretations of certain sounds by different transcribers may in fact reduce the accessibility of the data for the academic community. For example, in the two above studies on Wakhi as it is spoken in Afghanistan, words having the same meaning were transcribed differently; e.g. *yaw* ('he/she/it' in the traditional transcription) was transcribed as *jaʊ* by Beck and as *jao* by SanGregory; the possessive pronoun *žы* ('my' in the traditional transcription) was transcribed as *zø* in Beck and as *zɨ* by SanGregory; and there are many differences of a similar kind. The IPA symbols are also used in the transcriptions of Wakhi oral material made by the Endangered Language Alliance.

Stress was not marked in the transcription. The definition of sentence boundaries was more ambiguous in the oral stories than in the written texts. In the transcription of oral stories in the Wakhi Cyrillic alphabet, I decided to use the same punctuation as in written texts. Thus, sentence boundaries identified

by falling intonation at the end of a logical unit are indicated by full stops. A question mark is used to indicate a question. A comma represents a short pause in the sentence. Commas in the transcribed oral narratives do not always match the commas in the written stories. The written stories follow rules of orthography, while in the transcription the comma is only used to indicate a break between units. Three dots indicate an incomplete sentence. Unlike in the written texts, I did not use quotation marks in the transcribed oral stories; however in the free translation, direct speech is indicated by quotation marks. The transcription in the phonemic alphabet marks the morpheme boundaries and has been done without any punctuation.

For the transcribed Wakhi texts the free translation was provided by the Wakhi speakers in Tajik and sometimes in Russian, as again, these were the most accessible variants. I did the free translation and the word-by-word and morpheme-by-morpheme glossing from Wakhi to English in the program FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx). The Tajik or Russian translations were especially helpful for checking the correct understanding of unknown (to me) expressions and words. In glossing I mainly follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2015)[43].

## 3.4. Segmentation of the text

For the purpose of syntax and discourse analysis, the texts were segmented into smaller units such as paragraphs (for written texts only), sentences, and clauses (for both written and oral texts). In the text corpus in Appendix E, however, the segmentation is marked only on the paragraph and sentence level. Segmentation at clause level was already part of the syntactic analysis, and the rules for defining clause boundaries were discussed in Section 2.2. In this study, the clauses are specifically marked only in those examples that refer to specific clauses in the sentence.

The segmentation of the written texts in the present corpus is done in the following way:

- paragraphs are numbered and indicated by the first number – *Ex.* ***1****.1*;
- sentences are numbered and indicated by the second number – *Ex. 1.****1*****;**
- individual clauses in complex sentences (multi-clause constructions) are marked with a letter – *Ex. 1.1****a*** (that is, from right to left, the first clause of the first sentence of the first paragraph).

In oral texts, only the sentences and the clauses are marked; paragraphs are not marked. Thus, *Ex.* ***1.a*** refers to the first clause in the first sentence.

[43] https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf

## 3.5. Analysed Wakhi narratives

The corpus of Wakhi narratives selected for this study consists of 24 oral and 29 written stories of various lengths and genres, acquired from various sources.

Of the 24 analysed oral narratives, 11 are taken from the study on narrative structure of Wakhi oral stories (Obrtelová 2017). They are part of the Wakhi corpus 2010–2011 (Co10–11). From the same corpus, six additional unpublished oral stories were taken for analysis. The remaining seven analysed oral stories are from the Wakhi corpus 2013–2015 (Co13–15).

The sources of the analysed written narratives are:

– the published book of short stories for children in Wakhi, *Ǐikwor naqliš zavər* (Shaidoev 2012)[44], from which 12 stories were selected for analysis. The stories were produced by one author, a Wakhi teacher. Five of the analysed stories were originally told as oral stories and later written for publication. The other seven were produced as written stories only. All of the published stories were edited by Wakhi editors – native Wakhi speakers whose linguistic backgrounds represent various dialects spoken in the Tajik Wakhan;

– the published book of Wakhi fairy-tales *Ǐikwor žindaiš* (Obrtelová et al. 2016)[45], from which three stories were selected for analysis. This book consists of fairy-tales originally recorded as oral stories among the Wakhi speakers in Tajikistan. They were transcribed and edited by the same group of Wakhi editors as the previous book. The narrators of these stories came from different villages in Tajik Wakhan and represent various dialects;

– 14 stories produced by two other authors.[46] These stories have not been published, but some of them are being prepared for publication. Four of these stories are edited versions of oral stories; the remaining 10 are stories that were originally written down. Most have been seen and edited by at least one additional editor, apart from the author.

In the present corpus (both oral and written) I divided the narratives into three tentative genre categories:

**F** – fiction, i.e. stories that are not based on historical facts or real events (fairy-tales, legends, traditional stories with a moral),

**T** – reported true stories, i.e. stories based on real events that the authors acquired from other sources and consider to be true,

**W** – witnessed stories.

The above classification is rather tentative. In reality there is some overlap between the genre categories, and the boundaries are not always distinct. Some stories may show the formal characteristics of one category, while their content would better fit another category. This raises questions about how they should be classified.

[44] Labelled as source N in the corpus.

[45] Labelled as source Z in the corpus.

[46] Labelled as sources A and B in the corpus.

This is the case for reported true stories (category T). These are typically told in non-witnessed form. However, as was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, some reported true stories are told using evidential direct speech when a non-witnessed story is told entirely as a witnessed story. This means that in terms of form, these stories should fall under the category of witnessed stories (W) but in terms of content they are reported true stories (T). Some other reported true stories contain long passages in evidential direct speech (in W form), while the rest of the story is told in the form of a reported true story (T). This type of story has to be distinguished from the stories consisting of both witnessed and non-witnessed forms that correspond to the narrator having or not having witnessed the events reported in the story. In the present corpus I have examples of all the above-mentioned types, and the categorization depends on whether we consider their formal properties or their meaning. I made a tentative category T/W for stories the meaning of which makes them reported true stories (T) but that are told in witnessed form (W).

Another rather unclear boundary is that between fiction (F) and a reported true story (T). True reported stories often contain some fictional parts, especially in the case of historical accounts or stories reporting some unusual events. It is also important to identify the standpoint of the narrator, who decides whether the story will be told as a historical account or as a legend. One and the same plot can be told in the form of various genres, for instance as a fully fictional traditional story, as a legend, or as and ancestors' history, as was noted in Obrtelová (2017: 62). Similar observations were made by Mock (1998: 201–202).

The two tables below list the narratives with their essential characteristics (for more characteristics of the texts, see the tables in Appendix C). Table 3 lists the written narratives in alphabetical order by their ID. For each narrative, the full title is given, as well as the genre, as described above. In the notes, the connection between individual written narratives and their oral counterparts (if any) is indicated. All these narratives are annotated and translated in Appendix E.1.

**Table 3.** *List of analysed Wakhi written narratives*

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | W_A01 | Leopard | W | Witnessed story | |
| **2** | W_A02 | Rukhshona | F | Legend | see O_SF |
| **3** | W_A03 | Story of an old house | T | Historical account | |
| **4** | W_A04 | War | W | Witnessed story | |

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5** | W_A05 | Resettlement | T | Reported true story | see O_RS |
| **6** | W_B03 | How a strong man saved a girl | T | Historical account | see OB_SK |
| **7** | W_B07 | Rich merchant | F | Traditional story | |
| **8** | W_B08 | Clock | W | Witnessed story | |
| **9** | W_B09 | Uncle Dilowar | T | Reported true story | |
| **10** | W_B10 | Pasture | W | Witnessed story | |
| **11** | W_B11 | Winter troubles (from my brother's life) | T/W | Reported true story (in witnessed form) | |
| **12** | W_B17 | About a fairy (from my brother's life) | T/W | Reported true story (in witnessed form) | |
| **13** | W_B18 | Bear's kindness (my neighbour's experience) | T | Reported true story | |
| **14** | W_GF | Girl stolen by fairies | W | Witnessed story | see OB_GF |
| **15** | W_N01 | Not my child | F | Story with moral (modern traditional story) | |
| **16** | W_N03 | Shepherd | T/W | Reported true story (in witnessed form) | see O_N03 |
| **17** | W_N04 | Wolves | W | Witnessed story | see OB_WV |
| **18** | W_N05 | Dog and bear | T/W | Reported true story (in witnessed form) | see OB_DB |
| **19** | W_N07 | Yak | T/W | Reported true story (in witnessed form) | see O_N07 |
| **20** | W_N10 | Wolf and calf | W | Witnessed story | |
| **21** | W_N13 | On a walk | W | Witnessed story | see O_N13 |
| **22** | W_N20 | Uncle Qosim | T | Reported true story | |
| **23** | W_N28 | Disrespect | F | Traditional story | |
| **24** | W_N29 | Avarice | F | Traditional story | see OB_WA |
| **25** | W_N30 | Military service | W | Witnessed story | |
| **26** | W_N31 | Mirzosalmon | F | Traditional story | |
| **27** | W_Z03 | Frog | F | Fairy-tale | see O_Z03 |
| **28** | W_Z12 | Bear and hunter | F | Fairy-tale | see O_Z12 |

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **29** | W_Z18 | Three daughters | F | Fairy-tale | see O_Z18 |

Table 4, too, lists the oral narratives in alphabetical order by their ID. For each narrative, the full title and genre classification is shown. The notes then show the reference to the written counterparts of these narratives, if there is one. The narratives labelled O_... are new original oral data presented in Appendix E.2 and the narratives labelled OB_... were previously published in Obrtelová (2017) and thus do not constitute part of the annotated corpus in Appendix E.2.

**Table 4.** *List of analysed Wakhi oral narratives*

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | O_6S | Sixth sense | T | Reported true story | |
| **2** | O_EF | Encounter with a fairy | W+T | Witnessed story (with reported true story) | |
| **3** | O_FL | Flood | T | Reported true story | |
| **4** | O_GM | Grandmother Muminmo | T | Reported true story | |
| **5** | O_N03 | Shepherd | T/W | Reported true story (in witnessed form) | see W_N03 |
| **6** | O_N07 | Yak | T/W | Reported true story (in witnessed form) | see W_N07 |
| **7** | O_N13 | On a walk | W | Witnessed story | see W_N13 |
| **8** | O_RS | Story about resettlement | W | Witnessed story | see W_A05 |
| **9** | O_SF | Silk fortress | F | Legend | see W_A02 |
| **10** | O_SP | On the summer pasture | W | Witnessed story | |
| **11** | O_Z03 | Frog | F | Fairy-tale | see W_Z03 |
| **12** | O_Z12 | Bear and hunter | F | Fairy-tale | see W_Z12 |
| **13** | O_Z18 | Three daughters | F | Fairy-tale | see W_Z18 |
| **14** | OB_AN | Anvil | W | Witnessed story | |

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **15** | OB_BO | Boboantar | F | Traditional story | |
| **16** | OB_DB | Dog and bear | T/W | Reported true story (in witnessed form) | see W_N05 |
| **17** | OB_GF | Girl stolen by fairies | W | Witnessed story | see W_GF |
| **18** | OB_HS | Hazrati Shoh Nosir | F | Legend | |
| **19** | OB_SB | Shodmonbig | T | Ancestors' history | |
| **20** | OB_SE | Story from the early Soviet era | W | Witnessed story | |
| **21** | OB_SK | Story about the kidnapped girl | T | Historical account | see W_B03 |
| **22** | OB_SM | Shermalik | F | Traditional story | |
| **23** | OB_WA | Water | F | Traditional story | see W_N29 |
| **24** | OB_WV | Wolves | W | Witnessed story | see W_N04 |

Table 5 below shows the number of texts and clauses (in brackets) collected for each genre category. The table shows reported true stories which are told in the witnessed form as a distinct category T/W.

**Table 5.** *Distribution of narratives per genre categories*

| Genre | Oral narratives / (clauses) | Written narratives / (clauses) |
|---|---|---|
| **F** | 8 (692) | 9 (573) |
| **T** | 4 (458) | 6 (504) |
| **T/W** | 4 (394) | 5 (179) |
| **W** | 8 (583) | 9 (485) |
| **TOTAL** | **24 (2127)** | **29 (1741)** |

The distribution per form of the stories is shown in Table 6 below. The genre categories F and T represent the stories told in the non-witnessed form, and the genres T/W and W are the stories told in the witnessed form.

**Table 6.** *Distribution of narratives per form*

| Form | Oral narratives / (clauses) | Written narratives / (clauses) |
|---|---|---|
| **Non-witnessed form (F and T)** | 12 (1150) | 15 (1077) |
| **Witnessed form (W and T/W)** | 12 (977) | 14 (664) |

It must be noted, however, that some stories are more complex and contain embedded narrative sequences corresponding to a different category than the main story. For example, the non-witnessed true story W_B18 has an embedded narrative sequence in the witnessed form, and the witnessed story O_EF includes a non-witnessed story. Sometimes, a story oscillates between the witnessed and the non-witnessed form, as is the case in the story O_6S.

# 4. Theoretical background and methodology

The theoretical background for the current research is oriented around three key concepts: oral versus written; text-linguistic (discourse) analysis; and narrative. In the following sections I will examine and give an overview of the methodologies and relevant literature dealing with: (1) approaches to the description and comparison of oral and written language; and (2) approaches to text-linguistic analysis. In both, the emphasis will be on narrative as a specific form of language expression. In the third part I explain how I approach the narratives in the corpus and present a preliminary analysis of the data, on the basis of which the research questions will be addressed in the subsequent chapters. The method of analysis and interpretation of the data will be discussed in the relevant chapters.

## 4.1. Oral versus written language – overview of the literature

The historical discussion on the relation between speech and writing, and which of the two forms should be considered primary, has been aptly summarized by Biber (1988) and Chafe & Tannen (1987). According to Biber (1988: 5), historically, writing used to be regarded "as the true form of language, while speech has been considered to be unstable, degenerate and not worthy of study". From the nineteenth century, the situation began to shift more in favour of speech, and at the beginning of the twentieth century "linguists uniformly regarded speech as primary and writing as a secondary form of language derived from speech" (ibid.: 6). Biber (ibid.: 7) exposes some inconsistencies in such a view, pointing out that despite speech being considered a primary form, it is also "disregarded as unsystematic and not representative of the true linguistic structure of a language". Even data elicited as expressions of speech are "in many respects more like writing than speech" (ibid.). The third view does not assign primacy to either of the two forms, rather it sees them as two independent forms that should both be studied carefully (Chafe & Tannen 1987: 383, Biber 1988: 7).

Biber (1988: 8) acknowledges the obvious observation that speech comes before writing and that all cultures use spoken communication before they develop a written form, and thus "in terms of human development, speech has

primary status". However, as he (ibid.) further claims, "once a culture develops a written form in addition to a spoken form, the two modes come to be exploited for different communicative purposes".

With regard to the relation between speech and writing, the traditional dichotomous view put them in opposition to each other. Recent researchers, however, turn away from this dichotomous view and rather see speech and writing as lying on a continuum. Tannen, in several studies, extensively discusses the relations between oral and literate traditions, or between spoken and written language. She (1982a) introduces the paradigm of oral/literate continuum, and she (1982b) further develops it as a concept of oral and literate strategies, and finally, as strategies reflecting relative focus on involvement with the intention to "eschew a dichotomous view of speaking and writing in favor of the view that both can display a variety of features depending on the communicative goal, genre, and so on" (Tannen 1984: 21).

As claimed by Biber (1988: 8), all speakers are equipped with "grammatical competence" such as implicit understanding of phonology, syntax, and semantics. In addition, they have a "communicative competence", i.e. "formal knowledge of the range of speech-act variation, and register variation, as well as knowledge of when these different linguistic forms are appropriate" (ibid.).

The question of the dichotomy between orality and literacy in Persian has been addressed by Utas (2006). He (ibid.: 209) argues against the traditional dichotomous view presented by Ong (1982) and some of his followers. He points out their mistaken assumption "that the language of oral literature or 'orality' is the same as that of free extemporized speech and fundamentally different from that of written discourse". On the contrary, Utas (ibid.) claims that the language of oral literature is, like that of written literature, normalized and produced to be remembered. He refers to it as "memorabilia". On the other hand, the language of spoken social interaction is distinctively different and he calls it "ephemera". Thus, he claims that with respect to literature, "'orality' and 'literacy' must be regarded as supplementary rather than alternative cultural techniques" (ibid.).

The comparative analysis of spoken and written language is a more complex question. A number of studies have been undertaken to compare the two forms and examine them from various angles, such as in terms of linguistics, anthropology, psychology, or literacy. Various studies have attempted to present a comprehensive summary and to generalize the resulting list of features attributed to spoken and written language, but the results of such comparative approaches often contradict each other, because they are based on a limited choice of language data and genres. Some of these studies, however, have provided useful and more complex insights into this issue. It must be noted that most of them have been applied solely to English.

Tannen (1985), in her study on oral and written discourse in English and Greek narratives, explains her approach, which is based on the assumption that "the key differences motivating discourse are not orality versus literacy per se but rather relative focus on interpersonal involvement and relative focus on content or information conveyed" (ibid.: 127). Thus, she introduces the concept of features reflecting a relative focus on involvement. Tannen examines two hypotheses, the contextualization hypothesis and the cohesion hypothesis, that are meant to explain the differences between spoken and written discourse.

The contextualisation hypothesis (ibid.), which is supported by many scholars, claims that spoken discourse tends to be highly contextualized (i.e. speaker and hearer share the background and immediate context), while written discourse tends to be decontextualized (i.e. writer and reader are separated in time and space and do not share the same context). However, according to Tannen (1985: 128), this hypothesis does not explain the differences between oral and written discourse as such, but rather depicts the differences between genres and their contexts. The contextualization hypothesis assumes that there are genres that are typically associated with the oral form (such as face-to-face spontaneous conversation) and genres typically associated with the written form (such as expository prose). However, according to Tannen (ibid.: 129), there are also genres that show the characteristics of the oral form despite being written and the other way round, e.g. personal letters, radio or television broadcasts, chants or ceremonial performances. Narrative genres usually share the characteristics of both the oral and the written form.

The cohesion hypothesis (ibid.: 130–131) states that cohesion in spoken discourse is achieved by means of nonverbal and paralinguistic tools that show the speaker's attitude towards the message, and relationships among ideas. In written discourse, on the other hand, the paralinguistic tools are replaced by capitalization, underlining, italics, and similar devices, and cohesion is achieved by means of lexical tools, such as explicit statements, careful choice of words, and complex syntactic constructions and transitional phrases.

Tannen (ibid.: 143) suggests that the differences identified by the first hypothesis "result not so much from the spoken and written modes as from relative focus on interpersonal involvement typically found in conversation and relative lack of focus on involvement in favor of a focus on information or message typically found in expository prose". The concept of involvement focus versus information focus can also be applied in the case of the second hypothesis, because, as Tannen (ibid.) states, "various uses of contextualization and relative reliance on lexicalization can be manipulated both in speaking and in writing in order to produce discourse that is maximally or minimally involving the audience".

Chafe (1982), in his study on the differences between spoken and written English, identifies two sets of features. The first set is defined by the opposition of fragmentation versus integration, and is based on the assumption that

speaking is faster than writing (ibid.: 36). Chafe claims that speech is produced in so-called idea units. These idea units "typically have a coherent intonation contour, they are typically bounded by pauses, and they usually exhibit one of a small set of syntactic structures" (ibid.: 37). Speech is claimed to have a fragmented quality (ibid.: 38). The idea units in speech are chained together either without using connectives, or with conjunctions, most frequent of which are *and*, *but*, *so*, and *because*. Conversely, writing, having more time to produce the ideas, is characterized by a more integrated quality. This means that more information is packed into an idea unit "than the rapid pace of spoken language would normally allow" (ibid.: 39). This is achieved by a variety of devices used in written language, such as nominalizations, participles, attributive adjectives, conjoined phrases, sequences of prepositional phrases, complement clauses or relative clauses.

The second set of features identified by Chafe (ibid.: 45) is defined by the opposition of involvement versus detachment, and is based on the assumption that speakers interact with their audiences directly, whereas writers do not. Written language is typically detached, which, according to Chafe (ibid.: 45–46) is manifested in English in devices such as passive voice or nominalization. Contrary to the detached quality of written language, speech is characterized by involvement of the speaker with his/her audience. The involvement devices listed by Chafe (ibid.: 46–48) are more frequent use of first person reference in speech than in written language, references to a speaker's own mental process, monitoring of information flow, use of emphatic particles, vagueness, and direct quotes. In a later study, Chafe (1985: 117) lists three types of involvement typically found in oral style:

1. Ego involvement – i.e. involvement of the speaker with himself, expressed by first-person pronouns or expressions like *I mean*, *I don't know*, etc.;
2. involvement of the speaker with the hearer, typically expressed by using second-person pronouns, confirmation questions, addressing the hearer by name or another form of address;
3. involvement of the speaker with the subject by using exaggeration, exclamation, expressive vocabulary, direct quotation or vivid particles.

The set of data samples in Chafe's study is limited to dinner table conversations as a sample of informal spoken language, lectures as a sample of formal spoken language, letters as a sample of informal written language and academic papers as a sample of formal written language (Chafe 1982: 36). This limited collection does not allow for presenting a full picture of the complexity of spoken and written genres. Chafe (ibid.: 49) himself is aware of this, stating that "these seemingly categorical statements about spoken and written language apply in fact to extremes on a continuum" and that "[t]here are other

styles of speaking which are more in the direction of writing, and other styles of writing which are more like speech" (ibid.).

Chafe's studies also suggest that written discourse is syntactically more complex and uses more subordinate structures than spoken discourse. This claim is in line with findings of some linguists (e.g., O'Donnell 1974 and Ochs 1979). Studies by other linguists, however, suggest the opposite, namely that speech is more complex than writing (e.g., Halliday 1979 and Poole & Field 1976).

Syntactic complexity, specifically coordination and subordination in English written and spoken discourse, is the subject of a study by Beaman (1984) who addresses and tries to explain the contrasting findings reported by different linguists. According to Beaman (ibid.: 51), the differences in syntactic complexity are not necessarily due to the spoken–written distinction. Different registers, degrees of formality and purpose must be taken into account as factors determining the degree of syntactic complexity. As claimed by Beaman (ibid.), earlier studies "have hopelessly confounded two crucial features of discourse: modality (i.e. spokenness/writtenness) and register (i.e. purpose or formality)." This would then explain the contradictory findings in studies comparing the degree of complexity in spoken and written language.

To avoid such ambiguity, Beaman chooses to analyse samples of written and oral narrative discourse with comparable register, purpose, and formality (ibid.). She acknowledges the claims made by Tannen (1982b), Labov (1972) that narrative discourse is different from other types of discourse and suggests that "oral and written narratives do not differ in the way that typical sample of spoken and written discourse do" because "the only real difference between the two discourse types is 'visibility'" (Beaman 1984: 52).

The results of the analysis of syntactic structure in written and oral narratives in English allow Beaman to make the following claims:

- Fragments, i.e. finite subjectless sentences standing alone, are more frequent in speech than in writing (ibid.: 56).
- Regarding the syntactic structure, coordinated sentences are more frequent in written than in spoken stories (ibid.: 57), however "the spoken stories show a greater tendency to string numerous clauses together into a single sentence" (ibid.: 60).
- Subordinate sentences are equally relatively infrequent in both written and spoken stories, however complex sentences made of a combination of subordinate and coordinate clauses are found more frequently in spoken than in written stories (ibid.: 57).

- The actual frequency resulting from "blind" counting of occurrences suggests a much higher frequency of coordinating conjunctions in speech. However, not all occurrences of the conjunction *and* indicate coordination; some of them are just filler words (ibid.: 60). Thus, considering the functional analysis of the occurrences and eliminating the coordinating conjunctions that serve as filler words reveals "the overall picture of true coordination in discourse" (ibid.: 57).
- Based on the analysis of three types of subordinate clauses, nominal, adjectival, and adverbial, finite nominal subordinate clause are more frequent in spoken narratives and nonfinite nominal subordinate clauses occur more frequently in written narratives (ibid.: 66).
- Relative clauses are analysed as the most common type of adjectival subordinate clauses and the frequency analysis shows that they are significantly more frequent in the spoken than in the written narratives (ibid.: 67). This finding disproves the hypothesis that dependent clauses are used more in written than in spoken language (ibid.).
- In the frequency analysis, one can distinguish restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses purely based on the form (presence vs. absence of a comma in written stories and intonation in spoken stories) and restrictive clauses are more frequent than non-restrictive ones in both the spoken and the written narratives (ibid.).
- In the semantic analysis, however, one can make a distinction (adopted from Bernardo 1979)[47] based on the information the relative clauses contain and distinguish between two functional types of relative clauses: the "information-bearing" (i.e. providing new information) and the "identificatory" (i.e. specifying old information) (Beaman (1984: 72). In both the spoken and the written narrataives the information-bearing type of relative clauses are more frequent than the identificatory type; however, the number of identificatory relative clauses is higher in the spoken than in the written narratives, where the tendency is rather to provide new information (ibid.: 73).
- The analysis of adverbial subordinate clauses reveals that they occur considerably more frequently in the written than in the spoken narratives (ibid.: 75).

[47]Bernardo (1979) distinguishes between two functional types of relative clauses in narratives: informative relative clauses and non-informative relative clauses. This distinction, according to Bernardo (*ibid*.: 539), "is similar to but not the same as the traditional restrictive/non-restrictive distinction". An informative relative clause is described as "one which asserts information, much in the way a declarative independent clause does, about a noun phrase referent" (ibid.: 543). The non-informative relative clauses are further specified by Bernardo as identificatory, i.e. "those which give information that is necessary to identify a referent previously known to the listener", and specificatory, i.e. "those which specify the nature of a referent by mentioning a defining property of the referent" (ibid.: 544).

- More generally, the nonfinite nominal and adverbial relative subordinate clauses are more frequent in written narratives, while finite nominal and adjectival relative subordinate clauses occur more frequently in spoken narratives (ibid.: 79).

The overall conclusion of the analysis undertaken by Beaman thus shows (ibid.: 78) that in English "spoken narrative is on the whole just as complex as, if not more complex in some respects, than written narrative".

Another study on the differences between speech and writing in English was undertaken by Biber (1988). The author gives a summary of earlier approaches, points out their deficiencies and presents a different approach based on corpus linguistic methods (computer-based text corpora, computer programs and statistical techniques). Biber summarizes the findings of quantitative and non-quantitative approaches, and notes that the results of the quantitative approaches focussing on the distribution of linguistic features in spoken and written texts are often contradictory. Some of the disagreements are caused by definitional differences, but some others reflect a more complex issues. One of several examples mentioned by Biber (ibid.: 50) is the extent of subordination in the two modes writing and speech. While most of the studies concluded that writing is much richer in subordination than speech, other studies did not confirm this claim, or even came with contradictory results. Biber refers to Beaman (see above), who, according to him, "is one of the few researchers using a quantitative approach who addresses these widespread contradictory findings" (Biber 1988: 51). The non-quantitative approaches, on the other hand, focused on revealing the underlying differences between the two modes by "investigating the ways in which thematic cohesion is achieved in each mode" (ibid.).

Despite their deficiencies, Biber uses both approaches in his analysis because, as he claims, they "have complementary strengths and weaknesses. Quantitative analyses give a solid empirical foundation to the findings; non-quantitative analyses are required for the interpretation" (ibid.: 52). Rather than focusing on the criticism of the two approaches, Biber names three restrictions that "limit the extent to which they can provide global conclusions regarding the linguistic relations among spoken and written genres" (ibid.). These are: (1) assigning undue weight to individual texts, since most studies have been based on few texts; (2) assigning undue weight to the genres chosen for analysis, since most studies compared only two genres, one spoken and one written; and (3) assigning undue weight to particular linguistic features (ibid.: 52–53).

This discussion led Biber to formulate a new approach based on the dimensions of linguistic variation which he calls the multi-feature/multi-dimensional (MF/MD) approach to linguistic variation. According to Biber, it is "based on

the assumption that there are few, if any, absolute differences between speech and writing and that there is no single parameter of linguistic variation that distinguishes among spoken and written genres" (ibid.: 55). To avoid the three restrictions stated above, Biber works with large-scale corpora of texts representing several major genres and examines the distribution of a number of lexical and syntactic features and their communicative functions. By dimensions Biber understands "bundles of linguistic features that co-occur in text because they work together to mark some common underlying functions", while relations "specify the ways in which any two genres are linguistically similar and the extent to which they are similar" (ibid.). Having studied the co-occurrence patterns of 67 linguistic features and their functional aspects, Biber identifies seven textual dimensions of which only the first six are relevant for the comparison of the written and spoken genres. These are:

1. informative versus involved production;
2. narrative versus non-narrative concerns;
3. explicit versus situation-dependent reference;
4. overt expression of persuasion;
5. abstract versus non-abstract information;
6. on-line informational elaboration.

The linguistic features taken into account in Biber's study are those relating to tense and aspect markers, place and time adverbials, pronouns and proverbs, questions, nominal forms, passives, stative forms, subordination features, prepositional phrases, adjectives and adverbs, lexical specificity, lexical classes, modals, specialized verb classes, reduced forms and dispreferred structures, coordination, and negation (ibid.: 73–75).

The final discussion in this study concerns the relationship between speech and writing in English. Biber (ibid.: 199) makes a general conclusion that there is no absolute distinction between spoken and written genres in English. Instead, the two modes overlap. Each dimension represents a different set of communicative functions and relations among genres. However, according to Biber, dimensions 1, 3 and 5 show relatively clearly the distinction between oral and literate discourse, though not absolutely.

Biber's study represents a thorough analysis of the wide range of English language use, and results in a well-defined description of relations between dimensions and genres. It is based on good knowledge of previous research and various approaches and efficient processing of their results. Appendix II in Biber's study (ibid.: 211–245) contains a very useful comprehensive list of linguistic features, detailed description of them, and a discussion of their functions. Chapter 6 (ibid.: 101–120) presents a detailed interpretation of each of the seven identified dimensions.

Although the range of genres and registers used by Biber is impressive, it was surprising to note that in the narrative categories only written texts were used, while the oral narrative genres were not represented in the text corpus at all.

Another study using the same method and corpora was undertaken by Louwerse et al. (2004). While Biber's study focused on 67 linguistic features operating primarily at the word level, Louwerse et al. extended the range of studied features to cover cohesion, which "cannot be captured only by linguistic features at the word level. Instead, cohesion stretches to the inter-clause, inter-sentence and inter-paragraph level" (ibid.: 844). Thus, the study focuses on 236 language and cohesion features at the text level. They (ibid.) give a brief summary and definition of key textual (cohesion) measures, among them word information, word frequency, parts of speech, pronoun density, logical operators, interclausal relationships, type-token ratios, polysemy and hypernymy, concept clarity, syntactic complexity, readability, coreference, causal cohesion and latent semantic analysis. The study suggests six dimensions:

1. speech versus writing;
2. informational versus declarative;
3. factual versus situational;
4. topic consistency versus topic variation;
5. elaborative versus constrained;
6. narrative versus non-narrative.

In contrast with Biber's study (1988), Louwerse et al. (2004) identify a specific dimension that determines the difference between speech and writing (Dimension 1). The registers that are more speech-dependent show a higher frequency of concrete and imaginable language, as well as a higher pronoun density and ambiguous quantification. Less frequent in these registers are argument overlap and semantic similarities between text units (ibid.: 845). At the opposite ends of the dimensions are the writing-dependent registers with opposite characteristics.

Although it is not my intention in the present study to adopt the above-described MF/MD approach, which is based on corpus linguistics methods, the approach adopted by Biber (1988) and Louwerse et al. (2004) brings some inspirational observations, as well as valuable lists of linguistic and cohesion features to be taken into account, and descriptions of their functions in texts. This approach also gives an overview of the many factors impacting the spoken and written genres that will have to be borne in mind when narrowing down the analysis to the narrative genres in both written and oral form.

All the above studies were based on English language data, and therefore their results and conclusions must be understood with regard to this fact. The

following two studies go beyond the frame of the English language and offer insights into the topic from the perspective of other, especially little-described, languages that may not yet have developed large corpora of written material.

Bartsch (1997) presents a comparison of oral and written styles with regard to Bible translation. Such translation adopts a written style. However, one also has to take oral style into consideration, since this type of literature is meant not only to be read, but also to be read aloud, and this gives rise to oral performance. I find this observation important since some narratives, also in Wakhi, are expected to be read aloud (for example, fairy-tales for children). Nevertheless, as Bartsch claims, even in oral cultures people have a certain sense of what written style should look like.

In her article Bartsch gives a short but concise overview of the characteristics of oral versus written style as described by various authors. Among the general observations, the following are listed:

- more repetition and extraneous material in oral than in written material (referring to Curnow Eckert 1981);
- more density and more careful word choice in written than in spoken material (referring to Biber 1988);
- prosody used in oral, and punctuation and description in written material (referring to Kilham 1987);
- better organization (referring to Duff 1974, Curnow Eckert 1981 and Smith 1987) and faster pace of introduction of new information (referring to Chafe 1992) in written than in oral style;
- written style more explicit, more elaborate, more formal, and grammatically more complex than oral style;
- more loan words found in oral than in written style, and more archaic forms found in written than in oral style (referring to Deibler 1976).

Bartsch, however, claims that some differences between oral and written style are language specific and cannot be generalized. It is therefore necessary to first describe the differences in the languages that are being analysed. Bartsch gives examples from several languages, e.g., Amuesha (referring to Duff 1974: 172), where the clauses are conjoined by juxtaposition in speech while in writing the relationships between clauses are overtly indicated. The author then reiterates, like Biber (1988), that it is crucial to compare material in the same genre, since different genres have different linguistic features.

Bartsch's study also addresses the practical issue often faced by the field linguists of how to obtain material for study when there are no skilled writers in the language group. The author suggests two possible solutions: either narrator editing of the oral version, i.e. letting the narrator himself make changes in his narration and indicate what sounds better; or letting the narrator repeat the story

several times. Bartsch claims, referring to Branks (1976), that usually the sixth retelling is formalized enough to indicate the structure of the written style.

Bartsch then presents a sample analysis of an oral and a written version of the same narrative from an Algonquian language of North America and lists the following observations:

1. Much more repetitions were found in the oral version than in the written one.
2. More author intrusions and explanations occurred in the oral version than in the written one.
3. More reportatives (e.g. "he said") were found in the oral version.
4. Discourse marking (such as participant reference or prominence-marking) was found to be similar in both the oral and the written narrative. However, it was more consistent in the written version.
5. Tail-head constructions[48] between paragraphs were found only in the written narrative.
6. Purpose clauses were more frequent in the written story than in the oral one.

Dooley & Levinsohn (2001), in their manual of basic concepts of discourse analysis, dedicate a whole chapter to written versus oral form. They do not refer to a specific language, but rather formulate the principles that can apply to a large variety of languages. Dooley & Levinsohn give a summary of the observations made when comparing oral and written texts from the same genre. Like Bartsch (1997), they avoid the trap of comparing oral and written forms across genres, as was done in many earlier studies. Instead, the comparison of the two forms is made within the same genre, thereby giving a more precise picture of the differences between the two forms. Among the identified differences they list (Dooley & Levinsohn: 2001: 8–9):

1. more frequent use of repetition in oral form, such as repetition of speech orienters in longer reported speeches, tail-head linkage, frequent use of evidentials;
2. deviations from default constituent orders in speech, which are accompanied by intonation contours and pauses;
3. written texts generally being more concise and organized than oral texts;
4. more careful choice of words in the written text, while more hedges found in oral texts;

[48] Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 8) describe tail-head linkage (also called a tail-head construction) as "a distinctive form of repetition", which consists "of 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 (the 'tail')".

5. paralinguistic signals frequent in oral texts, while in written texts the same effects are produced by punctuation and lexical means.

The studies and approaches described in this section provide a number of important insights that have shaped my analysis of oral and written narratives in Wakhi. Section 4.3 describes the approach that I eventually adopted. First, however, I provide an overview of approaches to text-linguistic (discourse) analysis that are relevant to my study.

## 4.2. Approaches to text-linguistic (discourse) analysis

This section gives an overview of two types of approaches to text-linguistics that are relevant to the present study: structural approaches and pragmatic-functional ones.

One of the most influential approaches to the analysis of narratives is Labov's model. Labov & Waletzky (1967) elaborated a model of narrative analysis that was revisited and extended in the subsequent years by Labov (1972, 1997, 2003, 2004 and 2006). Labov and Waletzky's research focused on oral narratives of personal experiences. Their aim was to identify the most fundamental narrative structures. The material for analysis consisted of narratives collected from ordinary people telling the story of a personal experience. In order to get the most genuine and spontaneous version of oral narrative that was possible, the speakers were asked to talk about an emotionally significant event in their lives. Labov (1972: 359) defined narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred". Furthermore, a narrative is defined by temporal sequence, where the sequence of narrative clauses matches the order of events as they occurred. According to Labov & Waletzky (1967: 21), "only independent clauses are relevant to temporal sequence", i.e. main clauses, while subordinate clauses are excluded from the temporal sequence. It must be noted that this claim is made with respect to English.

The temporally ordered independent clauses that form a temporal sequence are called narrative clauses. Their order of the sequence is fixed and corresponds to the sequence of events as they occurred. Any change in the position of the narrative clause in the sequence would modify the interpretation of the sequence of events. Narrative clauses represent what in some other approaches is described as the foreground of the story (i.e. action moving forward). In contrast, clauses whose position in the sequence can change freely without modifying the interpretation of the course of events, and which are valid throughout the entire narrative, are called free clauses. These are usually described as "background" in other approaches (i.e. action not moving forward). The Labovian approach furthermore identifies two other types of clauses. A

coordinate clause is a narrative clause that is simultaneous with another narrative clause in the sequence. A restricted clause is a type of free clause that is valid for only part of the narrative (and not the whole, as in the case of free clauses) and its position can only change within a certain range. Thus, what separates two narrative clauses is a temporal junction. The verb of the narrative clause carrying the tense and aspect marker is called the narrative head.

On the macro level, Labov & Waletzky (1967) present a frame of overall structure of narratives which is later developed and expanded by Labov (1972). Labov's frame (ibid.: 363) consists of the following parts:

1. Abstract – short summary of the narrative ("What was it about?").
2. Orientation – information about participants, time, space and setting. This section consists of free clauses ("Who, what, when, where?").
3. Complicating action – the main body of the narrative, consisting of temporally ordered narrative clauses ("Then what happened?").
4. Evaluation – "perhaps the most important element in addition to the basic narrative clause" (ibid.: 366). In this section the narrator indicates by various means the point of the narrative and reveals his/her judgement of the events ("So what?").
5. Resolution – terminates the sequence of temporally ordered narrative clauses ("What finally happened?").
6. Coda – consists of free clause(s). The narrator signals the end of the narrative, either by making a link between the story and the present, drawing a general conclusion, or just using an ending formula.

In his study Labov (1972) devotes a significant amount of attention to the analysis of evaluative devices. While Labov & Waletzky (1967: 35) identified evaluation as a separate section in the overall structure, Labov (1972: 369) found evaluation dispersed throughout the whole narrative. He recognizes external, internal and embedded evaluation. In external evaluation, the narrator steps out of the story to address the listener directly and state explicitly what the point is. Embedded evaluation does not require stepping out of the narration. Instead, the evaluation is delivered by the narrator, quoting either his own thoughts or the comments of someone else. In this way, the dramatic continuity of the story can be preserved. Internal evaluation is the most complex one, because it is closely intertwined with the narrative clauses. According to Labov (ibid.: 378), the syntactic organization of the narrative clauses is relatively simple, and therefore "departures from the basic narrative syntax have a marked evaluative force. The perspective of the narrator is frequently expressed by relatively minor syntactic elements in the narrative clause".

## 4. Theoretical background and methodology

When comparing written and oral narratives, examining the evaluation is particularly important. Tannen (1982b) refers to evaluation in her study of differences between oral and written narratives. She gives an example of evaluation in a spoken version of a narrative where the speaker's attitude is expressed by paralinguistic cues and repetition, and notes (ibid.: 10) that "[i]n transferring her spoken story to writing, the speaker necessarily lost the option of showing her attitude, or evaluation (cf. Labov), through paralinguistic cues". Tannen then lists options for transferring paralinguistic cues into writing, such as evaluation through lexicalization, using diacritics or leaving the information unevaluated.

Özyıldırım (2009) focuses on personal experience narratives in Turkish and compares their oral and written versions. This is one of the few studies that analyse a language other than English. Her analysis of narrative categories is based on Labov's model. The results show that in Turkish personal experience narratives, all categories mentioned by Labov (i.e. abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda) are present in both the oral and written versions. However, a difference was found between oral and written form in the use of the beginning and the ending categories, i.e. abstract and coda. Written versions exhibit a considerably higher number of occurrences of the two categories than oral versions. In oral form the narrative often starts with orientation and ends with resolution (ibid.: 1218).

The second part of Özyıldırım's study focuses on the comparison of evaluation and evaluative devices between written and oral narratives. As she states, "[i]n this study, evaluation receives special attention since evaluative elements carry the point of the story and contribute greatly to narrative production" (ibid.: 1213). In the analysis she evaluates Labov's approach, but finds it insufficient. Instead, she refers to the categorization presented by Shiro (2003: 171–172), coded by the following semantic categories: (1) Emotion; (2) Cognition; (3) Perception; (4) Physical state; (5) Intention; (6) Relation; (7) Reported speech – direct / indirect / free.

Özyıldırım's (2009: 1219) analysis, which consists of counting the density of each evaluative category for both oral and written narratives, shows that written narratives are richer in evaluative sentences than oral narratives. As for the distribution of the categories, the most frequent category appears to be that of emotion, followed by cognition, physical state, perception, intention, and relation. This order of frequency appears to be the same for the oral and the written narratives. However, when comparing each category separately, the results show that the emotion category is significantly more frequent in oral narratives. The other categories do not vary so much.

Özyıldırım's study offers some interesting insights and gives deserved attention to evaluation as a key to understanding the point of the story. However, the selected approach is not able to fully grasp the differences in evaluation in

oral versus written form, since it omits the paralinguistic cues that are characteristic for oral narratives as well as syntactic evaluative devices as listed by Labov (1972: 376). The author is aware of this deficiency, and states "there might be some other ways of evaluation in oral narratives such as patterns of stress and intonation, pitch, gestures, repetition, etc. that the analytic scheme used in this study does not account for" (Özyıldırım 2009: 1219).

The following paragraphs briefly present an overview of some aspects of text-linguistic (discourse) analysis methods from a pragmatic and functional perspective.

Brown & Yule (1983) adopt a pragmatic approach. The main postulate of their approach is that communication, i.e. the material to be studied in discourse analysis, is not a purely linguistic construct but is something that happens between speakers/writers and hearers/readers. Therefore, this approach focuses on the study and description of the linguistic forms as well as the principles of interpretation of such forms in communication.

Brown & Yule (ibid.: 1) describe two functions of language, the transactional, which serves to express the content, and the interactional, which serves to express social relations and personal attitudes. Written language, according to Brown & Yule (ibid.: 4), usually has the transactional function, while spoken language is mainly used for interactional purposes, although "it is possible to find written genres whose purpose is not primarily to inform but to maintain social relationship".

Brown & Yule also discuss the differences between written and oral texts and give an overview of features described by scholars studying this topic. Apart from the features already mentioned in Section 4.1, they claim (ibid.: 16–17), with regard to English, that while sentences in written texts usually appear in subject-predicate form, topicalization of non-subject constituents, i.e. the topic-comment structure, occurs more frequently in spoken texts. Spoken texts are also characterized by replacing or refining expressions and a number of prefabricated fillers.

Brown & Yule discuss the notion of TOPIC. They make a distinction between sentential topic and discourse topic. Sentential topic, as the concept is used by some scholars, is part of the topic-comment sentence structure where topic is usually subject and comment is usually predicate. Other scholars use the term discourse topic to denote a proposition that represents the topic (in its pretheoretical meaning) of the whole fragment. It is closely related to the topic framework, which is "the contextual framework within which the topic is constituted" (ibid.: 75). It consists of elements that are activated, i.e. relevant for the interpretation.

Another important term in discourse analysis is THEME (ibid.: 126), i.e. the starting point, an initial textual context that will determine the readers/hearer's interpretation of everything that follows – RHEME. Theme is often the subject

of the sentence, but not always. As Brown & Yule suggest, "the constituent which is thematised in a sentence is, in some sense, 'what the sentence is about' regardless of whether or not the constituent is the grammatical subject" (ibid.: 132). When adverbials are thematized then the theme of the sentence is "about what" or "what happened next". Thematized metalingual comments do not contribute to the content, but give directions about the type and structure of the mental representation that the hearer should be constructing (e.g., "once upon a time" indicates a fairy-tale model) about the internal structure or the reliability (ibid.: 133). Thus, one function of the theme is to connect back to the previous discourse and serve as a point of departure for the further development (ibid.).

Brown & Yule's study is a useful large-scale theoretical study and evaluation of the existing approaches for dealing with topics related to discourse analysis.

Lambrecht (1994) presents a thorough study of information structure – a domain that was studied and addressed in other studies as functional sentence perspective (Prague School of linguistics), information structure or theme (Halliday 1967), or discourse pragmatics, and that in Lambrecht's approach is a sentence grammar where sentences are studied within discourse. Lambrecht (1994: 2) chooses Halliday's term "information structure" because "special emphasis is placed on the STRUCTURAL implication of discourse-pragmatic analysis", and he proposes the following definition:

> "INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts" (ibid.: 5).

Lambrecht indicates (ibid.: 10) that viewing formal and functional approaches as diametrically opposed is not necessary; instead they complement each other. He (ibid.: 11) defines his approach as "located somewhere in between the 'formal' and the 'functional' approaches to syntax", since neither of these two approaches can give an exhaustive explanation.

Lambrecht refers to the notion of MARKEDNESS and its role in the expression of information structure. The general rule that he suggests (ibid.: 17) is that

> "given a pair of allosentences, one member is pragmatically unmarked if it serves two discourse functions while the other member serves only one of them. While the marked member is positively specified for some pragmatic features, the unmarked member is neutral with respect to this feature."

A marked member of a pair of allosentences can thus be unmarked in another pair of sentences.

An approach compatible with field-linguistic methods and very applicable to a relatively little-researched language is the methodology for undertaking discourse analysis outlined by Longacre & Levinsohn (1978), elaborated by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) and further developed by Levinsohn (2012 and 2015a).

Levinsohn's approach is defined as functional (or functional and cognitive for Dooley & Levinsohn), and contrary to Longacre's structural approach[49] focuses on describing the functions of the linguistic forms under specific conditions, rather than describing the forms themselves. Levinsohn (2015a: 2) presents the basic principles that determine discourse analysis using the functional approach:

1. Choice implies meaning – i.e. variations in linguistic expression are not merely optional variations; the role of a discourse analyst is to identify the reason why a certain form was selected over another one.
2. Semantic meaning and pragmatic effects – where semantic meaning is the inherent, more or less invariable meaning of the expression, while the pragmatic effect is the meaning in relation to the speaker in a given situation, and changes with the context.
3. Default versus marked phenomena – i.e. the feature in a default form does not need an explanation (similar to semantic meaning in the second principle) while the marked form (which is a deviation from the default form) calls for interpretation.

