
Comparing Fading of Oral Narrative Features

in Three Balochi Dialects



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Abstract

This paper discusses discourse features such as tail-head linkage and repetition, development devices, associative strategies and subordination in oral narrative texts in the Koroshi (KoB), Sistani (SiB), and Coastal (CoB) dialects of Balochi, all of which belong to the North-West branch of the Iranian language family. The frequency with which these features vary with the dialect, and the variation can be attributed to different stages of orality. Three stages have been identified, with CoB and SiB at the ends of the cline and KoB located in between. CoB is the most conservative dialect, as different aspects of its grammar also show; it demonstrates a pure orality state by its frequent use of tail-head linkage, repetition and juxtaposition, and by the relative infrequency with which it employs associative and subordination strategies. SiB and its close relation Turkmenistan Balochi [TB]¹ use associative and subordination strategies more frequently, have fully lexicalised development devices and seldom employs tail-head linkage, repetition and juxtaposition. This loss of oral techniques demonstrates that the state of narration in SiB has switched from oral to written style. Finally, KoB represents a language in a state of transition by using more unmarked tail-head linkage, repetition and juxtaposition and by a strong tendency to employ subordination strategies.

Keywords: Coastal Balochi; Sistani Balochi; Koroshi Balochi; tail head-linkage; repetition; marked; unmarked; associative strategies; development devices; subordination strategies

1. Introduction²

Balochi is a largely unwritten language; Balochi written literature is produced primarily by Balochi communities in Pakistan. Educated Baloch in Iran read and write mainly in Persian,

¹The variety of Balochi spoken by the Baloch communities in Turkmenistan, who migrated from Afghanistan and the border regions of Iran to Turkmenistan is very similar to Sistani Balochi, see for a more detailed discussion, S. Axenov, "Balochi orthography in Turkmenistan", in *Language in society—eight sociolinguistic Essays on Balochi*, (Uppsala, 2000), p.71. For the purpose of the present study both varieties are considered as one dialect.

²I wish to thank to Stephen Levinsohn and Thomas Jügel for reading and commenting on this paper.

although there is a strong writing tradition among Baloch writers and poets along the Coast.³ Conversely, there is a rich body of oral literature of various genres in Balochi, which has been passed on from generation to generation. Elfenbein reports that “The literature of Balochi—until quite recently entirely oral and still largely so—consists of a large amount of history and occasional balladry (epic poetry), stories and legends, romantic ballads, and religious and didactic poetry. There is also a large variety of domestic poems i.e., work songs, lullabies, and riddles”.⁴

1.1 State of storytelling across the dialects

The following is a brief comment on the state of storytelling and narration in Balochi.⁵ Balochi varieties spoken along the coast have a strong tradition of storytelling and reciting songs. One can find an expert storyteller in almost every village. In fact, the tradition of the storytelling and reciting songs accompanies the life of Baloch people in this region from cradle to grave, owing to a strong cast system; as both narration and the reciting of songs are a means of income for lower caste communities such as the *loḍi* and Afro-Baloch. The term Afro-Baloch refers to the people of African origin along the southern coast of Iran who adopted the Balochi language, see for a more detailed discussion on Afro-Balochi communities,⁶ and regarding their language situation see.⁷ The oral narration language in these regions is just Balochi.⁸

Balochi dialects spoken in Fars province, have a dynamic storytelling tradition than reciting songs in Koroshi. In the northern part of Fars, however, they prefer to narrate their stories in Qašqā’i. In contrast, Koroshi communities living in Southern of Fars province and in Hormozgan have a dynamic storytelling tradition in Koroshi. The oral narration language in the Koroshi communities varies across the regions. For instance, the Koroshi communities in northern Fars use both Koroshi and Qašqā’i, the Koroshi communities in Southern Fars use Koroshi, while the Koroshi communities in Hormozgan use both Koroshi and Balochi.⁹

The tradition of storytelling in the Balochi communities in North of Sistan and Balochistan such as Zabol and Zihak has almost disappeared from society. However, the tradition of the reciting songs in Persian Sistani and to some extent in Balochi is still common among the

³M. Nourzai, *Participant Reference in Three Balochi Dialects Male and Female Narrations of Folktales and Biographical Tales* (Uppsala, 2017), p. 82.

⁴J. Elfenbein, “Baluchistan, iii: Baluchi language and literature”, in: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 3. (London and New York, 1989), p. 640.

⁵For a more detailed discussion see Nourzai 2017 and M. Nourzai, “state of the orality and storytelling in Balochi in Iran”, in *Oral narration in Iranian culture*, (ed.) C. Jahani and M. Nourzai (Germany, preparing for print), p. 21.

⁶M. Nourzai, “Afro-Baloch communities in Modern Iran and their healing traditions”, in *Slavery in the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia in the pre-modern and modern era*. Sex, Marriage, and the Family in the Middle East, (eds) E. Andreeva and K. Mcneer, (Bloomsbury, accepted).

⁷A. Korn and M. Nourzai, “Notes on the speech of the Afro-Baloch of the southern coast of Iran”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 29, Part 4, pp. 623–657.

⁸An Indo-Aryan language called Jadgali spoken in this region. Based on my field studies, Jadgali’s storytellers use both Jadgali and Balochi as their oral narration language.

⁹During my field trips in 2013, I met an expert storyteller from a Koroshi community in Hormozgan. He regarded himself as a Baloch and recited his folktales in Balochi. Based on my field work observations, the Koroshi and Balochi dialects spoken in Hormozgan province are very similar to each other. However, people consider themselves to belong to different ethnic groups; i.e., Koroshi and Balochi. Koroshi is regarded as a lower and Balochi as a higher social class in the society.

older generation. The only exceptions to this generalisation are among the Balochi communities who are nomadic and among Baloch refugees from Afghanistan. The oral narration language in these regions is in Persian Sistani and Balochi.¹⁰ Note: a mixture of Persian Sistani and Balochi has been attested in their narration. For instance, Baloch speakers recite the songs in their tales in Sistani Persian and the same is true for Sistani Persian storytellers.