Dooley & Levinsohn's aim was not to present a full-scale theoretical study of discourse analysis; rather, their aim was to discuss the basic concepts and give an orientation in the area of discourse analysis. The practical scope of this manual is indicated by the authors' intention to address field linguists. While Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) present a more general view of various discourse types (e.g., various genres or comparison of oral versus written, as mentioned above), Levinsohn (2015a) narrows down the scope in his manual by focusing specifically on narratives and presenting only features relevant for translation from one language to another. A parallel publication (Levinsohn 2015b) concentrates on non-narrative discourse analysis.

Both manuals, by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) and Levinsohn (2015a), give instructions for how to prepare texts for analysis, including transcription (in the case of oral recordings), verifying the facts (especially when the analysis is not being done on texts in the analyst's mother tongue), segmenting the text (sentences, clauses, phrases) and labelling the constituents. The charting that

[49]Longacre & Levinsohn (1978) do not address the issue of functional versus structural. Levinsohn's approach is based on those of the scholars of the Prague School and of Grimes (1975).

follows is built on a frame that takes into consideration the default order of constituents in a given language. Thus, the charted texts show the patterns and any unusual positions of the constituents.

The analysis is based on the assumption that texts are COHERENT. This coherence is signalled by COHESION, i.e. linguistic means of building a corresponding mental representation in the addressee's mind. Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) give a list of common types of cohesion, based on Halliday & Hasan's (1976) and Brown & Yule's (1983) taxonomies of cohesive ties. They mention descriptive expressions referring to entities mentioned earlier, identity cohesive expressions (repetition, lexical replacement, pronouns and other pro-forms, substitution and ellipsis), lexical relations (hyponymy, part-whole, collocation), morphosyntactic patterns (consistency of inflectional categories, echoic utterances, discourse-pragmatic structuring), signals of relations between propositions, and intonation patterns.

Text analysis is done on several levels. Thematic continuity and discontinuity in narratives are studied especially in the dimensions of place, time, participants and action (a classification based on Givón 1984/90). Thematic discontinuity indicates a new thematic grouping. The analysis (in Dooley & Levinsohn 2001) continues on the level of words and phrases, where activation and referential status are examined. On the sentence level, discourse-pragmatic structuring is examined, and notions such as focus, topic and sentence articulations are addressed.

The definition of FOCUS given by Dooley & Levinsohn (ibid.: 62) slightly differs from that given by Lambrecht (1994). Dooley & Levinsohn understand focus as "that part which indicates what the speaker intends as the most important or salient change to be made in the hearer's mental representation"(2001: 62). They further agree with Lambrecht's conception of three types of focus: predicate focus, argument focus and sentence focus. Dooley & Levinsohn then list some signals of focus in a sentence. Among these are intonation (as in English), special particles (in some languages) and special constructions (in most languages) such as a cleft construction.

While focus concerns the new/non-established information, the concepts of topic and point of departure refer to something that is accessible in the hearer's mind. The definition of TOPIC given by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) is the same as that given by Lambrecht (1994), i.e. sentence topic, rather than discourse topic.

POINTS OF DEPARTURE are examined more in depth by Levinsohn (2015a). They are signals of thematic discontinuities that are placed at the beginning of a clause/sentence (i.e. are topicalized) and serve as a cohesion tool to connect the context (accessible to hearer) with the following clause. There are various types of points of departure, each represented by specific structures. Thus,

situational points of departure are mostly represented by adverbial phrases, either temporal, spatial, reason, purpose, comparison, etc. Referential points of departure are often prepositional or postpositional phrases, or nominal constituents. Spacers and left-dislocations are devices used to mark a constituent as a point of departure.

Levinsohn (2015a) further discusses the concepts of emphasis and prominence. EMPHASIS refers to any kind of prominence. Levinsohn (ibid.: 53), referring to Callow (1974) defines PROMINENCE as a device that ascribes more significance to certain events, participants or objects than to others in the same context, and can be divided into focal, thematic and emphatic prominence. Levinsohn (2015a: 59) then lists devices used to give prominence to a focal constituent, including phonological features, change of tone, marked constituent order, "be" verbs, spacers, affixation or a particle. Thematic prominence brings attention to already established information, i.e. to topics or points of departure, and can be expressed by emphatic pronouns or demonstratives. Emphatic prominence reflects strong feelings about something, and is usually expressed by emphatic markers, special phonological features, some forms of repetition or changes in constituent order.

At a higher level than the sentence, Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) and Levinsohn (2015a) examine foreground and background information. According to Dooley & Levinsohn, "[t]he terms FOREGROUND and BACKGROUND describe parts of a text which, respectively, do or do not extend the basic framework of the mental representation"(2001: 41). The foreground vs. background opposition is a typical feature of narratives. It represents the opposition between events and non-events (Grimes 1975), where non-events can be settings, explanations, evaluation, collateral information or performative information.

Some narrative material can be backgrounded and some highlighted with respect to other material (Levinsohn 2015a: 68). That which is backgrounded is of secondary importance in relation to theme-line events. Linguistic devices linked with backgrounding in narratives, as listed by Levinsohn (ibid.: 72–76), are distinct verb forms (tense and aspect), spacers and subordination. Verbal aspect correlates with the concept of background or foreground, and can be used in a marked or unmarked way. Highlighting is a device to draw attention to a climax, or to a significant development or change of direction. One typical phenomenon is to slow down the narrative just before the climax. This can be done either by introducing a non-event, i.e. background information, or by backgrounding the event immediately preceding the climax. Backgrounding then serves as a highlighting device for what follows. Among other highlighting devices Levinsohn (ibid.: 82) mentions addition of a prominence marker to a point of departure or connective; a change of tense, aspect or agent-orientation; a change in sentence length; a change in mode of reporting speech

(direct or indirect); increased frequency of ideophones; and other dramatic features.

Both manuals continue with discussion of the semantic relations between propositions. Levinsohn (2015a: 86) discusses the non-subordinating connectives in narratives. These may be conjunctions, referential connectives with an anaphoric demonstrative, and, in oral narratives, tail-head linkages. There are also particles that introduce distinctive information and mark a new development in the story, i.e. development markers (ibid.: 97). Apart from development markers and connectives, some languages may also mark new developments by means of references to participants (on the agent axis) or constituent order (ibid.: 101).

In both manuals, a chapter is dedicated to the reporting of conversation. According to Levinsohn (ibid.: 107), there are usually three forms of reported speech: direct, indirect or semi-direct. Several factors determine the choice of the form of reporting, such as verbatim reporting, language-specific constraints and text-related factors. Reported speech is often accompanied by a speech orienter. Most often this is a clause that precedes the reported speech; however, it can also follow it. Levinsohn (ibid.: 112–114) discusses the status of reported speeches in the overall story. Many reported speeches are not treated as new developments. They can be backgrounded or treated as intermediate steps by backgrounding the speech orienter or lacking a development marker. Some speeches, however, are theme-line events. These are usually introduced in the same way as a usual theme-line event (often with a development marker).

The last chapter in Levinsohn's manual (ibid.: 146) is dedicated to subordinate clauses in relation to brand-new information, relative clauses and their functions, and information flow. Information flow is examined by determining the information load, i.e. the number of chunks of new information in a clause, and identifying the devices for spreading new information over more than one clause.

Selected topics of the methodology elaborated by Dooley & Levinsohn, and by Levinsohn will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

## 4.3. Methodological approach

In preparation for the analysis, all narrative texts in this corpus were segmented into smaller units.

There are various approaches to describing the segments of which the narratives usually consists. The core of the narrative itself has been traditionally labelled theme-line, event-line/events, or foreground. All of these mean a temporally ordered sequence of events that move the action forward. At the

other end are the non-events (Grimes 1975) or background (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001)[50], in other words, clauses that do not move the action forward, but rather they provide various type of descriptions, explanations or comments by the narrator. Levinsohn (2015a: 70) states that "a sentence that describes an event is generally assumed to constitute foreground (theme-line) information unless it is marked in some way. Background information consists of the non-events of the narrative, together with those events that are marked as being of secondary importance (non-thematic)." In my analysis I will refer to this binary distinction between foreground and background, as each of the two shows distinct linguistic features. Moreover, as noted by Levinsohn (ibid.: 68), there are linguistic devices that signal backgrounding of normally foreground material, or on the other hand, foregrounding of normally background material.

In the present study, I find it useful not only to distinguish the foreground from the background, but also to specify more closely the types of foreground and background identified in the narratives. For this, on the macro level, I will employ Labov's frame for oral narratives (Labov 1972: 363, see also Section 4.2). The same frame is referred to by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 53) as "the story schema" and is discussed with regard to both oral and written narratives. All the sections of the overall structure of narrative described by Labov (see Section 4.2) are represented in the Wakhi narratives as well. These are: Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Resolution, and Coda. At a minimum, a Wakhi narrative consists of Complicating Action and Resolution. Most of the Wakhi narratives start with orienting clauses and continue with the temporally ordered clauses of Complicating Action and Resolution, and these are interlaced with evaluative clauses. Some Wakhi narratives also have an Abstract and a Coda. Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 53) specify that in the written narratives, titles can provide the information that in the oral narratives is found in the Abstract. The description and linguistic properties of each of the Labovian sections in the Wakhi oral narratives were presented and discussed by Obrtelová (2017).

Complicating Action and Resolution in Labov's model correspond more or less to the foreground of the narrative, while the remaining parts correspond to the background. The reason why I have chosen to use Labov's frame in addition to the simple foreground vs. background distinction is that Labov's narrative stages allow one to specify different types of background and foreground and better describe the phenomena occurring within and between them. Background–evaluation shows different features than background–orientation.

On the micro level, all the narrative texts were segmented down to clause level. The segmentation principles and rules were described in Sections 2.2

[50]Grimes (1975: 68), however, defines background more narrowly as a specific category, one of the non-event categories which. It "is not part of the narratives themselves, but stands outside them and clarifies them".

and 3.4. In Labov and Waletzky's model (see 4.2), the clauses described as narrative and coordinate clauses constitute the foreground of the narrative. The background is represented by free and restricted clauses.

This distribution of clauses, however, has been critically evaluated throughout the years. Berman (1997: 240) points out the insufficiency of such classification of the clauses in accounting for the evaluative elements in the narrative and distinguishing them from the narrative and referential elements. Berman (ibid.) thus proposes a "tripartite analysis of narrative texts" which distinguishes (1) narrative clauses, (2) evaluative elements, and (3) informative elements. The narrative clauses represent the temporal sequence of events, the evaluative elements represent the narrator's subjective perspective, and the informative elements give factual information about the temporal or spatial setting and about the participants of the narrative.

Fleischman (1997: 162), too, finds it necessary to "nuance" the Labovian clause typology. She points out (ibid.: 161) that repetition in the Labovian model, described in terms of evaluation as a device for suspending the action, does not take into consideration other functions of this device. Fleischman claims that repetition can also function "to reestablish the event (plot) line, which has been broken by an interruption of some sort" (ibid.: 162). Therefore, in addition to the Labovian narrative (including coordinate), free and restricted clauses, she proposes a distinct type of clause – a summative result clause. She states that, "[u]nlike narrative clauses, which normally report unique countable events, summative result clauses function as retrospective summaries of a series of previously reported situations" (ibid.).

In this study, I distinguish between two groups of clauses: those representing the foreground of the story, and those representing the background of the story. Two rather ambiguous types of clauses are summative result clauses, which reestablish the sequence of events after an interruption, and repetition clauses which do not add to the progression of the events, but instead slow down the sequence of events or add additional information to the event. The summative clauses, though not presenting a new event, reestablish the temporal juncture, and thus can be analysed as foreground clauses. The repetition clauses (i.e. immediate repetition of a narrative clause), on the contrary, although they repeat an event, in fact, do not constitute the temporal junction and do not contribute any new development. I find it necessary to distinguish between repetition and evaluative clauses (in the Labovian approach, repetition is counted as evaluation) and between repetition and summative result clauses (as described above). The repetition clauses may add new information about the setting while not moving the action forward, and therefore they will be analysed as background clauses. Some, but not all, of the repeated narrative clause constructions are tail-head linkage structures. In the analysed narratives, I will distinguish between the following type of clauses:

- Clauses representing the foreground of the story (found in the Complicating Action and Resolution sections):
  - narrative clauses (F-NAR) – clauses defined by temporal junction,
  - coordinate narrative clauses (F-CO) – narrative clauses simultaneous with other narrative clauses,
  - summative result clauses (F-SUM) – reestablishemt of an event;

- Clauses representing the background of the story:
  - informative (factual) clauses (B-INF) – clauses usually found in the Orientation section,
  - evaluative (subjective) clauses (B-EV) – clauses by which the narrator steps out of the story to give evaluative comments (usually found in the Evaluation and Coda sections),
  - repetition of narrative clauses (B-REP) – clauses found embedded in the Complicating Action.

Contrary to Labov, in the analysis of Wakhi texts I treat all clauses including the subordinate clauses, and I attribute a label to each of them. By default, the subordinate clauses represent the background of the narrative. However, the analysis in this study allows us to account for the cases where formally background clauses (in the subordinate position) are pragmatically foregrounded. Similarly, a formally foreground clause may be pragmatically backgrounded. Evaluation will be understood only in terms of Labovian external evaluation, i.e. when the narrator steps out of the story to make an explanatory or evaluative comment about the participants, their actions or the situation. Explanatory comments thus provide guidance to the listener/reader about how the situation or action should be understood and interpreted. In this sense, they are treated as Evaluation in this study.

Some of the clauses are independent clauses – i.e. coordinate clauses (excluding reported speech, subordinate and incomplete clauses). Moreover, in all the texts, the clauses with shifted deixis (such as direct speech clauses) are distinguished from the narration parts and are treated separately. Narration parts and direct speech parts (DirS) do not share the same deictic centre, which is reflected in the different use of the grammatical forms, such as verb tense-aspect forms or deictic forms. Therefore, the analyses and all conclusions drawn from these analyses must take into account this distinction. Conflating the two, the narrative and the direct speech parts (DirS), would lead to inaccurate and distorted conclusions.

For every narrative text in the present corpus, I have gathered the following information:

- number of sentences and clauses per narrative,
- number of foreground and background clauses, as well as the number of direct speech clauses,
- number of independent clauses per narrative sections (Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution, Evaluation, Coda).

The analysis will then proceed from these prepared texts. An illustration of an oral narrative prepared for analysis is given in Table 7 below (an excerpt from the oral narrative O_Z03 – Frog: 1–27). The full oral and written versions of this story (O_Z03 and W_Z03) are given in Appendix D. The leftmost column gives the narrative section, as defined above where OR stands for Orientation, CA for Complicating Action, and EV for Evaluation. The clauses with shifted deixis (usually direct speech clauses – DirS) are underlined. The same rule applies for the free translation to the right of the language data. The rightmost column labels every clause. We can thus see the distribution of foreground and background clauses, as well as the clauses with the shifted deixis and their subordinate clause (DirS-sub).

**Table 7.** *Sample of an analysed text*

| Narr. section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| OR | 1 | Tuətk i šaxs. | *A person there was.* | B-INF |
| | 2 | I ðay tuətk. | *There was a man.* | B-INF |
| CA | 3 | Yan rand tiri dast. | *Then he gave an arrow.* | F-NAR |
| | 4 | Rand a ǎы pətrvər. | *(He) gave (it) to his sons.* | FGed-REP |
| | 5a | Kaṭəv, | *"Shoot,* | DirS |
| | 5b | də kum, də čiz dəyt, | *to whoever, to whatever it falls,* | DirS-sub |
| | 5c | yundəv, nəya | *marry (her/it)," right?* | DirS |
| | 6a | Tru pətrər wuč randət, | *He gave (his) three sons each an arrow and* | F-SUM |
| | 6b | yan yawiš kaṭənət | *then they shot (the arrows) and* | F-NAR |
| | 6c | ya iwən dəyt cə mukt. | *(the arrow) of one (of them) hit a frog.* | F-CO |
| | 7 | Ya buyən dəyt də xalg. | *The (arrows) of the other two each hit a human.* | F-CO |
| EV | 8a | Aǰonik, ya muktən yan... | *My dear, that frog then...* | B-EV |

| Narr. section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 8b | yaw ʒi, yaw mukt nasto, | *it's like this, she was not frog,* | B-EV |
| | 8c | yaw ʒi prəy, nəkən. | *she was actually a fairy.* | B-EV |
| OR | 9a | Yaw nək aʒi rworī ǩat goǩt muktət, | *That is, at daybreak she turned into a frog and* | B-INF |
| | 9b | naɣd, naɣd ǩat goǩt xalgət, | *at nightfall, nightfall she turned into a human and* | B-INF |
| | 9c | rworī ǩat goǩt mukt. | *at daybreak she turned into a frog.* | B-INF |
| CA | 10 | A wuč ar truy skav wazd. | *The arrows fell on the three.* | F-SUM |
| | 11a | Ska bu ǩinan wazd, | *They fell on two women,* | B-REP |
| | 11b | sək i mukt. | *(and) on one frog.* | B-INF |
| EV | 12a | Aʒi qobil ki, | *(She was) so capable that,* | B-EV |
| | 12b | ʒi tozakor ki... | *so cleanly that...* | B-EV |
| | 12c | a ya mukt, nəya? | *that frog, right?* | B-EV |
| CA | 13 | Yan ya buyiš kandən. | *Then the other two (brothers) laughed.* | F-NAR |
| | 14a | Yan kand, | *Then (they) laughed,* | B-REP |
| | 14b | skam sar kand ki, | *they laughed at him (saying) [lit. 'that']:* | B-REP |
| | 14c | elo, yətən waṣt də mukt. | *"Goodness, his (arrow) fell on a frog!* | DirS |
| | 15 | Yətən waṣt də mukt. | *His (arrow) fell on a frog!"* | DirS |
| | 16a | Yan aǰonikəm, ǩand ki, | *Then, my dear, he said [lit. 'that']:* | F-NAR |
| | 16b | xay crəng ki goǩən, | *"Well, whatever they do,* | DirS |
| | 16c | šoyad ki | *perhaps that* | DirS |
| | 16d | ẓы qismat a yət ымыт. | *that should be my destiny.* | DirS-sub |
| | 17 | Yundəm yəti. | *I (will) marry her".* | DirS |
| | 18 | Yund yawi. | *He married her.* | F-NAR |
| | 19a | Yan yaw kart də i ǰay, | *Then he put her in one place,* | F-NAR |
| | 19b | aʒi də malaək yaw kart, | *he put her in like a small hut,* | B-REP |
| | 19c | yan ya tat rimit ki, | *then the father ordered,* | F-NAR |
| | 19d | a ǩы stəǩvi ki, | *(he ordered) his daughters-in-law that,* | B-INF |

| Narr. section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 19e | dam ðayən ki, | *with their husbands [lit. 'that']:* | B-INF |
| | 19f | saiš drawəv. | *"You must scythe".* | DirS |
| | 20a | Yawiš yan drawənət, | *Then they scythed and* | F-NAR |
| | 20b | yan aǰon drawənət, | *then, my dear, they scythed and* | B-REP |
| | 20c | yət kaṣ̌ x̌and ki, | *that lad said [lit. 'that']:* | F-NAR |
| | 20d | e, wuz niv crəng gox̌əm ki, | *"What shall I do now, when* | DirS |
| | 20e | aǰonikəm, a yəm mukt, | *my dear, she is a frog,* | DirS-sub |
| | 20f | yəm niv drɪwak nəkəcərt. | *now, she cannot scythe."* | DirS-sub |
| | 21a | Yət x̌ɪ pisti bɪnd, | *She threw (off) her (frog) skin,* | F-NAR |
| EV | 21b | xalg nəkən, me oǰiz xalg aʒi xɪšruy drit ki, | *a human, actually, look, a woman, human, she scythed so well that,* | B-EV |
| CA | 21c | aǰon, cart trav mis tyor tra buyəno, tra xalgən. | *my dear, she finished before the others, before the other two, the humans.* | FGed-sub |
| | 22a | Cart tyor, | *She finished,* | F-NAR/REP |
| | 22b | woz čirmit da mukt čiz, | *again she entered the frog thing,* | F-NAR |
| | 22c | da pist dəst čirmit. | *she entered the (frog) skin.* | B-REP |
| | 23a | Woz čirmit da pist dəstət, | *She entered that skin again and,* | B-REP |
| | 23b | alolik, yan dra čirmitət, | *my dear, then she entered that (skin) and* | B-REP |
| | 23c | xəy, yətiš ayron wərəč̣ən. | *well, those (others) were surprised.* | F-NAR |
| | 24a | X̌anən, | *They said:* | F-NAR |
| | 24b | yəm cə soxt tu. | *"What sort of (thing) was this?"* | DirS |
| | 25a | Woz yəmvək x̌anən ki, aǰon, | *Again they [the parents] told them [lit. 'that'], my dear:* | F-NAR |

| Narr. section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 25b | Ǎы kəndvər ǎanəv ki, | *"Tell your wives* | DirS |
| | 25c | mar goǎən хыšruy xəč. | *to make a nice (loaf of) bread for me".* | DirS-sub |
| | 26a | Ǎanən, | *They said:* | F-SUM |
| | 26b | ar truy ǎanəv ǎы kəndvər, | *"All three (of you) tell your wives,* | DirS |
| | 26c | ǎanəv, | *tell (them)* | DirS |
| | 26d | mar хыšruy xəč goǎən wызmən. | *to bring me a nice (loaf of) bread."* | DirS-sub |
| | 27a | Iwki yət ǎand ki, | *At once that one said [lit. 'that']:* | F-NAR |
| | 27b | mukt crəng ǎəč goǎt? | *"How will a frog make a (loaf of) bread?"* | DirS |

The clauses 13 and 14a, 19f and 20a and b, 21c and 22a, 22c and 23a which are labelled B-REP (for repetition clauses) are examples of tail-head linkage, a feature that occurs frequently in Wakhi oral narratives. An interesting occurrence of tail-head linkage is found in the clauses 21c and 22a, because the "tail" is in the subordinate clause, which by default represents the background. The "head" is found in the coordinate independent clause 22a, which formally looks like a foreground narrative clause. This occurrence of tail-head linkage can be interpreted in the following way: the normally background subordinate clause is foregrounded (FGed); the information in this subordinate clause is highlighted because it contributes to the temporal sequence. The highlighting is produced by a special Wakhi address form *aǰon* that could be translated as 'my dear', and which in the Wakhi oral narratives highlights what follows (Obrtelová 2017: 87). The independent clause 22a is then backgrounded by being the repetition (the "head" in the tail-head linkage) of the previous clause. This example neatly illustrates the necessity to treat all clauses in the narrative and not to content ourselves with generalized assumptions, for example that all subordinate clauses represent the background.

Other B-REP clauses are not examples of tail-head linkage; they are repetitions contributing a slowing-down effect. In the clause with the repeated verb, usually a new piece of information is added to the setting (see clauses 11a, 19b). Clause 4, however, is interpreted as a foreground repetition clause, as it appears to be a deliberate rhetorical device to add crucial information, in this case, the recipients of the arrows. This type of use of a repetition clause is found several times in the Wakhi narratives.

The summative result clauses (F-SUM) are illustrated in clauses 6a and 10a. The summative clause 6a resumes narrative clause 3 after the narrative sequence was interrupted by the direct speech clauses 5a–5c. Similarly, the summative clause 10a resumes the narrative temporal sequence of the clauses 6c and 7, which was interrupted by a series of evaluative and informative background clauses 8a–9c.

This type of analysis is done for all the narratives (oral and written) in the present text corpus. It is important to mention that the analysis of oral versus written narratives is done in three stages. For this purpose, the narratives are divided into three groups.

The first group is made up of eight narrative plots that exist in both a spontaneously told oral version and a written version. The genre of the oral and the written version of each individual story in this category is identical, except for the story O_RS (Resettlement) which is a witnessed story (W) in the oral version, but is in the non-witnessed form (T) in the written variant of this story (W_A05). Three of the stories in the table below were originally recorded as spontaneously told oral narratives. After that, they went through thorough editing by Wakhi native speakers (see 3.5) and were later published. Three others, too, were originally recorded as spontaneous oral stories and their written counterparts are unpublished versions based on these oral stories. Two narratives in this group each represent an independent spontaneously told and a written version of the same plot produced by different narrators/writers. The analysis of the first group of narratives will discuss the differences between spontaneously told oral stories and their written counterparts on both the micro and macro-level. It should thus reveal characteristic features of oral and written narratives, with a special focus on interclausal relations and narrative structure. Table 8 below lists of the narratives in the first group, and gives their genre category and the number of sentences and clauses (in brackets) per text.

**Table 8.** *Group 1: Spontaneous oral stories and their edited written versions*

| Oral | Genre | Sent. (Cl.) | Written | Genre | Sent. (Cl.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O_Z03 | F | 53 (125) | W_Z03 (publ.) | F | 32 (97) |
| O_Z12 | F | 42 (97) | W_Z12 (publ.) | F | 29 (60) |
| O_Z18 | F | 83 (152) | W_Z18 (publ.) | F | 55 (131) |
| OB_GF | W | 51 (119) | W_GF | W | 45 (90) |
| O_SF | F | 43 (139) | W_A02 | F | 43 (80) |
| O_RS | W | 18 (56) | W_A05 | T | 59 (122) |
| OB_SK | T | 55 (125) | W_B03 | T | 27 (60) |
| OB_WA | F | 18 (32) | W_N29 (publ.) | F | 13 (36) |
| **Total** | | **363 (845)** | | | **303 (676)** |

The second group of narratives is made up of five stories existing in both an oral and a published written version where the written one is based on the oral original. However, unlike in the first group, the oral versions of these stories were prepared in advance and recorded. They therefore differ from the spontaneously told oral stories, and in form and composition are closer to written stories. Nevertheless, a comparison of these elaborated oral and edited written narratives reveals subtle nuances between the written and the oral forms, as well as differences between the spontaneous oral stories and the oral stories prepared in advance. Table 9 below lists of the narratives in the second group.

**Table 9.** *Group 2: Prepared oral stories and their edited written versions*

| Oral | Genre | Sent. (Cl.) | Written | Genre | Sent. (Cl.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O_N03 | T/W | 8 (16) | W_N03 | T/W | 7 (15) |
| O_N07 | T/W | 11 (19) | W_N07 | T/W | 12 (20) |
| O_N13 | W | 15 (22) | W_N13 | W | 15 (21) |
| OB_WV | W | 8 (14) | W_N04 | W | 8 (14) |
| OB_DB | T/W | 8 (14) | W_N05 | T/W | 8 (14) |
| **Total** | | **50 (85)** | | | **50 (84)** |

The third group is made up of eleven spontaneously told oral stories and sixteen written stories. The written stories labelled as W_N were edited by several native speakers and then published. The written stories labelled as W_B are unpublished written stories checked by at least one more native speaker. The written stories labelled as W_A were produced by just one writer. The narratives of GROUP 3 represent various genres and lengths, and are not related to each other; i.e. there are no oral and written versions of the same plot. The analysis of the narratives in this group should allow more general conclusions to be made about typical features of Wakhi oral and written narratives. The analysis of the narratives in the third group, representing a more complex and balanced sample of genres, should complement or correct the inferences made based on the analysis of the first and second groups of narratives. Table 10 below lists these narratives.

**Table 10.** *Group 3: Spontaneous oral stories and independent written stories*

| Oral | Genre | Sent. (Cl.) | Written | Genre | Sent. (Cl.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O_EF | W | 71 (161) | W_A01 | W | 26 (48) |
| O_SP | W | 22 (70) | W_A04 | W | 48 (82) |
| OB_AN | W | 39 (92) | W_B08 | W | 40 (76) |
| OB_SE | W | 15 (49) | W_B10 | W | 41 (82) |
| O_6S | T/W | 142 (347) | W_N10 | W | 11 (25) |
| O_FL | T | 36 (104) | W_N30 | W | 22 (46) |
| O_GM | T | 13 (30) | W_B11 | T/W | 52 (82) |
| OB_SB | T | 93 (199) | W_B17 | T/W | 24 (48) |
| OB_HS | F | 29 (58) | W_A03 | T | 23 (46) |
| OB_SM | F | 21 (43) | W_B09 | T | 66 (158) |
| OB_BO | F | 22 (46) | W_B18 | T | 48 (95) |
| | | | W_N20 | T | 12 (23) |
| | | | W_B07 | F | 18 (44) |
| | | | W_N01 | F | 16 (35) |
| | | | W_N28 | F | 21 (57) |
| | | | W_N31 | F | 16 (33) |
| **Total** | | **503 (1199)** | | | **484 (980)** |

The goal of this division of the narratives into three groups is to avoid making ambiguous claims and conclusions. The analysis of GROUP 1 will show in what areas the Wakhi native speakers/writers feel that the oral forms should be changed in order to become written forms. However, some oral features may still be preserved in the written versions, as they are based on oral versions. The analysis of GROUP 3 should then provide "uninfluenced" samples of both oral and written narratives. However, it will not show how certain discourse functions are achieved in both the oral and the written versions of the same narrative. GROUP 2 will not primarily show the difference between speech and writing, but it will show what Wakhi speakers perceive to be a well-formed narrative, be it written or oral.

# 5. Interclausal logical relations

This chapter examines interclausal logical relations in Wakhi oral and written narratives with regard to discourse-pragmatic analysis. The first section explains the method of the analysis. The second section describes the analysis and the characteristics of Wakhi written and oral texts. The third section presents conclusions and summarizes the results of the analysis.

## 5.1. Method

The purpose of the analysis of the interclausal relations in the Wakhi written and oral texts is to reveal:

1. the default forms of coordinating and subordinating strategies in Wakhi oral and written narratives;
2. whether and where these strategies differ between oral and written narratives;
3. the pragmatic effects of departures from the default forms.

To achieve the above-stated goals, the analysis first identifies the connectives and their discourse-pragmatic functions in the corpus of the Wakhi narratives. Reboul & Moeschler (1998: 77) give the following definition of a pragmatic connective:

> "Un connecteur pragmatique est une marque linguistique, appartenant à des catégories grammaticales variées (conjonctions de coordination, conjonctions de subordination, adverbes, locutions adverbiales), qui: a) articule des unités linguistiques maximales ou des unités discursives quelconques, b) donne des instructions sur la manière de relier ces unités, c) impose de tirer de la connexion discursive des conclusions qui ne seraient pas tirées en son absence."[51]

Roberts (2009: 199) who, referring to Blakemore (1987), described the pragmatic functions of connectives in Persian, defines connectives as expressions "whose semantic function is not to contribute to the propositional content of the utterances that contain them, but rather to indicate how that proposition is to be interpreted as relevant by constraining the hearers' choice of the context for its interpretation." Pragmatic functions of connectives in another Iranian language were addressed by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010) who studied discourse features in the Balochi of Sistan. As Barjasteh Delforooz (ibid.: 161) claims, sometimes the logical relation between the constituents exists without an overt connective. With the above-mentioned facts in mind I will give an overview of the connectives and logical relations between clauses and sentences as they appear in the Wakhi narratives.

The first part of the analysis (Section 5.2.1) presents an overview of overall syntactic structure. It discusses the frequency of subordination and coordination, and the structure and length of sentences in Wakhi narratives. This overview provides a background for a more thorough investigation of the syntactic complexity of the relationship between the oral and written forms of Wakhi narratives in the subsequent sections.

The second part of the analysis (Section 5.2.2) focuses on COORDINATING STRATEGIES identified in the Wakhi narratives. Coordination, as defined by Haspelmath (2007: 1), "refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements." Clauses can be conjoined by coordinating connectives which, according to Levinsohn (2015a: 86), "may include **conjunctions** such as *and, but, however, moreover* and *therefore*, **referential connectives** with an anaphoric demonstrative such as *after this* and

[51] My translation: "A pragmatic connective is a linguistic marker that can belong to various grammatical categories (coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, adverbs, adverbial expressions), which (a) links together maximal linguistic units or any discourse units; (b) gives instructions about how to relate these units; (c) constrains conclusions to be drawn on the basis of this discourse connection which would have not been drawn in its absence." An English translation, with slight modifications, of Reboul & Moeschler's definition of a connective was also given in Levinsohn (2015a: 87).

*for that reason* and even, in oral material in some languages, **tail-head linkage**". They can also be conjoined by juxtaposition (i.e. without using any overt connective).

In the analysis, I consider the connectives linking the clauses in coordinate constructions which have already been described earlier in Section 2.2.3. In addition, I take into consideration coordinating connectives such as additive particles, development markers and tail-head linkage. The list of strategies that are investigated consists of:

1. conjoining by
   - juxtaposition, i.e. conjoining with no overt connective;
   - associative enclitic conjunction *=ət*;
   - distinctive conjunction *xə̌*;
2. development marker *yan*;
3. tail-head linkage
4. additive particles
   - *bə;*
   - *woz;*
   - *am;*
5. adversative coordination by
   - *nəy ki;*
   - *amo*
   - *lekin/lokin.*

The analysis of coordination focuses on describing the frequency and discussing the use of the identified coordinating strategies in the oral and written Wakhi narratives. It reveals the default and preferred coordinating strategies in both the oral and the written Wakhi narratives. Departures from the default forms will also be discussed. The results serve as a basis for comparing the oral and written narratives. A discussion follows about the differences that were found between oral and written Wakhi narratives. The discourse-pragmatic functions of the connectives, especially those with different uses or frequencies in oral and written narratives, are addressed. The analysis also considers the length of the sequences and the patterns of the conjoined clauses in the oral and written narratives.

The third part of the analysis (Section 5.2.3) focuses on identifying and describing SUBORDINATING STRATEGIES. The description of the subordinating devices and their pragmatic effects is essentially based on the discussion presented in Section 2.2.2. The analysis thus examines and discusses the following:

1. complementation;

2. relative clauses;
3. various types of adverbial subordinate clauses.

The examination of complementation includes reported speech patterns. As mentioned in Section 2.2.2.1, reported speech clauses are analysed as complement clauses, i.e. arguments of the verbs of speech. In Wakhi, deictic shift occurs in almost every reported speech. It is found even in some constructions with non-speech complement-taking verbs. The analysis of all complement clauses will thus account for the parameter of DEICTIC SHIFT. Interpreting the complement clauses as representations of an utterance, thought or state of affairs makes it possible to account for deictic shift even in the non-speech complement clauses. The second parameter taken into account is the presence or absence of the COMPLEMENTIZER / INTERPRETIVE USE MARKER *ki*. The analysis investigates the pragmatic functions of the deictic shift and the role of the presence or absence of the interpretive use marker. It shows and discusses which complement-taking verbs are prone to deictic shift. The analysis also examines the differences between oral and written narratives.

The goal of the examination of relative clauses is to describe the patterns occurring in Wakhi narratives and to investigate whether there are differences between oral and written narratives. It was mentioned in Section 2.2.2.3, that in relative clauses, Wakhi uses the subordinators *ki* and *cə/cəy*, which can occur either together or singly. The analysis reveals which patterns for relative clauses are preferred in written and in oral narratives.

Examination of adverbial clauses focuses on identifying the default position and function for each functional category in the Wakhi narrative texts. Temporal adverbial clauses, as the most frequent and relevant ones for the narrative analysis, are addressed more in detail. The findings are discussed from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. This analysis will reveal at what points the oral and written Wakhi narratives differ.

## 5.2. Analysis - discussion

As indicated in Section 4.3, the analysis is done separately for three groups of narratives:

- GROUP 1 (table 8) consisting of eight spontaneously told oral narratives and edited written versions based on these oral narratives;
- GROUP 2 (table 9) consisting of five oral narratives prepared in advance and edited written versions based on these oral narratives, and
- GROUP 3 (table 10) consisting of eleven spontaneously told oral narratives and 16 independent written stories that are not related to each other.

Before proceeding to a more detailed analysis of coordination and subordination, a general overview of syntactic structure is presented.

## 5.2.1. Syntactic structure

The analysis of the overall syntactic structure of Wakhi narratives investigates the following characteristics for each of the three groups:

- total number of sentences and clauses, as well as an average number of clauses per sentence;
- distribution of clauses per sentence expressed in percent;
- percentage of direct speech, subordinate and independent clauses in relation to the total number of clauses.

In GROUP 1, the total number of sentences is 363 in oral and 303 in written texts. Given the total number of 845 clauses in oral and 676 clauses in written texts, this means an average sentence consist of 2.33 clauses in oral and 2.23 clauses in written texts, as is illustrated in Table 11 below.

**Table 11.** *Group 1: Average number of clauses per sentence*

| | **G1 – Oral** | **G1 – Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Sentences** | 363 | 303 |
| **Clauses** | 845 | 676 |
| **Average length of sentence** | 2.33 cl. | 2.23 cl. |

The same calculation was done for GROUPS 2 and 3, and the results are presented in Tables 12 and 13 below.

**Table 12.** *Group 2: Average number of clauses per sentence*

| | **G2 – Oral** | **G2 –Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Sentences** | 50 | 50 |
| **Clauses** | 85 | 84 |
| **Average length of sentence** | 1.70 cl. | 1.68 cl. |

**Table 13.** *Group 3: Average number of clauses per sentence*

| | G3 – Oral | G3 –Written |
|---|---|---|
| **Sentences** | 503 | 484 |
| **Clauses** | 1199 | 980 |
| **Average length of sentence** | 2.38 cl. | 2.03 cl. |

In all three groups, the average sentence in written stories is slightly shorter than that in oral stories, but the difference is not significant. The average number of clauses per sentence is very similar in GROUPS 1 and 3 for both oral and written stories. In GROUP 2, though, the average number of clauses per sentence is lower than in GROUPS 1 and 3. This difference reflects the fact that while GROUPS 1 and 3 consist of spontaneously told narratives (i.e. not prepared in advance), the oral stories in GROUP 2 were prepared in advance. The length and complexity of the stories may also play a role, as the stories in GROUP 2 are mostly simple linear stories for children.

As for the comparison between oral and written forms, GROUP 2 shows the least difference (only 0.02 cl.) in the average length of sentence between oral and written stories. Since the oral stories in GROUP 2 were prepared in advance, not many changes were made in their written counterparts. GROUP 3, on the other hand, exhibits the biggest difference (0.35 cl.) between oral and written stories of the three groups, though this difference is still not very significant. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a preliminary observation that after the editing process, the syntactic complexity of the oral stories is more or less reflected in their written versions. The following discussion will reveal more in this regard.

The overview of the distribution of clauses per sentence offers some interesting observations. The three charts below illustrate the types of sentences, which are defined by the number of clauses in a sentence, and the percentage of their occurrences in relation to the number of sentences in each group of narratives.

In GROUP 1, out of 363 sentences in oral stories, 36% are single-clause sentences and 29% are two-clause sentences. In written stories, out of 303 sentences, 32% are single-clause sentences and 36% are sentences made of two clauses. The overall distribution of clauses per sentence in written and oral narratives of GROUP 1 shows a certain proportionality. The number of one- or two-clause sentences is higher than that for other multi-clause sentences in both oral and written narratives. The number of sentences with more than two clauses decreases proportionally.

It should also be noted that in the oral narratives of GROUP 1, single-clause sentences are the most frequent (36%) and the frequency decreases as the number of clauses per sentence increases. In written narratives, it is the two-clause

sentences that are the most frequent (36%). Another observation to be made is that, in the oral narratives a sentence consisting of ten clauses is found, while in the written narratives, the maximum number of clauses per sentence is eight. This is demonstrated in Figure 5 below.

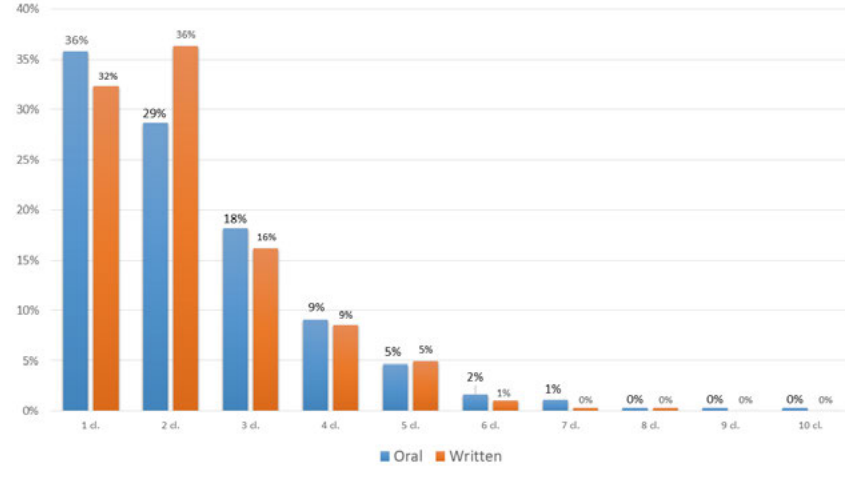


*Figure 5.* Group 1: Distribution of clauses per sentence in percent

The same analysis and calculation was done for GROUPS 2 and 3.

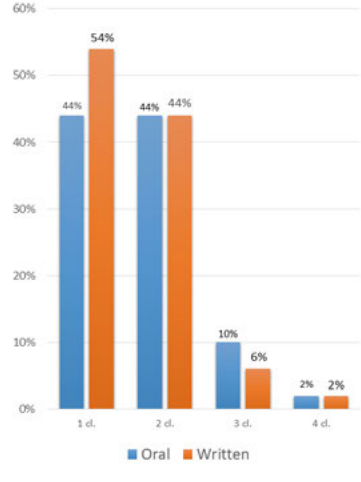


*Figure 6.* Group 2: Distribution of clauses per sentence in percent

In GROUP 2, as illustrated in Figure 6, out of a total of 50 sentences in oral stories, 44% are single-clause sentences and 44% are two-clause sentences. In written stories, out of a total of 50 sentences, 54% are one-clause sentences and

44% are two-clause sentences. The number of three- and four-clause sentences is relatively low. The figure above also shows that the maximum number of clauses in a sentence is four in both oral and written stories.

The oral and written narratives of GROUP 3 manifest similar overall characteristics as those of GROUP 1, although in GROUP 3 they are not oral and written version of the same story. They are also more complex than the narratives of the first two groups, as will be shown later in the analysis. In this group, long chains of clauses tend to occur more in oral narratives, reaching up to eight clauses per sentence, than in written narratives, which have a maximum of five clauses per sentence. The most preferred patterns in written narratives are two-clause sentences (42%), followed by single-clause sentences (34%). In oral narratives, the preference for two-clause sentences and single-clause sentences is almost identical (31% and 32%), but in both cases it is lower than in written narratives. Conversely, the sentences made up of three or more clauses are used more often in oral than in written narratives. The distribution of clauses per sentence for GROUP 3 is presented in Figure 7 below.

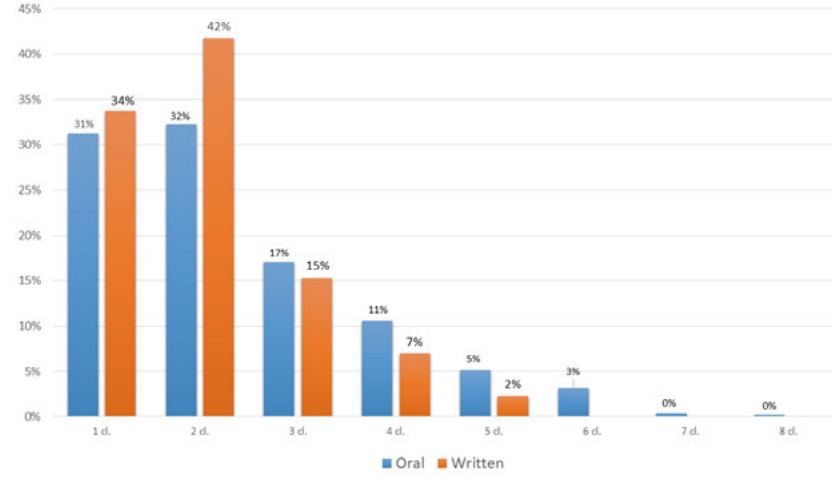


*Figure 7.* Group 3: Distribution of clauses per sentence in percent

Finally, the percentages of direct speech, subordinate and independent clauses in the overall number of clauses are shown in the three charts below.

Figure 8 below illustrates the proportion of independent clauses, direct speech clauses and subordinate clauses in the total number of clauses in the narratives of GROUP 1. As the figure illustrates, independent clauses make up around two-thirds of the total number of clauses in both oral and written stories, and their proportion is only slightly higher in oral stories. The difference between oral and written stories in this respect is marginal.

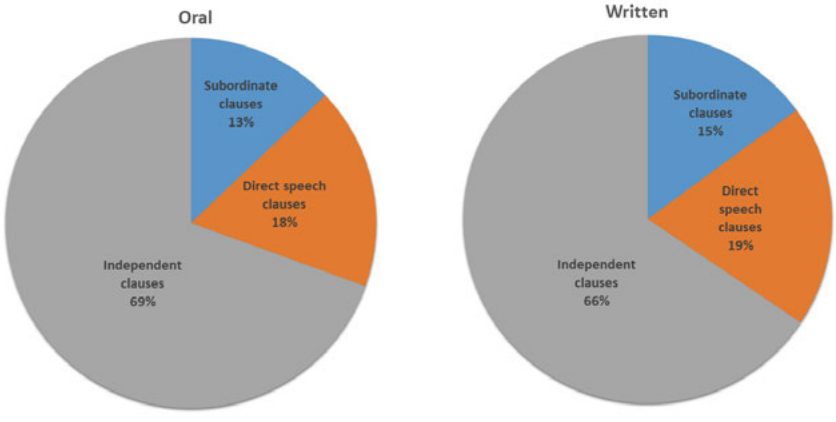


*Figure 8.* Group 1: Percentages of subordinate, direct speech and independent clauses in the total number of clauses in the oral and in written narratives

The percentages of subordinate, direct speech and independent clauses in the total number of clauses in the narratives of GROUP 2 are illustrated in Figure 9 below.

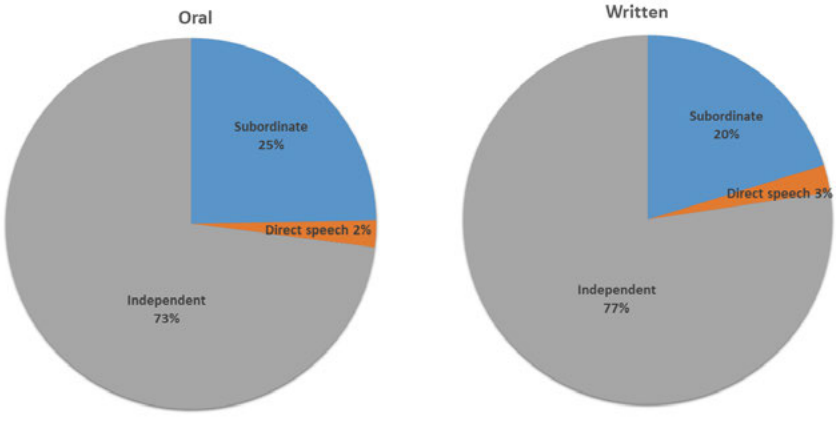


*Figure 9.* Group 2: Percentages of subordinate, direct speech and independent clauses in the total number of clauses in the oral and in written narratives

Here too, the differences between oral and written narratives are not significant, although the percentage of independent clauses in both oral and written narratives is higher than that in GROUP 1, and makes up around three-quarters of the total number of clauses. The percentage of subordinate clauses is 5%

higher in oral narratives than in their written versions. The percentage of direct speech clauses is rather low in both oral and written narratives. What is not reflected in this chart, however, is the strategy of telling the whole story in evidential direct speech form, as was discussed in Section 3.1. This strategy is used in three of the five narratives, in both the oral and written versions.

Narratives of GROUP 3, both the oral and written, are more complex than the narratives of the previous two groups. The distribution of independent, subordinate and direct speech clauses is not always straightforward. Several stories have long passages or even an entire embedded story told in evidential direct speech in which the action continues with shifted deixis, i.e. shifted from the 3rd person to the 1st person, and from the non-witnessed form to the witnessed form. These passages are not counted as proper direct speech because, in fact, they are part of the foreground of the story. Because they have their own internal story structure, they are analysed in this chapter in the same way as narrations, i.e. with their own independent clauses, direct speeches and subordinate clauses.

The overall percentages of subordinate, direct speech and independent clauses in the total number of clauses in the narratives of GROUP 3 are presented in Figure 10 below.

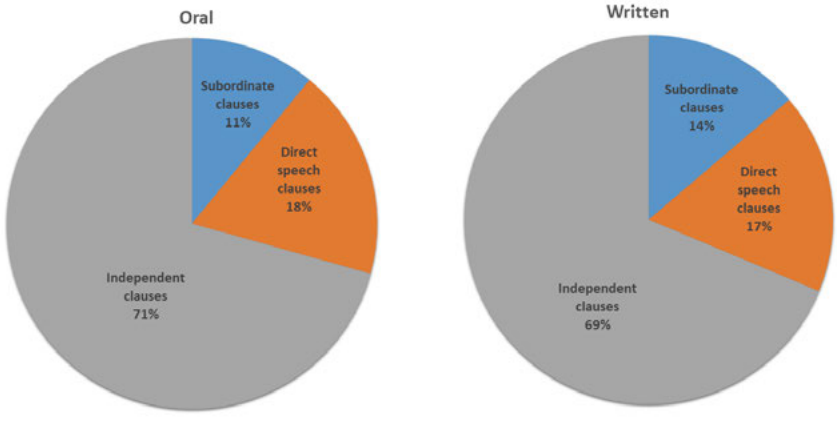


*Figure 10.* Group 3: Percentages of subordinate, direct speech and independent clauses in the total number of clauses in the oral and in written narratives

As the figure above demonstrates, the difference in overall distribution of independent, direct speech and subordinate clauses is marginal between oral and written narratives of GROUP 3. Moreover, the narratives of GROUPS 1 and 3 display comparable patterns in this regard.

The following sections discuss the analysis of coordinating and subordinating strategies more in detail.

## 5.2.2. Coordination

In a discourse-pragmatic approach, coordination is not limited to intra-sentential relations between the clauses. In the present study, all interclausal coordinating strategies are investigated, i.e. all instances of coordination occurring between independent clauses regardless of the sentence boundaries. Furthermore, sentence boundaries are taken into account when identifying intra-sentential coordinating patterns. Coordination also occurs between clauses within subordinate and direct speech sequences. These occurrences are treated separately.

### 5.2.2.1. Conjoining

For the purpose of analysing conjoining strategies, the total number of pairs of independent clauses in which conjoining can occur is taken into account. The number of the pairs of conjoined independent clauses is the number of independent clauses in a conjoining relationship[52] minus one.

The analysis of conjoining strategies investigates the relations between two consecutive independent clauses. Three conjoining strategies are identified in Wakhi narratives: (1) conjoining by juxtaposition (i.e. with no overt connective), (2) conjoining with the enclitic conjunction *ət*, and (3) conjoining with the conjunction *x̌ə*, the latter two glossed as 'and'.

#### *5.2.2.1.1. Conjoining – GROUP 1*

In the first group of Wakhi narratives, all three conjoining strategies are represented: conjoining by juxtaposition, conjoining with the enclitic conjunction *ət* and conjoining with the conjunction *x̌ə*. Table 14 below presents a summary of the conjoining strategies found in the narratives of GROUP 1. The total number of pairs of independent clauses in the conjoining relation is given for both oral and written narratives. After that, for both oral and written narratives and for each conjoining strategy, all occurrences and the percentage in relation to the total number of pairs are given. Conjoining in direct speech and subordinate sequences occurs mostly within sentences, and therefore they will be discussed later when dealing with conjoining patterns within sentences.

[52] To determine the number of independent clauses in the conjoining relationship, the number of adversative and disjunctive coordinate clauses is deducted from the total number of independent clauses. Independent clauses have been defined in Section 4.3.

**Table 14.** *Group 1: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** |
| **Total pairs** | **548** | **100%** | **420** | **100%** |
| **Juxtaposition** | 452 | 82% | 345 | 82% |
| **Conjunction *ət*** | 85 | 16% | 75 | 18% |
| **Conjunction *x̌ə*** | 11 | 2% | – | – |

As the table above demonstrates, conjoining by juxtaposition is far more preferred than the use of conjunctions. It represents around 82% of all conjoined pairs in both oral and written narratives, and thus can be interpreted as the default overall conjoining strategy. The preference for conjoining by juxtaposition is attested in all stories of GROUP 1, both oral and written, although the percentages of conjoining by juxtaposition and with a conjunction are variable in individual stories. Regarding the use of conjunctions, there is also a significant difference between the use of the conjunction *ət* and the conjunction *x̌ə*, the latter being used only rarely in the oral stories and not occurring at all in the written stories of GROUP 1. When it comes to comparing oral and written texts, there no significant difference was found in the overall percentages of conjoining strategies.

A closer look at the usage of these conjoining strategies in individual texts, however, shows somewhat less regular patterns. Figure 11 below shows the distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and with the conjunctions (counting *ət* and *x̌ə* together) in the oral and written version of each narrative. Other coordinating connectives (adversative and disjunctive) are not shown in this chart, as their use is more sporadic. The dotted lines represent the average values identified in Table 14 above. The black dotted line represents the average percentage of occurrence of conjoining by juxtaposition, i.e. 82%. The red dotted line represents the average percentage of occurrence of the conjoining with the conjunctions *ət* and *x̌ə* counted together, i.e. 18%. The upper part of the chart shows the percentage of conjoining by juxtaposition in the oral (blue line) and in the written (orange line) version of each story counted by pairs of independent clauses. The bottom part of the chart shows the percentage of conjoining with a conjunction in both the oral (grey line) and the written (yellow line) version of each story counted by pairs of independent clauses.

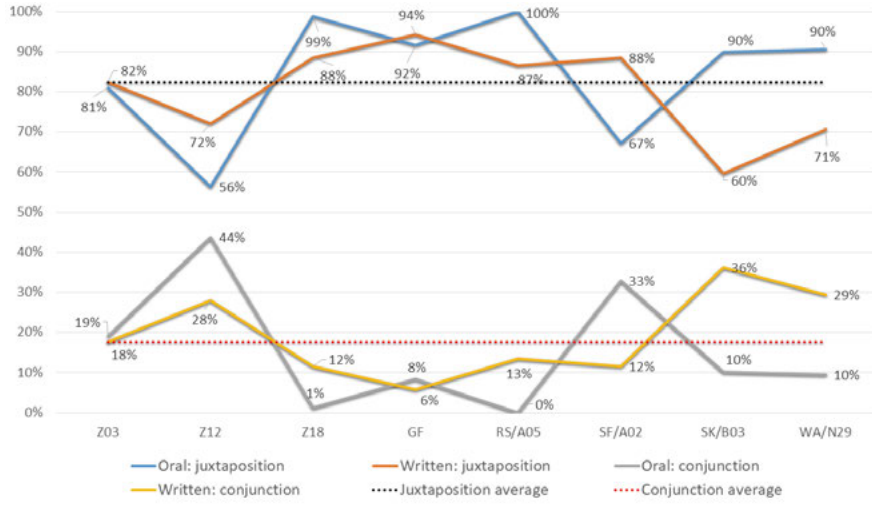


*Figure 11.* Group 1: Distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction in the oral and written versions of individual narratives

As the figure above illustrates, some stories show patterns very similar to the average pattern identified for the whole of GROUP 1. An example is the story Z03, which shows values almost identical with the overall values for the entire group, in both the oral and written versions. Some stories display greater divergence from the overall values, sometimes even in opposite directions, between the oral and written version.

As for the comparison between oral and written versions, the divergence in both directions is considerably higher in oral stories (blue and grey lines in the figure). For instance, in the oral version of the story Z12, the percentage of conjoining by juxtaposition is 56%, which is significantly lower than the overall average value of 82%. Conversely, in the same story the percentage of the use of conjunction is 44%, which is significantly higher than the overall average value of 18%. On the other hand, in the oral stories Z18 and RS the percentage of conjunctions is substantially lower (1% and 0) than the average 18%, whereas the percentage of conjoining by juxtaposition is proportionally higher (99% and 100%) than the overall average of 82%.

A general observation can be made that the edited written versions to some extent reflect the divergence from the overall average value of their oral versions, although the divergence is more moderate and closer to the overall average values (orange and yellow lines on the chart) than it is in the oral versions. This can be observed in the first six stories (counting from the left) apart from the story GF where the divergence is slightly higher in the written version. This story has a higher rate of other non-conjoining coordinate strategies, which may explain this slight discrepancy. Two stories (SK/B03

and WA/N29), however, show the opposite divergence in their oral and written versions. This may be explained by the fact, that although they are both oral and written variants of the same stories, the written variants were not edited based on the oral original. Instead, they were written independently.

The next step in the analysis of the conjoining strategies is to identify the intra-sentential patterns, i.e. how clauses are conjoined in the sentences. Table 15 below summarizes the occurrences and percentages of the conjoining strategies found intra-sententially in the narratives of GROUP 1.

**Table 15.** *Group 1: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses, intra-sententially*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** |
| **Pairs** | **232** | **100%** | **153** | **100%** |
| **Juxtaposition** | 143 | 62% | 78 | 51% |
| **Conjunction *ət*** | 79 | 34% | 75 | 49% |
| **Conjunction *x̌ə*** | 10 | 4% | – | – |

As can be seen in the table above, conjoining by juxtaposition is preferred even intra-sententially in both oral (62%) and written (51%) narratives. In oral stories, the difference between conjoining by juxtapostion (62%) and conjoining with conjunctions (34% + 4%) is still significant enough to indicate that conjoining by juxtaposition is a preferred conjoining strategy in oral narratives. In written versions, however, the difference between the two strategies intra-sententially is rather marginal, indicating that the stylistic editing of a narrative into a written style prefers a balanced proportion of juxtaposition and conjunctions. A look at how conjoining is achieved in direct speech sequences provides some ground for this claim made above.

Analysis of conjoining strategies occurring in direct speech sequences is done intra-sententially and summarized in Table 16 below. As this table shows, conjoining by juxtaposition is far more preferred as a strategy for conjoining clauses within sentences in direct speech than conjoining with a conjunction in both the oral and written versions of narratives. The written versions, though, show a slightly higher percentage of use of conjunctions than the oral versions.

**Table 16.** *Group 1: Conjoining strategies in direct speech in relation to total number of independent clauses, intra-sententially*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** |
| **Pairs** | **46** | **100%** | **36** | **100%** |
| **Juxtaposition** | 41 | 89% | 30 | 83% |
| **Conjunction *ət*** | 5 | 11% | 6 | 17% |

Based on the discussion above, a preliminary claim can be made that in oral narratives, juxtaposition is the default strategy in both inter-sentential and intra-sentential conjoining, whereas in edited written narratives, juxtaposition is preferred only in inter-sentential conjoining. In intra-sentential conjoining in written narratives, there is a preference for balanced distribution of juxtaposition and conjunctions. Direct speech sequences, even in written narratives, represent an "oral element", and thus the conjoining strategies in direct speech reflect the features found in oral narratives, i.e. a preference for conjoining by juxtaposition.

The following paragraphs discuss the intra-sentential patterns, (i.e. conjoining within sentences) found in oral and written narratives of GROUP 1. Table 17 below summarizes the conjoining patterns where occurrences of each pattern are counted for oral and written versions of narratives. The number of occurrences in direct speech is given in brackets. Conjoining patterns combined with other coordinating connectives are not counted, as they are not frequent and do not show any significant features different from what is shown in the table below.

**Table 17.** *Group 1: Conjoining patterns in the oral and written narratives*

| | | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **2 clauses** | [A juxt B] | 59 (22) | 33 (16) |
| | [A *ət* B] | 26 (2) | 40 (4) |
| | [A *x̌ə* B] | 2 | – |
| **3 clauses** | [A juxt B juxt C] | 19 (6) | 8 (5) |
| | [A *ət* B *ət* C] | 13 | 4 |
| | [A *x̌ə* B *x̌ə* C] | 1 | – |
| | [A juxt B *ət* C] or [A *ət* B juxt C] | 8 | 12 |
| **4 clauses** | [A *ət* B *ət* C *ət* D] | 1 | – |
| | [A juxt B juxt C juxt D] | 3 (2) | – |
| | combined | 2 | 3 |
| **5 clauses** | [A juxt B juxt C juxt D juxt E] | 2 | 2 |

| | | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [A *ǎə* B *ǎə* C *ǎə* D *ǎə* E] | 1 | – |
| | combined | (1) | 3 (1) |
| **6 clauses** | [A *ət* B *ət* C *ət* D *ət* E *ǎə* F] | 1 | – |
| | [A juxt B *ət* C *ət* D *ət* E *ət* F] | 1 | – |
| | [A *ət* B juxt C juxt D *ət* E juxt F] | 1 | – |
| **7 clauses** | [A juxt B juxt C juxt D juxt E juxt F juxt G] | 1 | – |

As the table demonstrates, in the two-clause constructions, a preference is shown for conjoining by juxtaposition in oral narratives and in direct speech, whereas conjoining with a conjunction is more frequent in written narratives. A pair of conjoined clauses represents the most frequent conjoining pattern in both oral and written narratives and occurs extensively in all narratives.

Patterns with three conjoined clauses also occur in all narratives, but they are less frequent. There are noticeable differences in the three-clause patterns between oral and written narratives. In oral narratives, the patterns prevail which use the same strategy within the construction (i.e. [A juxt B juxt C] or [A conj B conj C]), whereas in written narratives, the same conjoining strategy within the construction (i.e. [A juxt B juxt C] or [A conj B conj C]) is used with the same frequency as the constructions with the combined strategy (i.e. [A juxt B conj C] or [A conj B juxt C]).

The constructions with three conjoined clauses are more frequent in oral than in written stories. This is because this type of three-clause construction often consists of at least one repetition by which the action is slowed down. This is a common device extensively used in oral narratives but only rarely occurring in written narratives. Thus, many of the three-clause constructions in oral stories are edited into two-clause constructions in their written versions.

Examples (90) and (91) below illustrate an oral and a written version of the same passage respectively. The sentence shown in (90a) is made up of three clauses conjoined by juxtaposition, the last of which is a repetition. The following sentence in the story shown in (90b) is made up of three clauses conjoined with the conjunction *ət*. The first clause here is the "head" of the tail-head linkage construction[53], the second clause is again a repetition, and the new information only comes in the last clause. This example thus represents two sentences with the patterns [A juxt B juxt C] and [A *ət* B *ət* C]. The immediate context of this passage is given in brackets in the free translation.

[53] The tail-head linkage (or tail-head construction) has been defined in Footnote 48 in Section 4.1. As will be discussed later, in Section 5.2.2.3, the "head" does not necessarily need to be in a subordinate clause. In Wakhi, it commonly occurs in a coordinate construction.

(90) a. car-t tyor [O_Z03: 22]
do-3SG finished

woz čirmi-t d-a mukt čiz
again enter-3SG in-DEM3 frog thing

d-a pist dəst čirmi-t
in-DEM3 skin inside enter-3SG

*(She threw off her frog skin, became a human, she scythed so well that she finished before the others.) (a) She finished, (b) again entered that frog thing, (c) (she) entered that frog skin.*

b. woz čirmi-t d-a pist dəst=ət [O_Z03: 23]
again enter-3SG in-DEM3 skin inside=and

alolik yan d-a čirmi-t=ət
dear brother then in-DEM3 enter-3SG=and

xəy yət-iš ayron wərəč-ən
well DEM2-PL surprised remain-3PL

*(a) She entered that skin again and, (b) my dear, then she entered that (skin) and (c) well, those (other) were surprised.*

The above passage is shortened from six clauses in the oral version into three clauses in the written version. Accordingly, the first three-clause sentence of the oral passage (90a) was reduced to a two-clause sentence (91a) by removing the repetition. Similarly, the second three-clause sentence in (90b) was reduced to one clause by removing both repetition clauses, and one more narrative clause was added which moved the action forward (91b).

(91) a. Царт тёрәт [W_Z03: 2.4]
car-t tyor=ət
do-3SG finished=and

ӗоз чирмит да ӽы пист.
woz čirmi-t d-a ӽы pist
again enter-3SG in-DEM3 own skin

*(a) She finished (the work) and (b) again entered in her (frog) skin.*

b. Йәт андарчищ айрон ӂәрәӵән, [W_Z03: 2.5]
yət andarč-iš ayron wərəǯ-ən
DEM2 daughter in law-PL surprised remain-3PL

ӽанән
ӽan-ən
say-3PL

*(a) The other daughters-in-law were wondering, (b) they said: ("What sort of (work) it is that frog scythed?")*

It must be noted, though, that not all constructions in oral stories with three conjoined clauses are made shorter in their written versions. The editing process also takes into account the narrative structure and the dynamics of the story. This will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

Constructions conjoining four or more clauses are less common. In the oral stories, a sequence of seven conjoined clauses is found. All of them are conjoined by juxtaposition. In the written stories, the maximum number of conjoined clauses is five, and they are conjoined by a combination of juxtaposition and conjunctions.

As has been observed above, in oral narrative it is relatively common to find sequences using the same conjoining strategy throughout the entire sequence, be it juxtaposition or a conjunction. In written narratives, however, it is more common to combine strategies within a sequence. Regarding the consecutive use of a conjunction within one sentence, in the oral narratives a sequence of five clauses conjoined with the conjunction *ət* is found. Example (92) below illustrates a sequence of six consecutive coordinate clauses, five of which are conjoined with the conjunction *ət*, thereby producing a sequence of four consecutive *ət* conjunctions. It is an example of the maximal number of consecutive *ət* conjunctions in a sequence found in the oral narratives of GROUP 1.

(92) aǰon yaw wizit a dəm qəšloq [O_Z12: 40]
dear he comes EMP DEM1 village

a d-əm yakɨm xun wizi-t=ət
EMP in-DEM1 first house come-3SG=and

yan yəm ǩɨ rɣiš-pərɣiš-i dəy-t=ət
then DEM1 own beard-rhyme-ACC hit=and

toza ǩat car-t=ət
clean self make-3SG=and

wɨzdɨy-t ǩat-i=ət
wash-3SG self-ACC=and

yan yət-i dɨrz-ən wɨzm-ən a d-ət
then DEM2-ACC take-3PL bring-3PL EMP to-DEM2

tat=ət nan xun ki
father=and mother house SUB

yawiš droi yət-ən mərtkəy
they for the sake of DEM2-ABL die.PF

*(a) My dear, he returned to the village, (b) he came to the first house and (c) then he shaved his beard and (d) cleaned himself and (e) washed himself and (f) then (the people) took him to his parents' house (and he saw) that they had (almost) died because of (worrying about) him.*

The written version of this passage is significantly shorter. The six coordinate clauses in one sentence in the oral version were edited down to three clauses over two sentences, [A juxt B] and [A (+ subordinate)], as illustrated in Example (93) below.

(93) a. Йəм ӡай ӑизит a рət [W_Z12: 2.1–2.2]
уəm ðay wizi-t a r-ət
DEM1 man come-3SG EMP to.down-DEM2

диёр,
diyor
village

рəшт тə ӽы хун.
rəṣ̌-t tə ӽы xun
go-3SG in own house

*(a) The man arrived in that village, (b) he went to his house.*

b. Йəм татнанищ, йəм хиштборищ хёлəв кəрк
уəm tatnan-iš уəm xišṭbor-iš xyol=əv kərk
DEM1 parent-PL DEM1 relative-PL assuming=3PL do.PF

ки,
ki
SUB

яӑ алба мəрткəй.
yaw alba mərtk-əy
he perhaps die.PF

*(a) His [lit. 'these'] parents, his [lit. 'these'] relatives thought perhaps that he had died.*

Another sequence consisting of five conjunctions in a row is a sequence of six clauses conjoined with four *ət* conjunctions and one *ӽə* conjunction, [A *ət* B *ət* C *ət* D *ət* E *ӽə* F], as is shown in example (94) below. In the written version of this story, this passage was re-worked to the point where it no longer had the same sequence of events and conjoined clauses.

(94) vərʂəmqala car-ən uǰum=ət [O_SF: 4]
Silk fortress do-3PL atack=and

yan a drət yaw sipo-iš nɯwz-ən=ət
then EMP THERE2 her soldier-PL go out-3PL=and

də ǩɯ silo-ən=ət də ǩɯ laʂkar-ən
with own weapen-ABL=and with own army-ABL

nɯwz-ən=ət
go out-3PL=and

yət Rɯxʂona ki šo cə tuətk yət bə
DEM3 Rukhshona SUB king REL be.PF DEM2 ADD

xanǰar dɯrz-d=ət
sword take-3SG=and

yət bəṭ-i nizomi-i pumus-t ǩə
DEM2 clothing-EZ soldierly-ACC put on-3SG and

ba mɯqobili ǩɯ arif-vi ǰang cərak
opposite own enemy-PL.OBL fight do.INF

nɯwɯz-d.
come out-3SG

*(a) They attacked the Silk fortress and (b) then right there her soldiers came out and (c) they came out with their weapons and with their army, and (d) that Rukshona who was a king, she also took sword and (e) put on the soldierly clothes, and (f) went out to the battle to face her enemy.*

In the written narratives, the writers tend to avoid the consecutive use of conjunctions. If a conjunction occurs, it is not used in more than two consecutive sequences conjoining three clauses (Example 95). If more clauses need to be conjoined in the written narratives, it is usually achieved by a combination of juxtaposition and the conjunction *ət*, as is illustrated in Example (96).

(95) Нәғәрдум хуб ӡир рәштәт [W_Z12: 1.23]
nəɣərdum xub ðir rəšˌ-t=ət
bear well far go-3SG=and

йәм ӡай бә йәм писти цә ӽы
yəm ðay bə yəm pist-i cə ӽы
DEM1 man ADD DEM1 skin-ACC from own

сарән бындәт
sar-ən bын-d=ət
head-ABL throw-3SG=and

рәлт.
rəl-t
run away-3SG

*(a) The bear went very far and (b) this man then threw away the bearskin from his head and (c) ran away.*

(96) Яв бу стəхищ дрывəнəт [W_Z03: 2.3]
yaw bu stəx̌-iš drɨw-ən=ət
his two daughter-in-law-PL scythe-3PL=and

йəм мукт бə хы писти бынд,
уəm mukt bə x̌ɨ pist-i bɨn-d
DEM1 frog ADD own skin-ACC throw-3SG

ғирд халг,
ɣ̌ir-d xalg
turn-3SG human

хəщруй дритəт
xəšruy dri-t=ət
nice scythe-3SG=and

царт тра хы андарчви мис
car-t tr-a x̌ɨ andarč-vi mis
do-3SG in-DEM3 own sister-in-law[54]-PL.OBL early

тёр.
tyor
finished

*(a) His [the king's] two daughters-in-law scythed and (b) the frog also, threw off her skin, (c) turned into a human, (d) scythed nicely and (e) finished before the other two daughters-in-law.*

While strategies of conjoining by juxtaposition and with the conjunction *ət* are extensively used in both oral and written narratives, the conjunction *x̌ə* is used much less frequently. In GROUP 1 it occurs eleven times in only three oral narratives (O_Z12, O_SF and OB_SK). It is also noteworthy that the conjunction *x̌ə* is mainly used by the narrators from Upper and Central Wakhan. There is no occurrence of this connective in the written narratives of GROUP 1. This suggests that in terms of markedness, the conjunction *ət* represents the default/unmarked way of conjoining with a conjunction, while the conjunction *x̌ə* suggests a marked use of conjoining with a conjunction. The following examples and discussion shed more light on the use of the conjunction *x̌ə*.

Out of the total number of occurrences of the conjunction *x̌ə*, in ten cases it is used to conjoin the foreground clauses (narrative, summative and coordinate).

[54] Wives of brothers in relation to one another.

The narrative OB_SK has the most occurrences of *x̌ə*. It occurs eight times in this story. Example (97) illustrates a sequence of five narrative (foreground) clauses, all conjoined with the conjunction *x̌ə*. In fact, this passage represents the Resolution section of the story, and the entire sequence of narrative clauses forming the Resolution is marked with the conjunction *x̌ə*.

(97) aǰon i xalg bət cə wṣ̌ык-ən mǰbur [OB_SK: 52]
dear one man more from fear-ABL obliged

sk-əm ʒiɣ̌n ya prčod-i ya iw
from-DEM1 side DEM3 girl-ACC DEM3 one

niǩin-d x̌ə
take out-3SG and

aǰon ya prčod-i dыrz-d x̌ə
dear DEM3 girl-ACC take-3SG and

woz ya bar-i dəy-t lык x̌ə
again DEM3 door-ACC hit-3SG latch and

kar-t yət-i sk-əm yaš x̌ə
put-3SG DEM2-ACC on-DEM1 horse and

t-əm palыw
to-DEM1 side

*(a) My dear, one man then by fear was forced from this side, that one took that girl out and, (b) my dear, he took that girl and (c) again latched the door and, (d) he put her on the horse and (e) (took off) straight to this side.*

Another occurrence of the conjunction *x̌ə* in this story is found in the first narrative clause starting the Complicating Action, and another occurs after a sequence of evaluative clause which suspend the action just before the culmination of the story. The return to the foreground (action) is then marked with the series of narrative clauses conjoined with the conjunction *x̌ə*.

There is only one occurrence of the conjunction *x̌ə* conjoining two background clauses. It is found in the same story [OB_SK]. Example (98b) illustrates the conjoining of a repetition clause ("head") in the tail-head linkage and the background informative clause indicating the setting (which is also

expressed by the use of verb in perfect). Here, the conjunction *x̌ə* is not conjoining the clauses in the temporal sequence. Instead it marks a break in the temporal sequence and introduces a flash-back.

(98) a. yan rəṣ̌-t [OB_SK: 26]
then go-3sg

cə dəryo-ən nɯwɯz-d
from river-abl come out-3sg

yẓ̌e naɣd wos-t
already (ru) night become-3sg

*Then he went, he crossed the river, the night now came.*

b. naɣd wos-t x̌ə [OB_SK: 27]
night become-3SG and

aǰon yawiš uẓ̌e črəng də i xun
dear they already (ru) enter.PF in one house

awɣon-iš
Afghan-PL

*(a) Night came and, (b) my dear, they, the Afghans, had already entered a house.*

In the other two stories, where the conjunction *x̌ə* is used, it occurs significantly less than the conjunction *ət*, with only two occurrences of *x̌ə* in O_Z12 and one in O_SF, compared to 33 and 35 occurrences, respectively, of the conjunction *ət* in the same stories.

The co-occurrence of both conjunctions is illustrated in Example (99).

(99) a. ya nəɣərdum xub ðir rəṣ̌-t=ət [O_Z12: 33]
DEM3 bear well far go-3SG=and

yan yəm ðay bə yəm pist-i cə
then DEM1 man ADD DEM1 skin-ACC from

x̌ы sar-ən bын-d x̌ə
own head-ABL throw-3SG and

yan rəl-t
then run away-3SG

*(a) The bear went very far ahead and* ***ət*** *(b) then this man took off the bearskin from his head and* ***x̌ə*** *(c) then ran away.*

b. yan rəl-t=ət [O_Z12: 34]
then run away-3SG=and

yəm nəɣərdum sk-am cbas gəs-t gəs-t
DEM1 bear on-his back run-3SG run-3SG

ki
SUB

{bət yaw dryob nə-baswizi-t}$_{SubC}$
anymore he catching up NEG-be able to-3SG

x̌ə yəm ɣar-vi dыrz-d=ət
and DEM1 stone-PL.OBL take-3SG=and

dəy-t rə x̌ы sar cə qaar-ən
hit-3SG to down own head from anger-ABL

*(a) Then he ran away and* ***ət*** *(b) the bear ran after him (but saw) that (c) {he couldn't catch him}$_{SubC}$ (d) and* ***x̌ə*** *(the bear) took stones and* ***ət*** *(e) from anger hit his own head.*

In both sentences (99a) and (99b) above, the first clause is the "head" of the tail-head linkage (i.e. background repetition clause), which is conjoined with the following foreground narrative clause using the conjunction *ət*. The conjunction *x̌ə* in Example (99a) conjoins two foreground narrative clauses. In Example (99b), the conjunction *x̌ə* is transcribed as clause-initial because it does not form a phonological unit with the preceding subordinate clause. This

indicates that the conjoining occurs between the narrative main clause (‘the bear ran after him’) and the next narrative main clause (‘and the bear took stones’), and not between the subordinate (‘that he couldn’t catch him’) and the narrative main clause (‘and the bear takes the stones’).

In Section 2.2.3 the conjunction *әt* has been described as an “associative (non-distinctive) connective”, and the conjunction *ӽә* as a “distinctive connective”. The analysis of the narratives of GROUP 1 suggests that a difference between the two conjunctions does exist, which is supported by the co-occurrence of both conjunctions in the same story. However, the analysis also suggests that the conjunction *әt* can fully cover the functions of the distinctive connective *ӽә*. The edited written versions of the oral stories in the present corpus provide some support for this claim. The conjunction *ӽә* does not occur in any of the edited written versions based on the oral stories in this corpus (though it does occur in written stories produced independently, as will be shown and discussed later in this study). This observation thus supports the interpretation of a marked use of the conjunction *ӽә*.

The oral version shown in Example (99) is edited into a written version in the form shown in Examples (100) and (101).

(100) Нәғәрдум хуб ӡир рәштәт [W_Z12: 1.23]
nәɣәrdum xub δir rәṣ̌-t=әt
bear well far go-3SG=and

йәм ӡай бә йәм писти цә ӽы
уәm δay bә уәm pist-i cә ӽы
DEM1 man ADD DEM1 skin-ACC from own

сарән бындәт рәлт.
sar-әn bын-d=әt rәl-t
head-ABL throw-3SG=and run away-3SG

*The bear went very far and this man then threw away the bearskin from his head and ran away.*

(101) a. Нәғәрдум скам цбас гәст, гәст ки, [W_Z12: 1.24]
nәɣәrdum sk-am cbas gәs-t gәs-t ki
bear on-his back run-3SG run-3SG SUB

бәт яӑ дәрёб нәбасӑвизит.
bәt yaw dәryob nә-baswizi-t
anymore he catching up NEG-be able to-3SG

*The bear kept running [lit. ‘run, run’] after him, (but saw) that he couldn’t catch up with him anymore.*

b. Ян йəм ғарви дырздəт [W_Z12: 1.25]
yan yəm ɣar-vi dɨrz-d=ət
then DEM1 stone-PL.OBL take-3SG=and

цə қарəн дəйт рə ӽы сар.
cə qar-ən dəy-t rə ӽы sar
from anger-ABL hit-3SG to.down own head

*Then (the bear) took stones and in anger beat his head.*

A comparison between the oral and written versions of the same story reveals that the conjunction *ət* occurring in the oral version of the story is retained in the written version as well (see 99a and 99b, cf. 100 and 101b). However, both occurrences of the conjunction *ӽə* in the oral version were edited out of the written version. The conjunction *ӽə* in (99a) was replaced by the enclitic conjunction *ət* (see 100). The occurrence in (99b) was removed by creating a new sentence boundary in the place of the conjunction *ӽə* and starting the sentence with a development marker *yan* ('then'), as shown in Example 101b).

I will, finally, discuss the positions in which the conjunctions can be found in the narratives of GROUP 1. The default position for both conjunctions, *ət* and *ӽə*, is between two conjoined clauses attaching to the last word of the first clause, with which they form a phonological unit. However, in a few instances, they can occur in clause- or sentence-initial position. In the narratives of GROUP 1, there are five instances of the conjunction *ət* being found clause initially, one of them in an edited written narrative. Being enclitic, it cannot begin the clause on its own. It has to be attached to the first word in the clause. Usually it attaches to an adverb, such as *yan* 'then' , *iwək* 'suddenly', or *pak rwor* 'every day', as is illustrated in the following examples (102), (103) and (104), the latter being an example from an edited written narrative. In one instance, it attaches to an address form *ajon* 'dear' (Example 105).

(102) yan=ət al-ən=ət [O_Z03: 44a]
then=and stay-3PL=and

*And then they waited and (...)*

(103) iwək=ət didɣ-ən ki [O_SF: 7b]
suddenly=and see-3PL SUB

*and suddenly they saw that (...)*

(104) Пак рворэт а дрэт буйӣ, труйӣ [W_A05: 7.7a]
pak rwor=ət a drət buyī truyī
every day=and EMP THERE2 by two by three

халг мирит,
xalg miri-t
man die-3SG

*And every day people died there by twos, by threes (...)*

(105) аǰon=ət хand [OB_WA: 18a]
dear=and say-3SG

*My dear, and he said (...)*

The conjunction *хə* in clause-initial position is found in the example (99b) already discussed above.

An unusual occurrence of the conjunction *ət* is a case where it conjoins a subordinate clause with its main clause. In such a case, the subordinate clause has both the subordinator (*ki*) and the conjunction *ət*, as illustrated in Example (106).

(106) boš bya ki хan-ən=ət [O_Z12: 19]
bosh bya SUB say-3PL=and

a yəm sdo a d-əm nəɣərdum-vi ɣiš
EMP DEM1 sound EMP in-DEM1 bear-PL.OBL ear

dəy-t=ət
hit-3SG=and

yawiš diš-ən ki
they know-3PL SUB

*When they said "Bosh bya" [a call for driving oxen] (and) this sound reached the bears' ears and they knew that spring had already come).*

This type of construction is not frequent, but is found in more than one instance (one in another oral narrative of GROUP 1 and one in GROUP 3, as will be shown later in Example 114). In written narratives the construction with *ət* in a subordinate clause is not found, however. In the written variant of Example (106) shown above the conjunction *ət* was edited out.

To SUMMARIZE the observations made in the analysis of conjoining strategies (i.e. juxtaposition versus conjunction *ət* versus conjunction *x̌ə*) in GROUP 1, the following can be said:

- The default inter-sentential conjoining strategy for both oral and written narratives is juxtaposition. However, the degree of the preference for juxtaposition may vary depending on the narrator/writer, and the variety is larger in oral than in written narratives.
- To a certain extent the written versions of narratives reflect the distribution of conjoining strategies identified in individual spontaneously told oral narratives, though they tend to show less divergence from the average values than the individual oral narratives.
- In intra-sentential conjoining, oral narratives and direct speech in both the oral and written versions show a preference for juxtaposition over conjunctions. In written versions, however, there is a preference for balanced distribution between juxtaposition and conjunctions.
- Two-clause constructions are more highly preferred than other multi-clause constructions in both oral and written narratives. In oral narratives the pattern [A juxt B] is preferred, while in written narratives, the pattern [A *ət* B] is preferred.
- In multi-clause constructions in oral narratives, it is common to use the same conjoining strategy consecutively within the construction, whereas in their written versions, a combined strategy is preferred.
- The frequency and the use of the two conjunctions *ət* and *x̌ə* glossed as "and" suggest a default vs. marked relationship between the two conjunctions, with *ət* being the default one. Similarly, the position of the conjunction in a clause indicates a default vs. marked relationship. By default, both conjunctions (*ət* and *x̌ə*) are found clause-finally.

*5.2.2.1.2. Conjoining – GROUP 2*

In the second group of narratives consisting of oral narratives prepared in advance (i.e. not spontaneously told) and their edited written versions, only conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with the conjunction *ət* are found. The conjunction *x̌ə* does not occur in the narratives of GROUP 2 at all. A summary of conjoining strategies in GROUP 2 is presented in Table 18 below. The total number of pairs of independent clauses is counted for both oral and written

versions. Further, all occurrences of identified conjoining strategies, as well as their percentages in the overall number of pairs of conjoined clauses, are presented below.

**Table 18.** *Group 2: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Oral** | | **Written** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** |
| **Total pairs** | **56** | **100%** | **56** | **100%** |
| **Juxtaposition** | 45 | 80% | 46 | 82% |
| **Conjunction *ət*** | 11 | 20% | 10 | 19% |
| **Conjunction *x̌ə*** | – | – | – | – |

As Table 18 above demonstrates, the percentages show values comparable with those identified for GROUP 1. In GROUP 2, too, conjoining by juxtaposition is significantly more frequent than conjoining with a conjunction, and represents around 80–82% in both oral and written versions. Thus, in inter-sentential conjoining, juxtaposition represents the default strategy in both oral and written narratives.

It is interesting to note that the total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses is identical for both oral and written narratives, though they do not necessarily match in individual stories. Nevertheless, even in individual stories, the differences between oral and written stories are marginal. Figure 12 illustrates the distribution of conjoining strategies in the individual narratives. The black dotted line represents the average (81%) for conjoining by juxtaposition and the red dotted line represents the average (19%) for conjoining with a conjunction. The upper part of the chart then shows the values for conjoining by juxtaposition (blue for oral and orange for written) and the bottom part shows the values for conjoining with a conjunction (grey for oral and yellow for written).

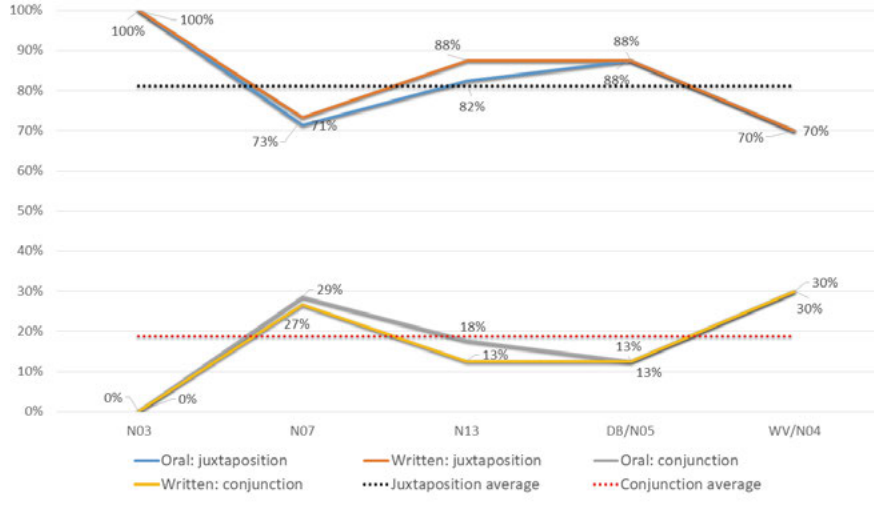


*Figure 12.* Group 2: Distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction in the oral and written versions of individual narratives

The above figure illustrates the relatively regular patterns of the narratives of GROUP 2. Only one story (N03), in both the oral and the written version, shows a significant divergence from the average value, with all independent clauses conjoined by juxtaposition (100%), and hence no occurrence of conjoining with a conjunction (0%). The values for the other stories oscillate around the average values.

What is more important to note, and relevant in terms of the present research topic, is that there is practically no difference between oral and written versions of individual stories regarding the distribution of conjoining strategies. All written stories more or less mirror the conjoining strategies of their oral versions.

The intra-sentential patterns are also rather regular and simple. There are no occurrences of conjoining by juxtaposition intra-sententially. All of the intra-sentential conjoining in both the oral and written narratives is achieved with a conjunction, as illustrated in Table 19 below.

**Table 19.** *Group 2: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses, intra-sententially*

| | **Oral** | | **Written** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** |
| **Pairs** | **11** | **100%** | **10** | **100%** |
| **Juxtaposition** | – | – | – | – |
| **Conjunction *ət*** | 11 | 100% | 10 | 100% |
| **Conjunction *x̌ə*** | – | – | – | – |

In direct speech, I found only one intra-sentential pair of conjoined independent clauses, in an oral story and in its written version. In this pair, the conjoining is achieved with the conjunction *ət*. As Table 19 above illustrates, intra-sententially, in both the oral and written narratives of GROUP 2, use of a conjunction (including the single occurrence in direct speech) is the only conjoining strategy.

Two patterns of conjoining within sentences are found in oral and written narratives of GROUP 2. The pattern [A *ət* B] is highly dominant in both oral and written stories. In the oral versions, it is found in nine out of a total of eleven occurrences of conjoining, and in the written versions it is found in all ten occurrences. The single occurrence in direct speech is shown in brackets.

**Table 20.** *Group 2: Conjoining patterns in the oral and written narratives*

| | | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **2 clauses** | [A *ət* B] | 9 (1) | 10 (1) |
| **3 clauses** | [A *ət* B *ət* C] | 1 | – |

There is one instance of the pattern [A *ət* B *ət* C] in an oral story (see Example 107). In the written version of the story, the clause (107b) was edited out, and the sentence was reduced to two clauses conjoined with the conjunction *ət* (Example 108). This way a sequence of two consecutive conjunctions was prevented in the written story.

(107) a. xədogəfta a d-əm waxt cə kum [O_N13: 13]
fortunately EMP in-DEM1 time from some

nag bəč Xədoyor pəydo vit-i=ət
side uncle Khudoyor appear become.PST-i=and

*Fortunately, at that time uncle Khudoyor appeared from somewhere and*

b. spo amsinf-i wodort-i=ət
our classmate-ACC hold.PST-i=and

*took hold of our classmate and*

c. c-a šax-ən xamovd-i
from-DEM3 rock-ABL bring down.PST-i

*brought him down from that rock.*

(108) a. Хәдогәфта а дәм ӂахт цә кум- наг бәч
Xədogəfta a d-əm ʒaxt cə kum nag bəč
fortunately EMP in-DEM1 time from some side uncle

Хәдоёр пәйдо витиәт
Xədoyor pəydo vit-i=ət
Khudoyor appear become.PST-i=and

*Fortunately, at that moment uncle Khudoyor appeared from somewhere and*

b. спо амсинфи ца шахән [W_N13: 1.13]
spo amsinf-i c-a šax-ən
our classmate-ACC from-DEM3 rock-ABL

хамовди.
xamovd-i
bring down.PST-i

*brought our classmate down from the rock.*

In the narratives of GROUP 2, there are no occurrences of the conjunction *ət* being found clause-initially.

To SUMMARIZE the observations made in the analysis of conjoining strategies in GROUP 2, the following can be said:

- The default inter-sentential conjoining strategy for both oral and written narratives is juxtaposition.
- Intra-sententially, the only identified strategy in both the oral and written versions is conjoining with the conjunction *ət*.
- In oral versions of the narratives, patterns with two and three conjoined clauses [A *ət* B] and [A *ət* B *ət* C] are found, while in the written versions, only a two-clause pattern [A *ət* B] occurs.
- Overall, there are minimal differences between the oral and written versions of the narratives of GROUP 2. It can be inferred that oral narratives prepared in advance display features very close to those identified for written narratives in general.

*5.2.2.1.3. Conjoining – GROUP 3*

In the third group of narratives, which consists of eleven spontaneously told oral stories and sixteen written stories, all three conjoining strategies are found: juxtaposition, the conjunction *ət* and the conjunction *ǩə*. A summary of all occurrences of individual conjoining strategies, as well as their percentages in the overall number of pairs of conjoined independent clauses is presented in Table 14 below.

**Table 21.** *Group 3: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Oral** | | **Written** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** |
| **Total pairs** | **787** | **100%** | **648** | **100%** |
| **Juxtaposition** | 644 | 82% | 500 | 77% |
| **Conjunction *ət*** | 136 | 17% | 141 | 22% |
| **Conjunction *ǩə*** | 7 | 1% | 7 | 1% |

As in the previous two groups of narratives, in GROUP 3, juxtaposition is the most preferred and thus the default inter-clausal conjoining strategy. The overall values are comparable with those in the previous two groups. However, in the written narratives, the difference between conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction is less than in the oral narratives. The overall use of conjunctions in independently written narratives is thus slightly higher than in independently told oral narratives.

The two figures below show the distribution of conjoining strategies in individual stories. Since the oral and written narratives of GROUP 3 are not variants of the same story, and the numbers of oral and written narratives do not match either, the distribution of conjoining strategies is presented in two charts: Figure 13 for oral narratives and Figure 14 for written narratives. In both figures, the percentage of the use of juxtaposition in relation to the number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses for each story is represented by blue line and the percentage of conjoining with conjunctions (counting the conjunctions *ət* and *ǩə* together) is represented by the orange line. These values are compared with the overall average values identified in Table 21). In both figures, the black dotted line thus stands for the average percentage of juxtaposition (82% for oral narratives and 77% for written narratives), and the red dotted line stands for the average percentage of conjoining with a conjunction (18% for oral narratives and 23% for written narratives).

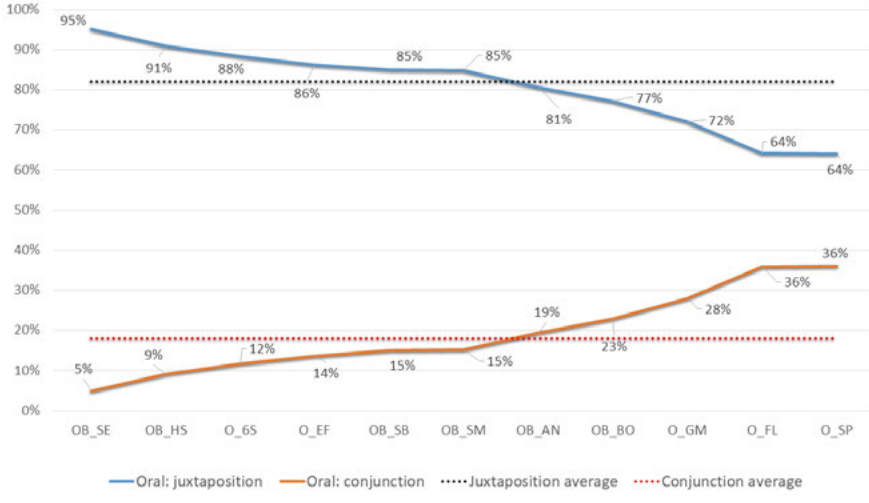


*Figure 13.* Group 3: Distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction in the oral narratives

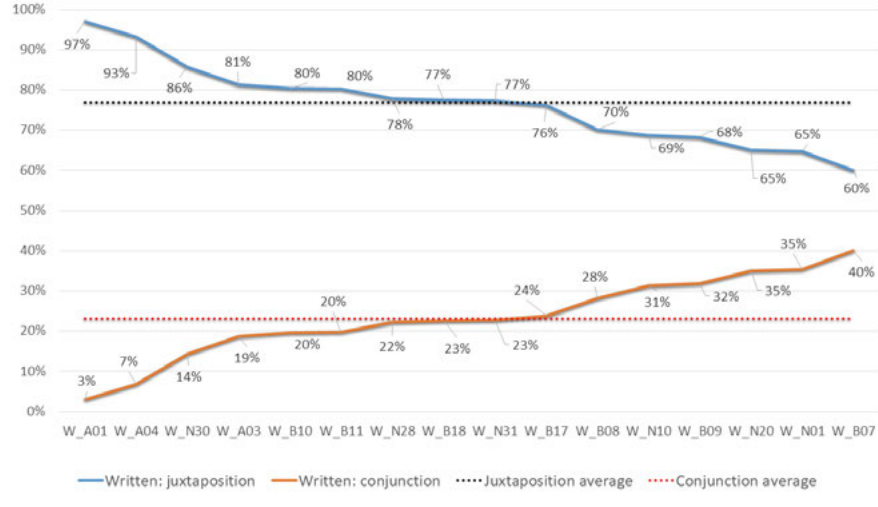


*Figure 14.* Group 3: Distribution of conjoining by juxtaposition and conjoining with a conjunction in the written narratives

Both figures display a certain variety in the use of conjoining strategies by individual narrators/writers, although in both oral and written narratives the values confirm the average preference for conjoining by juxtaposition.

Conjoining occurring intra-sententially in the narratives of GROUP 3 is summarized in Table 22 below. All occurrences of individual conjoining strategies used within sentences are counted in both the oral and written narratives. The percentage shows the proportion of these strategies in the total number of pairs of intra-sententially conjoined independent clauses.

**Table 22.** *Group 3: Conjoining strategies in relation to total number of conjoined pairs of independent clauses, intra-sententially*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** |
| **Pairs** | **362** | **100%** | **216** | **100%** |
| **Juxtaposition** | 229 | 63% | 64 | 30% |
| **Conjunction *ət*** | 126 | 35% | 145 | 67% |
| **Conjunction *x̌ə*** | 7 | 2% | 7 | 3% |

As the table illustrates, intra-sententially, conjoining by juxtaposition is preferred in oral narratives. On the contrary, in written narratives, clauses are most often conjoined with the conjunction *ət*.

Intra-sentential conjoining strategies occurring in direct speech in the narratives of GROUP 3 show the expected values, as is demonstrated in Table 23 below.

**Table 23.** *Group 3: Conjoining strategies in direct speech in relation to total number of conjoined independent clauses, intra-sententially*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** | **Occurrences** | **Percentage** |
| **Pairs** | **54** | **100%** | **49** | **100%** |
| **Juxtaposition** | 46 | 85% | 34 | 69% |
| **Conjunction *ət*** | 8 | 15% | 15 | 31% |

Conjoining by juxtaposition is considerably more frequent than conjoining with a conjunction in oral narratives. In written narratives, conjoining by juxtaposition is also more common than conjoining with a conjunction, but less than in oral narratives.

Patterns of conjoining within sentences in GROUP 3 are summarized in Table 24 below. Occurrences in direct speech are given in brackets. Patterns combined with other coordinating connectives are not counted in this table.

**Table 24.** *Group 3: Conjoining patterns in the oral and written narratives*

| | | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **2 clauses** | [A juxt B] | 79 (17) | 39 (25) |
| | [A *ət* B] | 37 (6) | 111 (10) |
| | [A *x̌ə* B] | 3 | 4 |
| **3 clauses** | [A juxt B juxt C] | 20 (5) | 3 (4) |

| | | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [A *ət* B *ət* C] | 10 | 7 |
| | [A juxt B *ət*/*ǎə* C] or [A *ət*/*ǎə* B juxt C] | 19 (2) | 9 |
| **4 clauses** | [A juxt B juxt C juxt D] | 6 (3) | 1 |
| | [A *ət* B *ət* C *ət* D] | 4 | 1 |
| | combined | 16 | 2 |
| **5 clauses** | [A juxt B juxt C juxt D juxt E] | 2 | – |
| | combined | 7 | – |
| **6 clauses** | [A juxt B juxt C juxt D juxt E juxt F] | 4 | – |
| | combined | 1 | – |
| **8 clauses** | combined | 1 | – |

The conjoining patterns identified in GROUP 3 are very similar to those found in GROUP 1. Two-clause constructions are the most preferred patterns in both oral and written narratives. In oral narratives, the most preferred and default conjoining strategy in two-clause constructions is juxtaposition, i.e. [A juxt B]. On the contrary, in written narratives, conjoining with the conjunction *ət* is most preferred, i.e. [A *ət* B]. In direct speech, however, conjoining by juxtaposition is more frequent even in written narratives, and thus reflects the oral pattern. In three-clause constructions, conjoining using the same strategy, [A *ət* B *ət* C] or [A juxt B juxt C], is significantly more frequent than the combination of strategies within one construction. In written narratives, the distribution of the conjoining strategies is balanced. Constructions with three or more clauses are more frequent in the oral narratives than in the written narratives.

The use of the conjunction *ǎə* is attested in both oral and written narratives of GROUP 3, thought its use is sporadic. In oral narratives, it is found in total seven times, in three out of eleven narratives. In written narratives, there are a total of seven instances, in four out of sixteen narratives. In all narratives of GROUP 3 where the conjunction *ǎə* is found, the conjunction *ət* is dominant. In the instances where *ǎə* occurs in written narratives, it marks a distinctive interpretation of the conjoined events, as was discussed in Section 2.2.3. The following examples illustrate the distinctive interpretation of the conjunction *ǎə* in written narratives.

The conjunction *ǎə* can indicate a change of state (109), an action leading to a change of state (112), a change of grammatical subject (110), or any type of distinctive action. In this regard, there is no significant difference between oral and written narratives. In all these functions, and in both oral and written narratives, the conjunction *ət* can be used as well, as illustrated in Example (111).

(109) Янәм йәм ӽы čәткин крәсти [W_B11: 8.10]
yan=әm yәm ӽы θәtkin krәst-i
then=1SG DEM1 own burnt sheepskin coat-ACC

цәм ӽы танән хашти ӽә,
c-әm ӽы tan-ән xaṣt-i ӽә
from-DEM1 own body-ABL pull.PST-i and

дйәткәм тәр инык.
dyәtk=әm tәr inık
hit.PF=1SG to sleep

*Then I pulled that burned sheepskin coat off me and fell asleep.*

(110) Я бу ӽыйнанищ бә йәздәв ӽә, [W_B08: 5.16]
ya bu ӽыynan-iš bә wәzd=әv ӽә
DEM3 two woman-PL ADD come.PST=3PL and

рәғдән рә мала.
rәɣd=ән rә mala
go.PST=1PL to down room

*Those two (other) women came, too, and we went to our room.*

(111) А ив ға новди ки, [W_N30: 2.2]
a iw ɣa nowd-i ki
EMP one very cry.PST-i SUB

жы пәтри тәр аскарӣ дәжгәвәт
ẓ̧ы pәtr-i tәr askarī dәẓ̌g=әv=әt
my son-ACC to military service take.PF=3PL=and

марәк ға қиниәш царт.
mar-әk ɣa qini=әṣ̌ car-t
to me-DAT very difficult=IPFV do-3SG

*One of them cried a lot (saying) [lit. 'that'] "They have taken my son to the military service and it is very difficult for me".*

In Example (112) below, the conjunction *ǯə* conjoins two foreground narrative independent clauses the first of which comes with two subordinate direct speech clauses. The conjoining marked with the conjunction *ǯə* is thus not between the last direct speech clause (D) and the next narrative clause (E). The pattern is then [A jux {B(C,D)$_{DirS}$} *ǯə* E]. A similar use of *ǯə* is also found in oral narratives, as shown in Example (113) below and in Example (99b) in GROUP 1.

(112) Яъ айрон ъəрəшт, [W_A03: 4.4]
yaw ayron wərəš-t
he wondering remain-3SG

ǯанд, хай нив йəмвəв ки
ǯan-d [xay niv yəm-v=əv ki
say-3SG well now DEM1-PL.OBL=3PL SUB

юти,
yut-i
carry away.PST-i

цə мир ʯзоəн хлос
cə mir ǰzo-ən xlos
from emir punishment-ABL liberated

нəъоцəм ǯə,
nə-woc-əm]$_{DS}$ ǯə
NEG-become-1SG and

дə Тоʯачиғ нунг ʯай дəйт ǯат мəлтиʯ.
də Toqačiɣ nun ǰay dəy-t ǯat məltiq
in Toqachigh name place hit-3SG self gun

*He wondered (what to do), he said: "Well, now when they have carried those (people) away, I will not escape the emir's punishment", and (ǯə) he killed himself with a gun in the place called Toqachigh.*

(113) wuz=əš woz ǩan-əm [O_EF: 15]
i=IPFV again say-1SG

e ti ru ṣ̌ɪw tu=ṣ̌ məry-a
VOC your.SG face black you.SG=IPFV die-Q

tu=ṣ̌ niv ǩat rə yupk di
you.SG=IPFV now self to.down water hit

ǩə šəxəst=əm rəɣ̌d=əm
and pass.PST=1SG go.PST=1SG

*Moreover, I am saying: "Oh, you damned one, are you dying, or what? [an expression when someone does something inappropriate], are you now taking bath here? [are you not ashamed?]", and I went past her.*

The above examples are interesting in that in (113) and (99b), both illustrating oral narratives, the conjunction *ǩə* is transcribed as clause-initial because there is a phonological break between the conjunction and the immediately preceding subordinate/direct speech clause. The conjunction is here phonologically part of the immediately following clause. This indicates that two main/narrative (with their subordinates) clauses are being conjoined, not the immediately preceding subordinate/direct speech clause and the main clause. In a similar example found in a written narrative (112), though, the break indicated by a comma, occurs AFTER the conjunction. This indicates that, syntactically, the conjunction *ǩə* is still part of the preceding unit, which is its canonical position. At this stage of the development of Wakhi written literature, however, it is too early to draw any definite conclusions about how the developing orthography will deal with segmentation in a sentence in the non-canonical cases. These examples may imply that the written language will tend to treat these syntactic complexities in a canonical way (i.e. with conjunction being kept strictly clause-final) although in oral language phonological boundaries instead respect a natural flow of information (i.e. a break between two unequal propositions, subordinate vs. main clause, or direct speech vs. narrative clause).

In the narratives of GROUP 3 occurrences are found with the conjunction *ət* attached to the first element of the clause, usually to an adverbial phrase or an address form, though this happens only in oral narratives. In written narratives, there are no clause-initial occurrences of the conjunction *ət*.

There are other rather unusual occurrences of the conjunction *ət*. In oral narratives, an instance of *ət* conjoining a subordinate clause with its main clause is

found, as shown in Example (114) below. The same pattern has been described in GROUP 1 (Example 106). In written narratives, there are no instances of a subordinate clause being conjoined with its main clause with the conjunction *ət*, though there is an instance of *ət* being found together with the adversative connective *amo* ('but'), as illustrated in Example (115).

(114) yan ki čərəm-d aǰon a d-ət xun=ət [OB_HS: 9]
then SUB enter-3SG dear EMP in-DEM2 house=and

yan yaw-i o dra nidv-ən
then he-ACC behold THERE3 seat-3PL

*When he entered, my dear, the house, (and) then they seated him over there.*

(115) Бəч Дилоǒар пзыв кəфакəр [W_B09: 5.9]
bəč Dilowar pzɨv kəfak-ər
uncle Dilowar heart crack.INF-DAT

ǒостəт
wos-t=ət
become-3SG=and

амо илоӌ нəгот.
amo iloǰ nə-go-t
but solution NEG-find-3SG

*Uncle Dilowar's heart was breaking but [lit. 'and but'] there was no choice.*

To SUMMARIZE the conjoining strategies (i.e. juxtaposition, versus enclitic conjunction *ət*, versus conjunction *x̌ə*) in GROUP 3, the following can be said:

- The default inter-sentential conjoining strategy for both the oral and written narratives is conjoining by juxtaposition, though in the written narratives the use of conjunctions is slightly lower than in the oral narratives.
- Intra-sententially, conjoining by juxtaposition is preferred in the oral narratives and conjoining with a conjunction is preferred in the written narratives. In direct speech, conjoining by juxtaposition is preferred in both the oral and written narratives.

- The most preferred intra-sentential pattern in both the oral and written narratives is conjoining in two-clause constructions. In the oral narratives the most preferred pattern is [A juxt B], while in the written narratives it is [A *ət* B].
- Regarding the conjunctions *ət* and *x̌ə*, *ət* is used most frequently and is the default /unmarked conjunction. The conjunction *x̌ə* is found in both the oral and written narratives but its frequency is low. It is used only to signal a distinctive interpretation. The default position for both conjunctions is clause-final, but there are instances of non-canonical marked position (clause initially or occurrence with another connective).

*5.2.2.1.4. Conjoining – summary*

This section summarizes and discusses the observations made in the analysis of three conjoining strategies identified in Wakhi narratives (juxtaposition, the enclitic conjunction *ət* and the conjunction *x̌ə*). The three groups of narratives manifest different degrees of spontaneity in oral narration and degrees of relatedness between oral and written narration within each group (see Section 4.3). Thus, while the oral narratives of GROUPS 1 and 3 were spontaneously told without any prior preparation, the oral narratives of GROUP 2 were prepared in advance. Regarding the relatedness between oral and written narration, the narratives of GROUPS 1 and 2 show oral and written versions of the same stories, while the oral and written narratives of GROUP 3 are not related in any way.

Conjoining is fundamental to the composition of narratives, and is also the most extensively used strategy. Therefore in this study conjoining strategies are subjected to a rather detailed discourse-pragmatic analysis.

To start with the most indisputable point, in all three groups of narratives, and in both oral and written narration, juxtaposition is identified as the default overall conjoining strategy, showing comparable values in each of the three groups, as illustrated in Table 25. Only independently written narratives, which are not based on any oral version (GROUP 3), show a slightly lower preference for juxtaposition than the written narratives based on an oral version (GROUPS 1 and 2).

**Table 25.** *Groups 1–3: Conjoining by juxtaposition*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Group 1** | 82% | 82% |
| **Group 2** | 80% | 82% |
| **Group 3** | 82% | 77% |

Intra-sentential conjoining shows more variety between oral and written narratives, as well as between the groups of narratives. In GROUP 1, juxtaposition is preferred in oral narratives, while in written narratives a balanced distribution between juxtaposition and a conjunction is preferred. In GROUP 2, conjoining with a conjunction is the only identified intra-sentential conjoining strategy in both oral and written narratives. In GROUP 3, oral narratives prefer conjoining by juxtaposition, and written narratives prefer conjoining with a conjunction. A summary of these observation is presented in Table 26 below (reported speech is excluded from these figures).

**Table 26.** *Groups 1–3: Intra-sentential preferences*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Juxtaposition: Group 1** | 62% | 51% |
| **Juxtaposition: Group 2** | – | – |
| **Juxtaposition: Group 3** | 63% | 30% |
| **Conjunction *ət*: Group 1** | 34% | 49% |
| **Conjunction *ət*: Group 2** | 100% | 100% |
| **Conjunction *ət*: Group 3** | 35% | 67% |
| **Conjunction *x̌ə*: Group 1** | 4,31% | – |
| **Conjunction *x̌ə*: Group 2** | – | – |
| **Conjunction *x̌ə*: Group 3** | 2% | 3% |

Based on these findings, the pattern identified in GROUP 3 is taken as the default, as it represents a spontaneous oral narration and a written narration uninfluenced by an oral counterpart. According to this pattern, the default intra-sentential clause-conjoining strategy in oral narratives is conjoining by juxtaposition, and in written narratives is conjoining with a conjunction. There is a seeming discrepancy, however, between this claim and the findings from the three groups. The claim that juxtaposition is a default intra-sentential conjoining strategy in oral narratives is valid for GROUPS 1 and 3, while GROUP 2 stands out. The claim that conjunction is a default intra-sentential strategy in written narratives is valid for GROUPS 2 and 3, while GROUP 1 stands out. Below, I will explain this seeming discrepancy regarding the oral narratives in GROUP 2 and written narratives in GROUP 1, where the values do not match the default values.

It has been noted that the oral narratives of GROUP 2 are stories prepared in advance, and as such show features typical for written rather than oral stories. Taking this into account, the fact that conjoining with a conjunction is the only identified conjoining strategy in this group does not disprove the claim made above. It only specifies that juxtaposition is a default intra-sentential conjoining strategy in spontaneously told oral narratives.

Regarding the written narratives of GROUP 1, it was observed that they to a certain extent reflect the distribution of conjoining strategies identified in their oral counterparts. This can explain why, in the written narratives of GROUP 1, intra-sentential conjoining with a conjunction is lower than in the written narratives of GROUPS 2 and 3. However, even in GROUP 1, there is a tendency to reduce the use of juxtaposition as a conjoining strategy in favour of conjoining with a conjunction.

There is therefore no contradiction in the findings presented above, and it is possible to conclude that in written narratives, conjoining with a conjunction is the preferred and default intra-sentential conjoining strategy. In oral narratives, the preferred and default conjoining strategy is juxtaposition. This claim is also supported by the patterns found in direct speech in both the oral and written narratives, where the preferred and default intra-sentential strategy is conjoining by juxtaposition. As was claimed earlier, direct speech represents an "oral element" even in written narratives; therefore it reflects the features found in oral narratives, and the preference for conjoining by juxtaposition is in accordance with the claims made above.

The conjunction *ət*, which is found in all three groups and in both oral and written narratives, has been identified as the default conjunction. The conjunction *x̌ə*, on the other hand, has been identified as the marked conjunction used to highlight the distinctive interpretation. It can be found in both oral and written narratives, but its use is sporadic. It has been observed that the occurrences of the conjunction *x̌ə* in oral versions were edited out in the written versions. They were replaced either by a sentence break or by the unmarked conjunction *ət*, which indicates that written narratives show less markedness than oral narratives. Also the use of the conjunctions in the non-canonical (i.e. clause-initial) position, which is observed in oral narratives but only minimally in written narratives, supports this claim.

### 5.2.2.2. The development marker

Development markers are defined by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 48) as connectives that "constrain the reader to *move on to the next point*". They indicate a new development in the story. In Wakhi narratives, the adverb *yan* (glossed as 'then') is used as a development marker (DM). It conjoins clauses inter- or extra-sententially. Its use in Wakhi oral and written narratives is analysed in the following sections.[55]

[55] It must be noted that in direct speech *yan* is usually not a development marker. In direct speech, where a deictic shift occurs, the adverb (not DM) *yan* indicates a future meaning (see discussion in Section 2.1.1). The occurrences of *yan* in direct speech indicating the future meaning are not taken in to account in this analysis.

*5.2.2.2.1. The development marker – GROUP 1*

Oral and written narratives of GROUP 1 show a distinctive pattern of the use of the development marker (DM) *yan*, glossed as 'then'. There is a significant difference in how the DM *yan* is the used in oral and in written narratives.

All the oral stories in GROUP 1 show relatively frequent use of the DM *yan*. On the contrary, in five out of the eight written stories, the DM *yan* does not occur at all. It is found only in three written stories, but even here its frequency is rather low[56]. The overall use of the DM *yan* and its occurrence in individual stories are summarized in Table 27 below.

**Table 27.** *Group 1: The DM yan in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| **TOTAL** | **102** | **5** |
| **Z03** | 21 | 1 |
| **Z12** | 18 | 1 |
| **Z18** | 13 | - |
| **GF** | 13 | 3 |
| **RS/A05** | 5 | - |
| **SF/A02** | 10 | - |
| **SK/B03** | 15 | - |
| **WA/N29** | 7 | - |

Further analysis reveals that in the majority of occurrences, the DM *yan* introduces a foreground clause in the Complicating Action or Resolution. Instances of its occurrence in the background clauses are rather rare. The distribution of the occurrences of the DM *yan* in foreground and background is illustrated in Table 28 below.

**Table 28.** *Group 1: The DM yan in the foreground and background of the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| **Foreground** | 85 | 3 |
| **Background** | 17 | 2 |

Typically, the first occurrence of the DM *yan* in oral stories is in the first sentence of the Complicating Action (Example 116). This is the case in six out of the eight oral stories in GROUP 1, but only in one of the eight written stories.

[56]For an alternative strategy employed in a written text, see discussion in Section 6.3.

(116) a. tuətk nə-tuətk i ṣ̌korčī tuətk-əy [O_Z12: 3-4a]
be.PF NEG-be.PF one hunter be.PF-i

ɣa waxt zmon yəm tuətk-əy
very ago time DEM1 be.PF-i

*Once upon a time [lit. 'there was – there was not'] there was a hunter. This was a very long time ago.*

b. yan yəm ṣ̌korčī rəṣ̌-t ṣ̌kor=ət
then DEM1 hunter go-3SG hunt=and

*Then this hunter went hunting and (...)*

In the written versions, instead of the first DM *yan*, which is normally edited out, the Complicating Action usually starts with the expression *i rwor* 'one day' (in four stories), as in Example (117) or alternatively *i sol* 'one year' (in one story). In one oral and one written story, the expression *yan in rwor* 'then one day' is used.

(117) Ғa ӑахт змон и шкорӣ туэткэй. [W_Z12: 1–2a]
ɣa waxt zmon i ṣ̌korī tuətk-əy
very ago time one hunter be.PF-i

И рӑор рəшт шкор
i rwor rəṣ̌-t ṣ̌kor
one day go-3SG hunt

*A long time ago there was a hunter. One day he went hunting (...)*

Further, in oral narratives, the DM *yan* is used to signal new developments, and in theory almost every narrative (foreground) clause could be introduced by the DM. The frequency of use of the DM varies depending on the personal style of the narrator and on the dynamics of the story. These individual occurrences of the DM *yan* in oral versions are usually edited out of the written versions, and they are typically not replaced by any other overt development-marking expression. Instead, new developments are marked differently in written narratives, as will be shown in Section 6.3.

If the DM *yan* occurs in other than narrative (foreground) clauses, it is usually in the Evaluation to introduce a logical argument. The following example (118) illustrates the DM *yan* being used to introduce an evaluative comment (118a). This is then followed by a new sentence with the DM *yan* introducing a narrative clause – a new development in the Complicating Action (118b).

(118) a. yan amidgar yəm [OB_GF: 18–19a]
then on the other hand DEM1

s-kum-ziў bət t-əm čərn-i
from-which-side yet in-DEM1 enter.PST-i

*Then, on the other hand, from which other side did she enter it?*

b. yan yəm vul=ət pilta=əv kart-i=ət
then DEM1 fragrance=and wick=3PL put.PST-i=and

*Then they repeated the enchanting ceremony [for chasing away evil spirits] several times (...)*

If the DM *yan* is used in the Orientation, it usually introduces a situation or a new participant which was not introduced at the beginning of the story. Example (119) illustrates a passage where the DM *yan* first introduces a new development in the narrative clause (119a), then in the second sentence introduces an Orientation, bringing in a crucial participant in the story development (119b), and finally with (119c) moves the action forward with another narrative sentence. The full sentences are given in the free translation. The annotated examples show only the clauses where the DM *yan* occurs.

(119) a. yan ǰam woc-ən [OB_SK: 20]
then assembling become-3PL

*Then they [the elders of the village] got together, (well, they said: "True, it's necessary to defend our reputation.")*

b. yan a drəm i ðay tuətk [OB_SK: 21]
then EMP HERE1 one man be.PF

*Now [lit. 'then'], there was a man here, (he was a very strong man).*

c. yan yaw ǎan-d ki [OB_SK: 23]
then he say-3SG SUB

*Then he said [lit. 'that']: ("I will go, I will go and save her life").*

The patterns in which the DM *yan* is found in Wakhi narratives are summarized in Table 29. Occurrences are counted where the DM *yan* is found in sentence-initial position, intra-sententially conjoining two clauses together with a conjunction, and intra-sententially conjoining two clauses without a conjunction.

**Table 29.** *Group 1: Patterns in which the DM yan is found*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| **Sentence-initially** | 74 | 5 |
| **Intra-sententially [conj + *yan*]** | 15 | - |
| **Intra-sententially without conj** | 13 | - |

In oral stories the DM *yan* is most often found sentence-initially. In this pattern, it can be the very first word in the sentence (Examples 116b, 118a, 118b and 119 above), or near the beginning of the sentence, usually following an expression of address or a topical subject (Example 120).

(120) yawiš yan draw-ən=ət [O_Z03: 20a]
they then scythe-3PL=and

*They then scythed and (...)*

The DM *yan* can also introduce clauses within a sentence, either followed by a conjunction (Example 121) or without any connective (Example 122).

(121) xay wəzy-ən dra=ət [O_Z03: 39b-c]
well come-3PL =and

yan ǩan-d
then say-3SG

*well, they came there and then they said (...)*

(122) aʒi də mala-ək yaw kar-t [O_Z03: 19b-c]
like this in hut-DIM her put-3SG

yan ya tat rimi-t ki
then DEM3 father order-3SG SUB

*he put her in like a small hut, then the father ordered (...)*

In written narratives, however, the DM *yan* is found only as the first word in a sentence. When it occurs in written narratives, it introduces only very significant developments, as illustrated in Example (123).

(123) Ян йəм ғарви дырздəт [W_Z12: 1.25]
yan yəm ɣar-vi dırz-d=ət
then DEM1 stone-PL.OBL take-3SG=and

цə қарəн дəйт рə ӽы сар.
cə qar-ən dəy-t rə ӽы sar
from anger-ABL hit-3SG to down own head

*Then (the bear) took stones and in anger beat his head.*

Based on the above observations of the use of the development marker *yan* in oral and written narratives of GROUP 1, the following SUMMARY can be made:

- In oral narratives, the DM *yan* is the preferred and default way to conjoin developments in the plot of a story.
- The first occurrence of the DM *yan* in oral narratives typically signals the start of the Complicating Action.
- In written narratives, the DM *yan* only signals a marked use.
- The unmarked position of the DM *yan* in oral narratives is sentence-initial. However, it can also occur intra-sententially or combined with a conjunction.
- In written narratives, the DM *yan* occurs only in sentence-initial position.

*5.2.2.2.2. The development marker – GROUP 2*

In the narratives of GROUP 2, there is only one occurrence of the DM *yan* in an oral narrative and one in the written version of the same story (see Table 30). It is used in an evaluation clause in the Coda (i.e. background) of the story O/W_N03 and introduces the point of the story.

**Table 30.** *Group 2: The DM yan in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **TOTAL** | **1** | **1** |
| **N03** | 1 | 1 |

Example (124) illustrates the occurrence of DM *yan* in GROUP 2.

(124) yan=əm dišt-i ki [O_N03: 8]
then=1SG understand.PST-i SUB

*Then I understood that (although the animals don't have language and intellect, they are still able to save themselves from the danger).*

To SUMMARIZE the use of DM *yan* in narratives of GROUP 2 it can be said that:

- The use of the DM *yan* indicates a marked use in both the oral narratives prepared in advance and their written counterparts.
- No difference is found between the use of the DM *yan* in oral narratives prepared in advance and in written narratives.

*5.2.2.2.3. The development marker – GROUP 3*

Narratives of GROUP 3 show the same patterns of use of the DM *yan* as the narratives of GROUP 1. The DM *yan* occurs extensively in all the oral stories but it is found only sporadically in four out of the sixteen written stories, as illustrated in Table 31 below.

**Table 31.** *Group 3: The DM yan in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Total occurrence** | **197** | **8** |
| **Foreground** | 154 | 8 |
| **Background** | 43 | – |

As expected, most occurrences are found in the foreground sentences, where in the oral stories they indicate a new development. In the written stories they only mark especially important developments.

Most typically in oral narratives (in nine out of the eleven oral narratives), the DM *yan* introduces the first sentence in the Complicating Action and further marks any new development in the story. Its occurrences in the background sentences are similar to those identified in GROUP 1. The DM *yan* can introduce an important point or an argument of the story in an evaluation

clause. It can also introduce a new participant or a setting that was not introduced at the beginning of the story.

Moreover, the DM *yan* can also occur in the preliminary foreground clauses, i.e. clauses that are part of the Orientation before the actual Complicating Action starts, but that formally exhibit features of narrative clauses, including the presence of the DM *yan*, as illustrated in Example (125) below. The example shows that in oral narratives, *yan* can be used for any type of development, even development within background sentences (125a). The actual start of the Complicating Action in this example is marked with an extra development-marking expression *i rwor* 'one day' (125b).

(125) a. alo yan rəš-t šḳor ta doim [OB_SM: 4]
ADR then go-3SG hunt THERE3 always

*Then, he went there to hunt, always.*

b. yan i rwor ya šač yaw car-t [OB_SM: 7]
then one day DEM3 dog he do-3SG

pəscbas
from behind

*(Then he went like that and never took his dog with him.) Then, one day that dog followed him (...)*

On the contrary, in the written narratives the DM *yan* is used only to highlight a development, and a written story can perfectly be made without using any DM *yan*.

The patterns in which the DM *yan* is found are summarized in Table 32. The few instances in oral narratives where DM *yan* occurs twice in one clause are counted only as one.

**Table 32.** *Group 3: Patterns in which the DM yan is found*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Sentence-initially** | 140 | 8 |
| **Intra-sententially [conj + *yan*]** | 30 | – |
| **Intra-sententially without conj** | 24 | – |

As the above table illustrates, the patterns are comparable with those found in the narratives of GROUP 1. Sentence-initial use of the DM *yan* is the default occurrence. Oral narratives allow the DM *yan* to appear intra-sententially together with conjoining by juxtaposition or with a conjunction.

To SUMMARIZE the use of the DM *yan* in the narratives of GROUP 3 the following can be said:

- The use of the DM *yan* in GROUP 3 confirms the findings from the narratives of GROUP 1.

*5.2.2.2.4. The development marker – summary*

The analysis of the use of the development marker *yan* in the three groups of narratives is summarized in Table 33. It reveals a striking difference between spontaneously told oral narratives and written narratives in the frequency and patterns of use of the DM *yan*.

**Table 33.** *Groups 1–3: Occurrences of the DM yan*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **TOTAL** | **300** | **14** |
| **Group 1** | 102 | 5 |
| **Group 2** | 1 | 1 |
| **Group 3** | 197 | 8 |

In spontaneous oral narratives (GROUPS 1 and 3), the DM *yan* is identified as the default way of marking new developments in the Complicating Action and Resolution of the story. Any move forward in the foreground of the story can be signalled by the DM *yan*. It is used extensively in all spontaneously told oral narratives, though its frequency in individual narratives varies depending on the narrator. Typically, its first occurrence is to introduce the start of the Complicating Action.

On the contrary, in the written narratives in general, and in the oral narratives prepared in advance (GROUP 2), the use of the DM *yan* is sporadic. New developments in written narratives are usually not marked with the DM *yan*. When it occurs, it signals a marked use and only highlights significant developments. Thus, in the written versions of oral narratives, most occurrences of the DM *yan* are edited out and new developments are marked differently (see Section 6.3). Specific developments, such as the start of the Complicating Action, are introduced by other development-marking expressions, e.g., *i rwor* 'one day', or *i sol* 'one year'.

In the spontaneous oral narratives, the DM *yan* is not restricted to foreground clauses in the Complicating Action and Resolution. It can also be used to introduce background clauses, such as new arguments, reasoning, new participants

or preliminary foreground in the Orientation, Evaluation, Abstract or Coda sections of the narrative. In the written narratives, however, the DM *yan* is found almost exclusively in foreground narrative clauses in the Complicating Action and Resolution sections.

The default position of the DM *yan* is sentence initial. However, spontaneous oral narratives allow for a variety of positions of DM *yan* within sentences. It can accordingly occur intra-sententially, connecting two clauses together with or without a conjunction. It can also follow a topical subject. On the other hand, in written narratives, the DM *yan* occurs only in sentence-initial position, as the first word of the sentence.

In terms of markedness, the DM *yan* represents the default strategy for marking new developments in oral narratives but when it occurs in written narratives, it signals a marked use.

#### 5.2.2.3. Tail-head linkage

A coordinating strategy – tail-head linkage – is described by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 7) as "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 (the 'tail')". They claim that it is typical of oral narratives and tends to be edited out in written narratives (ibid.).

The patterns and occurrences of tail-head linkage in Wakhi narratives are investigated in the following sections. The function of this device and its role in the story structure will be also discussed in Chapter 6.

##### *5.2.2.3.1. Tail-head linkage – GROUP 1*

In the narratives of GROUP 1, tail-head linkage occurs in both oral and written stories. However, the number of occurrences is significantly lower in the written stories. The analysis reveals some interesting points. The total number of occurrences of tail-head linkage in the oral and written stories, as well as occurrences in individual stories are shown in Table 34 below.

**Table 34.** *Group 1: Tail-head linkage in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **26** | **7** |
| **Z03** | 5 | 2 |
| **Z12** | 9 | 4 |
| **Z18** | 3 | – |
| **GF** | – | – |
| **RS/A05** | – | – |
| **SF/A02** | 5 | 1 |
| **SK/B03** | 3 | – |
| **WA/N29** | 1 | – |

As the above table demonstrates, tail-head linkage is used in six out of the eight oral stories and in three out of the eight written stories. The number of tail-head linkages in the written stories is considerably lower than in the oral stories. This shows that a large number of the occurrences in oral stories were edited out of their written versions.

Most of the instances of tail-head linkage are found in fairy-tales (Z03, Z12 and Z18), a genre on the fiction-end of the continuum described in Section 3.1. Tail-head linkage is found in all three of the oral, and two of the three written fairy-tales. It is also found in both versions of a legend SF/A02. The only narratives where tail-head linkage does not occur even in the oral versions are the witnessed stories GF and RS. The analysis suggests that the closer the story is to the fiction end of the continuum, the more it attracts the use of tail-head linkage. However, the frequency of use of tail-head linkage as a mnemonic rhetorical device still largely depends on the individual narrator/writer.

There are two main patterns of tail-head linkage in Wakhi narratives. In Wakhi, the tail-head linkage construction is typically made up of two coordinate clauses. The first one (the "tail") is defined by falling intonation, indicating the end of a phonological unit in oral stories, or by a full stop, indicating a sentence break in written stories. The second coordinate clause (the "head") starts a new phonological unit/sentence and as a whole serves as a point of departure for what follows. It is usually linked to what follows with a conjunction (Example 126), but can be conjoined with the following clause by just a juxtaposition (Example 127).

(126) yan rəl-t [O_Z12: 33c-34b]
then run away-3SG

yan rəl-t = ət
then run away-3SG=and

*(The bear went very far ahead and then this man took off the bearskin from his head and) then he ran away. Then he ran away and (the bear ran after him but saw that he could not catch him ...)*

(127) aǰon yət bə dəy-t də ayrat [O_Z18: 31-32b]
dear DEM2 ADD hit-3SG in embarrassment

wərəš-t
remain-3SG

wərəš-t
remain-3SG

a yəm təzərī car-t=ət
EMP DEM1 supplication do-3SG=and

*My dear, indeed he was embarrassed [lit. 'embarrassment hit-remain']. He was (embarrassed) [lit. 'remain'], he made supplication and (...)*

The "head" is a repetition and, as such, it is classified as a background clause, usually surrounded by two foreground narrative clauses (the "tail" and the clause following the "head"). Sometimes, the "head" is a verbatim repetition of the "tail" (Examples 126 and 127 above), and sometimes it is a more free repetition of the "tail", as in Example (128), where a change of verb form occurs from the default (non-tense) to past tense and an address form is added, or in Example (129).

(128) mak ɣat [O_Z18: 33b–34a]
moon arrive

aǰon mak ɣat-i
dear moon arrive.PST-i

*(My dear, in the night he went out), the moon appeared [in non-tense]. My dear, the moon appeared [in past tense], (the man cried so much, hunched up) (...)*

In some oral stories, the slowing down effect produced by the tail-head linkage is amplified by inserting one more repetition clause between the "tail" and the "head", as is illustrated in Example (129) below. The "tail" (129a) is a narrative clause that is paraphrased in (129b) with a falling intonation. It is a background repetition clause. The following clause (129c) is the "head" of the tail-head linkage construction, and serves as a point of departure for the following narrative clause.

(129) a. yət salla c-ət sar-ən waz-d [O_SF: 5d–7a]
DEM2 turban from-DEM2 head-ABL fall-3SG

*(Rukhshona went out ..., they were in the middle of a heavy fight and) the turban fell from her head.*

b. yət kulo c-ət sar-ən waz-d salla
DEM2 hat from-DEM2 head-ABL fall-3SG turban

*The hat fell from her head, a turban.*

c. yaw c-ət sar-ən waz-d=ət
it from-DEM2 head-ABL fall-3SG=and

*It fell from her head and (suddenly they saw that she ... was a woman).*

Contrary to the definition given above, which defined the "head" in the tail-head linkage as a subordinate adverbial clause (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 7), this pattern is rather rare in Wakhi narratives. The default tail-head linkage in Wakhi is a coordinate construction. Similarly, all examples of the tail-head linkage given for Koroshi (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 120–121) and for Balochi (Nourzaei 2017: 166–169) are constructions made of two coordinate clauses. It can thus be assumed that, in terms of syntactic structure, the tail-head linkage comprising two coordinate clauses is the default pattern even in these two Iranian languages.

The pattern where the "head" is a subordinate adverbial clause is found in four instances in the oral narratives of GROUP 1, but is not found in the written narratives. The temporal adverbial clause in the "head" position in tail-head linkage is illustrated in Example (130b) below.

(130) a. yan тарыv-d [OB_WA: 10-11b]
then swing-3SG

*(He hit the ground with the shovel, he didn't pull it out right away as he was supposed to do). Then he swung (it).*

b. yan ki тарыv-d
then SUB swing-3SG

*Then when he swung (it)*

c. yəm bilča a r-a wərəṣ̌-t=ət
DEM1 small shovel EMP in down-DEM3 remain-3SG=and

*the little shovel stayed inside and (the water came out...)*

In the written stories the tail-head linkage patterns show similar characteristics as in the oral ones, except for the construction with an inserted repetition clause. In the written stories, the tail-head linkage takes less space, so to speak.

In one instance (Example 131) in a written story, the "tail" is a foregrounded temporal subordinate clause (131b). The "head" is a backgrounded independent clause (131c). This pattern is not found in oral stories of GROUP 1.

(131) a. Хила ёмани динəн ки, [W_A02: 4.21–4.22b]
xila yoman-i din-ən ki
a lot each other-ACC hit-3PL SUB

*They were fighting with each other a lot when*

b. йəм Рухщона куло рəйəзд.
yəm Ruxšona kulo rəwəz-d
DEM1 Rukhshona hat fly-3SG

*the hat of Rukhshona flew (away).*

c. Йəм куло рəйəзд,
yəm kulo rəwəz-d
DEM1 hat fly-3SG

*The hat flew (away),*

d. йəм Чин подщо дидиǧд ки,
yəm Čin podšo didiǧ-d ki
DEM1 China king see-3SG SUB

*the king of China saw that (it was a beautiful woman...)*

The passage in Example (131) is the written version of the passage shown in Example (129) above. In both the oral and written versions of the story, this passage depicts a dramatic turn when the head of the army – a woman called Rukhshona, disguised as man in order to lead her army – loses her turban/hat and at that moment is recognized by the enemy. There is a great deal of meaning in this discovery, which changes the course of the rest of the story, and therefore the passage has a special marking creating the slowing-down effect. In the written version, this is the only occurrence of tail-head linkage in the

whole story. In the oral version, the slowing-down effect is amplified by insertion of another repetition clause. The two examples, (129) and (131), show that the slowing-down effect is achieved with different levels of intensity in the oral and the written stories.

To SUMMARIZE the use of tail-head linkage as a coordinating strategy in the narratives of GROUP 1, the following can be said:

- There is a significantly less use of tail-head linkage in the written narratives than in the oral narratives.
- The default pattern of the tail-head linkage is a two-clause coordinate construction.
- There is a difference between the oral and written stories in how the slowing-down effect is achieved using tail-head linkage.
- In the oral narratives, subordinate adverbial construction or a construction with another inserted repetition clause are different ways to achieve the slowing-down effect and signal a marked use of tail-head linkage. These do not occur in written narratives.
- In the written narratives, a two-clause coordinate tail-head linkage signals a marked slowing-down.

*5.2.2.3.2. Tail-head linkage – GROUP 2*

There are no occurrences of tail-head linkage in the stories of GROUP 2. This absence can be explained by two factors. One is the already-mentioned observation that the oral narratives prepared in advance show similar features as written narratives. The other factor is the nature and the structure of the stories. The narrations are dynamic with no slowing-down.

*5.2.2.3.3. Tail-head linkage – GROUP 3*

In the narratives of GROUP 3, tail-head linkage is found in both the oral and written stories. However, like GROUP 1, it occurs much less frequently in written narratives than in oral narratives. The total occurrences of tail-head linkage in the oral and written narratives as well as the number of stories in which it occurs are summarized in Table 35 below.

**Table 35.** *Group 3: Tail-head linkage in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| **Total** | 24 | 2 |
| **Stories** | 9 out of 11 | 2 out of 16 |

As the above table illustrates, 24 instances of tail-head linkage are found in nine of the eleven oral narratives and two instances in two of the sixteen written narratives. In two oral narratives, tail-head linkage does not occur at all. Both are witnessed stories. This supports the observation regarding the narratives of GROUP 1 that witnessed stories are less likely to use tail-head linkage. However, in GROUP 3, we find witnessed stories where tail-head linkage does occur (O_EF, OB_AN). Two written narratives where tail-head linkage is found are a historical story and a fictional story.

Two patterns of tail-head linkage are found in the narratives of GROUP 3. The most dominant pattern is the tail-head linkage made up of two coordinate clauses (22 out of 24 occurrences in oral, and both occurrences in written narratives). Much less frequent is the construction where the "head" is an adverbial subordinate (only two occurrences in oral narratives).

In a very interesting example of a tail-head linkage, found in an oral narrative, the "head" is an adverbial subordinate clause, but it is conjoined with the following main clause with the conjunction *ət*. This may suggest that the construction with an adverbial subordinate is actually a marked use of this construction. The conjunction may only be inserted there because it would have been present if the tail-head linkage had not been highlighted.

In Example (132) below, the passage consists of three consecutive tail-head linkages. The first one, T1 and H1 in (132a) and (132b), is unmarked. In the second one, T2 and H2 in (132b) and (132c), the "tail" is introduced by the DM *yan*. The "head" H2 is the one which carries the most highlighting material. It starts with DM *yan*, which is actually repeated from T2, and moreover it is an adverbial subordinate followed by the conjunction *ət* and furthermore there is also an address form. So the highlighting is very intense in the second tail-head linkage in this passage. The co-occurrence of the "head" in an adverbial subordinate form with other highlighting material suggests that an adverbial subordinate in a "head" position is a marked (highlighted) use. The third tail-head linkage in this passage, T3 and H3 in (132c) and (132d), is again unmarked.

(132) a. tuətk dra tuy [OB_HS: 7–10]
be.PF THERE3 wedding

*{There was a wedding}$_{T1}$ there.*

b. tuy tuətk yaw yan čərəm-d
wedding be.PF he then enter-3SG

*{There was a wedding}$_{H1}$, {then he entered}$_{T2}$.*

c. yan ki čərəm-d ağon a d-ət xun=ət
he SUB enter-3SG dear EMP in-DEM2 house=and

yan yaw-i o dra nidv-ən
then he-ACC behold THERE3 seat-3PL

*{Then when he entered}$_{H2}$ the house, my dear and, then {they seated him over there}$_{T3}$.*

d. dra yaw nidv-ən xay bə ol-i bičoragī
THERE3 he seat-3PL well in state-EZ poor

*{They seated him over there}$_{H3}$, well, he (was like) a poor person.*

In the oral narratives of GROUP 3, the construction with an inserted repetition clause is not found.

To SUMMARIZE tail-head linkage as a coordinating strategy in the narratives of GROUP 3, the following can be said:

- The use of tail-head linkage confirms the findings in the narratives of GROUP 1.
- In addition, it has been observed that a marked use of tail-head linkage (adverbial subordinate) in oral narratives is often supported by other highlighting material, such as the use of the DM *yan*, an address form or an additional conjunction.

*5.2.2.3.4. Tail-head linkage – summary*

Tail-head linkage is a rhetorical mnemonic device frequently used in spontaneous oral narratives. Its use in written narratives is more sporadic. In written versions of the narratives, it is often edited out. In the oral narratives prepared in advance, tail-head linkage does not occur at all. This confirms the claim made earlier that oral narratives prepared in advance exhibit the features typical for written narratives. The overall summary of the occurrences of tail-head linkage in oral and written narratives is presented in Table 36 below.

**Table 36.** *Groups 1–3: Occurrences of tail-head linkage*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **50** | **9** |
| **Group 1** | 26 | 7 |
| **Group 2** | – | – |
| **Group 3** | 24 | 2 |

The default tail-head linkage pattern in Wakhi narratives is a construction made up of two coordinate clauses. As such, it occurs frequently in oral narratives and is the only pattern used in the written narratives. An adverbial subordinate in the "head" position occurs sporadically, and is found only in the oral narratives.

Markedness and highlighting by means of tail-head linkage are achieved differently in the oral and the written narratives. In the written narratives, the very occurrence of the "unmarked" pattern of the tail-head linkage (i.e. the "head" being a coordinate clause) signals a marked use. In the oral narratives, however, the occurrence of tail-head linkage is not in itself a marked device. Markedness and highlighting in oral narratives is achieved by a variety of patterns. The departures from the default/unmarked pattern found only in oral narratives may thus be:

- the use of a subordinate temporal clause in the "head" position;
- the subordinate construction complemented by other simultaneous highlighting strategies, such as the use of the DM *yan*, an address form or an additional conjunction;
- insertion of a repetition clause between the "tail" and the "head", thereby creating a three-clause tail-head construction.

The frequency of use of the tail-head linkage in individual narratives depends on the preference and personal style of the narrator. It has been observed that the closer the story is to the fiction end of the continuum (discussed in Section 3.1), the more it attracts tail-head linkage. In the spontaneously told oral witnessed stories, the tail-head linkage occurs with less frequency.

#### 5.2.2.4. Additives

Three additive particles are investigated in this section: *bə*, *woz* ('again') and *am* ('too/also'). The latter two correspond to the Tajik particles *boz* and *ham*. There is a certain overlap in the meaning of the particles *bə* and *am*, which prompts us to make the assumption that the use of the particle *am* is conditioned by the influence of Tajik. The particle *bə* covers a wider range of meanings and

needs a more detailed discussion before we can describe its function in Wakhi narratives.

Additives, as defined by Levinsohn (2015a: 88–89), involve parallelism between propositions and "guide or constrain the hearer or reader to add what follows to corresponding material in the context". Levinsohn (ibid.: 91) describes the most common pragmatic effects that can be conveyed by an additive. One pragmatic effect can be confirmation of a previous statement or assumption ('indeed'), another can be confirmation by adding the least likely possibility ('even'), and yet another can be concession ('however').

At this point, it can also be useful to refer to three studies describing pragmatic functions of the additive conjunction *ham* in Persian (Roberts 2009), *ham/(=)am/=(um)* in the Balochi of Sistan (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010) and *ham* with its alternative forms in Koroshi and Coastal Balochi (Nourzaei 2017). According to Roberts (2009: 208), in Persian, the additive connective *ham*, glossed as 'also, too' "can add parallel propositions [...]; it can confirm a proposition in the unmarked sense and also in the marked sense by adding the least likely possibility; it can also be used to constrain a contrastive interpretation". For Balochi, Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 173–184) also describes various types of parallelism expressed with the additive connective *ham/=am/=um*. He states that this connective "can function as a logical connector [...] to conjoin sentences or clauses" (ibid.: 173). Barjasteh Delforooz claims that "adjoined clauses may also be in a causal relation, which leads to translations into English linking them with 'therefore', 'so', or 'so that'" (ibid.: 174). Further he claims that *ham* can also function as an additive topicalizer (ibid.). For Koroshi Balochi, Nourzaei (2017: 133) refers to a specific type of causal function of the additive particle *ham* which is used in the "response proposition" following a reported speech stimulating the response. The enclitic *ham* in Koroshi Balochi thus "adds the expected result to the speech that stimulated it" (ibid.).

### *5.2.2.4.1. Additives – GROUP 1*

In GROUP 1, only the particles *bə* and *woz* are found. The particle *am* is found in one instance, but in this occurrence it does not function as a clause-linking connective. The total occurrences of additive particles *bə* and *woz* are summarized in Table 37 below.

**Table 37.** *Group 1: Total occurrences of additive particles*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| ***bə*** | 25 | 24 |
| ***woz*** | 15 | 10 |

As can be seen in the table above, the number of additive particles in the oral and written narratives is relatively balanced. The additive particle *bə* is found in all eight written stories and in seven of the eight oral stories. The particle *woz* is used in five of the eight written and in seven of the eight oral stories.

The use of the particle *woz* in all occurrences is delimited by the meaning 'again' referring to a previous action and indicating that the pattern is going to be repeated. It is no surprise that most occurrences (nine in the oral and seven in the written stories) are found in the three fairy-tales (Z03, Z12 and Z18) in GROUP 1, as repetition is often an important element in the plot structure of fairy-tales.

The use of *woz* in the plot of an oral fairy-tale is illustrated in Example (133) below. This example depicts the second of three visits of the parents of the bride to their in-laws.

(133) a. aǰon woz ya saarək rəč̣-ən ya [O_Z18: 62–63b]
dear again DEM3 tomorrow go-3PL DEM3

dыуыm ǰay
second place

*My dear, again, the next day they went to the second place.*

b. dra bə əm rang wыzm-ən awqot mawqot
THERE3 ADD DEM1 manner bring-3PL meal rhyme

ta-v prыt
to-their front

*There too, (the parents in law) brought a meal in front of them,*

c. yawiš woz əm rang pərs-ən ki
they again DEM1 manner ask-3PL SUB

*they [the parents of the girl] again asked the same way [lit. 'that'] (...)*

While the second visit (illustrated above), which basically copies the pattern of the first visit, is introduced with the particle *woz*, in the third visit – the last one, during which the Resolution takes place – the particle *woz* is not used. This instructs the hearer that the third visit should be treated as a new development with new elements. The use of the particle *woz* in describing the second visit (Example 133 above), on the other hand, implies that what follows is already familiar in some way to the hearer.

Interestingly enough, in the written version of the same narrative the particle *woz* does not occur in this part of the storyline. Nevertheless, the particle *woz* is found in another episode in the written version, where the oral version does not have *woz*. This is an event during the third visit when the daughter-in-law is asked to bring a watermelon for the guests. She brings it, and her father-in-law asks her to take it back and bring another one. This situation is repeated three times. The following example (134) from the written version of the story illustrates the second and the third times the daughter-in-law returns with the watermelon.

(134) a. Рəшт ӑоз ӑызымд. [W_Z18: 6.5–6.7]
rəṣ̌-t woz wызым-d
go-3SG again bring-3SG

*She brought [lit. 'go-bring'] it again.*

b. Хӑанд: "Йəт бə нəй, ивӑи дгар".
хan-d yət bə nəy iw-i dgar
say-3SG DEM2 ADD not one-ACC other

*(The father-in-law) said: "Not this one either, (bring) another one."*

c. Я прчод ӑоз рəшт ӑызымд.
ya prčod woz rəṣ̌-t wызым-d
DEM3 girl again go-3SG bring-3SG

*The girl again brought [lit. 'go-bring'] it.*

Although in the above examples the particle *woz* introduces the clauses in the Complicating Action, it does not necessarily have to introduce a repeated episode or action in the foreground of a story. It may also indicate a return to a state before the occurrence of an episode or before the storyline began. In such cases, it introduces an evaluative clause at the end of the story, within the Coda, as is illustrated in Example (135) below.

(135) yət-ər woz Xədoy ǰon-i dыbora [O_Z12: 42]
DEM2-DAT again God soul-ACC twice

rət-i=ət yət ya ǎы xun-ər
give.PST-i=and DEM2 DEM3 own house-DAT

wəzd.
come.PST

*God gave his soul back [lit. 'again'] to him for a second time, and he returned home.*

The additive particle *bə* in Wakhi narratives exhibits characteristics similar to those of the additive *ham* in Persian (Roberts 2009) and Balochi (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010, Nourzaei 2017) as described above. In Wakhi, apart from the parallelism ('too', 'also'), the additive *bə* can also convey a confirming pragmatic effect, i.e. confirmation of previous statement or assumption ('indeed'), including the confirmation adding the least likely possibility ('even'). Table 38 below summarizes the occurrences in relation to pragmatic function as found in the Wakhi narratives of GROUP 1.

**Table 38.** *Group 1: Occurrences and percentages of the pragmatic functions of the additive particle bə in relation to its total occurrences*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **25** | **100%** | **24** | **100%** |
| **parallelism** | 16 | 64% | 14 | 58% |
| **confirmation** | 9 | 36% | 10 | 42% |

Most typically (more than half of all occurrences), in both oral and written narratives, the particle *bə* indicates parallelism between the propositions, and can be glossed as 'also/too', as illustrated in Example (136) below, and also in Examples (133b) (134b) above.

(136) a. Нəғəрдум ǎат тапывдəт [W_Z12: 1.12-1.13]
nəɣərdum ǎat тарыv-d=ət
bear self stir-3SG=and

йəм шкорчī бə ǎати тапывд.
уəm ṣ̌korčī bə ǎat-i тарыv-d
DEM1 hunter ADD self-ACC stir-3SG

*The bear stirred and this hunter also stirred.*

b. Яв гиздәт йәм бә гизд.
yaw giz-d=әt yәm bә giz-d
he get up-3SG=and DEM1 ADD get up-3SG

*(The bear) got up and this one [the hunter] also got up.*

Relatively often, *bə* also indicates confirmation of an assumption or of a previous statement, as is illustrated in the example (137) below. For the context, the previous sentence is given in brackets in free translation.

(137) niv azor bor šьıkri Xədo spo zindagī bə [O_RS: 18]
now thousand time thanks God our life ADD

šak nast
bad is not

*(Well, so we have got children, we got married, we were 40 households, from 40 households now we have become almost 95 households.) Now, thousand thanks to God, indeed our life is not bad.*

Based on the analysis of the occurrences of additive particles (*woz*, *am* and *bə*) in the narratives of GROUP 1, the following SUMMARY can be given:

- In the narratives of GROUP 1, only the particles *woz* and *bə* are found as a clause-coordinating strategy.
- The additive particle *bə* most often indicates parallelism. In addition, it can convey the pragmatic effect of confirmation of an expected event or of an assumption.
- There is no significant difference between the use of the additive particle *bə* in the oral and written narratives.

*5.2.2.4.2. Additives – GROUP 2*

In GROUP 2, the additives are less frequent. The additive particle *woz* does not occur at all. There is only one occurrence of the correlative connective *am ... am*, but it is in direct speech, not an independent clause. The additive particle *bə* is found in three instances in oral and written versions of three stories.

**Table 39.** *Group 2: Total occurrences of additive particles*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| ***bə*** | 3 | 3 |

In all instances, ADD *bə* indicates parallelism between the propositions, as illustrated in Example (138).

(138) wuz bə ǎat-i d-a mol-vi [O_N03: 5]
i ADD self-ACC in-DEM3 livestock-PL.OBL

dəst dəyt=əm
inside hit.PST=1SG

*(Suddenly I saw that the animals gathered in one place and came [lit. 'became'] close to each other.) I also threw myself in the middle of them.*

To SUMMARIZE the use of additive particles in the narratives of GROUP 2, the following can be said:

- In independent clauses of GROUP 2 narratives, only the additive particle *bə* is found.
- It is used only in the pragmatic function signalling parallelism.

*5.2.2.4.3. Additives – GROUP 3*

In the narratives of GROUP 3, all three additive particles, *bə* (the pragmatic meaning is discussed below), *woz* 'again', and *am* 'too' are found. Their occurrences are summarized in Table 40. The correlative connective *am ... am* occurs in two written narratives. One occurrence in an oral narrative is not a clause-linking connective, and therefore it is not counted here. The table shows a higher frequency of the use of the additive particles *bə* and *woz* in the oral than in the written narratives. However, the difference is not very significant.

**Table 40.** *Group 3: Total occurrences of additive particles*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| ***bə*** | 39 | 28 |
| ***woz*** | 21 | 8 |
| ***am ... am (...am)*** | – | 2 |

The particle *woz* is found in four of the eleven oral narratives and seven of the sixteen written narratives. The particle *bə* occurs in the majority of the oral and written narratives. It is found in all but one oral and one written narrative. Its frequency in individual narratives is rather low.

The additive particle *bə* in the GROUP 3 narratives covers the range of pragmatic meanings identified in GROUP 1, i.e. parallelism ('too', 'also') and confirmation of previous statement or assumption ('indeed'), including the confirmation adding the least likely possibility ('even'). The distribution of the pragmatic functions of the additive *bə* is summarized in Table 41 below.

**Table 41.** *Group 3: Occurrences and percentages of the pragmatic functions of the additive particle bə in relation to its total occurrences*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **39** | **100%** | **28** | **100%** |
| **parallelism** | 16 | 41% | 14 | 50% |
| **confirmation** | 23 | 59% | 14 | 50% |

The above table illustrates that in the oral narratives of GROUP 3, the additive particle *bə* most often signals confirmation. In written narratives, both pragmatic functions, i.e. parallelism and confirmation, show comparable values.

It must be noted, however, that the allocation of the pragmatic functions is rather artificial and tentative. The boundaries between the pragmatic functions are not always clear, and sometimes the additive *bə* can serve more than one pragmatic function at the same time. After all, if a language chooses a single expression to convey a range of meanings, this indicates that for native speakers, there are no different meanings, and the pragmatic functions can overlap without ambiguity. An example of such use of the additive *bə* with an extended meaning is shown in Example (139). The particle *bə* here indicates an implicit parallelism ('also') between the "purpose of the story that has just been told by the narrator" and the "purpose of those stories told in many places". However, the extended meaning also points to the confirmation of an assumption ('indeed') or even concession ('however').

(139) a. А йəм ранг нақлви дə [W_N28: 9.1–9.2]
a yəm rang naql-vi də
EMP DEM1 manner story-PL.OBL in

хила ҷайови царəн.
xila ǰay-o-vi car-ən
many place-PL-PL.OBL do-3PL

*These types of stories are told in many places.*

b. Məқсад бə иў,
məqsad bə iw
purpose ADD one

*The purpose, is [lit. 'also/indeed/however'] the same, (whatever the position of a person may be, he must be shown respect.)*

The particle *woz*, in most occurrences, is glossed as 'again', which is its default meaning. However, in a few cases its pragmatic meaning overlaps with the pragmatic meanings of the particle *bə*. Example (140) below illustrates that the default meaning for *woz* 'again' cannot be applied here. Instead, it conveys the pragmatic effect of confirmation ('even').

(140) yəm-i nəyki yaw naql kərt [O_6S: 5]
DEM1-ACC but he story do.PST

c-am ӽы zik-ən yəm-i cə kʂыy-əv
from-his own tongue-ABL DEM1-ACC SUB hear-2PL

woz baftər wos-t-ək.
even better be-3SG-DIM

*But this is what he said, if you hear this from him personally [lit. 'his own tongue'] it will be even better.*

Nevertheless, this type of use is rather rare. In the whole corpus of narratives used in this study, there are only three occurrences, in one oral story, of the particle *woz* conveying anything else than the unmarked meaning 'again'. In all three occurrences, the range of pragmatic effects is the same as that identified for the additive particle *bə* above.

To SUMMARIZE of the analysis of the additive particles *woz*, *am* and *bə*, the following can be said:

- The additive particle *bə* in the GROUP 3 narratives can convey two main pragmatic effects, parallelism and confirmation. Sometimes they overlap. In the oral narratives of GROUP 3, the additive particle *bə* in most cases signals confirmation, while in the written narratives, both pragmatic meanings are distributed equally.
- The particle *woz* most often conveys the meaning 'again', which is identified as the default pragmatic meaning of this particle. In rare cases the particle *woz* can depart from the default pragmatic effect and convey meanings similar to those identified for the additive particle *bə*.
- The particle *am* occurs as a correlative additive *am ... am* (*... am*) only in two written narratives. It does not occur in the oral narratives of GROUP 3.

*5.2.2.4.4. Additives – summary*

The analysis of three additive particles, *woz* (glossed as 'again'), *am* (glossed as 'also', 'too') and *bə* (glossed as 'also', 'too', 'indeed', 'even', 'so', 'thus') in Wakhi narratives reveals the frequency of use and the specific pragmatic functions that these particles serve. The summary of the overall use of the additive particles is presented in Table 42.

**Table 42.** *Groups 1–3: Occurrences of additive particles*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| ***bə*** | 67 | 55 |
| ***woz*** | 40 | 18 |
| ***am ... am (...am)*** | – | 2 |

In spite of what the above table suggests, there are no significant differences between the oral and written narratives in the use of additive particles. The additive particle *bə* ('also', 'too' 'indeed', 'even', 'so', 'thus') is used more frequently in both the oral and written narratives than the particle *woz* ('again'). The particle *am* ('also', 'too') occurs only as a correlative connective *am ... am (...am)*, and its use is rare. It has been noted above that the use of the particle *am* is most likely influenced by Tajik, and that its meaning overlaps with that

of the particle *bə*. This can be supported by the fact that the particle *am* is used only in the written narratives and with very low frequency. The particle *bə* is sufficient to express the meanings carried by the particle *am* fully in the oral narratives and almost fully in the written narratives. The use of *am* in the written narratives suggests that it is perceived as more literary than *bə*. However, if the Wakhi writers are concerned with the preservation of their language more than with trying to produce a "literary" sounding Wakhi reflecting their exposure to the literary Tajik, then it is possible that the particle *am* will be fully replaced by the particle *bə* in the literary expression as well. The particle *woz* also exhibits lesser use in the written than in the oral narratives. However, a more substantial difference is visible mainly in the GROUP 3 narratives (see Table 40) where the oral and written stories are unrelated to each other. Thus, rather than showing a difference between oral and written narratives, it can point to differences in the plot structures of individual stories.

Table 43 below summarizes the pragmatic functions of the particle *bə* in oral and written narratives.

**Table 43.** *Groups 1–3: Occurrences and percentages of the pragmatic functions of the additive particle bə in relation to its total occurrences*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **67** | **100%** | **55** | **100%** |
| **parallelism** | 35 | 52% | 31 | 56% |
| **confirmation** | 32 | 48% | 24 | 44% |

From the data presented in the table above, and from the figures for individual groups, it is difficult to identify a default pragmatic function of the additive particle *bə*. It has been noted earlier that it is not always possible to make a clear-cut distinction between various pragmatic functions of this particle, as they often merge. There is also no significant difference between the oral and written narratives.

### 5.2.2.5. Adversative coordination

Three adversative connectives are examined in this section: *nəyki*, *amo* and *lekin/lokin*. In narratives, adversative coordination is a much less frequent strategy than the strategies discussed above (conjoining, development markers, tail-head linkage, and additives).

#### *5.2.2.5.1. Adversative coordination – GROUP 1*

In Wakhi narratives of GROUP 1, all three adversative connectives are found. Table 44 below summarizes their occurrences in both the oral and written narratives. The number of narratives in which they are found is given in brackets.

**Table 44.** *Group 1: Adversative connectives in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| ***nəyki*** | 8 (in 4 stories) | 10 (in 3 stories) |
| ***amo*** | 5 (in 2 stories) | 8 (in 5 stories) |
| ***lekin/lokin*** | 2 (in 1 story) | – |

By total number of occurrences, the connective *nəyki* seems to be preferred in both the oral and written stories. However, considering the number of stories in which the adversative connectives are used (i.e. also the number of narrators/writers), *amo* is preferred in the written stories (found in five of the eight stories).

The connectives *nəyki* and *amo* are used in both the oral and written stories. They occur together in one oral and in three written stories. This fact could argue for a slight difference in their meanings, however, it may also indicate that one of them (*amo*) is perceived as more literary.

Adversative connectives typically constrain the reader to relate what follows to the context in an adversative way, rather than a sequential one. Therefore they normally do not occur in the Complicating Action and do not introduce narrative clauses. Most typically, they introduce an evaluative clause in the Evaluation or the Coda (Example 141 below), and occur in direct speech. They can also be found in the Orientation, in which case they seem to contribute information about the setting and add an evaluative nuance to the information. Thus, the adversative connectives only introduce background clauses.

(141) Нəй ки йəм ӗоқеаи ӗузəм дə ӽы [W_GF: 6]
nəy ki yəm woqea-i wuz=əm də ӽы
but DEM1 event-ACC i=1SG with own

ӵəжмəн винди, дə ӽы ғишənəм кшəни.
ҫəẑm-ən vind-i də ӽы ɣis-ən=əm kṣ̌ən-i
eye-ABL see.PST-i with own ear-ABL=1SG hear.PST-i

*But I saw this event with my own eyes, I heard it with my own ears.*

The adversative effect of the sentence in Example (141) does not relate to a specific preceding sentence of paragraph. Instead, it introduces the Coda and makes an evaluative point, where the adversative effect relates to the story as a whole.

Similarly, in the oral version of the same story, and in the same context, the adversative connective *amo* is used, as is illustrated in Example (142).

(142) amo yəm ikoya-i voqei-e ki [OB_GF: 39]
but DEM1 story-EZ real-IND SUB

wuz=əm vind-i də ǩы ʧəǯm-ən
i=1SG see.PST-i with own eye-ABL

də ǩы ɣiṣ̌-ən=əm kṣ̌ən-i
with own ear-ABL=1SG hear.PST-i

*But this is a real story, that I saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears.*

When I claimed above that generally *amo* may be perceived as more literary than *nəyki*, Examples (141) and (142) above show a case where yet another aspect has to be taken into consideration. Some writers take greater pains to use "pure" Wakhi language, and therefore edit out excessive occurrences of *amo* in favour of *nəyki*. Such is the case with the story GF from which the examples above were taken. In the oral version of the story (OB_GF) there are five occurrences of *amo* and four occurrences of *nəyki*. In the written version (W_GF), however, we find only one occurrence of *amo* and five of *nəyki*. The choice between *amo* or *nəyki* thus depends on the individual narrator/author's preference, and is influenced by several factors, such as their level of exposure to literary Tajik or a conscious effort to eliminate "foreign" elements.

In most GROUP 1 narratives, there is no clear correlation between the occurrences of adversative connectives in oral and in written narratives. Since the adversative connectives do not contribute to the foreground of the story, they are only of marginal significance for the plot structure. Rather, they reflect the relation of the narrator/writer to the events described in the story. For instance, the written version of the story Z03 closes with an evaluative and almost "moral-like" clause introduced by *amo* 'but' (Example 143), which is missing in the oral version.

(143) Ян рəм ӽы cap дəйтəт [W_Z03: 5.8]
yan r-əm ӽы sar dəy-t=ət
then to down-DEM1 own head hit-3SG=and

щимон ӽост,
šimon wos-t
regretful become-3SG

амо щимониғən бəт чиз фойда.
amo šimoniɣ-ən bət čiz foyda
but regret-ABL anymore what use

*Then he beat his head and was regretful but what is/was the use of being sorry.*

The two occurrences of the adversative connective *lokin* are found only in direct speech in one oral story, as shown in Example (144) below.

(144) ӽan-d [O_Z18: 20–21]
say-3SG

padari qiyomat wuz=əm aǰon pəš-i
only and true father I=1SG dear in front-EZ

taw gынagor
you.SG.OBL guilty

lokin tu=ət ɣa soda tuətk
but you.SG=2SG very naive be.PF

*(...) she said: "My only and true father, I am guilty before you. But you have been very simple-minded."*

In the written version of this story, *lokin* was replaced by *amo*, as illustrated in Example (145) below.

(145) ҳанд: [W_Z18: 2.1–2.2]
ҳan-d
say-3SG

„Э падари қиёмат, ӯзəм ти
e padari qiyomat wuz=əm ti
VOC only and true father I=1SG your.SG

шҳ̆ən гынагор.
ʂ̌ҳ̆ən gынagor
side guilty

Амо туət ғa сода туətк.”
amo tu=ət ɣa soda tuətk
but you=2SG very naive be.PF

*(...) she said: “My only and true father, I am guilty in front of you. But you have been very simple-minded.”*

A brief SUMMARY of the use of adversative connectives in the narratives of GROUP 1 can be made based on the above observations:

- The adversative *lokin* is only found in the oral narratives.
- The adversatives *nəyki* and *amo* are used in both the oral and written narratives, and the only perceived difference between them is a slightly higher stylistic preference in the written narratives for *amo*, which is perceived as more literary than *nəyki*.

*5.2.2.5.2. Adversative coordination – GROUP 2*

In the narratives of GROUP 2, only the adversative *amo* is found (Table 45). It occurs in two cases. In one case it introduces an evaluative clause in the Coda in the both oral and the written versions of a story. In the other case, it is found in the Orientation in both the oral and written versions of the story. No difference is found between the oral and written versions of the stories.

**Table 45.** *Group 2: Adversative connectives in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| ***amo*** | 2 | 2 |

The use of the adversative connective *amo* in the oral narratives prepared in advance and in written narratives suggests that it indeed is perceived as more literary than *nəyki*.

*5.2.2.5.3. Adversative coordination – GROUP 3*

The adversative connectives *nəyki*, *amo* and *lekin/lokin* found in the narratives of GROUP 3 show a rather clear pattern. Their occurrences in oral and written narratives are presented in Table 46 below.

**Table 46.** *Group 3: Adversative connectives in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| ***nəyki*** | 16 (in 3 stories) | – |
| ***amo*** | 3 (in 1 story) | 7 (in 4 stories) |
| ***lekin/lokin*** | 1 (in 1 story) | – |

The above table demonstrates a clear preference for the adversative connective *amo* in the written narratives, while in the oral narratives, the connective *nəyki* is preferred. *Amo* is the only adversative connective used in the written narratives. *Nəyki* is found in sixteen instances in three oral narratives. It is not used in the written narratives. *Lekin/lokin* occurs only once, in one oral narrative.

To SUMMARIZE the use of adversative connectives in the narratives of GROUP 3, the following can be said:

- There is a strong preference for the connective *amo* in the written narratives.
- In the oral narratives, the connective *nəyki* is the most preferred adversative connective, though *amo* and *lekin/lokin* can also be used.

*5.2.2.5.4. Adversative coordination – summary*

The above analysis of adversative coordination revealed that three adversative connectives are used in Wakhi narratives: *amo*, *nəyki* and *lekin/lokin*. All three are glossed as 'but'. Their occurrences are summarized in Table 47.

**Table 47.** *Groups 1–3: Occurrences of adversative connectives*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| ***nəyki*** | 24 | 10 |
| ***amo*** | 10 | 17 |
| ***lekin/lokin*** | 3 | – |

The connective *lekin/lokin* is used marginally, and is found only in the oral narratives. The connectives *amo* and *nəyki* are found in both the oral and written narratives. The connective *nəyki* is identified as the default adversative connective in the oral narratives, whereas in the written narratives, the connective *amo* is used more frequently.

A detailed analysis, reveals that in the independently written narratives and in the oral narratives prepared in advance and their written edited versions, only the connective *amo* is used, which supports the claim that it is the default connective in written narratives. In the written versions of the spontaneously told oral narratives (GROUP 1), however, a slight preference is found for the connective *nəyki*, which seems to contradict the default interpretation. This seeming discrepancy can be explained by the tendency, already described above for the conjoining strategies, that the written edited versions, to a certain extent, reflect the preferred strategies of their oral counterparts. It must also be noted that to judge by the number of written narratives in which the connectives *amo* and *nəyki* are both used, *amo* is more preferred than *nəyki*. The connective *nəyki* is preferred in the spontaneously told oral narratives.

The above observations suggest that the connective *amo* is perceived as more literary than the connective *nəyki*. However, there may be another explanation for this contrastive preference in the oral and written narratives. It may just as well be the case that the connective *nəyki* is used in a natural Wakhi setting (and therefore is largely preferred in oral narratives and in the edited written versions of the oral narrataives) but the connective *amo* is used in the written narratives under the influence of the literary Tajik language, since this is the language in which most written literature has been accessible to Wakhi speakers (and writers) so far.

## 5.2.3. Subordination

Subordination is less frequent in the narratives than coordination. Three types of subordinating strategies are investigated in the following sections: a complementation strategy including reported speech, relative clauses and adverbial clauses.

### 5.2.3.1. Complementation and reported speech

The analysis of complementation investigates the patterns found in Wakhi oral and written narratives and consists of an analysis of:

- speech verbs and elided speech verbs with their complements;
- verbs of perception and elided verbs of perception with their complements;
- verbs of knowledge, realization, remembering, surprise with their complements;
- verbs of thinking, assuming with their complements;
- modality verbs with their complements;
- other complement-taking expressions.

The category of speech verbs (including elided) ones comprises verbs explicitly related to the activity of speaking (Example 146), such as *x̌ənak* 'say', *pərsak* 'ask' , *ǰwob rəndak* 'answer', *rəmyak* 'order, command'. Other verbs of verbal expression, such as *nwišak* 'write' (Example 147) are included. Moreover, this category also includes elided speech verbs (Example 148), i.e. constructions with usually intransitive verbs that normally do not take complements but that in Wakhi can introduce speech utterances or any expression of direct speech such as *kandak* 'laugh', *xwos wocak* 'become worried (saying that...)', *ɣam itak* 'be sad (saying that...)', *məslat cərak* 'consult (saying that...), *muroǰiyat cərak* 'address someone (saying that...)'.

(146) yawiš woz əm rang pərs-ən ki [O_Z18: 63b–c]
they again DEM1 manner ask-3PL SUB

{spo ðəɣd-ək sav-ər maqыl təy
our daughter-DIM you.OBL-DAT pleasing is

yo nast}$_{\text{CC-SPEECH}}$
or is not

*they [the parents of the girl] again asked the same way [lit. 'that']: "Do you like our daughter or not?"*

(147) Охирон маʕбур ӑоцӕн, [W_A05: 8.1]
oxiron maǰbur woc-ən
finally forced become-3PL

то Москва ариза нӑвищӕн ки,
to Moskva ariza nwiš-ən ki
to Moscow request write-3PL SUB

сакӕр иʕозат рандӕв,
{sak-ər iǰozat rand-əv
we-DAT permission give-3PL

рӕчӕн хы ʕайӕр.
rəč-ən xы ǰay-ər}$_{\text{CC-SPEECH}}$
go-3PL own place-DAT

*Finally, they were forced to write a request to Moscow [lit. 'that']: "Give us permission, we will go back to our place".*

(148) yan kan-d sk-am sar kan-d ki [O_Z03: 14]
then laugh-3SG on-his head laugh-3SG SUB

{elo yət-ən waš-t də mukt}$_{\text{CC-SPECCH}}$
ADR DEM2-ABL fall-3SG in frog

*Then (they) laughed, they laughed at him (saying) [lit. 'that'] "Goodness, his (arrow) fell on a frog!"*

The category of verbs of perception (including elided ones) comprises verbs explicitly referring to any type of perception (Example 149), such as *kšыyak* 'hear', *didǰak*, *vinak/winak* 'see'. Moreover, this category also includes elided verbs of perception (Example 150), i.e. constructions with usually intransitive verbs that normally do not take complements, but that in Wakhi can introduce an argument of a verb of perception (discussed in Section 2.2.2.1).

(149) yan a r-a traq dəst didiɣ-d [O_Z12: 10]
then EMP in down-DEM3 crevice inside see-3SG

ki
SUB

{bu nəɣərdum a r-a nəsətk}$_{\text{CC-PERCEPTION}}$
two bear EMP in down-DEM3 sleep.PF

*Then in that crevice he saw that two bears were asleep.*

(150) Ўизит ки, [W_Z12: 1.26]
wizi-t ki
come-3SG SUB

яў холӣ пист.
{yaw xolī pist}$_{\text{CC-PERCEPTION}}$
he empty skin

*He arrived (and saw) that it (was) an empty skin.*

The category of verbs of knowledge, realization, remembering and surprise (Example 151a), as well as the categories of verbs of thinking and assuming (Example 151b) and of modality verbs (Example 152) will be addressed only briefly, as they are less frequent in the Wakhi narratives than the categories of speech and perception verbs. The category of other complement-taking verbs (Example 153) usually comprises impersonal constructions such as *malыт ki* 'it is clear that', *aʒi bə təy ki*, 'it is also the case that', etc.

(151) a. amo nə-diš-t ki {yəm xalg}$_{\text{CC-KNOW}}$ [O_Z12: 29–30]
but NEG-know-3SG SUB DEM1 man

*But he (the bear) didn't realise [lit. 'know'] that this (was) a human.*

b. xyol car-t ki {yaw yaw amra}$_{\text{CC-THINK}}$
assuming do-3SG SUB he his companion

*He assumed that it (was) his (bear) companion.*

(152) tu aʒi baswəzy-a ki [O_EF: 51b–e]
you such be able to-Q SUB

{mar i čiz goǩ}$_{\text{CC-MODALITY}}$
to me one thing do

*Can you do something for me...? [lit. 'are you able to do such that you do something for me...?']*

(153) malым ki {yawiš wəzgin}$_{\text{CC-OTHER}}$ [O_6S: 49]
evident SUB they come.PTCP

*(It was) clear that they were not from here [i.e. 'they were coming from town'].*

For each group of verbs the analysis accounts for the parameter of the presence vs. absence of the complementizer/interpretive use marker *ki* (SUB-COMP[57]) and for the parameter of deictic shift. It also identifies the default patterns. The deictic shift in complement clauses is a rather complex concept. There are various degrees of expression of deictic shift, depending on the complement-taking verb. With speech verbs, a full deictic shift can occur (Example 154), i.e. the change of the person (3SG in the first clause to 1SG in the second clause) and of the tense/aspect form (non-tense in the first clause to past tense in the second clause), and it can be indicated by deictic expressions.

(154) яйəрк ǩанд: [W_N29: 2.6]
yaw-ərk ǩan-d
he-DAT say-3SG

„Ǩатəм ки, билчаи
{ǩat=əm ki bilča-i
say.PST=1SG SUB small shovel-ACC

мəтапыв
mə-tapыv}$_{\text{FULL DEICTIC SHIFT}}$
prohib-swing

*(he) said [non-tense] to him: - "I said [past tense] that, don't swing the small shovel".*

[57] As defined in 2.2.2.1, *ki* is a general subordinator fulfilling various syntactic-pragmatic roles. In complement clauses, *ki* acts as a complementizer/interpretive use marker. For easier orientation, in the analytical part of this study the abbreviation SUB-COMP is used, while in the examples of language data, only SUB is used.

With the verbs of perception, the deictic shift is partial (Example 155). It does not change the person, because the perceiver is passive. Instead there is a shift in perspective reflected in the tense/aspect form of the verb, and in the use of the deictic expressions.

(155) Рухщона дидиǐд ки, [W_A02: 4.9]
Ruxšona didiў-d ki
Rukhshona see-3SG SUB

яв̆ ләшкар шкастәш ит.
{yaw ləṣ̌kar ṣ̌kast=əṣ̌ i-t}$_{\text{PARTIAL DEICTIC SHIFT}}$
her army defeat=IPFV eat-3SG

*Rukhshona saw [non-tense] that her army is being defeated [IPFV].*

The occurrences of complement clauses are counted as one occurrence per complement-taking verb; i.e. the internal coordination within the complement construction is treated as one complement clause. The internal coordination within the complement construction is discussed only if it shows remarkable features.

By default, complement clauses are post-nuclear. Any departure from the post-nuclear position of the complement clause is treated as a marked use and is interpreted as such. The analysis is done for each group of narratives separately.

*5.2.3.1.1. Complementation and reported speech – GROUP 1*

Table 48 shows the groups of complement-taking verbs found in the narratives of GROUP 1 and their overall occurrences in the oral and written narratives. The percentage is calculated in relation to the total number of complement clauses.

**Table 48.** *Group 1: Complement-taking verbs and their occurrences in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **86** | **100%** | **96** | **100%** |
| **Speech verbs** | 54 | 61% | 58 | 61% |
| **Perception verbs** | 16 | 18% | 24 | 25% |
| **Verbs of knowledge** | 9 | 10% | 6 | 6% |
| **Verbs of thinking** | 4 | 4% | 3 | 3% |
| **Modality verbs** | 2 | 3% | 2 | 2% |
| **Other** | 4 | 4% | 3 | 3% |

The largest group of complement-taking verbs are the speech verbs, including the elided speech verbs. These represent 61% of all complement clauses. The distribution of the presence vs. absence of the SUB-COMP *ki* in the reported speech (arguments of the speech verbs) is presented in Table 49 below. The percentage is calculated in relation to the total number of speech verbs introducing the reported speeches. The occurrences embedded in the direct speech are not included.

**Table 49.** *Group 1: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of ki*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| ***+ki*** | 24 | 44% | 9 | 16% |
| ***-ki*** | 30 | 56% | 49 | 84% |

As the above table illustrates, reported speech in the written narratives shows a strong preference for the absence of the SUB-COMP *ki*, whereas in the oral narratives the overall distribution is more or less balanced, with only a slight preference for the absence of the SUB-COMP *ki*.

The presence or absence of the deictic shift in reported speech is summarized in Table 50 below. The percentage is in relation to the total number of speech verbs.

**Table 50.** *Group 1: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of deictic shift*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **+DS** | 52 | 96% | 53 | 91% |
| **-DS** | 2 | 4% | 5 | 9% |

The above table shows that deictic shift occurs in the vast majority of reported speech clauses; i.e. they are in the direct speech form. However, there are a few instances in both the oral and written narratives where deictic shift does not occur. The patterns of reported speech complement clauses identified in the Wakhi narratives of GROUP 1 are presented in Table 51 below.

**Table 51.** *Group 1: Reported speech patterns*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **[+*ki* / +DS]** | 23 | 42% | 7 | 12% |
| **[-*ki* / +DS]** | 29 | 54% | 46 | 79% |
| **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 1 | 2% | 2 | 4% |
| **[-*ki* / -DS]** | 1 | 2% | 3 | 5% |

As the above table illustrates, the pattern [-*ki* / +DS] is preferred in both the oral and the written narratives. The level of preference is higher in the written narratives, which indicates that in the editing process some occurrences of *ki* have been removed. The following set of examples illustrates each of the patterns.

Example (156) below illustrates the [+*ki* / +DS] pattern (156a) followed by the [-*ki* / +DS] pattern (156b) in an oral narrative. The next example (157) then illustrates how the same passage was edited into two [-*ki* / +DS] patterns in the written version of the same narrative. It is interesting to observe that, perhaps contrary to expectation, the oral passage introduces the reported speech using a more explicit wording.

(156) a. yan yaw tatnaniš pərs-ən ki [O_Z18: 56–57]
then her parents ask-3PL SUB

{yəm spo ðəɣd sav-ər crən
DEM1 our daughter you.PL.OBL-DAT how

maqыl yo nomaqыl}$_{\text{SPEECH}}$
pleasing or displeasing

*(When they visited the first daughter, then the parents-in-law brought food for them), then her [the girl's] parents asked ['that']: "How do you like [lit. 'this'] our daughter?"*

b. e xan-d {ðəɣd tin ɣa maqыl}$_{\text{SPEECH}}$
VOC say-3SG daugher yours very pleasing

*He [the father-in-law] said: "We like your daughter very much (...)"*

In (156a), the speech orienter introducing the reported speech is "ask" followed by *ki* and then followed by a speech utterance with deictic shift ("the parents ask" *ki* + DS). In the same passage in the written narrative, illustrated in (157a), a very general speech orienter "say" is used, instead of "ask". This is then

followed by a speech clause without *ki* ("he says" + DS). The passage then continues with the response, which in both the oral (156b) and written version (157b) is introduced by a speech orienter "say" followed by a deictic shift without *ki*. That this is not a mere coincidence is supported by the fact that the same pattern is repeated later in the same story. There too, the speech orienter "ask" + *ki* + DS in the oral story was replaced in its written counterpart by "say" + DS (without *ki*).

(157) a. обэт нэор яӏэнэт ӽанд: [W_Z18: 4.2–4.3]
obət nəor yaw-ən=ət ӽan-d
meal eat-3PL=and say-3SG

„Э, подщоӌон, жы ӽэӽдэк пиил
{e podšoǰon ẓ̌ы ɗəɣ̌d-ək piil
VOC dear king my daughter-DIM worthy

тар тэя?"
tar təy-a}SPEECH
you.SG.DAT is-Q

*(He entered the house of the first king), they ate a meal and he said: "Dear king, is my daughter worthy?"*

b. Ӽанд: „Ти ӽэӽд ға баф прчод,
ӽan-d {ti ɗəɣ̌d ɣa baf prčod}SPEECH
say-3SG your.SG daughter very good girl

*He said: "Your daughter is a very good girl (...)"*

The above examples demonstrate that the oral and written narratives sometimes deal differently with reported speech in narration, as will be discussed in Section 5.2.3.1.4, after the analysis of all three groups. A preliminary statement can be made, though, that introducing a reported speech without the SUB-COMP *ki* is the default strategy, while the presence of *ki* indicates some sort of marking.

Complement clauses introduced by speech verbs can occur without a deictic shift, though this is rare in Wakhi. If they occur without deictic shift, they are usually not reported speech per se, and there is no shift of person. Example (158) below is such an instance, illustrating the pattern [-*ki* / -DS]. The complement clause here could be treated as the direct representation of what "they said" but not necessarily. The verb in perfect would be used in both the direct speech and the indirect speech interpretation. And we do not have more clues in this and similar examples.

(158) Амо ӽанән, [W_A05: 7.2]
amo ӽan-ən
but say-3PL

да даӳра соф гарм туәтк.
{d-a dawra sof garm tuətk}$_{SPEECH}$
in-DEM3 era totally hot be.PF

*But they said (that) at that time it was extremely hot.*

One instance of indirect speech is found embedded in another reported speech, as illustrated in Example (159). The second speech verb "tell" is not followed by a deictic shift. The same passage is found in both the oral and the written version without any editing concerning the deictic shift. In the oral version, however, both speech orienters in this sentence are followed by the SUB-COMP *ki*, whereas in the written version, the *ki* in the embedded reported speech was edited out. However, this is not a canonical example of a reported speech clause.

(159) И рӳор ӳоз подщо ӽы пәтрвәр [W_Z03: 3.1]
i rwor woz podšo ӽы pətr-v-ər
one day again king own son-PL.OBL-DAT

ӽанд ки:
ӽan-d ki
say-3SG SUB

„Ӽы кәндвәр ӽанәв,
{ӽы kənd-v-ər ӽan-əv
own wife-PL.OBL-DAT say-2PL

мар баф ӽәч гоӽән".
(mar baf ӽəč goӽ-ən)$_{SPEECH}$}$_{SPEECH}$
me.DAT good bread make-3PL

*One day the king again said to his sons: "Tell your wives to make [lit. 'they make'] good bread for me."*

Another type of complement clauses comprises perception complement clauses, i.e. arguments of verbs of perception, either explicit or elided. They differ from reported speech in that they are almost exclusively introduced by the SUB-COMP *ki*, as demonstrated in Table 52 and in Example (160) below.

**Table 52.** *Group 1: Perception verbs – presence vs. absence of ki*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| ***+ki*** | 15 | 94% | 24 | 100% |
| ***-ki*** | 1 | 6% | – | – |

(160) yan cum didiɣ-d ki [O_Z12: 13a]
then how much see-3SG SUB

{yawiš əčək nə-tap-ən}$_{\text{PERCEPTION}}$
they by no means NEG-move-3PL

*Then he looked closely (and saw) that they weren't moving at all.*

The instance of a perception complement clause without the SUB-COMP *ki*, shown in Example (161) below, is the only such occurrence in the entire corpus, and it is highly marked. The highlighting is achieved not only by the absence of *ki*, but also by the use of the deictic shift, which is manifested here in the use of the IPFV particle *=əṣ̌*. As was mentioned in Section 2.1, the IPFV enclitic in combination with the unmarked verb form produces the effect of "presentness". Thus, the whole perception complement clause looks as if it wanted to imitate the direct speech form.

(161) yawiš didɣ-ən [O_SF: 29]
they see-3SG

{yaw=əṣ̌ aʒi yaltaras=ət
it=IPFV such brilliant=and

aʒi хыšruy čiz=əṣ̌ car-t}$_{\text{PERCEPTION}}$
such beautiful thing=IPFV do-3SG

*They saw, it is glittering so beautifully, so beautiful (glittering) (it) does (...)*

Regarding the deictic shift, perception complement clauses prefer not to use it, as illustrated in Table 53 below. In the written narratives the preference for no deictic shift is stronger than in the oral narratives, where there is a relative balance between the presence and absence of the deictic shift.

**Table 53.** *Group 1: Perception verbs – presence vs. absence of deictic shift*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **+DS** | 7 | 44% | 5 | 21% |
| **–DS** | 9 | 56% | 19 | 79% |

Thus, the most frequent pattern for perception complement clauses is [+*ki* / -DS], but [+*ki* / +DS] can also be used. The deictic shift in the perception complement clauses is achieved differently than in the reported speeches. Normally, there is no change of person. One of the indicators of deictic shift is the change of tense/aspect in the verb form.

Example (162) illustrates a complement clause with no deictic shift, and Example (163) has deictic shift. Both examples illustrate the complements of the verb "see". In (162), the verb form (non-tense) is the same in the main clause as in the complement clause. In (163), however, the verb in the complement clause takes on the enclitic marking immediacy and "presentness", thus representing the scene as if it was happening right in front of the readers.

(162) Цум дидиǩд ки, [W_Z12: 1.7]
cum didiǰ-d ki
how much look-3SG SUB

яӄищ әчәк нәтапән.
{yawiš әčәk nә-tap-ән}$_{\text{PERCEPTION}}$
they by no means NEG-move-3PL

*He waited*[58] *[non-tense] a lot (and/but saw) that they did not move [non-tense] at all.*

(163) Рухщона дидиǩд ки, [W_A02: 4.9]
Ruxšona didiǰ-d ki
Rukhshona see-3SG SUB

яӄ ләшкар шкастәш ит.
{yaw ləškar škast=әš i-t}$_{\text{PERCEPTION}}$
her army defeat=IPFV eat-3SG

*Rukhshona saw [non-tense] that her army is being defeated [present].*

[58] I was assured by the native speakers that the verb *didǰak* here means 'wait', not 'see, look', as is its default meaning.

Another indicator, and often the only one, of deictic shift is the presence of a deictic expression, as illustrated in Example (164) taken from an oral narrative.

(164) pišin rəč-ən ki {me tru [O_Z18: 49]
afternoon go-3PL SUB behold.PRX three

prčod}$_{\text{PERCEPTION}}$
girl.PRX

*In the afternoon they went [non-tense] (there and saw) that, "look[59], three girls".*

This type of deictic shift is frequent in the complement clauses in the oral narratives. However, in the written narratives these deictic expressions tend to be edited out, and any traces of deictic shift are eliminated. This is illustrated in Example (165) below, which is the written counterpart of Example (164) above. The proximal deictic expression *me* 'behold' in the oral version was removed from its written counterpart, and instead, the demonstrative DEM3 (far distance) and the adverb THERE3 (far distance) indicate the absence of deictic shift.

(165) чирмит та мала ки, [W_Z18: 3.1]
čirmi-t t-a mala ki
enter-3SG in-DEM3 room SUB

дра тру хәщруй-хәщруй прчод
{dra tru xəšruy-xəšruy prčod}$_{\text{PERCEPTION}}$
THERE3 three beautiful-beautiful girl

*(...) he entered the room (and saw) that there were three very beautiful girls (...)*

A rather unusual construction is a complement clause introduced with the SUBCOMP *ki* extended by the negative particle *nəy*. In GROUP 1, it is found in only two instances in one written narrative. The negative particle *nəy*, apart from the strictly unmarked negation, can convey the pragmatic effect of a negative surprise or disbelief. In the passages where it occurs in the narratives of GROUP 1, it introduces a complement clause – the argument of the elided verb of perception with a deictic shift – as illustrated in Example (166) below. It indicates that the perceived event is surprising and negative at the same time. It could well be translated as "oh no!". *Ki nəy* thus represents a marked use highlighting the negative surprise (disbelief) produced by the perceived event.

[59] When the proximal demonstrative particle *me* is used, it often indicates a mirative use.

(166) Йəм ләшкарəш хила ҷанг царən ки нəй, [W_A02: 4.8]
yəm ləškar=əš xila ǰang car-ən ki nəy[60]
DEM1 army=IPFV very fight do-3PL SUB NEG

йəм Чин ләшкар ға тқиət
{yəm Čin ləškar ɣa tqi=ət
DEM1 China army very many=and

қларəк қрибəш ӂоцən.
qla-rək qrib=əš woc-ən}$_{\text{PERCEPTION}}$
fortress-DAT near=IPFV become-3PL

*The soldiers are fighting very hard but (see) that ['oh no!'] the soldiers of China are very many and they are approaching the fortress.*

The rest of the verb categories, i.e. verbs of thinking, verbs of knowledge, modality verbs and other impersonal expressions are less frequent in the narratives than the previous two categories. Table 54 below summarizes the patterns of the presence vs. absence of the deictic shift and of SUB-COMP *ki* in the oral and written narratives in these categories.

**Table 54.** *Group 1: Presence vs. absence of ki and deictic shift in the remaining complement clauses*

| **Total** | | **Oral 19** | **Written 14** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **know** | **[+*ki* / +DS]** | 1 | 2 |
| | **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 8 | 3 |
| | **[-*ki* / -DS]** | 1 | 1 |
| **think** | **[+*ki* / +DS]** | 1 | 2 |
| | **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 3 | 1 |
| **modality** | **[+*ki* / +DS]** | 1 | – |
| | **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 1 | – |
| | **[-*ki* / -DS]** | – | 1 |
| | **[-*ki* / +DS]** | – | 1 |
| **other** | **[+*ki* / +DS]** | – | 1 |
| | **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 3 | 1 |
| | **[-*ki* / -DS]** | – | 1 |

[60] In an alternative interpretation, the negative particle *nəy* in this example may be part of the subordinate perception clause.

The above table illustrates that the majority of the remaining complement clause categories prefer the presence of SUB-COMP *ki* and the absence of the deictic shift, i.e. [+*ki* / -DS], a pattern that is typical for the perception complement clauses.

To SUMMARIZE the analysis of the complementation and reported speech strategies in the narratives of GROUP 1, the following can be said:

- Reported speech is the most frequent type of complement clauses.
- The most preferred pattern in reported speech in both the oral and written narratives is [-*ki* / +DS], i.e. absence of the SUB-COMP *ki* and presence of deictic shift. The absence of the SUB-COMP *ki* is preferred significantly more in the written narratives than the oral narratives. The presence of deictic shift is strongly preferred in both the oral and written narratives.
- The most preferred pattern in the perception complement clauses is [+*ki* / -DS], i.e. presence of the SUB-COMP *ki* and absence of deictic shift. The absence of deictic shift is preferred more strongly in the written narratives than in the oral narratives. The presence of the SUB-COMP *ki* is strongly preferred in both the oral and written narratives.
- The rest of the complement clauses show a variety of patterns, but the most preferred one is the presence of the SUB-COMP *ki*.

*5.2.3.1.2. Complementation and reported speech – GROUP 2*

In the narratives of GROUP 2, four categories of complement-taking verbs are identified. Their occurrences in the oral and written narratives are presented in Table 55.

**Table 55.** *Group 2: Complement-taking verbs and their occurrences in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **14** | **100%** | **11** | **100%** |
| **Speech verbs** | 5 | 36% | 2 | 18% |
| **Perception verbs** | 7 | 50% | 7 | 64% |
| **Verbs of knowledge** | 1 | 7% | 1 | 9% |
| **Verbs of thinking** | – | – | – | – |
| **Modality verbs** | – | – | – | – |
| **Other** | 1 | 7% | 1 | 9% |

In this group of narratives, the perception complement clauses represent the most frequent type of complement clauses in both the oral and written versions. In fact, the number of occurrences of all complement clauses, except for reported speech, is identical in both the oral and the written narratives. Reported speech clauses are less represented in the narratives of GROUP 2.

Table 56 below summarizes the presence vs. absence of the SUB-COMP *ki* occurring with the speech verbs. It reveals that the reported speech clauses in the narratives of GROUP 2 are only introduced with *ki*.

**Table 56.** *Group 2: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of ki*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| ***+ki*** | 5 | 100% | 2 | 100% |
| ***-ki*** | – | - | – | – |

The presence vs. absence of deictic shift in the reported speech is summarized in Table 57 below, also demonstrating the patterns found in both the oral and written narratives.

**Table 57.** *Group 2: Reported speech patterns*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **+DS → [+*ki* / +DS]** | 4 | 80% | 1 | 50% |
| **-DS → [+*ki* / -DS]** | 1 | 20% | 1 | 50% |

The number of occurrences of reported speech is low in the narratives of GROUP 2 and does not provide enough data to draw unambiguous conclusions. What

it does show, however, is that reported speech is less frequent in the oral narratives prepared in advance than in the spontaneously told oral narratives. It is also less frequent in the written narratives than in the oral narratives prepared in advance. It thus indicates that in the written narratives, some occurrences of reported speech are edited out. The discussion and the examples below illustrate more clearly what types of reported speech were subjected to editing when the written versions were produced.

In the written versions of the oral narratives of GROUP 2, three instances of direct speech occurring in the subordinate complement clause were edited out. All three occurrences share the same pattern. In the oral versions, they are found in the first sentence of the narrative and introduce an evidential direct speech, as illustrated in Example (167). In this example, only the first clause links the story to the narrator. Deictic shift occurs in the complement clause and the story continues to be anchored in the same deictic centre until the end.

(167) i ðay naql kərt-i ki [OB_DB: 1]
one man story do.PST-i SUB

{tə ku šḳor cərak rəɣ̌d=əm}$_{DS}$
to mountain hunting do.INF go.PST=1SG

*A man told a story (saying that) "I went hunting to the mountain." [the story then continues in the 1st person]*

In the written version of the same story, this sentence is constructed in a different way (see Example 168). A clear break is made between the introductory clause linking the story to the actual narrator and the beginning of the story narrated in the evidential direct speech form. Thus, instead of having a main clause and subordinate complement clause with two different deictic centres within one sentence (as shown above), two independent clauses are used (168a) and (168b). The same pattern is found in two other narratives of the five narratives of GROUP 2.

(168) a. Йəм нақли марəк и шкорӣ ǯай [W_N05: 1]
уəm naql-i mar-ək i šḳorī ðay
DEM1 story-ACC to me-DAT one hunter man

кəрти:
kərt-i
do.PST-i

*This story was told to me by a hunter:*

b. “Тə ку шкор цəрак рəғдəм.
tə ku šḳor cərak rəɣ̆d=əm
to mountain hunt do.INF go.PST=1SG

*“I went hunting on the mountain.” [the story continues in the 1st person]*

Perception complement clauses are used more frequently than reported speech. All are introduced with *ki*, as is illustrated in Table 58 below.

**Table 58.** *Group 2: Perception verbs – presence vs. absence of ki*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| ***+ki*** | 7 | 100% | 7 | 100% |
| ***-ki*** | – | – | – | – |

The majority of the perception complement clauses occur without deictic shift, but the latter does occur in some instances. Table 59 below summarizes the occurrences and the patterns found in the oral and written narratives. The pattern [+KI / -DS] is the most preferred. In this regard, there no difference is found between the oral and written narratives.

**Table 59.** *Group 2: Perception verbs – patterns*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **+DS → [+*ki* / +DS]** | 2 | 29% | 2 | 29% |
| **-DS → [+*ki* / -DS]** | 5 | 71% | 5 | 71% |

The remaining groups of complement-taking verbs are not represented sufficiently to discern any pattern.

To SUMMARIZE the analysis of the complementing strategies found in the narratives of GROUP 2, the following can be said:

- The most frequently used type of complement clauses in the narratives of GROUP 2 are perception complement clauses.
- In all occurrences, the perception complement clauses are introduced with SUB-COMP *ki*. They can occur with or without deictic shift, but most often they prefer no deictic shift, i.e. the pattern [+*ki* / -DS].

- The only difference found between oral and written narratives is in how evidential direct speech is introduced.

*5.2.3.1.3. Complementation and reported speech – GROUP 3*

All six categories of the complement-taking verbs are found in the narratives of GROUP 3. Their occurrences and percentage in relation to the overall number of complement clauses are presented in Table 60 below.

**Table 60.** *Group 3: Complement-taking verbs and their occurrences in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **149** | **100%** | **139** | **100%** |
| **Speech verbs** | 104 | 70% | 68 | 49% |
| **Perception verbs** | 20 | 13% | 49 | 35% |
| **Verbs of knowledge** | 6 | 4% | 9 | 7% |
| **Verbs of thinking** | 9 | 6% | 10 | 7% |
| **Modality verbs** | 1 | 1% | – | – |
| **Other** | 9 | 6% | 3 | 2% |

The above table shows that there is a difference between the oral and written narratives in the distribution of the types of complement clauses. In the oral narratives, reported speech clauses are more frequent (almost 70%) than other types of complement clauses. In the written narratives, though still the most preferred type, they make up less than 50% of all complement clauses. Conversely, more perception complement clauses are found in written narratives than in oral narratives. The remaining categories of the complement-taking verbs are represented less frequently and show comparable values in both the oral and written narratives.

As the largest group of complement clauses, reported speech clauses are first discussed with regard to the presence or absence of SUB-COMP *ki*. Table 61 presents all occurrences and the percentages in relation to the total number of complement clauses introduced by a speech verb (including elided speech verbs).

**Table 61.** *Group 3: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of ki*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **+*ki*** | 31 | 30% | 21 | 31% |
| **-*ki*** | 73 | 70% | 47 | 69% |

As the above table illustrates, the reported speech clauses prefer NOT to be introduced by the SUB-COMP *ki*. The degree of this preference is almost the same in oral and written narratives (around 70%).

Regarding the presence vs. absence of deictic shift in the reported speech, both the oral and written narratives show a strong preference for deictic shift, as illustrated in Table 62.

**Table 62.** *Group 3: Speech verbs – presence vs. absence of deictic shift*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **+DS** | 101 | 97% | 66 | 97% |
| **–DS** | 3 | 3% | 2 | 3% |

The patterns of reported speech in the narratives of GROUP 3 are illustrated in Table 63.

**Table 63.** *Group 3: Reported speech patterns*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **[+*ki* / +DS]** | 29 | 28% | 19 | 28% |
| **[-*ki* / +DS]** | 72 | 69% | 47 | 69% |
| **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 2 | 2% | 2 | 3% |
| **[-*ki* / -DS]** | 1 | 1% | – | – |

The most frequently occurring pattern in both the oral and written narratives is the one without SUB-COMP *ki* and with deictic shift. The values are almost identical for both the oral and written narratives. The instances of reported speech without the deictic shift are rare. They can occur in both oral and written narratives, but usually they are cases where no clear distinction is visible between whether the proposition was a verbatim representation of the words of the reported speaker or a paraphrase made by the narrator, as illustrated in Example (169) below.

(169) Ӽанән, [W_A03: 1.3]
ӽan-ən
say-3PL

йәт ға қдимаәт якым хун а
{yət ɣa qdima=ət yaкым xun a
DEM2 very old=and first house EMP

дәм Вранг туәтк.
d-əm Vrang tuətk}$_{\text{SPEECH}}$
in-DEM1 Vrang be.PF

*'They said, it was very old and the first house in this (village) Vrang.'*

The perception complement clauses (including the elided verbs of perception) show the opposite patterns than the ones identified for reported speech discussed above. Table 64 presents a summary of the presence vs. absence of the SUB-COMP *ki* in the complements of verbs of perception in oral and written narratives. It shows the total preference for complements of the verbs of perception introduced with SUB-COMP *ki*.

**Table 64.** *Group 3: Perception verbs – presence vs. absence of ki*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| ***+ki*** | 20 | 100% | 49 | 100% |
| ***–ki*** | – | – | – | – |

As for the occurrence of deictic shift in this type of complement clauses, Table 65 below demonstrates that both patterns occur in the Wakhi narratives, but that absence of deictic shift is preferred. This is true for both the oral and written narratives. There is no significant difference between them, as they show comparable values. The most frequent pattern is thus [+*ki* / -DS], but [+*ki* / +DS] can also be used.

**Table 65.** *Group 3: Perception verbs – patterns*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occurrence** | **%** | **Occurrence** | **%** |
| **+DS → [+*ki* / +DS]** | 6 | 30% | 12 | 25% |
| **-DS → [+*ki* / -DS]** | 14 | 70% | 37 | 75% |

The remaining categories of complement-taking verbs are summarized in Table 66. The identified patterns show a preference for the presence of the SUB-COMP *ki* and for the absence of deictic shift. The pattern [–*ki* / +DS] is not used at all in these complement clauses.

**Table 66.** *Group 3: Presence vs. absence of ki and deictic shift in the remaining complement clauses*

| **Total** | | **Oral 25** | **Written 22** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **know** | **[+KI / +DS]** | 1 | 3 |
| | **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 3 | 3 |
| | **[-*ki* / -DS]** | 2 | 3 |
| **think** | **[+*ki* / +DS]** | 7 | 6 |
| | **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 2 | 4 |
| **modality** | **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 1 | – |
| **other** | **[+*ki* / -DS]** | 9 | 3 |

A rather unusual construction is found in the narratives of GROUP 3. This is the construction already mentioned in Section 2.2.2.1 where the complement clause is pre-posed, although the default position for complement clauses is post-nuclear. It is found in one instance in a written narrative (Example 48 in Section 2.2.2.1) and in two instances in oral narratives. One of them is shown in Example (170). In all three occurrences, this pre-posed clause is the topicalized complement of a verb of knowledge, and functions as a point of departure for the main clause.

(170) {yaw-ən cum vrɯt tuətk [OB_SB: 11]
his-ABL how many brother be..PF

cum pətr tuətk}$_{CC}$
how many son be.PF

yaw nomalɯm sak nə-diš-ən
it unknown we NEG-know-1PL

*How many brothers he had, how many sons he had, we don't know, it's unknown.*

To SUMMARIZE the analysis of the complementation and reported speech strategies in the narratives of GROUP 3, the following can be said:

- The patterns found in the narratives of GROUP 3 are similar to those identified in GROUP 1.
- The preferred patterns for reported speech and for perception complement clauses show no significant difference between oral and written narratives.

*5.2.3.1.4. Complementation and reported speech – summary*

The analysis of complementation strategies in the Wakhi narratives is based on two criteria, the presence vs. absence of SUB-COMP *ki* and the presence vs. absence of deictic shift. The analysis reveals that the complement clauses show a variety of patterns, depending not only on whether they occur in oral or written narratives but also on the type of introducing verb.

Two most frequent types of complement clauses identified in the Wakhi narratives are reported speech clauses, i.e. arguments of verbs of speech (both explicit and elided), and perception complement clauses (both explicit and elided). Table 67 below compares their occurrences and percentages in relation to the total number of complement clauses in each group.

**Table 67.** *Groups 1–3: Occurrences of the speech and perception verbs*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Speech verbs** | | | | |
| **Group 1** | 54 | 61% | 58 | 60% |
| **Group 2** | 5 | 31% | 2 | 15% |
| **Group 3** | 104 | 70% | 68 | 49% |
| **Perception verbs** | | | | |
| **Group 1** | 16 | 18% | 6 | 25% |
| **Group 2** | 7 | 44% | 7 | 54% |
| **Group 3** | 20 | 13% | 49 | 35% |

Spontaneously told oral narratives (GROUPS 1 and 3) have a relatively high rate of reported speeches. On the other hand, in independently written narratives (GROUP 3), the preference for reported speech is lower than in sponta-

neously told oral narratives. It can thus be stated that reported speech is more commonly used in oral narratives than in written narratives.

The relatively high percentage of reported speech in the written narratives of GROUP 1 can be explained by the fact that they were based on their oral counterparts (GROUP 1). This indicates that during the editing process, most instances of reported speech were not deleted.

The rather low percentage of reported speech found in the oral narratives of GROUP 2 is due to the fact that these are the oral narratives prepared in advance, and as such display features typical for written narratives. In their written counterparts, the percentage of reported speech is even lower, which also supports the claim that reported speech is used less in the written narratives.

The perception complement clauses are the second largest group of complement clauses after reported speech. In the written narratives and in the oral narratives prepared in advance (GROUP 2) they are used with a higher frequency than in the spontaneously told oral narratives.

Considering the parameters of presence vs. absence of the SUB-COMP *ki* and presence vs. absence of deictic shift, the two groups of complements clauses display opposite characteristics. Table 68 below summarizes the most frequent patterns for reported speech and perception complement clauses found in the oral and written narratives.

**Table 68.** *Groups 1–3: Patterns for speech and perception clauses*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Reported speech** | | |
| **[-*ki* / +DS] – Group 1** | 54% | 79% |
| **[+*ki* / +DS] – Group 2** | 80% | 50% |
| **[-*ki* / +DS] – Group 3** | 69% | 69% |
| **Perception clauses** | | |
| **[+*ki* / -DS] – Group 1** | 56% | 79% |
| **[+*ki* / -DS] – Group 2** | 71% | 71% |
| **[+*ki* / -DS] – Group 3** | 70% | 75% |

As shown in the table above, the most frequent and thus default pattern for reported speeches is [-*ki* / + DS], i.e. without SUB-COMP *ki* and with deictic shift. This is true for the spontaneous oral narratives, but not for the oral narratives prepared in advance (GROUP 2). This might be influenced by the fact that in GROUP 2 there are only seven occurrences of reported speech and these may actually reflect a marked use. In the written counterparts of the same narratives, however, the editing reduced this divergence from the default preference to 50%. Written narratives show a greater preference for the default/unmarked

use of reported speech, while oral narratives display greater divergence from the default/unmarked. The second most frequent pattern for reported speech is with SUB-COMP *ki* and deictic shift [+*ki* / +DS]. Thus, SUB-COMP *ki* occurring in reported speech indicates a marked use. Deictic shift (i.e. a direct speech form) is vastly preferred in all reported speech clauses.

Regarding the oral narratives prepared in advance, the above discussion may also indicate that they are neither purely oral (because they show a strong inclination to use the forms typical in written narratives), nor purely written (because in the case of reported speech they show a greater inclination to use the marked forms, which are more typical of oral narratives).

Conversely, the most frequent and thus default pattern for the perception complement clauses is [+*ki* / -DS], i.e. with the SUB-COMP *ki* and without deictic shift. This represents exactly the opposite pattern than the one identified for reported speech. The second possible pattern for the perception complement clauses is the pattern with SUB-COMP *ki* and deictic shift. Hence, deictic shift occurring in perception complement clauses indicates a marked use. The presence of SUB-COMP *ki* is vastly preferred.

Regarding the pragmatic function of SUB-COMP *ki*, it has also been discussed above as an interpretive use marker, a term suggested by Farrell (2005) and Levinsohn (2012) for *ki* in Balochi. Levinsohn (2012: 150) claims that in Balochi the function of *ki* as an interpretive marker is to indicate that reported speech introduced by *ki* is NOT what was said on a particular occasion, but rather describes what might have been said. Similar observations have been made in Wakhi (see discussion in Section 2.2.2.1 above) where the reported speech introduced by *ki*, although using deictic shift, behaves more like an indirect speech which, in the published Wakhi narratives, is reflected in the absence of quotation marks.

In terms of grounding, Levinsohn (2012: 154) observes that when introducing a reported speech in Balochi, *ki* has a backgrounding function. An extended pragmatic function of *ki* can then be that backgrounding of the question or proposal by means of *ki* leads to highlighting of the subsequent answer or the execution of the proposal. A similar use of *ki*, i.e. backgrounding the immediately following reported speech in order to highlight the subsequent utterance or action, has also been observed in the Wakhi narratives (as in Example 156 above). This observation also explains the greater use of *ki* in reported speech in oral than in written narratives, because, as has been observed earlier, oral narratives use more marking than written narratives, where the preference is higher for unmarked patterns (as in Example 157 above illustrating the written version of Example 156).

In terms of evidential strategies, which seem to be a central preoccupation in Wakhi narrations, the above discussion implies that the presence of *ki* may also have a pragmatic function of indicating a certain hesitation, or distancing from the "direct speech" effect.

### 5.2.3.2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Wakhi have been described in Section 2.2.2.3. Their occurrence in Wakhi narratives is not very regular. There are narratives, both oral and written, without any relative clause. On the other hand, there are narratives with rather complex relative structures.

In Wakhi, two subordinators are used as relativizers – *ki* and *cə/cəy*. Their use and functions have been described in Section 2.2.2. Linguists normally investigate the syntactic roles of the head nouns in the relative clauses, i.e. which constituents can be relativized. However, analysing relative clauses according to the syntactic roles of the head nouns did not yield any significant differences between oral and written texts. The relative clauses in this study are analysed with respect to the elements they modify.

In Wakhi, relative clauses can modify subjects, as in Example (171), objects (direct and indirect), as in Example (172), and adverbial expressions, as in Example (173). In the relative clause, these head nouns can have different role than that in the main clause. Relative clauses are usually found in the postnominal position (Examples 172 and 173), and can also be headless (i.e. without any overt head noun), as in Example (171).

(171) {yaw ǩat-i bə cəy}$_{\text{RC-SUBJECT}}$ [OB_GF: 42a–b]
she say.PST-i ADD SUB

də ʐ̣ы yod niv nast
in my memory now is not

*I don't remember now what she said indeed. [lit. '{what she said indeed}$_{\text{RC-SUBJECT}}$ is not in my memory now'](...)*

(172) bo šarofati a yət kaš Lalmamad [O_SF: 38b–c]
thanks to EMP DEM2 boy Lalmamad SUB

{ki Ruxšona pətr}$_{\text{RC-INDIR.OBJECT}}$
SUB Rukhshona son

*(Now, ruby which has become famous in the world), it is thanks to this boy Lalmamad, {who was the son of Rukhshona}$_{\text{RC-INDIR.OBJECT}}$ (...)*

(173) Аӷи ки яӄищ а наӷд [W_A05: 4.6]
aʒi ki yawiš a naɣ̌d
because they EMP night

ки йәтищ цә рәдән,
{ki yət-iš cə rəd-ən}$_{\text{RC-ADVERBIAL}}$
SUB DEM2-PL SUB escape-3PL

дәм да хиш-тборви хунәв
d-əm d-a xiṣ̌-tbor-vi xun=əv
in-DEM1 in-DEM3 relative-PL.OBL house=3PL

туәтк.
tuətk
be.PF

*Because on the night {when those escaped}$_{\text{RC-ADVERBIAL}}$,*
*they were here and there with their relatives.*

Many relative clauses are left-dislocated[61], as in Examples (174) and (175). Left-dislocated relative clauses show the same features as the subject-, object- and adverbial-modifying relative clauses. The pronoun/adverb that follows the left-dislocated relative clause is the subject/object/adverbial expression of the main clause.

(174) me niv {cə inson-ən ar xalg bə [O_Z18: 79]
behold PRX now from human-ABL every man ADD

cəy}$_{\text{RC-LEFT-DISLOC.}}$
SUB

yaw insondorī diš-t nəy-a
(she/he humanity know-3SG no-Q

*Look, now, {everyone who is also human}$_{\text{RC-LEFT-DISLOC.}}$,*
*she/he knows human behavior, right?*

[61] Left dislocation is described in Crystal (2008: 273) as "a type of sentence in which one of the constituents appears in initial position and its canonical position is filled by a pronoun or a full lexical noun phrase with the same reference".

(175) yan a ya zmon-e [OB_HS: 3a...e]
then EMP DEM3 time-IND

{ki Imit Hazrati Piri Šonosir drət
SUB Imit Hazrati Pir Shoh Nosir THERE2

wəzg=ət}$_{\text{RC-LEFT-DISLOC.}}$ (...)
come.PF=and (...)

me a ya zmon me
behold.PRX EMP DEM3 time behold.PRX

yəm ṣ̌ыy
DEM1 rock

*Then, in that time {when the Pir Shoh Nosir had come to Imit}$_{\text{RC-LEFT-DISLOC.}}$ and (...), it had been in that time that this rock had appeared (...)*

In Wakhi, as in other languages, two types of relative clauses are found, restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses are those that have an identifying or modifying function (Examples 173, 176), while non-restrictive relative clauses are those that modify the already identified head noun by only adding more information about it (Example 177). The majority of Wakhi relative clauses are restrictive.

(176) Цəм қлавəн луптəрət [W_A02: 1.3]
c-əm qla-v-ən {luptər=ət
from-DEM1 fortress-PL.OBL-ABL bigger=and

кыx̌т яв дищт цəй,
kыx̌t yav diš-t cəy}$_{\text{RC-RESTRICTIVE}}$
everybody they.OBL know-3SG SUB

асосан бу қла
asosan bu qla
basically two fortress

*Among the fortresses {that are the biggest and that everybody knows}$_{\text{RC-RESTRICTIVE}}$, are basically two fortresses (...)*

(177) Тәй цәқлай қлаищ ки, [W_A02: 1.5]
tәy cəqlay qla-iš ki
is small fortress-PL SUB

дәр бораи яв камтәр малумот
{dər borai yav kamtər malumot
about they.OBL less information

ӑәзг.
wəzg}$_{\text{RC-NON-RESTRICTIVE}}$
come.PF

*There are smaller fortresses {about which less information has remained [lit. 'has come']}$_{\text{RC-NON-RESTRICTIVE}}$.*

The above-described characteristics of Wakhi relative clauses allow for a large variety of combinations. To describe the patterns of relative clauses found in Wakhi is a complex task, and the instances of relative clauses found in the present corpus are not sufficient to draw any conclusions. Nevertheless, it is still possible to observe certain preferences and tendencies, which can serve as indicators for further analysis when more data becomes available.

*5.2.3.2.1. Relative clauses – GROUP 1*

In the narratives of GROUP 1, relative clauses are found more frequently in the oral than written narratives. In the oral narratives, there are thirty occurrences, found in seven of the eight stories. In the written narratives, there are sixteen occurrences, found in four of the eight stories. Relative clauses in the narratives of GROUP 1 modify all three elements, subject, object (direct and indirect), and adverbial expressions.

Relative clauses in the GROUP 1 narratives often occur in left-dislocated position. In the oral narratives, thirteen out of thirty relative clauses are left-dislocated. In the written narratives, five of sixteen relative clauses are left-dislocated.

Within the wide range of combinations described above, certain patterns are observed to occur more regularly in Wakhi narratives than others. Relative clauses modifying the SUBJECT, as well as left-dislocated relative clauses followed by a pronoun that is the subject in the main clause, have a tendency to occur with the relativizer *cə/cəy*. All instances of this type in the narratives of GROUP 1 are restrictive relative clauses, as in Examples (171) and (178).

(178) a ya ǰay-vi {cə xat-i}$_{\text{RC-LEFT-DISLOC}}$ [OB_GF:42c–d]
EMP DEM3 place-PL.OBL SUB say.PST-i

a ǰay-iš a ps-a-vi a
EMP place-PL EMP at-DEM3-PL.OBL EMP

rang ǰay nast
manner place is not

*(...) the places {she mentioned}$_{\text{RC-LEFT-DISLOC}}$, there are not this kind of places here [lit. 'this type of places are not here'].*

Apart from these patterns, subject-modifying as well as left-dislocated relative clauses followed by a subject pronoun can occur with both relativizers together *ki...cə/cəy*. Those found in the GROUP 1 narratives are non-restrictive relative clauses (Example 179) or restrictive relative clauses with more than one argument, where *ki* has a delimiting function marking the beginning of the relative clause (Example 180).[62]

(179) yət Rыхšona {ki šo cə tuətk}$_{\text{RC}}$ [O_SF: 4d–e]
DEM2 Rukhshona SUB king SUB be.PF

yət bə xanǰar dыrz-d=ət
DEM2 ADD sword take-3SG=and

*(...) that Rukshona [already identified earlier in the story], {who was a king}$_{\text{RC}}$, she also took sword and (...)*

(180) a ya awɣon-iš {ki ya prčod-i [OB_SK: 30b–c]
EMP DEM3 Afghan-PL SUB DEM3 girl-ACC

ɣudī cə kərk}$_{\text{RC}}$
theft SUB do.PF

yawiš kы təm nyəng=ət
they all HERE1 sit.PF=and

*(...) those Afghans {who had kidnapped the girl}$_{\text{RC}}$, they had all sat down here (...)*

[62]The use of *ki* as a borrowed element to reinforce the original relative element is a pattern not uncommon in Indo-Aryan languages, found, for instance, in Urdu (personal communication with Elena Bashir).

The relative clauses modifying the OBJECT as well as left-dislocated relative clauses followed by an object pronoun (direct or indirect) most frequently occur with the relativizer *ki*, as illustrated in Examples (172) and (181). They can also occur with both relativizers together *ki...cə/cəy* (182).

(181) {a mukt ki ǩətk}$_{RC}$ [O_Z03: 33a]
EMP frog SUB make.PF

a yaw-i car-ən qbыl
EMP it-ACC do-3PL accept

*{The one [bread] made by that frog}$_{RC}$, they accepted it (...)*

(182) yət xəš tabor-i Rыхšona vrыt {ki a [O_SF: 24d–e]
DEM2 relative-EZ Rukhshona brother SUB EMP

dra cə tuətk}$_{RC}$
THERE3 SUB be.PF

a yar-ək yaw rand-ən
EMP to him-DAT him give-3PL

*the relatives of Rukhshona's brother {who was there}$_{RC}$, they handed him to him [Rukhshona's brother].*

In the GROUP 1 narratives, the relative clauses modifying ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS occur only with both relativizers together *ki...cə/cəy*.

(183) a dət sol-o-vi {ki sak=ən=əš [OB_GF: 1a–b]
EMP DEM2 year-PL-PL.OBL SUB we=1PL=IPFV

də S zindagī cə kərt-i}$_{RC}$
in living SUB do.PST-i

wuz=əm sinf-o-i nы yo ašt=əm tu
I=1SG class-PL-EZ nine or eight=1SG be.PST

*In those years {when we were living in S..}$_{RC}$, I studied in the eighth-ninth grade (...)*

Another observation based on the narratives of GROUP 1 is that the relative clauses closing the sentence mostly occur with the subordinator *ki* and can be postposed, with another element inserted between the head noun and the

relative clause (Example 184). This has been described in Section 2.2.2.3 as a focal prominence attributed to the postposed relative clause.

(184) a ya bəč=ət voč-vi nung=əš [OB_GF: 23]
EMP DEM3 uncle=and aunt-PL.OBL name=IPFV

wыdыr-t ki
hold-3SG SUB

{yawiš də əčkuy yod yawiš nast}$_{RC}$
they in nobody memory they is not

*She names such uncles and aunts {that nobody remembers them}.*

Regarding the comparison between oral and written narratives of GROUP 1, relative clauses are used more frequently in the oral than in the written narratives, which indicates that some occurrences in the oral narratives were edited out of their written versions. These deleted relative clauses in the oral narratives are often part of unfinished sentences or very complex structures, in which the sentence loses the information flow, or constitute explanatory and evaluative comments by the narrator, which are not needed in the written versions, as illustrated in Example (185). In this example, the relative clause is an inserted explanatory comment by which the narrator steps out of the story and addresses the audience directly. This type of comment is normally not found in written narratives, and therefore the relative clause carrying this comment is not found in the written version.

(185) yan badi yak sol rəў̆d-i me [O_Z18: 54]
then after one year go.PST-i behold.PRX

dыxtardidani
visiting the newly married daughter

{spo ǰay cəy}$_{RC}$ nəy-a
our place SUB no-Q

*Then one year later they went to visit their newly married daughters, {which is (a custom) in our place}$_{RC}$, right?*

One of the few examples where the relative clause was kept but its form was edited, is found in Example (186). This example shows a direct speech passage where the headless relative clause is without a relativizer. In the corresponding

passage in the written version (Example 187), a relativizer and a reference pronoun are added, and the relative clause appears in left-dislocated position.

(186) kaṭ-əv [O_Z03: 5]
shoot-2PL

{də kum də čiz dəy-t}$_{RC}$ yund-əv nəy-a
in which in what hit-3SG take-2PL no-Q

*"Shoot, marry {whichever one it falls on}$_{RC}$", right?*

(187) „Каїəв, [W_Z03: 1.3c–e]
kaṭ-əv
shoot-2PL

{сəк чиз ки пəрвəтəй}$_{RC\text{-}LEFT\text{-}DISLOC}$,
{sək čiz ki pərvət-əy}
on what SUB hit a target.PST-i

а яйи юндəв"
а yaw-i yund-əv
EMP it-ACC take-2PL

*"Shoot, {whichever target it reaches}$_{RC\text{-}Left\text{-}disloc}$, marry that one [lit. 'take it/her']".*

*5.2.3.2.2. Relative clauses – GROUP 2*
There are no occurrences of relative clauses in the narratives of GROUP 2.

*5.2.3.2.3. Relative clauses – GROUP 3*
In the GROUP 3 narratives, 28 occurrences are found in seven of the eleven oral stories, and nine occurrences in six of the sixteen written stories. All three types of relative clauses, i.e. subject-modifying, object-modifying (direct and indirect) and adverbial-modifying relative clauses, as well as corresponding left-dislocated relative clauses are found.

The patterns of relative clauses which have been identified in the narratives of GROUP 1 are found also in GROUP 3. However, the narratives of GROUP 3 show a larger variety of combinations than those described for GROUP 1. Here, too, relative clauses often occur in left-dislocated position. In the oral narratives, fourteen out of 28 relative clauses are left-dislocated. In the written narratives, four out of nine instances are left-dislocated.

With regard to the complexity of relative constructions, those found in the oral narratives of GROUP 3 are significantly more complex than those in the

written narratives. While in the written narratives the number of relative clauses is limited to one per sentence, in the oral narratives we can find series of relative clauses chained together, as illustrated by Example (188), which is made up of three consecutive relative clauses.

(188) a dra {ki ya spo amsoya xun [O_FL: 33]
EMP THERE3 SUB DEM2 our neighbour house

cə goxt-i=ət}$_{RC1}$
SUB make.PST-i=and

a da sil {a ya xun-i dgar-i
EMP DEM3 flood EMP DEM3 house-EZ other-ACC

cə di}$_{RC2}$
SUB hit

{a c-an-ən poṣt-i cəy}$_{RC3}$
EMP from-it-ABL dig.PST-i SUB

molotok=ət tpar=ət srung=ət
hammer=and axe=and crowbar=and

yav-i kы c-an got-i
they.OBL-ACC all from-it find.PST-i

*In that place, {where our neighbour had built a house}$_{RC1}$ and in the flood {which hit the other house}$_{RC2}$, {from where (the neighbours) dug out things}$_{RC3}$, all things like hammers, axes and crowbars and all those things they found there.*

*5.2.3.2.4. Relative clauses – summary*

Relatives clauses are not found very frequently in the Wakhi narratives. Their use and frequency depend on the narrator/writer's personal style and on the type of narration. There are narratives with complex relative constructions, but also narratives with few or no relative clauses. The overall number of occurrences in the present corpus is not high enough to allow for drawing conclusions about the patterns and functions of the relative clauses in Wakhi. Also, the relative clauses found in the corpus of Wakhi narratives show a large variety of patterns and combinations of factors such as the choice of relativizer (*ki*, *cə/cəy* or both *ki...cə/cəy* together), the position of the relative clause with respect to the head noun, and its position in the sentence.

The complexity of relative structures is compared between the oral and written narratives. The most relevant observation to the topic of this study is that relative clauses are found more frequently in the oral narratives than in the written ones. Also, in the oral narratives, the relative constructions are more complex than in the written ones. In the oral narratives, narrators often use relative clauses to interrupt the flow of the narrated action and to give an evaluative or explanatory comment. This does not happen in the written narratives, where chains of relative clauses are normally not found.

Relative clauses in both the oral and written narratives often appear in left-dislocated position and show the same features as the relative clauses found in their usual positions. It has been observed that subject-modifying relative clauses, as well as left-dislocated relative clauses followed by a pronoun that is the subject of the main clause, show a tendency to occur most often with the relativizer *cə/cəy*. Object-modifying relative clauses, as well as left-dislocated relative clauses followed by a pronoun or noun that is the object of the main clause, occur more frequently with the relativizer *ki*. Both subject- and object-modifying relative clauses and corresponding left-dislocated relative clauses can also occur with both relativizers together *ki...cə/cəy*. Adverbial-modifying relative clauses usually occur with both relativizers together *ki...cə/cəy*.

**5.2.3.3. Adverbial clauses**

Adverbial subordinate clauses were described in Section 2.2.2.2. In the corpus of Wakhi narratives not many of them are found. Therefore, in this section, I will only give an overview of the adverbial subordinate clauses found in the corpus and will address those that occur most frequently. For a deeper analysis, more data and a non-narrative corpus would be necessary.

The adverbial subordinate clauses occurring in the Wakhi narratives are analysed from the perspective of their function and position with respect to the main clause. The following adverbial subordinate clauses are found in post-nuclear position:

- Purpose-goal clauses. They are usually introduced with the subordinator *ki* and are in the subjunctive form[63]. They can also be expressed by an infinitive construction with or without the dative/goal case suffix.
- Result-effect (also called consecutive) clauses. These are usually found in constructions where *aʒi* ('so, such, in such a way') intensifies an adjective, adverb or verb in the main clause, and the subordinator *ki* introduces the subordinate clause.

[63]This is only reflected in the verb "be", which is the only verb with a distinct subjunctive form *ымy/ымы*. It is also indicated by the use of the prohibitive particle *mə-/məy*. Other verbs in a non-negative meaning are only used in the default non-tense form, and therefore the purpose-goal interpretation is often unclear and mostly depends on the context and on the individual recipient's interpretation.

The adverbial subordinate clauses found in pre-nuclear position are:

- Concessive clauses. These are constructions consisting of a quantifier and the subordinator *cə/cəy*.
- Conditional clauses. These are usually constructed with the subordinator *cə/cəy*, or with the conditional subordinator *agar* ('if') borrowed from Tajik.

Some adverbial subordinate clauses can be found in variable positions:

- Temporal clauses. Their default unmarked position is described as pre-nuclear, with the subordinator *ki* occurring inside the temporal clause. However, temporal clauses can also be post-nuclear, in which case they are highlighted (foregrounded) while the main clause is backgrounded.
- Cause-reason clauses. Typically, these are post-nuclear, which is their default position. However, they can also be found in pre-nuclear position. They are usually introduced with the connective *azi ki* ('because, since, as'). Alternatively they can be introduced with the borrowed connective *broi (on) ki* ('because'), or can be indicated with the subordinator *cə* ('as'), in which case they are only pre-nuclear.

*5.2.3.3.1. Adverbial clauses – GROUP 1*

In the narratives of GROUP 1, all types of adverbial clauses described in Section 2.2.2.2 are found. Their occurrences in oral and written narratives are summarized in Table 69.

**Table 69.** *Group 1: Occurrences of adverbial clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **31** | **45** |
| **Temporal clauses** | 15 | 10 |
| **Other temporal clauses** | [1] | 4 |
| **Purpose-goal** | 5 | 9 |
| **Result-effect (consecutive)** | 1 | 7 |
| **Cause-reason** | 3 | 9 |
| **Concessive** | 1 | 3 |
| **Conditional** | 5 | 3 |

As the above table illustrates, adverbial clauses (with the exception of temporal clauses), are found more frequently in the written than in the oral narratives.

Various types of subordinate relations are expressed with a greater frequency and variety in the written narratives than in the oral.

TEMPORAL CLAUSES are the most frequent type of adverbial clauses. Most of them are constructed with the subordinator *ki*. Other temporal clauses are infinitive constructions, which occur infrequently (see Section 2.2.2.2).

In the narratives of GROUP 1, both pre-nuclear (Example 189) and post-nuclear (Example 190) temporal clauses are found.

(189) {yaw ki məltiq wɨdrətk}$_{\text{TEMP}}$ [OB_SK: 51]
he SUB rifle catch.PF

yəm-iš kɨ təm cə wşɨk-ən
DEM1-PL all HERE1 from fear-ABL

larz-ən = əş̣
shake-3PL=IPFV

*When he took the rifle, they are all shaking from fear.*

(190) Хила ёмани динән ки, [W_A02: 4.21]
xila yoman-i din-ən ki
a lot each other-ACC hit-3PL SUB

йəм Рухщона куло рəв̆əзд.
{yəm Ruxšona kulo rəwəz-d}$_{\text{TEMP-FGed}}$
DEM1 Rukhshona hat fly-3SG

*They fought with each other a lot when (suddenly) the hat of Rukhshona flew (away).*

It is interesting to note that in the oral narratives, fourteen of the fifteen temporal clauses are pre-nuclear, and only one is post-nuclear (foregrounded). In the written narratives, however, out of ten temporal clauses, four are post-nuclear (foregrounded) and, six are pre-nuclear. Moreover, of these six pre-nuclear clauses, four are found in direct speech. Thus, only two instances of pre-nuclear temporal clauses are found in the written narrations, as shown in Table 70. This indicates quite a significant difference when compared to the fourteen pre-nuclear occurrences found in the oral narrations.

**Table 70.** *Group 1: Occurrences of temporal clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Pre-nuclear** | 13 + 1 in DS | 2 + 4 in DS |
| **Post-nuclear** | 1 | 4 |

All other adverbial subordinate constructions, apart from the conditional clauses, are used more in the written narratives than in the oral narratives.

Mention should also be made of the complexity of the subordinate construction in the oral and written narratives. It is observed that constructions made up of several subordinate clauses, which are also in subordinate relations to each other, are more frequent in the written versions of narratives that are based on their oral counterparts. This is illustrated in Example (191) below, which presents a main clause and three levels of subordination found in a written story. In the oral narratives, constructions with two subordinate levels are frequent, however more than two subordinating levels normally do not occur. This also depends more on the narrator/writer's personal style and on the type of the story. The more evaluation and reasoning in a text, the more complex are the syntactic forms that are found.

(191) Я мукт ӡай ӄызымд ки, [W_Z03: 4.3]
ya mukt ðay wɨzɨm-d ki
DEM3 frog man bring-3SG SUB

аӣи хәщруй ӽәч ки,
{aʒi xəšruy ӽəč ki}$_{SUB1}$
such nice bread SUB

подщо хыщ ӄост, ӽанд,
{podšo xɨš wos-t ӽan-d}$_{SUB2}$
king happy become-3SG say-3SG

„Ине йәм баф хәщруй ӽәч".
{ine yəm baf xəšruy ӽəč}$_{SUB3}$
there you are DEM1 good nice bread

*The husband of the frog brought (the bread) (and they saw) that $_{SUB1}$ [it was such nice bread that $_{SUB2}$ [the king was happy, he said: $_{SUB3}$ ["There you are, this is good nice bread"]]].*

*5.2.3.3.2. Adverbial clauses – GROUP 2*

In the narratives of GROUP 2, only three adverbial clauses are found in the oral, and three in the written narratives, as is illustrated in Table 71.

**Table 71.** *Group 2: Occurrences of adverbial clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Temporal clauses with *ki*** | 2 (post-nuclear) | 2 (post-nuclear) |
| **Concessive clause** | 1 | 1 |

Although adverbial clauses are scarce in the GROUP 2 narratives, TEMPORAL CLAUSES are represented in two of the three instances of adverbial subordinate clauses. The two temporal clauses in both the oral and written versions are foregrounded, post-nuclear, temporal subordinate clauses. Both of them (in two different stories) introduce a highlighted moment in the story. They are further similar in that they follow a main clause that represents an unfinished/unrealized action which is backgrounded with respect to the highlighted (foregrounded) temporal subordinate clause, as illustrated in Example (192).

(192) ɣal baf t-a cusk nə-snətu ki [O_N13: 9a–b]
yet good in-DEM3 top NEG-go up.PPF SUB

{yaw pʁd štraxt-i=ət}$_{\text{TEMP-FGed}}$
hist foot slip.PST-i=and

*He hadn't yet climbed to the top when his foot slipped and (he almost fell down).*

The type of temporal subordinate clause that was identified as "default", i.e. pre-nuclear temporal clause, is not found in this group.

*5.2.3.3.3. Adverbial clauses – GROUP 3*

In the narratives of GROUP 3 all types of adverbial clauses are found. Their occurrences in the oral and written narratives are summarized in Table 72

**Table 72.** *Group 3: Occurrences of adverbial clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **54** | **50** |
| **Temporal clauses** | 18 | 20 |
| **Other temporal clauses** | 1 | 4 |
| **Purpose-goal** | 13 | 13 |
| **Result-effect (consecutive)** | 2 | 2 |
| **Cause-reason** | 3 | 1 |
| **Concessive** | 2 | 3 |
| **Conditional** | 15 | 7 |

The above table shows a fairly balanced occurrence of adverbial clauses in the oral and written narratives. Temporal clauses are the most frequent type of adverbial subordinate clauses in both types of narratives. Their preferred position with respect to the main clause differs, however. In the oral narratives, of the eighteen temporal clauses, fourteen are found in pre-nuclear position, where they represent background information, and four are found in post-nuclear position, where they have a highlighting (foregrounding) function. In the written narratives, on the other hand, of the twenty temporal clauses, fourteen are in post-nuclear position, and six are in pre-nuclear position. Of these six that are in pre-nuclear position, two occur in direct speech, and thus only four pre-nuclear temporal clauses are found in the written narration.

**Table 73.** *Group 3: Occurrences of temporal clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | Written |
|---|---|---|
| **Pre-nuclear** | 11 + 3 in DS | 4 + 2 in DS |
| **Post-nuclear** | 4 | 14 |

Another common type of adverbial subordinate clauses comprises the purpose-goal clauses. It is interesting that even in completely unrelated oral and written narratives, they display a similar frequency of use. Purpose-goal clauses are typically post-nuclear.

Conditional clauses are frequently found in the oral narratives, but are less used in the written narratives. This may be because oral narratives are more spontaneous and conducive to "thinking aloud", and conditional clauses represent a type of speculative reasoning.

*5.2.3.3.4. Adverbial clauses – summary*

Various types of adverbial subordinate clauses are used in all three groups. However, given the nature of narrative texts, some adverbial subordinate clauses are used more and others only sporadically.

Temporal clauses are the most frequently used type of adverbial subordinate clauses. This is not surprising, as temporal relations are essential to the narrative structure. Two types of temporal clauses are used in the Wakhi narratives with respect to their position and discourse-pragmatic function: pre- and post-nuclear. It was claimed in Section 2.2.2.2 that the pre-nuclear temporal clauses are unmarked. When the temporal clauses are in post-nuclear position they are syntactically-focused or highlighted (foregrounded).

In discourse-pragmatic terms, the Wakhi pre-nuclear ("unmarked") temporal clauses usually represent background information. They do not move the action forward and normally do not introduce brand-new information. They serve as a point of departure for what follows, and can occur as a "head" in the tail-head linkage. The post-nuclear temporal clauses, which are described as syntactically focused or highlighted (foregrounded), typically introduce new information. This corresponds with the cross-linguistic tendency, observed by Levinsohn (2015a: 149), that in most languages brand-new information can be found in post-nuclear subordinate clauses. Thus, post-nuclear, i.e. highlighted (foregrounded), temporal clauses contribute to the temporal sequence of the narration by moving it forward. As Bashir (2009: 852) claims, they introduce a "punctual event" interrupting an ongoing action, thereby having a function opposite to that of pre-nuclear temporal clauses.

The comparison between the oral and written narratives shows that temporal clauses behave differently in oral and in written narratives. The analysis revealed that in the oral narratives the most frequent type of temporal clauses are pre-nuclear, i.e. background temporal clauses. The written narratives, on the contrary, prefer post-nuclear temporal clauses. Table 74 below summarizes the occurrences of pre-nuclear and post-nuclear temporal clauses found in the spontaneous oral narrations and in the written narrations. The occurrences in direct speech are excluded. The two post-nuclear occurrences found in the prepared oral narratives of GROUP 2 are not counted here either, as they do not represent spontaneous oral narration.

**Table 74.** *Groups 1–3: Occurrences of temporal clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | **Spontaneous oral** | **Written** |
|---|---|---|
| **Pre-nuclear** | 24 | 6 |
| **Post-nuclear** | 6 | 20 |

In terms of marked vs. unmarked patterns, there seem to be a certain ambiguity. If we understand the pre-nuclear temporal clauses as default/unmarked, we will have to admit that the majority (two thirds) of the temporal clauses in the written narratives are marked. If we identify the marked vs. unmarked patterns based on frequency, we have different marked vs. unmarked patterns in oral and in written narratives. In any case, the patterns that emerged from the analysis show that oral and written narratives differently express the temporal dynamics of a story.

Considering the areal-linguistic context, yet another explanation of this seemingly ambiguous pattern can be drawn from what Bashir (1988: 282) identified in Kalasha as "the transition from the original left-branching structure to the right-branching" structure. If we understand *ki* in Wakhi to be an imported subordinator and *cə/cəy* to be the original Wakhi subordinator, as claimed in Section 2.2.2, then this interpretation certainly needs to be considered. There are some indications that could support this claim.

A non-negligible piece of supporting evidence can be the use of the original Wakhi subordinator *cə/cəy* exclusively in pre-nuclear subordinate adverbial clauses (thus representing the left-branching structure), and the use of the borrowed subordinator *ki* predominantly in post-nuclear subordinate clauses (thus representing the right-branching structure). It seems that what Bashir (1988: 304) found in Kalasha, namely the "assimilation of the right-branching ki clause structure into a predominantly left-branching language", may in fact be happening in Wakhi, as well.

In this respect, then, the preference for pre-nuclear temporal clauses in the oral narratives and for post-nuclear temporal clauses in the written narratives does not present much ambiguity. Rather, it illustrates the evolution of the language and points at a later stratum that is more perceptible in written form. This interpretation certainly deserves closer examination.

## 5.3. Summary

In this section I summarize the discussion of the coordinating and subordinating strategies found in the Wakhi narratives, specifically addressing the salient points where Wakhi oral and written narratives differ.

Before presenting the findings, it should be noted that the analysis was done separately for three groups of narratives, each of the groups showing specific features. Also, direct speech was analysed separately from the narrations. Bearing this in mind, two generalizing claims can be made:

1. direct speech, whether in oral or in written narratives, shows features similar to oral narratives, and

2. oral narratives prepared in advance show features closer to written narratives.

The analysis of conjoining strategies has revealed that in oral narratives, the default means of intra-sentential conjoining is by juxtaposition. This is also confirmed for direct speech in both oral and written narratives. In written narratives conjoining is usually achieved with a conjunction. This is also true for oral narratives prepared in advance.

Apart from conjoining, coordination in Wakhi is achieved by other devices which show a more complex variety in oral narratives than in written narratives. One such strategy, used extensively in the oral stories, is the use of the development marker *yan* which marks new developments in stories. There is a fundamental difference between the oral and written narratives in the frequency of use of the development marker *yan*. While in the oral narratives any new development can be introduced by the development marker, in the written narratives its use is significantly limited to highlighting only significant developments in a story. Similarly, tail-head linkage, as a coordinating cohesive device, is used regularly in the oral narratives, but in the written narratives it occurs only sporadically. The difference between the oral and written narratives lies not only in the frequency of use of these coordinating devices, but also in the patterns in which they occur.

In terms of marked vs. unmarked use, the two devices of the development marker and tail-head linkage are unmarked when occurring in oral narratives in their default patterns. Highlighting is achieved by various modifications of the default patterns. However, in the written narratives, the very occurrence of these devices in their most frequent patterns signals a marked use. Thus, highlighting is achieved differently in the oral and in the written narratives. The analysis of the remaining coordinating strategies investigated in this study, namely adversative connectives and additives, did not show any significant differences between the oral and written narratives.

With regard to subordination, the two most frequently used complementing strategies in Wakhi narratives have been identified as reported speech and perception complement clauses. These show opposite values in terms of presence vs. absence of the complementizer *ki*, and presence vs. absence of deictic shift. While in reported speech, the default pattern is [-*ki* / +DS], i.e. absence of the complementizer *ki* and presence of the deictic shift, in perception complement clause, the reverse pattern [+*ki* / -DS ] has been identified as default, i.e. presence of the complementizer *ki* and absence of deictic shift.

The comparison between the oral and written narratives revealed that the written narratives prefer to use the above-described complementing strategies in an unmarked way. The oral narratives, however, show more divergence

from the default forms, and allow a larger variety of marked forms in complementation.

A significant difference between the oral and written narratives has been identified in temporal clauses which are the most frequently used type of adverbial subordinate clauses. Two patterns of temporal subordinate clauses have been described in Wakhi with regard to their position: pre-nuclear and post-nuclear. In general terms, the pre-nuclear position is described as default/unmarked. The post-nuclear temporal subordinate clauses are described as highlighted/foregrounded (or, in other terms, syntactically focused). The analysis revealed that in the Wakhi oral narratives, the pre-nuclear (i.e. unmarked) pattern is used with greater frequency. However, the Wakhi written narratives exhibit a greater preference for the post-nuclear pattern.

It is interesting to note that if the pre-nuclear position of the temporal subordinate clause is unmarked and the post-nuclear position is marked, it would be a rare instance of written narratives showing greater preference for marked use than oral narratives. In all other observed patterns, the opposite is observed, i.e. that oral narratives show more divergence from the default/unmarked pattern. The results of the analysis certainly show that temporal dynamics in Wakhi are expressed differently in oral and written narratives, and may indicate that each form has its own default/unmarked pattern for temporal subordinate clauses.

Relative and other adverbial subordinate clauses are less frequent in Wakhi narratives, and do not display any significant differences between the oral and written narratives, though certain tendencies can be observed. In Wakhi, relative clauses are found more frequently in oral narratives than in written narratives. Conversely, adverbial clauses are found more frequently in written narratives than in oral narratives.

Based on the analysis of both coordinating and subordinating strategies it has been observed that, in terms of syntactic complexity, it is not possible to conclude which of the two forms, oral or written, is more complex. Both forms show different kinds of complexity. Thus, the oral narratives show more complexity in coordination. This is also true for sequences of consecutive subordinate clauses. They may be long, but usually they are coordinated with each other. Written narratives, on the contrary, display more complexity in subordination. When sequences of consecutive subordinate clauses occur, they are usually not in a coordinate relationship, but rather tend to be subordinated to each other.

# 6. Narrative structure

This chapter builds on the findings presented in Chapter 5 on interclausal logical relations. It discusses the differences that were found between the oral and written narratives from the perspective of the overall structure of narrative text.

The analytical part starts with a general overview of the distribution of background and foreground, and discusses their functions within the structure of oral and written narration, as they have been described in Section 4.3. The analysis narrows down further to the topic of deictic shift as a highlighting and backgrounding strategy, and to the topic of story development techniques.

Two fully analysed narratives in Appendix D illustrate the features discussed in this chapter. Appendix D.1 is an example of an oral fairy-tale (O_Z03) and Appendix D.2 is its written counterpart (W_Z03).

## 6.1. Foreground and background

Before proceeding to a discussion on the selected topics, a general overview of the proportion of background and foreground clauses is presented for each of the three groups. This overview provides a general picture of the structure of oral and written narratives on the basis of which the subsequent discussion will proceed.

As explained in Section 4.3, each clause has been described with regard to its background or foreground nature. Thus, the following types of clauses are found and counted for oral and written narratives in each of the groups:

- F-NAR – foreground narrative clauses;
- F-CO – foreground coordinate narratives clauses;
- F-SUM – foreground summative result clauses;
- B-INF – background informative clauses;
- B-EV – background evaluative clauses;
- B-REP – background repetition of narrative clauses;
- FGed – a foregrounded clause that normally represents background; and
- DirS – direct speech clauses.

The first six categories in this list have been defined and explained in Section 4.3. The label DirS is used for all direct speech clauses. The additional

category FGed (foregrounded) refers specifically to those forms that by default represent background (i.e. non-events), such as subordinate and repetition clauses, but that in a particular context are part of the event-line and therefore are interpreted as foreground. It has been noted earlier (referring to Levinsohn 2015a: 75 and Hwang 1990: 69) that post-nuclear subordinate clauses often present foreground (theme-line) information, and this is also the case in Wakhi.

The distribution of foreground and background clauses in the narratives of GROUPS 1, 2 and 3 is illustrated in Tables 75, 76 and 77. The tables show the number of occurrences of each type of foreground and background clause, as well as of direct speech clauses for each group. Moreover, they show the total background and total foreground percentages in each group.

**Table 75.** *Group 1: Foreground and background clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total Clauses** | **843**[64] | **100%** | **676** | **100%** |
| **Foreground TOTAL:** | 293 | 35% | 314 | 46% |
| **F-NAR** | 216 | | 267 | |
| **F-CO** | 45 | | 28 | |
| **F-SUM** | 26 | | 3 | |
| **FGed** | 6 | | 16 | |
| **Background TOTAL:** | 403 | 48% | 230 | 34% |
| **B-INF** | 156 | | 123 | |
| **B-EV** | 197 | | 99 | |
| **B-REP** | 50 | | 8 | |
| **DirS TOTAL:** | 147 | 17% | 132 | 20% |

[64] 843 indicates the total number of clauses given in Table 8 minus 2 incomplete clauses (false starts).

**Table 76.** *Group 2: Foreground and background clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total Clauses** | **85** | **100%** | **84** | **100%** |
| **Foreground TOTAL:** | 53 | 63% | 50 | 59% |
| **F-NAR** | 38 | | 39 | |
| **F-CO** | 4 | | 4 | |
| **F-SUM** | – | | – | |
| **FGed** | 11 | | 7 | |
| **Background TOTAL:** | 30 | 35% | 32 | 38% |
| **B-INF** | 23 | | 22 | |
| **B-EV** | 7 | | 10 | |
| **B-REP** | – | | – | |
| **DirS TOTAL:** | 2 | 2% | 2 | 3% |

**Table 77.** *Group 3: Foreground and background clauses in the oral and written narratives*

| | Oral | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total Clauses** | **1199** | **100%** | **980** | **100%** |
| **Foreground TOTAL:** | 429 | 36% | 479 | 49% |
| **F-NAR** | 349 | | 433 | |
| **F-CO** | 37 | | 24 | |
| **F-SUM** | 38 | | 1 | |
| **FGed** | 5 | | 21 | |
| **Background TOTAL:** | 551 | 46% | 327 | 33% |
| **B-INF** | 255 | | 232 | |
| **B-EV** | 253 | | 95 | |
| **B-REP** | 43 | | – | |
| **DirS TOTAL:** | 219 | 18% | 174 | 18% |

Some interesting observations can be made from the data presented in the tables above. First of all, it can be seen that in the spontaneous oral narratives (i.e. GROUPS 1 and 3), background (46–48%) is more highly represented than foreground (around 35–36%). And conversely, in the written narratives as well as in the oral narratives prepared in advance, foreground is more prevalent

than background. This indicates a difference in the dynamics of oral and written narratives. In the written narratives, with more foreground, a faster pace of events is observed, whereas in the oral narratives, with more background, there is a slower progression of events.

A closer look at the distribution of the types of background and foreground also reveals differences between the oral and written narratives. Background material in the written and oral narratives prepared in advance consists mainly of informative clauses (B-INF), while the use of evaluative clauses (B-EV) is lower. In the spontaneously told oral narratives, however, evaluation clauses (B-EV) exhibit more or less the same frequency (GROUP 3) or are even more frequent (GROUP 1) than informative clauses (B-INF). This shows that in the oral narratives, the narration is more often interrupted by the narrator giving explanations or his point of view, and thereby giving hints about how the narrated events should be interpreted. In other words, the narrator is more actively present in the oral narrations than the writer in the written narrations. This also implies that the difference in the distribution of background and foreground in the oral and written narratives is mainly due to these evaluative comments given by narrators, rather than by their giving more informative background material.

Another explanation of the higher percentage of background in the oral narratives is the higher occurrence of repetition clauses (B-REP). In the written narratives they occur minimally (GROUP 1) or not at all (GROUPS 2 and 3). The latter is true also for the oral narratives prepared in advance.

There is also a difference between the types of foreground clauses used in the oral and written narratives. The summative result clauses (F-SUM) occur minimally in the written narratives and oral narratives prepared in advance. In the spontaneously told oral narratives they occur more. This correlates directly with the higher frequency of interruptions in the flow of the event-line made by the narrators of spontaneously told oral stories, as F-SUM clauses are often used to resume the action after such evaluative interruptions. More frequent use of the coordinate narrative clauses (F-CO) in oral narratives also indicates a slower pace of narrative progression, as the action does not progress as quickly as when it is represented by narrative clauses (F-NAR).

On the other hand, the use of foregrounded clauses that normally represent background (FGed) is a technique found more in the written than oral narratives. When FGed clauses occur in oral narratives, they can be either foregrounded repetition clauses (FGed-REP), as in Appendix D.1, clause 4, or foregrounded subordinate clauses (FGed-sub), as in Appendix D.1, clause 21c. In written narratives, they are almost exclusively foregrounded subordinate clauses (FGed-sub). This correlates with the findings presented in Section 5.2.3.3.4, about temporal adverbial clauses.

To complete the discussion above, it should be noted that the values given for each group are average values. Individual stories show a certain variety in the distribution of foreground and background. The narratives have also been examined with respect to their genres. In GROUP 1, the proportion of foreground is higher in fairy-tales (fully fictional stories) than in other narratives, whereas in witnessed stories more evaluative background material was found than in other narratives. However, the analysis of GROUP 3, did not confirm this observation. Therefore no general conclusion can be drawn on the distribution of foreground and background depending on genre.

Apart from genre, various other factors also influence how a narration is constructed, such as the personal style and narrative skill of a narrator/writer, the purpose/point of the narration, the role of audience/recipients, etc. Thus, some narrations are more like factual reporting, giving a great deal of spatial and temporal details, some are more persuasive, and some carry a moral lesson. Only a few narrations consist of an unmarked series of events. Normally, stories are told to make a point. Therefore, evaluation is present to a greater or lesser degree in every narrative.

As a SUMMARY, it can be said that:

- In the oral narratives, background forms a larger part of the story than foreground. The opposite is observed for the written narratives where foreground is more dominant than background.
- Background in the oral narratives is predominantly made up of evaluation clauses with the narrator stepping outside the story. Background in the written narratives is predominantly made up of informative clauses, which are part of the narration.
- Coordinate and summative result clauses, as well as repetition clauses, are used more in the oral than in the written narratives.
- Foregrounded subordinate clauses are found more in the written than in the oral narratives.
- The oral and written narratives differ in the overall dynamics of narration. The pace of progression of the action is slower in the oral than in the written narratives.

## 6.2. Deictic shift

Deictic shift has been described in Section 5.2.3.1 as a subordinating complementation pattern. It has been divided into a full deictic shift and a partial deictic shift. Full deictic shift occurs in complement clauses introduced by a speech verb (reported speech) and is indicated by change of the person, tense/aspect and, optionally, by a deictic expression. Partial deictic shift is found in perception complement clauses, where it is described as a shift in the perspective (inside or outside of the perceived event/situation) and is reflected in the tense/aspect and in the use of deictic expressions.

Most typically, the deictic shift (full or partial) is manifested in the choice of tense/aspect. In an unmarked non-witnessed context (i.e. in non-tense), the deictic shift is reflected in the change from the non-tense to the non-tense+IPFV form ("present") or to the past tense, both being grounded in the deictic centre. In an unmarked witnessed context (i.e. in the past tense), the deictic shift is reflected in the use of the non-tense+IPFV, which is marked for "presentness" in relation to the deictic centre.

In reported speech, deictic shift has been identified as a default pattern. In perception complement clauses, on the contrary, deictic shift signals a marked use and, as such, is relevant for the discussion of highlighting. In addition, in complementation, deictic shift can occur with other complement-taking verbs. In fact, whenever it occurs in complementation, apart from reported speech, it represents a marked pattern.

In Wakhi, however, complementation is not the only domain where deictic shift as a marked pattern can be found. Another strategy has also been mentioned in Chapter 3, namely evidential direct speech, a strategy that takes the full narration out of the non-witnessed domain and narrates it in a witnessed form. Various degrees of evidential direct speech are found in Wakhi narratives and will be described for each of the three groups of narratives.

Jahani (2018) investigates the role of spatial and temporal deixis in oral narrative texts in four Iranian languages (Koroshi Balochi, Balochi of Sistan, Vafsi, and Gorani). With regard to temporal deixis (i.e. tense anchoring), she finds that in Gorani, "verbs are almost invariably in the non-past tense both in the introduction and on the event-line" (ibid.: 334). Tense anchoring in the event-line has also been identified in Koroshi Balochi and partly in Vafsi. The discussion of the tense anchoring patterns presented by Jahani resonates interestingly with my own findings for Wakhi narratives (Obrtelová 2017), where I claim that past tense is default for witnessed accounts and non-tense (also called non-past in other sources; see discussion in Section 2.1) is a default form for non-witnessed accounts.

The spatial deixis in Wakhi is tripartite, i.e. distinguishes the proximal (DEM1), middle (DEM2) and distal (DEM3) forms. The demonstratives can

occur in the form of full independent pronouns, adjectival demonstrative pronouns, or suffixes attaching to prepositions and thereby forming adverbial expressions. Wakhi demonstrative pronouns are summarized in Table 78. DEM1 is used to refer to what is "here and seen", DEM2 is used to refer to what is "over there within sight", and DEM3 to refer to what is "there, far, out of sight".

**Table 78.** *Wakhi demonstrative pronouns*

| | | Full Independent | Adjectival | Demonstrative suffixes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **DEM1** | **near distance** | *yəm* | *yəm* | *-əm*[65] |
| **DEM2** | **middle distance** | *yət* | *yət* | *-ət* |
| **DEM3** | **far distance** | *yaw* | *ya* | *-a* |

With regard to spatial deixis in oral narrative texts in some other Iranian languages, Jahani (2018: 335) finds that proximal demonstratives are predominant, showing "almost total spatial deictic shift" in three of the four analysed languages (Koroshi Balochi, Balochi of Sistan and Vafsi). In another study addressing different functions of the demonstratives in Balochi oral narrative texts, Nourzaei (2017: 417) claims that the proximal demonstrative is used to mark a thematic referent, and the distal demonstrative for a non-thematic referent.

Spatial deixis in Wakhi narratives has not yet been studied in detail. Therefore, in this section I will only briefly address the topic of spatial deixis in Wakhi narratives, specifically with regard to differences between oral and written forms. The main focus of this section will be on temporal deixis.

## 6.2.1. Deictic shift – GROUP 1

In the narratives of GROUP 1, two oral witnessed stories and one written witnessed story are found. All three use past tense in the event-line. All other narratives, six oral and seven written, are various genres of non-witnessed stories. All use non-tense in the event-line. There is no occurrence of evidential direct speech in the narratives of GROUP 1.

One occurrence of markedness achieved by deictic shift in the event-line is found in a written story. This has already been shown as Example (166) and discussed in Section 5.2.3.1.1. In order to illustrate the contrast between this highly marked passage and its unmarked context, I present a larger, though not fully annotated, excerpt from the story (see Example 193 below).

[65] For instance: *dr-əm* glossed as 'here1', *dr-ət* glossed as 'there2', *dr-a* glossed as 'there3'.

(193) a. I rwor də ӽы ləʂkarən wizit. Ruxšona cəm qlaən ӽы ləʂkari stыyd bar zidi yavi. Ӽat dəm blandī dəm qla aldət cə ðirən yət ǰangi didiɣd. [W_A02: 4.5–4.10a]

*One day (the enemy) came [V]with his army. Rukhshona sent [V] her army from the fortress against them. She herself stayed [V] on the height in the fortress and watched [V] the fight from afar.*

b.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Йəм | ләшкарəш | хила | ҷанг | царən | ки | нəй, |
| yəm | ləʂkar=əʂ | xila | ǰang | car-ən | ki | nəy |
| DEM1 | army=IPFV | very | fight | do-3PL | SUB | NEG |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| йəм | Чин | ләшкар | ға | тқиət |
| yəm | Čin | ləʂkar | ɣa | tqi=ət |
| DEM1 | China | army | very | many=and |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| қларək | қрибəш | ӽоцən. |
| qla-rək | qrib=əʂ | woc-ən |
| fortress-DAT | near=IPFV | become-3PL |

*The soldiers are fighting [V+əʂ]very hard but (see) that ['oh no!'] the soldiers of China (are) very many and they are approaching [V+əʂ] the fortress.*

c.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Рухщона | дидиɣд | ки, |
| Ruxšona | didiɣ-d | ki |
| Rukhshona | see-3SG | SUB |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| яӽ | ләшкар | шкастəш | ит. |
| yaw | ləʂkar | ʂkast=əʂ | i-t |
| her | army | defeat=IPFV | eat-3SG |

*Rukhshona saw [V] that her army is being defeated [lit. 'defeat eat', V+əʂ].*

d. Ӽand ...

*(She) said [V] (...)*

The passage (193b and 193c) is rich in markedness. It is found in the context of a non-witnessed narration where the default non-tense form is used (193a and

193d). The deictic shift begins in (193b). Both the main clause and the perception complement clause are grounded in the deictic centre, which is expressed by the use of the imperfective enclitic *=əš* (IPFV). As argued in Section 2.1.1, the (IPFV) in combination with the non-tense verb form grounds the event in the deictic centre ("here and now"). The deictic shift effect is also supported by a proximal demonstrative *yəm* (DEM1)[66], and by a negative particle *nəy* conveying the effect of negative surprise or disbelief. This sentence is followed by another sentence (193c) with a perception complement clause using deictic shift. Such a marked passage prepares the ground for the following events, which are crucial to the story. The whole passage marked by the deictic shift describes the situation that subsequently leads to the main protagonist – the queen Rukhshona – deciding to participate in the battle herself (in 193d), an episode that decides the fate of the queen and her children and ultimately affects the whole region. In the oral narratives of GROUP 1, no occurrence of such intense marking is found.

With regard to spatial deixis, I have not yet identified any regular patterns in the use and distribution of the proximal *yəm/-əm* (DEM1), middle *yət/-ət* (DEM2) and distal *ya(w)/-a* (DEM3) demonstrative pronouns. Some narratives use all three more or less equally; in some other narratives two of the three are used with a higher frequency and the remaining one marginally or not at all. It is also observed that more demonstratives are used in the oral narratives than in the written narratives.

When comparing the witnessed vs. non-witnessed genres, or true stories vs. fiction, no clear patterns emerge either. It seems that the choice of spatial deixis is completely up to the narrator/writer. To give an illustration, each of the three fairy-tales in GROUP1 shows different, even contrasting, patterns, as is summarized below[67]:

- In the oral version of Z03, DEM3 is used the most, DEM2 is used less and DEM1 is not used at all. In the written version, the same is observed for DEM3 and DEM2. DEM1 is used once.
- In the oral version of Z18, DEM3 is used the most, followed by DEM1 and then by DEM2. In the written version, DEM3 is dominant, DEM1 occurs only once and DEM2 is not used at all.
- In the oral version of Z12, DEM1 is used the most, followed by DEM3 and DEM2. In the written version, the same is observed.

The fairy-tales Z03 and Z18 both use the distal demonstrative DEM3 the most. They differ in the frequency and use of the medial DEM2 and proximal DEM1.

[66] The proximal demonstrative DEM1, however, is used extensively throughout the story. The main indicator of the deictic shift in these passages is the use of the non-tense combined with IPFV.

[67] Direct speech is excluded from the analysis.

The fairy-tale Z12 shows the opposite pattern, with the proximal DEM1 being the most frequent, thus indicating spatial deictic shift.

In the narratives of GROUP 1, overall, DEM3 is used most frequently. It is the preferred form in five of the eight oral narratives and in four of the eight written narratives. It is used in fictional, witnessed and true non-witnessed stories. No difference is found between the genres. DEM2 is the preferred form in one oral narrative (a historical legend) and in one written narrative (a true non-witnessed story). DEM1 is the preferred form in two oral and three written narratives.

This illustrates that the role of deixis is very complex in Wakhi narratives and will need to be studied with greater care, which is outside of the scope of this study. A general observation for the narratives of GROUP 1 is that the most preferred demonstrative pronoun is DEM3, i.e. the distal form.

### 6.2.2. Deictic shift – GROUP 2

All GROUP 2 narratives are narrated in witnessed form, i.e. with the event-line in past tense. However, only two of them, in both their oral and written versions, are real witnessed accounts. Three other narratives, in both their oral and written versions, are told/written in evidential direct speech form; i.e. full deictic shift is done for the whole story. Only the first introductory sentence in these stories makes a connection to the real narrator/writer and his relation to the narrated/written story. The form of the switch from one deictic centre to another has been described in Section 5.2.3.1.2.

In the GROUP 2 narratives very few occurrences of spatial deixis are found. Three narratives, in both their oral and written versions, lack spatial deixis altogether. They are grounded in the deictic centre (shifted or real) solely by the past tense. For the remaining two narratives, in both their oral and written versions, the distal demonstrative pronoun (DEM3) is the most preferred pronoun (ten occurrences), followed by DEM1 (four occurrences in oral and five in written narrations), and finally DEM2, which occurs in only one oral and one written narration. This indicates that there is no deictic shift in the GROUP 2 narratives.

### 6.2.3. Deictic shift – GROUP 3

The narratives of GROUP 3 show a lot of variety and complexity. Among the oral GROUP 3 narratives we find three witnessed stories told entirely in the past tense, and three non-witnessed true stories and three fictional stories both told in non-tense. These narratives use the default witnessed or non-witnessed strategies for tense grounding.

Moreover, there are two more complex narratives which oscillate between the witnessed (PST) and the non-witnessed (non-tense) forms. To complicate

the matter, one of them is a witnessed story (in PST) with an embedded story part of which is told in the non-witnessed form (non-tense) and part in the evidential direct speech form (PST). The second complex narrative is a true story oscillating between witnessed form (PST), non-witnessed form (non-tense) and evidential direct speech passages (in PST).

An interesting use of the speech orienter can be found in the oral narratives with alternating deictic shift. Normally, a speech orienter is in past tense in witnessed narratives (*x̌ati* 'she/he said') or in non-tense (*x̌and* 'she/he says'). However, in both narratives with alternating deictic shift, the form of the speech orienter seems to indicate that what follows is a larger unit than just a reported speech utterance. In such cases, the speech orienter in the past tense or non-tense is marked by the imperfective enclitic *=əš̬* (IPFV), as illustrated in Example (194), where the speech orienter introduces the Orientation of the embedded story.

(194) me yaw=əš̬ x̌at-i ki [O_EF: 35a]
behold.PRX she=IPFV say.PST-i SUB

*Look, she was saying [lit. 'that']: ("When I went to Ratm...")*

In oral narratives with alternating deictic shifts, it is relatively common that the narrator steps in and out of the story several times during the course of the narration. In such cases, the speech orienters serve as bridges between the shifting deictic centres, and they are often (though not always) marked with the IPFV enclitic, as illustrated in Example (195).

(195) a. x̌an-d=əš̬ ki [O_6S: 23a
say-3SG=IPFV SUB

*He is saying that: ("I and one my brother (were) in the room, now, on the second floor, in the hotel rooms the students used to stay".)*

b. x̌an-d=əš̬ [O_6S: 24a]
say-3SG=IPFV

*He is saying: "We are looking at the street but we (were) very depressed...")*

c. yan=əš̲ ǎan-d [O_6S:32a]
then=IPFV say-3SG

*Then he is saying: "We were on that balcony and I am thinking at last that 'now what shall we do'."*

The oral narratives of GROUP 3 contain several occurrences of a single event marked by deictic shift. Example (196) comes from a witnessed story told in the the past tense (196a). The deictic shift occurs in (196b) and is signalled by the change from past tense to non-tense + *=əṣ̌* (IPFV). It represents a new episode in the course of events, which is indicated by the use of the development marker *yan*. This type of marking of new developments with deictic shift backgrounds the event concerned in order to highlight the next event. The backgrounding in this story continues into the next sentence (196c) with the repetition (B-REP) of the narrative clause and a background informative clause (B-INF). Both examples (196b) and (196c) thus slow down the story in order to highlight the following event, which represents the peak of the story, and leads to a resolution and finally to the point of the whole narration.

(196) a. yav=əm it-i=ət [O_SP: 15]
they.OBL=1SG eat.PST-i=and

yan=əm xamd-i ar bən
then=1SG go down.PST-i to.down down

i bu afta=əm də ǎы nan-ən
one two week=1SG with own mother-ABL

ald-i=ət
stay.PST-i=and

*I ate [past tense] those things and then I came down [past tense], I stayed [past tense] with my mother for one or two weeks and*

b. yan i rwor ẓ̌ы nan=əš̲ da bar bəṭ
then one day my mother=IPFV in-DEM3 door clothes

wызdыy-t
wash-3SG

*then one day my mother is washing [V+əš̲] clothes outdoors.*

c. ayloq bəṭ-vi=š̲ wɨzdɨy-t=ət
summer pasture clothes-PL.OBL=IPFV wash-3SG=and

ya šbɨn-iš kɨ rəx̌k=əv sur=ət
DEM3 shepherd-PL all go.PF=3PL shepherd's duty=and

wuz=ət ẓɨ nan toqa t-a ktič
I=and my mother alone in-DEM3 shepherds' hut

*She is washing [V+əš̲] the summer pasture clothes and all the shepherds have gone [PF] on shepherd's duty and I and my mother (are/were) [no verb in the original text] alone in that shepherd's hut.*

The written narratives of GROUP 3 are more elaborate but also more regular than the oral narratives. Among them are five witnessed stories told in past tense, two narratives fully told in evidential direct speech form (in past tense), three true or historical stories and five fictional narratives (both in non-tense). One more narrative is a witnessed story with an embedded story told in evidential direct speech (both in past tense). It is interesting to note that the two written narratives fully told in evidential direct speech form do not have any bridging sentence that would connect them to the actual deictic centre. The fact that they are told in evidential direct speech form (and that they are not witnessed accounts) is indicated only by the subtitle of the story ("a story from my brother's life") supplied by the writer.

In the GROUP 3 written narratives, deictic shift is found marking an event in three stories, in each case in a witnessed account narrated in the past tense. The deictic shift here uses the non-tense form with the IPFV enclitic, thus shifting the event from past to present, as illustrated in Example (197). The non-tense with IPFV enclitic may, in fact, be what in many languages is identified as "historical present".

(197) Ила юпк явəр рəтəмəт [W_B08: 5.17]
ila yupk yav-ər rət=əm=ət
a bit water they.OBL-DAT give.PST=1SG=and

нив йəм соатəш дидиӂəм ки,
niv yəm soat=əṣ̌ didiɣ̆-əm ki
now DEM1 clock=IPFV look-1SG SUB

чори наӂд.
čor-i naɣ̆d
four-EZ night

*I gave [past tense] them a little bit of water and, now I look [V+əṣ̌] at the clock (and see) that it (is) four o'clock night.*

A very clear example of backgrounding by deictic shift is shown in (198). The story is a witnessed account, and therefore it is told in the past tense, the default for that genre. This example shows the main clause (198a), which is backgrounded by being shifted to present (grounded by the IPFV enclitic *=əṣ̌)*. This is to highlight the subsequent subordinate temporal clause (198b), which is already foregrounded by its position (see discussion in Section 5.2.3.3).

(198) a. Чойəш пувəн, [W_A01:3.1]
čoy=əṣ̌ puv-ən
tea=IPFV drink-1PL

жы тат а йəт нақлəш царт
ẓ̌ы tat a yət naql=əṣ̌ car-t
my father EMP DEM2 story=IPFV make-3SG

ки,
ki
SUB

*We are drinking [V+əṣ̌] tea, my father is telling [V+əṣ̌] this story when*

b. жы цəқлай хый даӂодаӂ ӂəзди.
ẓ̌ы cəqlay xy dawodaw wəzd-i
my little sister running come.PST-i

*my little sister came [past tense] running in.*

The spatial deixis in the oral narratives of GROUP 3 is very complex, and it is difficult to discern any clear pattern. It is complicated by the fact that the deictic centre shifts within the narratives. Thus, parts of narratives with different deictic centres are treated separately. It is observed that six narratives (or embedded narrative parts) prefer the distal demonstrative pronoun DEM3, six others prefer DEM1 and one prefers DEM2. There seems to be no difference in terms of preference for witnessed, fiction or true non-witnessed narrations. The one preferring DEM2 is a historical account. In the narratives with another embedded narrative the patterns in the main story and the embedded story differ. For instance, a witnessed account preferring DEM1 switches to DEM3 in the embedded non-witnessed story. In another story with embedded parts in evidential direct speech, the main narration prefers DEM1, while the embedded evidential direct speech prefers DEM3.

In the written narratives, greater regularity is found. DEM3 is preferred in seven stories. All of these are witnessed accounts or true stories, and deictic shift, if it occurs, is limited to particular events (Example 198). DEM1 is preferred in nine stories or embedded narrations. All are either fictional or are stories told in evidential direct speech, which indicates that deictic shift achieved by spatial deixis is a preferred strategy for fictional or re-narrated stories. DEM2 is preferred in two narratives, both stories based on historical events.

## 6.2.4. Deictic shift – summary

Deixis in Wakhi narratives is a very complex issue, indeed. The observations made in this study are only an initial attempt to sketch the function of deixis in Wakhi and bring up some questions for more detailed research in this area. The above analysis presents some comments and observations, but no definite conclusions can be drawn.

With regard to embedding and evidential direct speech, the written narratives and oral narratives prepared in advance show more regular patterns. When evidential direct speech is used, the full story is shifted from the non-witnessed to the witnessed domain. Once the written story switches deictic centre, it retains the new centre until the end of the story, with no interruptions by the narrator/writer. Some narratives told in evidential direct speech use only a short introductory sentence which grounds the narrator in the real deictic centre. Some other written narratives are entirely told in witnessed form, with no introductory sentence. Only the title indicates the source of the narration.

In the oral narratives, such a pattern of evidential direct speech does not occur. The narrator usually makes him/herself present throughout the narration, and thus the entire narration consists of an alternation between two, or even three different perspectives. Since this type of narration is difficult to follow,

narrators have various means of signalling the relation of the narrated events to the actual or shifted deictic centre. One of these, the reporting (hearsay) particle *ani*, has been described in Chapter 3. Also, the form of the speech orienter (the verb "say" with IPFV enclitic *=əš)* indicates when the introduced passage is not regular direct speech but embedded narration.

The strategy of marking single events by deictic shift is usually used to highlight the subsequent event. The above observations show that both the oral and the written Wakhi narratives are complex, but their complexity takes different forms.

There is an interesting parallel between the findings in this study and those described by Jahani (2018: 336) for Gorani. Both Wakhi and Gorani exhibit what Jahani (ibid.) describes as strong tense anchoring and a mixed space deixis strategy. The study undertaken by Jahani, however, only examines non-witnessed genres, and does not show how the tense grounding would be achieved in witnessed narratives.

The observations in the present study concerning spatial deixis show, if not patterns, then at least some tendencies that can be summarized in the following points:

- Distal demonstrative pronouns (DEM3) tend to be used more in witnessed and true stories; i.e. no deictic shift is occurring in such stories;
- Proximal demonstrative pronouns (DEM1) tend to be preferred in fictional stories, which indicates a greater inclination for deictic shift in fiction. This correlates with the findings presented by Jahani (2018: 336) for Koroshi Balochi, Sistani Balochi, Vafsi, and Gorani.
- Middle demonstrative pronouns (DEM2) are used less frequently, but when they dominate, it is usually in stories based to a certain extent on historical events, i.e. stories that are not fully factual and not completely fictional.

The claims made above are, however, only tentative and very general. There is much more going on with the spatial deixis in Wakhi narratives. Other aspects will need to be taken in consideration, such as the functions of demonstrative pronouns with regard to participants and places in narratives, their discourse roles and their position in relation to each other.

## 6.3. Story development techniques

The analysis in Section 5.2.2.2 revealed a striking difference between spontaneously told oral narratives and written narratives regarding the use of the development marker (DM) *yan*. The DM *yan* has been identified as the default way of marking new developments in spontaneously told oral narratives.

For written narratives, it has been stated that new developments are not marked in any overt way, and the DM *yan* is used only to highlight significant developments.

However, more analysis is needed on the macro level to understand HOW story developments are signalled in written narratives where the use of the DM *yan* is low. An example of how new developments are marked in the oral and written versions of the same story is presented in the paraphrased fairy-tale Z03 (Frog); see Table 79 below. The fully analysed oral and written versions of this story are found in Appendix D. The written version of the story was produced based on its oral counterpart, so the plot is more or less the same, though there are some differences in how particular events are organized.

The story begins with a short orientation: "There was a man/king, he had 3 sons" and continues with the first event starting a Complicating Action. In the oral version, this is the first DM *yan* occurring in this story (clause 3, leftmost column). In the written version, the DM *yan* is not used. Instead, the first development is indicated with the temporal expression *i rwor* 'one day' (clause 1.3a, the column on the right). Further, the table illustrates the developments introduced by the DM *yan* in the oral version and how they are indicated in the written version.

It is interesting to note that marking of new developments in the oral version of this story is relatively simple. Apart from the DM *yan*, there are only a few other ways of marking a development. On one occasion, a new development is introduced by the interjection *xay* 'well' (clause 30).[68] Twice, the new development is introduced by temporal expressions *a sarək* 'the next day' (clause 32) and *a i rwor* 'on a particular day' (clause 44b). New developments introduced by the DM *yan* or by a temporal expression can also be highlighted by an address form *ǎjon, alolik* 'dear'. By addressing the audience in this way, the narrator invites them to pay special attention to what she/he is going to say.

The written version displays a different pattern of marking new developments. The DM *yan* is used only once in the story. It introduces the Resolution (clause 5.8a). Significant new developments, including the first development in the Complicating Action, are introduced by temporal expressions such as *i rwor* 'one day' and *sarək* 'the next day'. It is interesting to observe that the same temporal expressions, when they occur in the oral version, are accompanied by the emphatic particle *a*, whereas in the written version the emphatic particle is not used.[69] Other new developments introduced in the oral version by the DM *yan* are not specifically marked in the written version. However,

[68] The expression "at once" (clauses 27 and 28) normally introduces new development. However, in this specific case both its occurrences seem to prepare the ground prior to the new development in clause 30, introduced here by interjection *xay* 'well'.

[69] Generally, the emphatic particle *a* is used extensively in the oral narrations, but is much less frequent in the written narrations.

when a new development starts, a full noun with a demonstrative is usually used in the written version. In the oral version of this story, this pattern is found only once; instead personal pronouns are used with the DM *yan*.

**Table 79.** *Fairy-tale Z03 (Frog): Story development techniques*

| Oral | | Content | | Written | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Clauses** | **DM** | | | **DM** | **Clauses** |
| 3–6a | **Yan** | *the man/king gave an arrow to each of his three sons* | | **One day** | 1.3 |
| 6b | **Yan** | *they shot (the arrows)* | | Those (DEM3) sons… | 1.4a |
| 6c–7 | | *the arrows of two reached two pretty girls, the arrow of the third one reached a frog* | | | 1.4b–c |
| 8–12 | | Evaluation, Orientation, Repetition | | | |
| 13–15 | **Yan** | *the two laughed at the third one* | | Those (DEM3) two brothers | 1.5 |
| 16–18 | **Yan my dear** | *the third one accepted the situation, he married the frog* | | That one (DEM2) | 1.6–1.7 |
| 19a–b | **Yan** | *he put her into a room* | *the frog turned into a pretty girl, at daybreak she turned back into a frog* | **Night comes** | 1.8–1.10 |
| 19c–f | **Yan** that (DEM3) father | *the man/king ordered his daughters-in-law to scythe* | | **One day** | 2.1 |
| 20a–b | **Yan, dear** | *they scythed* | | Those (DEM3) two daughters-in-law | 2.3a |
| 21–23a | | *the frog threw off her skin, scythed, finished before the other two* | | That (DEM2) frog | 2.3b–e |
| 23b | **dear, yan** | *she put on the frog skin again* | | | 2.4 |
| 25–26 | again | *the king ordered them to make bread* | | **One day** again, the king | 3.1 |
| 27 | At once | *the third son wondered how a frog would make bread* | | That (DEM2) lad | 3.2 |
| 28–29 | At once | *the frog said to him not to worry* | | | 3.3–3.4 |
| 30 | **Well** | *he slept, she made bread* | | | 3.5 |
| 32–34 | **Dear, that next day at once** | *they brought bread, the king liked the bread made by the frog and refused the bread made by the other two* | | **The next day** | 4.1–4.4 |
| 41–43 | **Yan** | *the other two daughters-in-law were angry with the frog* | *the man said to his frog-wife to not put on the frog skin again, she refused* | **One day** that (DEM2) man | 5.1–5.4 |
| 44–46 | **Yan, on one particular day** | *they got hold of her frog skin* | *he gots hold of her frog skin* | **One day** | 5.5a–b |
| 47–49a | **Yan** | *they burnt her frog skin* | *he burnt her frog skin* | that man (DEM2) | 5.5c |
| 49b–52c | | *she disappeared* | | | 5.6–5.7 |
| | | | *her husband became regreful* | **Yan** | 5.8a RES |
| 53 **CODA** | Well, **yan** | | *but what is the use of being sorry* | | 5.8b– c **CODA** |

This observation can be explained in terms of marking development on two axes, "the linkage axis and/or the agent axis" (Levinsohn 2006: 31). As defined by Levinsohn (2015a: 101), "[d]evelopment on the **linkage** axis is typically marked by means of connectives" and "[d]evelopment on the **agent** axis is marked on reference to participants" (ibid.). With this regard, in Wakhi written narratives, development is usually marked on the agent axis rather than on the linkage axis, whereas in Wakhi oral narratives, development is usually marked on the linkage axis, or on both the linkage and the agent axes.

The more frequent marking of new developments in the oral narration correlates with the structuring of foreground and background information. A closer look at the passage between two new developments (1.3–1.8) in the written version and its oral counterpart reveals differing story dynamics, as is illustrated in Table 80 below, in a passage from story Z03. The passage is framed by two marked new developments in the written version (on the right), *i rwor* 'one day' in 1.3a and *naɣd wost* 'night comes' 1.8a. The same passage in the oral version (on the left) is framed by the first DM *yan* in the clause 3 and the fifth *yan* in the clause 19a.

**Table 80.** *Story development techniques: Excerpt from Z03*

| | Oral | | Written |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | ***YAN*** *he gave an arrow* | 1.3a | ***One day*** *he gave each of his sons an arrow,* |
| 4–5 | *He gave it to his sons. "Shoot, marry whichever, whatever one it falls on", right?* | 1.3b | *he says: "Shoot, whichever target it reaches, marry that one."* |
| 6a | *He gave (his) three sons (each) an arrow and* | | |
| 6b–7 | ***YAN*** *they shot and (the arrow) of one (of them) hit a frog. The (arrows of) the other two (each) hit a human.* | 1.4 | *The sons shot the arrows (and saw) that two of the (arrows) reached two beautiful girls, the (arrow) of the (third) one reached a frog.* |
| 8–9 | ***My dear****, as for that frog, it was like this, she was not frog, she was actually a fairy. That is, at daybreak she turned into a frog and at nightfall she turned into a human and at daybreak she turned into a frog.* | | |
| 10–11 | *The arrows fell on the three. They fell on two women and on one frog.* | | |

| | Oral | | Written |
|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | *She was so capable, so cleanly that... that frog, right?* | | |
| 13 | ***YAN*** *the other two (brothers) laughed.* | 1.5 | *Those two brothers laughed (at the third one) because his arrow reached a frog.* |
| 14–15 | ***YAN*** *they laughed, they laughed at him (saying) "Goodness, his (arrow) fell on a frog! His arrow fell in a frog!"* | | |
| 16–17 | ***YAN my dear****, he said: "well, whatever they do, perhaps that should be my destiny. I (will) marry her."* | 1.6 | *That one [the third brother] said: "Well, what shall I do, let my fate be this, I will marry her".* |
| 18 | *He married her.* | 1.7 | *He married that frog.* |
| 19a–b | ***YAN*** *he put her in one place, he put her in like a small hut,* | 1.8 | ***Night came*** *and that frog turned into a beautiful girl, the lad was surprised and understood that this was a fairy.* |

It is evident that the dynamics of this passage are different in the oral and written versions. In the written version the entire passage represents a coherent sequence of closely related actions. The change in the prominence of participants (i.e. which is the current actor) is marked by a full noun (1.4), by a full noun with a demonstrative pronoun (1.5), or only with a demonstrative pronoun (1.6). However, the action is coherent. A new major development in the action is indicated by a temporal expression (1.3a and 1.8a). In the oral version of the passage (on the left), however, the DM *yan* also serves to resume and move forward the action that has been halted or slowed down by repetition (6b) or by informative or evaluative background clauses (13) or direct speech (16). Thus, any step forward in the action (not only major ones) can be marked with the DM *yan*.

Similar story development patterns are found in the other GROUP 1 narratives. However, although the above-described pattern is the most typical one for Wakhi narratives, it must be noted that the frequency of the use of the DM *yan* or other devices marking new developments in narrations can vary depending on the need perceived by narrators/writers to provide clues about the story development for the audience.

Thus, in the story Z12 (Bear and Hunter), illustrated in Example (199), many new developments in the oral version (199a) are introduced with the DM *yan* together with a full noun + a demonstrative pronoun. In the written version

(199b), however, both marking strategies are reduced. The DM *yan* and the demonstrative pronoun are edited out, and only the full noun is kept. In some other instances, the demonstrative is kept but the DM *yan* is removed.

(199) a. yan yəm ṣ̌korčī x̌ы kəẓ̌i dыrzdət [O_Z12: 15a]

*Then this [DEM1] hunter took his knife and (...)*

b. Шкорӣ x̌ы кəжи дырздəт [W_Z12: 1.8a]
ṣ̌korī x̌ы kəẓ̌i dыrzdət

*Hunter took his knife and (...)*

The examination of GROUPS 2 and 3 does not yield any new findings. In the GROUP 2 narratives, no differences in story development patterns are found between the oral and the written versions. As expected, the oral narratives prepared in advance show the typical features of written narratives, and therefore no editing was done in the written versions of these narratives with regard to story development strategies.

In the narratives of GROUP 3, similar patterns are found as in GROUP 1. That is, extensive use of the DM *yan* is identified in the oral narratives, whereas in the written narratives, only major developments are marked, usually with temporal expressions.

To SUMMARIZE of the discussion on the development marking strategies in oral and written narratives, the following can be said:

- In the oral narratives, narrators tend to instruct the audience more explicitly when the story is moving to a new point. The development marker *yan* also serves to resume and move forward action interrupted by background insertions. A higher proportion of background in the oral narrations correlates with more explicit marking of new developments. Development is usually marked on the linkage axis (the DM *yan*), or on both the linkage and the agent axes (the DM *yan* + full noun and/or demonstrative pronoun).
- In written narratives, there are usually fewer interruptions in the flow of the action in the foreground clauses, and therefore explicit marking of any new development by a special development marker is not necessary. Usually, new developments are marked on the agent axis (full noun and/or demonstrative pronoun).

## 6.4. Summary

Chapter 6 concludes the analytical part of this study by addressing selected topics that have already been discussed in Chapter 5. In this chapter, the discussion centered on the overall structure of narratives, and in accordance with the main research question of this study, the chapter has investigated and described the differences that were found between Wakhi oral and written narratives.

The first topic addressed in this chapter was the structuring and organization of foreground and background material in Wakhi oral and written narratives. It was found that written narratives are more dynamic, with more events and less informative or evaluative background material. Oral narratives, on the other hand, are characterized by a slower pace and many evaluative and explanatory narrator comments. This analysis has served as background for the subsequent discussion of the role of deictic shift in highlighting and backgrounding, and of the story development techniques used in Wakhi oral and written narratives.

With regard to deictic shift, the Wakhi narratives show rather complex patterns using various strategies. In them, a primary distinction is made between witnessed narratives, with a deictic centre grounded in the real time of narration, and non-witnessed narratives, with a shifted deictic centre. Thus, witnessed narratives are told in past tense and non-witnessed narratives in non-tense. Both the oral and written narratives use this pattern in the same way; no difference was found with regard to this primary distinction.

Wakhi narratives can employ various techniques to achieve deictic shift. One of these is evidential direct speech, where all or part of the non-witnessed narrative is narrated as a witnessed account. A difference has been found in how evidential direct speech is expressed in oral and written narratives. In written narratives the pattern is rather regular. The whole story, or the whole embedded story, is told with a full change of deixis, i.e. person, verb tense/aspect form, deictic expressions. The anchoring in the actual deictic centre is achieved by an introductory sentence introducing such a narrative, or it is only minimally coded in the subtitle.

In oral narratives, such a clear and regular pattern has not been found. Instead, narrators employing evidential direct speech strategy frequently step in and out of the narration. To avoid confusion about which deictic centre the narration is currently grounded in, narrators of oral stories use special marking on the speech orienter (IPFV enclitic).

As for spatial deixis, it has been observed that distal demonstrative pronouns are more likely to be dominant in the stories based on true events, i.e. those that are grounded in a real deictic centre. On the other hand, the fictional stories show a tendency to more often to employ deictic shift with the use of proximal demonstrative pronouns. Middle demonstrative pronouns, though used in all types of narratives, seem to be dominant mainly in the narratives mixing truth and fiction, such as historical accounts or legends based on historical events.

The above-described tendencies in the use of spatial deixis, however, have only been observed in written narratives. Oral narratives do not show any regularity, and it seems that the use of spatial deixis is entirely up to the narrator.

The last topic addressed in this study was story development strategies. The analysis was based on the discussion in Chapter 5.2.2.2 about the use of the development marker *yan*, which has been identified as the most frequent strategy for marking new developments in oral narratives. In other words, developments in oral narratives are typically marked on the linkage axis. Alternatively, the development marker *yan* can be complemented with the use of full noun and/or demonstrative pronoun (i.e. marking on both the linkage and the agent axes).

The striking difference between the frequent use of the development marker *yan* in the oral narratives and its very rare use in the written narratives, led to the question of how new developments are marked in written narratives. It has been found that in oral narratives any new (even minor) developments are usually marked by a development marker, while in written narratives only major developments need to be marked. Otherwise, a temporal succession of narrative clauses is sufficient in written narratives. Major developments in Wakhi written narratives, including the first event in the Complicating Action, are usually marked with temporal expressions. For less important new developments in written narratives, reference to a participant by means of a full noun with or without a demonstrative pronoun is usually used. Thus, in written narratives, new developments are usually marked on the agent axis.

The structure of narrative texts is very complex, and achieving as full an understanding as possible of the Wakhi language, as it is used in narratives and other genres, will require examining the same topics from various other angles and perspectives. In this chapter I have tried to answer some questions, but a vast field is still open for investigation which may confirm the tentative claims made above or correct them in the light of new findings.

# 7. Conclusion and final remarks

Wakhi is at an early stage of developing a written literature. A new Cyrillic-based alphabet was introduced in Tajikistan and first used in a collection of Wakhi stories for children in 2012. Several other publications in the vernacular have since appeared. This development has undoubtedly had an impact on the sociolinguistic assessment of the status of the language. Also from a linguistic point of view, the recently introduced written form of the vernacular is expected to have an impact on Wakhi's continued development.

In the present study I have demonstrated that there are important differences between oral and written forms on the sentence and text levels. However, this is a general statement. It has been necessary to take a closer look at these differences in order to specify what they are and between what forms of narration they occur.

As the title of this study suggests, my research focused on narratives, which are a specific genre that differs from spontaneous "extemporized" speech (Utas 2006: 209). At the present stage of language development, this is the only genre available in Wakhi in both oral and written forms able to provide sufficient material to serve as a topic for research. This genre delimitation is also important as a way to avoid comparing written and oral material of unequal nature, register or degree of formality – a deficiency that some researchers have pointed out in earlier studies (Beaman 1984, Biber 1988 and others, see discussion in Section 4.1).

The term "narrative" encompasses a heterogeneous genre that includes elements of various degrees of spontaneity or formality, depending on the purpose and circumstances of the narration. Even fictional stories, whether oral or written, usually have some formal elements, such as formulaic expressions framing the beginning and end of such stories. The majority of narratives also contain passages in direct speech that, when written, represent an oral stratum.

When performing the analysis of the narratives in the present corpus, the above considerations were borne in mind. In order to achieve the most accurate and unambiguous results possible, three different groups of narratives were compared. In the first group, spontaneous oral narratives were compared with their written counterparts. In the second group, oral narratives prepared in advance were similarly compared with their written counterparts. The third group, which consisted of oral and written narratives unrelated to each other, was then used to confirm or disconfirm the observations made for the first

and/or second groups. In all three groups, direct speech was analysed and compared separately from the narration.

The analysis identified major differences between the spontaneous oral and the edited written forms. However, this distinction is not truly binary. Rather, the differences lie along a continuum with the spontaneous oral and the independently written forms at opposite ends (see Figure 15 below). Such a continuum accommodates the fact that oral narratives prepared in advance differ from spontaneous oral ones, and share some characteristics with written narratives. So, the oral narratives prepared in advance fall somewhere between the ends of the continuum. Written narratives that are based on oral counterparts also differ from the independently written ones and are placed further away from the independently written end, more towards the oral end of the continuum. Passages in direct speech in both the oral and the written narratives also lie closer to the spontaneous oral end. Within these broad divisions, the narrator's or writer's skill and personal style finally determine which end of the continuum his/her narration leans towards.

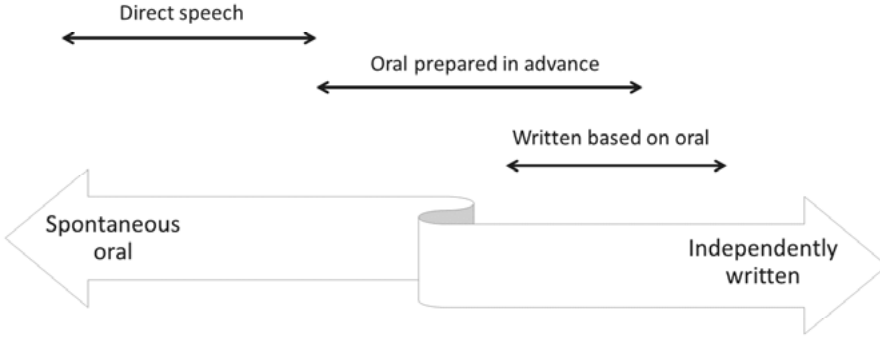


*Figure 15.* Continuum Oral–Written

The question of what differences that are identified between oral and written narratives has been addressed in the summaries of Chapters 5 and 6. In the following paragraphs, I give a brief generalizing summary and suggest topics for further investigation.

With regard to syntactic complexity, no general conclusion can be drawn about whether the oral or written form is more complex. Both are complex, but in different ways. The findings for Wakhi narratives are not dissimilar to those identified by Beaman (1984) for English, which were described in Section 4.1. Hence, with regard to coordination in Wakhi, more clauses tend to be chained

together in a single sentence in oral than in written narratives. Oral narratives manifest a variety of marked forms, including marked position in the sentence, and are often accompanied by various highlighting devices found only in the oral form. In contrast, coordination in written narratives is usually achieved using the unmarked forms and with fewer types of coordinating devices.

Again, some of the devices frequently used in the oral narratives, such as the development marker *yan* and tail-head linkage, are found only sporadically in the written narratives, and always signal a marked use. A similar tendency was observed in complementation, where marked patterns of reported speech and perception complement clauses were found more frequently in the oral narratives than in the written ones. Relative clauses were also more complex in the oral narratives. In contrast, adverbial subordinate clauses were more frequent and more complex in the written narratives. As noted above, such findings are compatible with Beaman's (1984: 79) statement that "spoken narrative is on the whole just as complex as, if not more complex in some respects, than written narrative."

Some findings, however, need special mention here, as they differ from what previous studies would lead us to expect. Tail-head linkage was described in previous studies, such as Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 8), as "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 (the 'tail')". In Wakhi, however, as in some other Iranian languages, default tail-head linkage involves two coordinate clauses (see discussion in Section 5.2.2.3.1). Nevertheless, in agreement with previous findings (Bartsch 1997, Dooley & Levinsohn 2001), tail-head linkage is used much more frequently in the oral narratives than in the written ones.

Temporal clauses, which are the most frequent type of adverbial subordinate clauses in narratives, also show a significant difference between the oral and the written forms. They have been identified as the only pattern where the post-nuclear form described as "marked" is used more frequently in the written narratives than in the oral ones. However, the entire area of subordination will need a more thorough investigation incorporating data from other genres. This is because – apart from complementation, which is used extensively in the narratives and is relatively well documented in this study – subordinate constructions occur infrequently in Wakhi narratives. The function of the subordinators *cə/cəy* and *ki* used in Wakhi adverbial and relative clauses should be studied in greater depth with more extensive data. Their differing positions in a clause suggests two different structures, a left-branching one and a right-branching one, the former being the original and the latter an imported structure. This question should also be studied from an areal perspective, as similar structures have been identified in other languages in the area (see Bashir 1988 and the discussion in Section 5.2.3.3.4).

The use of the subordinator *ki* is another topic that merits further research. A possible interpretation has been suggested by Levinsohn (2012), who describes *ki* as an interpretive use marker in Balochi. In the present study, this interpretation appears to account for its occurrence and non-occurrence in complement clauses. However, its use as a general subordinator for adverbial and relative clauses, as well as complement clauses, and the fact that its interpretation in traditional terms is often ambiguous, suggest that a more comprehensive description that also accounts for the ambiguities would be beneficial. The scope of this study did not allow such a thorough treatment, but further research in this direction will be needed.

As for the structure of the narratives, significant differences have been found in how the oral and the written forms use and organize background and foreground elements. For instance, narrator interventions that add evaluative or explanatory comments (which constitute background elements) are much more frequent in the oral narratives. Also, oscillation between witnessed and non-witnessed forms (with the narrator stepping in and out of the story) is more frequent in oral narratives. This increases the frequency with which the development marker *yan* is used in oral narratives, as it not only marks new developments but often also signals the resumption of the story line following evaluations. In contrast, written narratives are more linear and better organized, and less frequently interrupted by the author's evaluative or explanatory comments. This observation agrees with what has been described by Bartsch (1997) and Dooley & Levinsohn (2001).

In view of the observations made above about the organization of background and foreground elements in the story, it is no surprise that new developments are marked differently in oral and written narratives. The marking of new developments in the oral narratives is mainly done on the linkage axis (with the development marker *yan*) and may, though not necessarily, be complemented by marking on the agent axis (with a noun and/or demonstrative pronoun). In contrast, new developments in written narratives are mainly marked on the agent axis. Because written narratives are generally described as "more concise and better organized" and introducing "new information at a faster pace" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 8), they do not need such extensive marking of new developments. The division of written narrations into paragraphs is also a helpful indicator. The internal structure of oral narratives, in contrast, necessitates a more explicit development-marking device (represented by the development marker *yan*) to help listeners follow the flow of the action.

One difference that I noticed during the analysis, but which has not been covered in this study, is a more purist use of vocabulary in written narratives than in oral ones. While the syntactic structures in written narratives are often

more prone to borrowing from Tajik, the reverse is observed regarding the vocabulary. Wakhi writers and editors consistently chose original Wakhi expressions, even ones that are less commonly used in contemporary spoken Wakhi. This was especially noticeable in the narratives where both oral and written versions were analysed. Russian and Tajik loan-words in the oral versions were usually replaced by original Wakhi words in the written ones. Vocabulary seems to be a main area of concern for the Wakhi speakers who are trying to preserve their language.

Although written Wakhi is still at an early stage of development, it is interesting to observe that even at this stage Wakhi speakers and writers have an intuitive idea of what written texts should look like. Some of this "intuition" no doubt comes from the literary languages to which they are exposed, namely Tajik and, to some extent, Russian. However, it is not only "foreign" influences reflected in the Wakhi narratives that constitute the differences between the oral and written texts. The fact that the oral narratives prepared in advance diverge from the spontaneous oral ones would advocate for a native rather than a borrowed "intuition" about what a well-formed (written or oral) narrative should look like. An instance of this is the significantly lower use of the development marker *yan* and tail-head linkage in both oral narratives prepared in advance and written narratives. The boundary, however, is not clear, and only further development of the written language will show what path it will take.

In examining this process in the coming years, special attention should be given to the ways in which Wakhi and Tajik differ. Time will tell whether Wakhi will become more of a tense-based type of a language (like written Tajik) or will continue using the verb forms in the native deictic centre-based way that was described in Section 2.1. It is even possible that both systems will somehow co-exist. This has been observed in some other narratives (more written than oral) that are not part of the present corpus. Similar mixing has also been observed in narrative texts written in Tajik by Wakhi native speakers. This topic certainly deserves further attention and examination.

The present study has investigated Wakhi as it is spoken and written in Tajikistan, and the results accordingly reflect a specific socio-linguistic context. Because Wakhi is spoken in four countries, that is, in four different social and linguistic settings, a full description of the Wakhi language, both oral and written, will need to incorporate material from all the regions where it is used.

# A. EGIDS

According to Table 81 below, Wakhi is classified in Ethnologue.com (Eberhard et al. 2019) as "Threatened" in Tajikistan; "Vigorous" in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and "Shifting" in China.

**Table 81.** *Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS, Lewis & Simons 2010: 110)*

| LEVEL | LABEL | DESCRIPTION | UNESCO |
|---|---|---|---|
| **0** | International | The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions. | Safe |
| **1** | National | The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level. | Safe |
| **2** | Regional | The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services. | Safe |
| **3** | Trade | The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders. | Safe |
| **4** | Educational | Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education. | Safe |
| **5** | Written | The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community. | Safe |
| **6a** | Vigorous | The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language. | Safe |
| **6b** | Threatened | The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children. | Vulnerable |
| **7** | Shifting | The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children. | Definitely Endangered |
| **8a** | Moribund | The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation. | Severely Endangered |

| LEVEL | LABEL | DESCRIPTION | UNESCO |
|---|---|---|---|
| **8b** | Nearly Extinct | The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language. | Critically Endangered |
| **9** | Dormant | The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency. | Extinct |
| **10** | Extinct | No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes. | Extinct |

# B. Wakhi Cyrillic and phonemic alphabet

**Table 82.** *Wakhi alphabet: Cyrillic – Phonemic – IPA*

| | Cyrillic | Phonemic | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | А, а | A, a | [a], [ɐ] |
| **2** | Б, б | B, b | [b] |
| **3** | В, в | V, v | [v] |
| **4** | Ў, ў | W, w | [w] |
| **5** | Г, г | G, g | [g] |
| **6** | Ғ, ғ | Ɣ̌, ɣ̌ | [ɣ] |
| **7** | Ғ, ғ | Ɣ, ɣ | [ʁ] |
| **8** | Д, д | D, d | [d] |
| **9** | Ӡ, ӡ | Ḍ, ḍ | [ɖ] |
| **10** | Е, е | E, e | [e] |
| **11** | Ё, ё | | |
| **12** | Ҷ, ҷ | Ž, ž | [ʒ] |
| **13** | Ж, ж | Ẓ, ẓ | [ʐ] |
| **14** | З, з | Z, z | [z] |
| **15** | Ӟ, ӟ | Δ, δ | [ð] |
| **16** | И, и | I, i | [i], [ɪ] |
| **17** | ӣ | ī | |
| **18** | Й, й | Y, y | [j] |
| **19** | К, к | K, k | [k] [kʰ] |
| **20** | Қ, қ | Q, q | [q] |
| **21** | Л, л | L, l | [l], [ɭ], [l̥] |
| **22** | М, м | M, m | [m] |
| **23** | Н, н | N, n | [n], [ŋ] |
| **24** | О, о | O, o | [o], [ɔ] |
| **25** | П, п | P, p | [p], [pʰ] |
| **26** | Р, р | R, r | [r], [r̥] |
| **27** | С, с | S, s | [s] |
| **28** | Ҹ, ҹ | Θ, θ | [θ] |
| **29** | Т, т | T, t | [t], [tʰ] |
| **30** | Ӭ, ӭ | Ṭ, ṭ | [ʈ] |

B. Wakhi Cyrillic and phonemic alphabet

| | Cyrillic | Phonemic | IPA |
|---|---|---|---|
| **31** | У, у | U, u | [u], [ʊ] |
| **32** | Ф, ф | F, v | [f] |
| **33** | Х, х | X, x | [χ] [x] |
| **34** | Ӽ, ӽ | Ӽ, ӽ | [x] [ç] |
| **35** | Ц, ц | C, c | [t͡s] |
| **36** | Ӌ, ӌ | Ʒ, ʒ | [d͡z] |
| **37** | Ч, ч | Č, č | [t͡ʃ] |
| **38** | Ӵ, ӵ | Ḉ, ḉ | [t͡ʂ] |
| **39** | Ҷ, ҷ | J̌, ǰ | [d͡ʒ] |
| **40** | Ӌ, ӌ | Ʒ̣, ʒ̣ | [d͡ʐ] |
| **41** | Щ, щ | Š, š | [ʃ] |
| **42** | Ш, ш | Ṣ, ṣ | [ʂ] |
| **43** | Ы, ы | Ы, ы | [ʉ], [ɨ] |
| **44** | Ӭ, ӭ | Ӭ, ӭ | [ə] |
| **45** | Э, э | | |
| **46** | Ю, ю | | |
| **47** | Я, я | | |

# C. List of Wakhi narratives

**Table 83.** *List of analysed Wakhi written narratives*

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Source | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | W_A01 | Leopard | W | Witnessed story | Writer A | |
| **2** | W_A02 | Rukhshona | F | Legend | Writer A | see O_SF |
| **3** | W_A03 | Story of an old house | T | Historical account | Writer A | |
| **4** | W_A04 | War | W | Witnessed story | Writer A | |
| **5** | W_A05 | Resettlement | T | Reported true story | Writer A | see O_RS |
| **6** | W_B03 | How a strong man saved a girl | T | Historical account | Writer B | see OB_SK |
| **7** | W_B07 | Rich merchant | F | Traditional story | Writer B | |
| **8** | W_B08 | Clock | W | Witnessed story | Writer B | |
| **9** | W_B09 | Uncle Dilowar | T | Reported true story | Writer B | |
| **10** | W_B10 | Pasture | W | Witnessed story | Writer B | |
| **11** | W_B11 | Winter troubles (from my brother's life) | T/W | Reported true story in witnessed form | Writer B | |
| **12** | W_B17 | About a fairy (from my brother's life) | T/W | Reported true story in witnessed form | Writer B | |
| **13** | W_B18 | Bear's kindness (my neighbour's experience) | T | Reported true story | Writer B | |

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Source | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **14** | W_GF | Girl stolen by fairies | W | Witnessed story | Writer A | see OB_GF |
| **15** | W_N01 | Not my child | F | Story with moral (modern traditional story) | Shaidoev (2012: 9–10 | |
| **16** | W_N03 | Shepherd | T/W | Reported true story in witnessed form | (ibid.: 12) | see O_N03 |
| **17** | W_N04 | Wolves | W | Witnessed story | (ibid.: 13) | see OB_WV |
| **18** | W_N05 | Dog and bear | T/W | Reported true story in witnessed form | (ibid.: 14) | see OB_DB |
| **19** | W_N07 | Yak | T/W | Reported true story in witnessed form | (ibid.: 15–16) | see O_N07 |
| **20** | W_N10 | Wolf and calf | W | Witnessed story | (ibid.: 17-18) | |
| **21** | W_N13 | On a walk | W | Witnessed story | (ibid.: 21) | see O_N13 |
| **22** | W_N20 | Uncle Qosim | T | Reported true story | (ibid.: 29-30) | |
| **23** | W_N28 | Disrespect | F | Traditional story | (ibid.: 39–40) | |
| **24** | W_N29 | Avarice | F | Traditional story | (ibid.: 42) | see OB_WA |
| **25** | W_N30 | Military service | W | Witnessed story | (ibid.: 44–45) | |
| **26** | W_N31 | Mirzosalmon | F | Traditional story | (ibid.: 46–47) | |
| **27** | W_Z03 | Frog | F | Fairy-tale | Obrtelová et al. (2016: 18–19) | see O_Z03 |
| **28** | W_Z12 | Bear and hunter | F | Fairy-tale | (ibid.: 43) | see O_Z12 |
| **29** | W_Z18 | Three daughters | F | Fairy-tale | (ibid.: 81–82) | see O_Z18 |

**Table 84.** *List of analysed Wakhi oral narratives*

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Source | Narrator: Location - Gender - Age | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | O_6S | Sixth sense | T | Reported true story | Co10–11 | CW – F – 47 | |
| **2** | O_EF | Encounter with a fairy | W+T | Witnessed story + reported true story | Co13–15 | UW – M – 63 | |
| **3** | O_FL | Flood | T | Reported true story | Co13–15 | UW – F – 18 | |
| **4** | O_GM | Grandmother Muminmo | T | Reported true story | Co13–15 | CW – F – 72 | |
| **5** | O_N03 | Shepherd | T/W | Reported true story in witnessed form | Co10–11 | LW – M – 50 | see W_N03 |
| **6** | O_N07 | Yak | T/W | Reported true story in witnessed form | Co10–11 | LW – M – 50 | see W_N07 |
| **7** | O_N13 | On a walk | W | Witnessed story | Co10–11 | LW – M – 50 | see W_N13 |
| **8** | O_RS | Story about resettlement | W | Witnessed story | Co13–15 | AJ – M – 75 | see W_A05 |
| **9** | O_SF | Silk fortress | F | Legend | Co10–11 | UW – F – 55 | see W_A02 |
| **10** | O_SP | On the summer pasture | W | Witnessed story | Co13–15 | CW – F – 24 | |
| **11** | O_Z03 | Frog | F | Fairy-tale | Co13–15 | UW – F – 66 | see W_Z03 |
| **12** | O_Z12 | Bear and hunter | F | Fairy-tale | Co13–15 | CW – M – 49 | see W_Z12 |
| **13** | O_Z18 | Three daughters | F | Fairy-tale | Co13–15 | CW – M – 76 | see W_Z18 |

| | ID | Title | Genre ID | Genre | Source | Narrator: Location - Gender - Age | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **14** | OB_AN | Anvil | W | Witnessed story | Obrtelová (2017:112–120) | CW – M – 91 | |
| **15** | OB_BO | Boboantar | F | Traditional story | (ibid.: 120–124) | CW – F – 81 | |
| **16** | OB_DB | Dog and bear | T/W | Reported true story in witnessed form | (ibid.: 130–132) | LW – M – 50 | see W_N05 |
| **17** | OB_GF | Girl stolen by fairies | W | Witnessed story | (ibid.: 143–154) | CW – F – 47 | see W_GF |
| **18** | OB_HS | Hazrati Shoh Nosir | F | Legend | (ibid.: 155–161) | CW – M – 91 | |
| **19** | OB_SB | Shodmonbig | T | Ancestor's history | ((ibid.: 180–198) | LW – M – 80 | |
| **20** | OB_SE | Story from the early Soviet era | W | Witnessed story | (ibid.: 211–215) | LW – M – 75 | |
| **21** | OB_SK | Story about the kidnapped girl | T | Historical account | (ibid.: 199–211) | CW – M – 52 | see W_B03 |
| **22** | OB_SM | Shermalik | F | Traditional story | (ibid.: 176–180) | UW – F – 85 | |
| **23** | OB_WA | Water | F | Traditional story | (ibid.: 240–243) | LW – M – 80 | see W_N29 |
| **24** | OB_WV | Wolves | W | Witnessed story | (ibid.: 246–247) | LW – M – 50 | see W_N04 |

# D. Examples of analysed texts

## D.1. Analysed oral text O_Z03: Frog

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| OR | 1 | Tuətk i šaxs. | *A person there was.* | B-INF |
| | 2 | I ðay tuətk. | *There was a man.* | B-INF |
| CA | 3 | Yan rand tiri dast. | *Then he gave an arrow.* | F-NAR |
| | 4 | Rand a x̆ы pətrvər. | *(He) gave (it) to his sons.* | FGed-REP |
| | 5a | Kaṭəv, | *"Shoot,* | DirS |
| | 5b | də kum, də čiz dəyt, | *whichever, whatever it falls on,* | DirS-sub |
| | 5c | yundəv, nəya | *marry (her/it)," right?* | DirS |
| | 6a | Tru pətrər wuč̣ randət, | *He gave (his) three sons each an arrow and* | F-SUM |
| | 6b | yan yawiš kaṭənət | *then they shot and* | F-NAR |
| | 6c | ya iwən dəyt cə mukt. | *(the arrow) of one (of them) hit a frog.* | F-CO |
| | 7 | Ya buyən dəyt də xalg. | *The (arrows) of the other two each hit a human.* | F-CO |
| EV | 8a | Aǰonik, ya muktən yan... | *My dear, that frog then...* | B-EV |
| | 8b | yaw ʒi, yaw mukt nasto, | *it was like this, she was not a frog,* | B-EV |
| | 8c | yaw ʒi prəy, nəkən. | *she was actually a fairy.* | B-EV |
| OR | 9a | Yaw nək aʒi rworī x̆at gox̆t muktət, | *That is, at daybreak she turned into a frog and* | B-INF |
| | 9b | naɣ̆d, naɣ̆d x̆at gox̆t xalgət, | *at nightfall, nightfall she turned into a human and* | B-INF |
| | 9c | rworī x̆at gox̆t mukt. | *at daybreak she turned into a frog.* | B-INF |
| CA | 10 | A wuč̣ ar truy skav wazd. | *The arrows fell on the three.* | F-SUM |

D. Examples of analysed texts

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 11a | Ska bu χinan wazd, | *They fell on two women* | B-REP |
| | 11b | sək i mukt. | *(and) one frog.* | B-INF |
| EV | 12a | Aʒi qobil ki, | *(She was) so capable that,* | B-EV |
| | 12b | ʒi tozakor ki... | *so cleanly that...* | B-EV |
| | 12c | a ya mukt, nəya? | *that frog, right?* | B-EV |
| CA | 13 | Yan ya buyiš kandən. | *Then the other two (brothers) laughed.* | F-NAR |
| | 14a | Yan kand, | *Then (they) laughed,* | B-REP |
| | 14b | skam sar kand ki, | *they laughed at him (saying) [lit. 'that']:* | B-REP |
| | 14c | elo, yətən waṣt də mukt. | *"Goodness, his (arrow) fell on a frog!* | DirS |
| | 15 | Yətən waṣt də mukt. | *His (arrow) fell on a frog!"* | DirS |
| | 16a | Yan aǰonikəm, χand ki, | *Then, my dear, he said [lit. 'that']:* | F-NAR |
| | 16b | xay crəng ki goχən, | *"Well, whatever they do,* | DirS |
| | 16c | šoyad ki | *perhaps that* | DirS |
| | 16d | ẓы qismat a yət ымыт. | *that should be my destiny.* | DirS-sub |
| | 17 | Yundəm yəti. | *I (will) marry her".* | DirS |
| | 18 | Yund yawi. | *He married her.* | F-NAR |
| | 19a | Yan yaw kart də i ǰay, | *Then he put her in one place,* | F-NAR |
| | 19b | aʒi də malaək yaw kart, | *he put her in like a small hut,* | B-REP |
| | 19c | yan ya tat rimit ki, | *then the father ordered,* | F-NAR |
| | 19d | a χы stəχvi ki, | *(he ordered) his daughters-in-law ['that'],* | B-INF |
| | 19e | dam ðayən ki, | *with their husbands (saying) [lit. 'that']:* | B-INF |
| | 19f | saiš drawəv. | *"You must scythe".* | DirS |
| | 20a | Yawiš yan drawənət, | *Then they scythed and* | F-NAR |
| | 20b | yan aǰon drawənət, | *then, my dear, they scythed and* | B-REP |
| | 20c | yət kaṣ χand ki, | *that lad said [lit. 'that']:* | F-NAR |
| | 20d | e, wuz niv crəng goχəm ki, | *"What shall I do now, when* | DirS |
| | 20e | aǰonikəm, a yəm mukt, | *my dear, she is a frog,* | DirS-sub |

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 20f | yəm niv drɪwak nəkəcərt. | *now, she cannot scythe."* | DirS-sub |
| | 21a | Yət ǩɪ pisti bɪnd, | *She threw (off) her (frog) skin,* | F-NAR |
| EV | 21b | xalg nəkən, me oǰiz xalg aʒi xɪšruy drit ki, | *a human, actually, look, a woman, human, she scythed so well that,* | B-EV |
| CA | 21c | aǰon, cart trav mis tyor tra buyəno, tra xalgən. | *my dear, she finished before the others, before the other two, the humans.* | FGed-sub |
| | 22a | Cart tyor, | *She finished,* | F-NAR/REP |
| | 22b | woz čirmit da mukt čiz, | *again she entered the frog thing,* | F-NAR |
| | 22c | da pist dəst čirmit. | *she entered the (frog) skin.* | B-REP |
| | 23a | Woz čirmit da pist dəstət, | *She entered that skin again and,* | B-REP |
| | 23b | alolik, yan dra čirmitət, | *my dear, then she entered that (skin) and* | B-REP |
| | 23c | xəy, yətiš ayron wərəǰən. | *well, those (other) were surprised.* | F-NAR |
| | 24a | Ǩanən, | *They said:* | F-NAR |
| | 24b | yəm cə soxt tu. | *"What sort of (thing) was this?"* | DirS |
| | 25a | Woz yəmvək ǩanən ki, aǰon, | *Again they [the parents] told them [lit. 'that'], my dear:* | F-NAR |
| | 25b | Ǩɪ kəndvər ǩanəv ki, | *"Tell your wives* | DirS |
| | 25c | mar goǩən xɪšruy xəč. | *to make a nice (loaf of) bread for me".* | DirS-sub |
| | 26a | Ǩanən, | *They said:* | F-SUM |
| | 26b | ar truy ǩanəv ǩɪ kəndvər, | *"All three (of you) tell your wives,* | DirS |
| | 26c | ǩanəv, | *tell (them)* | DirS |
| | 26d | mar xɪšruy xəč goǩən wɪzmən. | *to bring me a nice (loaf of) bread."* | DirS-sub |
| | 27a | Iwki yət ǩand ki, | *At once that one said [lit. 'that']:* | F-NAR |
| | 27b | mukt crəng ǩəč goǩt? | *"How will a frog make a (loaf of) bread?"* | DirS |

D. Examples of analysed texts

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 28a | Iwki yaw e ǩand ki | *At once she [the frog] said [lit. 'that']:* | F-Nar |
| | 28b | tu əči ɣam məcar | "*Don't worry at all*, | DirS |
| | 28c | wuz goǩəm | *I will make it*. | DirS |
| | 29a | Tu nəsi, | *Go to sleep*, | DirS |
| | 29b | də maẓ didiẏ, | *see* | DirS |
| | 29c | wuz crəng goǩəm, | *how I can make it.*" | DirS-sub |
| | 30a | Xay yaw nisitət | *Well, he slept and* | F-CO |
| | 30b | yət buyiš goǩən. | *the other two (women) made bread.* | F-CO |
| | 31a | Xay, bling-bloq gonən, | *Well, they made a knobbly (loaf)*, | F-CO |
| | 31b | yaw xыšruy xəč goǩt. | *she made a nice (loaf of) bread*. | F-CO |
| | 32 | Aǰon, a saarək iwki yund da podšo prыt. | *My dear, the next day, he brought it to the king.* | F-NAR |
| | 33a | A mukt ki ǩətk, | *The one (loaf) that was made by that frog,* | B-INF |
| | 33b | a yawi carən qbыl, | *they accepted it,* | F-NAR |
| | 33c | a yaw ki šak rang ǩətk | *the (loaf) that was bad,* | B-INF |
| | 33d | yaw ki baf nəvitk, | *that was not made well,* | B-INF |
| | 33e | nə qbыl cart. | *they didn't accept.* | F-NAR |
| | 34a | Ǩand, | *(The king) said:* | F-NAR |
| | 34b | nəy, saiš nəy, | "*No, (I don't accept) yours*, | DirS |
| | 34c | ine yəm baf xыšruy ǩətk. | *there you are, this is a good and nicely made (loaf)".* | DirS |
| | 35a | Woz də drыwn waǩt bə ʒi, | *During the harvest it was also like that,* | B-INF |
| | 35b | yət baf drit, | *she [the frog] scythed well,* | F-CO |
| | 35c | yawiš šak drыwən. | *they scythed badly.* | F-CO |
| EV | 36 | Ǩan ki i minut kы ya kiṣti drit, da ǩы ðayən. | *As if she scythed all the field in one minute, with her husband.* | B-EV |
| CA | 37 | Yətiš nəy. | *Those (other two) not.* | F-CO |
| | 38 | Yətiš ayron. | *They were wondering.* | F-CO |
| | 39a | On, yanət... | *Yes, and then...* | |
| | 39b | xay wəzyən draət | *well, they came there and* | F-NAR |
| | 39c | yan ǩand. | *they said.* | F-NAR |

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 40a | Ǎand, | *(They) said,* | B-REP |
| | 40b | e, ǎand ki, | *(they) said [lit. 'that']:* | B-REP |
| | 40c | yəmən crəng kənd? | "*What kind of wife has he got?*" | DirS |
| | 41 | Yan yətiš, yan bɣətī danən. | *Then they were jealous of her.* | F-NAR |
| EV | 42 | A bu andarčiš nəkən, nəya? | *That is, the two sisters-in-law, right?* | B-EV |
| | 43 | A bu andarčiš da iwən... | *The two sisters-in-law with that one.* | B-EV |
| CA | 44a | Yanət alənət | *And then they waited and* | F-NAR |
| | 44b | a i rwor skam ыš. | *one particular day they spied on her.* | F-NAR |
| | 45a | Yan ǎanən ki, | *Then they said [lit. 'that']:* | F-NAR |
| | 45c | e ɣali, | *"Wait,* | DirS |
| | 45b | yaw ki nəyni kumǰay, | *when she sits down somewhere* | DirS-sub |
| | 45c | sak ya pisti picvən, | *we'll burn her (frog) skin, right?* | DirS |
| | 45d | picvən. | *We'll burn (it).*" | DirS |
| | 46a | Ǎanən ki, | *They said:* | F-NAR |
| | 46b | yaw da dəst məčirmit. | *"May she not enter that skin.*" | DirS |
| | 47 | Yan picvən. | *Then they burnt (it).* | F-NAR |
| | 48a | Yan alənət | *Then they waited and* | F-NAR |
| | 48b | aǰon, yaw dišəma | *my dear, I don't know* | B-EV |
| | 48c | tər kum-nag da ǎы δayən rəṣt, | *where she went with her husband,* | B-INF |
| | 48d | yan yaw picvən. | *then they burnt it.* | F-SUM |
| | 49a | Picvənət | *They burnt (it) and* | B-REP |
| | 49b | aǰon, yaw naṣtək, | *my dear, she disappeared,* | F-NAR |
| | 49c | ya prčod ǎatək naṣt. | *that girl, herself, disappeared.* | B-REP |
| | 50a | Yətiš yaw picvən, | *They burnt it [the frog skin],* | F-SUM |
| | 50b | yətvi čiziš wərəč̣ən. | *their things remained.* | F-NAR |
| | 51 | Aǰonik, on, yav čiziš, yarkiš wərəč̣ən. | *My dear, yes, their things, their work remained.* | B-REP |
| RES | 52a | Yət ǎat far-far ya kaṣ ɣird, | *He himself went around, that lad went around,* | F-NAR |
| | 52b | cum qыw cart, | *however much he called (her),* | F-CO |

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 52c | cum gəfst trəm tra-nag ki, | *however much he ran this way and that, (he saw) that* | F-CO |
| | 52d | yaw nast. | *she was not (anywhere).* | FGed-sub |
| CODA | 53 | Xa yan. | *Well then.* | B-EV |

## D.2. Analysed written text W_Z03: Frog

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| OR | 1.1 | Tuətk nətuətk i podšo tuətk. | *Once upon a time there was a king.* | B-INF |
| | 1.2 | Yawən tuətk tru pətr. | *He had three sons.* | B-INF |
| CA | 1.3a | I rwor ǎы pətrvər rand iў̈uni tiri dast, | *One day he gave each of his sons an arrow,* | F-NAR |
| | 1.3b | ǎand: | *he said:* | F-NAR |
| | 1.3c | “Kaṭəv, | *“Shoot,* | DirS |
| | 1.3d | sək čiz ki pərvətəy, | *whichever target it reaches,* | DirS-sub |
| | 1.3e | a yawi yundəv”. | *marry that one.”* | DirS |
| | 1.4a | Ya pətriš tiri dast kaṭən ki, | *The sons shot the arrows (and saw) that* | F-NAR |
| | 1.4b | ya buyvən ў̈at cə bu xəšruy prčod, | *two of the arrows reached two beautiful girls,* | FGed sub |
| | 1.4c | ya iwən ў̈at sə i mukt. | *the (arrow) of the (third) one reached a frog.* | FGed-sub |
| | 1.5a | Ya bu vrыtiš skam sar kandən ki, | *Those two brothers laughed (at the third one) (saying) [lit. ‘that’]:* | F-NAR |
| | 1.5b | yət tiri dast pərvətəy cə mukt. | *“His arrow reached a frog.”* | DirS |
| | 1.6a | Yət ǎand: | *That one [the third brother] said:* | F-NAR |
| | 1.6b | “Xay, crəng goǎəm, | *“Well, what shall I do,* | DirS |
| | 1.6c | ẕы qismat a yət ымыт, | *let my fate be this,* | DirS |
| | 1.6d | yundəm yəti”. | *I will marry her.”* | DirS |

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1.7 | Ya mukti yund. | *He married that frog.* | F-NAR |
| | 1.8a | Naɣd wostət | *Night came and* | F-NAR |
| | 1.8b | ya mukt ɣird i xəšruy prčod, | *that frog turned into a beautiful girl,* | F-NAR |
| | 1.8c | ya kaṣ ayron wərəṣtət | *the lad was surprised and* | F-CO |
| | 1.8d | dišt ki, | *understood that* | F-CO |
| | 1.8e | yəm prəy. | *this was a fairy.* | B-INF |
| | 1.9a | Ya prəy yaw ṣinǰwal cart, | *That fairy pleaded with him,* | F-CO |
| | 1.9b | xand: | *she said:* | F-CO |
| | 1.9c | “Ăы tatət vrытvər məxan ki, | *“Don’t tell your father and your brothers that* | DirS |
| | 1.9d | wuz prəy, | *I am a fairy;* | DirS-sub |
| | 1.9e | žы waxt ki wəzdi, | *when my time comes,* | DirS-sub |
| | 1.9f | yan dišən”. | *then they will understand.”* | DirS |
| | 1.10 | Rworī ya prəy woz ɣird mukt. | *At daybreak that fairy turned back into a frog.* | F-NAR |
| | 2.1 | I rwor podšo rimit ăы stəăvi drыwak. | *One day the king commanded his daughters-in-law to scythe.* | F-NAR |
| | 2.2a | Yət kaṣ xand: | *the lad said:* | F-NAR |
| | 2.2b | “Crəng goăəm, | *“What shall I do,* | DirS |
| | 2.2c | yəm mukt drыwak nəkəcərt.” | *this frog is not able to scythe.”* | DirS |
| | 2.3a | Yaw bu stəăiš drыwənət | *His [the king’s] two daughters-in-law scythed and* | F-NAR |
| | 2.3b | yət mukt bə ăы pisti bыnd, | *the frog, also, threw off her skin,* | F-NAR |
| | 2.3c | ɣird xalg, | *turned into a human,* | F-NAR |
| | 2.3d | xəšruy dritət | *scythed nicely and* | F-NAR |
| | 2.3e | cart tra ăы andarčvi mis tyor. | *finished before the other two daughters-in-law.* | F-NAR |
| | 2.4a | Cart tyorət | *She finished (the work) and* | B-REP |
| | 2.4b | woz čirmit da ăы pist. | *again entered in her (frog) skin.* | F-NAR |
| | 2.5a | Yət andarčiš ayron wərəč̣ən, | *The (other) daughters-in-law were wondering,* | F-CO |
| | 2.5b | ăanən: | *they said:* | F-CO |

D. Examples of analysed texts

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2.5c | "Yəm cə soxt tu ki | *"What sort of (work) was it that* | DirS |
| | 2.5d | mukt drəti?" | *the frog scythed?"* | DirS-sub |
| | 3.1a | I rwor woz podšo ǩы pətrvər ǩand ki: | *One day the king again said to his sons:* | F-NAR |
| | 3.1b | "Ǩы kəndvər ǩanəv, | *"Tell your wives* | DirS |
| | 3.1c | mar baf ǩəč goǩən". | *to make good bread for me."* | DirS-sub |
| | 3.2a | Yət kaʂ ayron wərəʂt, | *The lad was wondering (and)* | F-CO |
| | 3.2b | ǩand: | *said:* | F-CO |
| | 3.2c | "Crəng goǩəm, | *"What shall I do,* | DirS |
| | 3.2d | ʐ̧ы kənd mukt, | *my wife is frog,* | DirS |
| | 3.2e | ɣaw ǩəč ǩak nəbaswizit." | *she is not able to make bread."* | DirS |
| | 3.3a | Wizit, | *He came,* | F-NAR |
| | 3.3b | ya muktər ǩand, | *told (it) to the frog,* | F-NAR |
| | 3.3c | yaw ǩand: | *she said:* | F-NAR |
| | 3.3d | "Tu əč ɣam məcar, | *"Don't be sad at all,* | DirS |
| | 3.3e | wuz goǩəm. | *I will do it.* | DirS |
| | 3.4a | Tu nəsi, | *Go to sleep,* | DirS |
| | 3.4b | saarī didiɣ̌ | *tomorrow morning look,* | DirS |
| | 3.4c | wuz crəng ǩəčəm ǩətk". | *how I made bread."* | DirS-sub |
| | 3.5a | Yaw ðay nisitət | *Her husband went to sleep and* | F-NAR |
| | 3.5b | yaw sar cart ǩəč ǩak. | *she started making bread.* | F-NAR |
| | 4.1a | Sarək podšoən ya bu pətriš wыzmən yar ǩəč ki, | *The next day, the two king's sons brought him bread which* | F-NAR |
| | 4.1b | bling-bloqət šak rang. | *was patchy and ugly.* | B-INF |
| | 4.2 | Podšo yav ǩəčvi qbыl nəcart. | *The king didn't accept their bread.* | F-NAR |
| | 4.3a | Ya mukt ðay wыzыmd ki, | *The husband of the frog brought (the bread) that* | F-NAR |
| | 4.3b | aʒi xəšruy ǩəč ki, | *(was) such nice bread that* | B-INF |
| | 4.3c | podšo xыš wost, | *the king became happy,* | sub-FGed |
| | 4.3d | ǩand, | *he said:* | sub-FGed |

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4.3e | "Ine yəm baf xəšruy ǩəč". | *"There you are, this is good nice bread."* | DirS |
| | 4.4a | Yaw andarčiš carən qar, | *The wives of the other two brothers were upset,* | F-NAR |
| | 4.4b | ayron wərəʠən ki | *they wondered:* | F-NAR |
| | 4.4c | yəm crəngin mukt | *"What kind of frog (it is)* | DirS |
| | 4.4d | ki xəšruy xəč ǩətk. | *that has made nice bread."* | DirS-sub |
| | 5.1a | Yət ðay i rwor ya muktər ǩand: | *One day that man said to the frog:* | F-NAR |
| | 5.1b | "Wəzi, | *"Come,* | DirS |
| | 5.1c | bət dəm ǩы pist məčərəm, | *don't enter your (frog) skin anymore,* | DirS |
| | 5.1d | wuz ǩы tatət vrытvər taw disvəm". | *I will present you to my father and my brothers."* | DirS |
| | 5.2a | Ǩand: | *She said:* | F-NAR |
| | 5.2b | "Nəy, ʠы waxt ki wəzdi, | *"No, when my time comes,* | DirS-sub |
| | 5.2c | wuz cətən xlos wocəm". | *I will be liberated from it."* | DirS |
| | 5.3a | Yət kaʂ cum yaw ʂin-ǰwal cart ki, | *However much the lad begged her,* | F-NAR |
| | 5.3b | yaw roz nəwost. | *she did not agree.* | sub-FGed |
| | 5.4a | Čыrt dəyt ki, | *He thought [lit. 'that']:* | F-NAR |
| | 5.4b | wuz boyad a yəm pisti nыsəm. | *"I must destroy this skin."* | DirS |
| | 5.5a | I rwor naɣd mukt woz ɣird xəšruy prčodət | *One day at night the frog again turned in to a pretty girl and* | F-NAR |
| | 5.5b | inыk yaw yund, | *fell asleep,* | F-NAR |
| | 5.5c | yət ðay bə yaw pisti dыrzd picыvd. | *that man then burnt her skin [lit. 'take-burn'].* | F-NAR |
| | 5.6a | Picыvdət | *He burnt it and* | B-REP |
| | 5.6b | far ɣird ki, | *turned around (and saw) that* | F-NAR |
| | 5.6c | yaw kənd nast. | *his wife was not (there).* | B-INF |
| | 5.7a | Cum ʂkurd, | *However much he sought* | F-NAR |
| | 5.7b | cum gəfst trəm tra-nag ki, | *however much he ran this or that way (he saw) that* | F-NAR |
| | 5.7c | ya prəyzod nʂətk. | *that fairy had disappeared.* | B-INF |

| Section | Clause | Language data | Free translation | Clause type |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RES | 5.8a | Yan rəm ӽы sar dəytət | *Then he beat his head and* | F-NAR |
| | 5.8b | šimon wost, | *became regretful,* | F-NAR |
| CODA | 5.8c | amo šimoniɣən bət čiz foyda. | *but what is the use of being sorry.* | B-EV |

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