1.2 The Data

Balochi is an Iranian language belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. It has three main dialects: Southern, Eastern, Western Balochi. Each of these dialects presents its own sub-divisions.¹¹ Balochi is mostly spoken in south-eastern and South-West Iran and south-western Pakistan, and also in Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Oman, and the UAE. The number of speakers can be estimated at about 7–8 million at least.¹² The dialects under study are the Koroshi (KoB), Sistani (SiB) and Coastal (CoB) dialects of Balochi.

The language data used for the analysis of the present paper are extracted from published corpora by Axenov¹³, Barjasteh Delforooz¹⁴ and Nourzaei *et al.*,¹⁵ Nourzaei,¹⁶ and Nourzaei.¹⁷ Additionally, I used unpublished texts from Coastal regions Nourzaei and Korn's unpublished corpora.¹⁸ Map (1) one presents the location of the dialects mentioned above. Coastal Balochi is indicated as "Southern Balochi" in the map. Sistani refers to the Iranian part of the areal that is indicated as "Western Balochi" and Koroshi is indicated as such.

1.3 Background of the storytellers

I now comment briefly on the social background of the storytellers who feature in my research.¹⁹ All of my storytellers from CoB are without a school education except two male storytellers who have a primary school education (grades two and three respectively). Two of my female storytellers have an Islamic school education. The storytellers were famous either for reciting the songs or for narrating folktales in their villages.

The storytellers from KoB excluding one young female storyteller (who has a high school education) have a basic school education (grades two and six respectively). My male storytellers were famous for telling stories among their communities.

Finally, the SiB storytellers except one male speaker with a basic school education (grade six) do not have a school education. However, one of the female storytellers has an Islamic

¹⁰A Dravidian language called Brahui spoken in this region. The Brahui storytellers employ both Balochi and Brahui for their narrations. I have recorded Balochi and Brahui folktales told by Brahui storytellers in a small village on border of Iran and Afghanistan.

¹¹C. Jahani. and A. Korn, "Balochi", in *The Iranian Languages*, (ed.) G. Windfuhr (London and New York, 2009), p. 637.

¹²C. Jahani, "The Balochi language and languages in Iranian Balochistan" *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 4:2 (UK, 2013), pp. 153–167.

¹³S. Axenov, *The Balochi Language of Turkmenistan*, (Uppsala, 2006), pp. 271–294.

¹⁴B. Barjasteh Delforooz, *Discourse Features in Balochi of Sistan* (Uppsala, 2010), pp. 286–391.

¹⁵M. Nourzaei, C. Jahani., E. Anonby, A. B. Ahangar, *Koroshi. A Corpus-based Grammatical Description* (Uppsala, 2015), pp. 123–290.

¹⁶Nourzaei, 2017, pp. 435–715.

¹⁷M. Nourzaei, *Documenting orality: Experiences of collecting folk narratives in Iran*, (Uppsala, forthcoming).

¹⁸A. Korn. and M. Nourzaei unpublished Afro-Baloch corpus from 2010 to 2017.

¹⁹Nourzaei *et al.* (2015), Nourzaei (2017), and Nourzaei (forthcoming)

school education. She is quite famous for reciting songs in public.²⁰ See Nourzaei (2017) for more details regarding their social background.

1.4 Terminology and definitions

Tail-head linkage: “the repetition in a subordinate clause, at the beginning (the ‘head’) of a new sentence, of at least the main verb of the previous sentence (‘tail’)”.²¹

Repetition: “contiguous units that occur more than once in the same way or form and refer to the same event in the story”.²²

ke: general subordinating conjunction marker.²³

o: associative conjunction maker.

Default encoding:²⁴ the most frequent encoding for each context, based on a statistical count in a large number of texts.²⁵

Highlighted: “material that is marked as being of more importance than other material in the immediate context”.²⁶

Marked encoding:²⁷ non-default encoding, which means that other means of encoding are used than the statistically most frequent one.²⁸

S1 context: a context where “the subject is the same as in the previous clause and sentence”; e.g., John goes to the university. *He* studies law.²⁹

Highlighted: “material that is marked as being of more importance than other material in the immediate context”.³⁰

New narrative unit: “an event, section, or subsection of a narrative”.³¹

Climax: the most intense, exciting, or important event in the story.

Development marker: marks the end of one package of events and the opening of a new package of events in the story.

Written style: typified by having a lot of pronouns, long sentences, subordination and conjunctions.

²⁰Nourzaei (2017), pp. 94–97.

²¹S. H. Levinsohn, *Self-instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis*. (SIL International, 2015), p.168.

²²Levinsohn, personal communication, (in 2017).

²³*ke* in Balochi has various functions (see for more detailed on *ke* in Balochi Nourzaei 2017, pp. 140–144 and S. H. Levinsohn “Introducing reported speeches in Balochi of Sistan with *ki*” (Uppsala, 2012) pp. 146–155.

²⁴Default encoding in Balochi for S1 contexts, in the non-ergative domain is zero encoding (i.e., person marking suffixes). Moreover, for the ergative domain is Zero or PC (cf. for a detailed discussion on this subject see Nourzaei 2017).

²⁵S. H. Levinsohn, personal communication, (in 2017).

²⁶S. H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Feature of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2000), p. 294.

²⁷The marked encodings for S1 contexts are NP, PROX, DIST or combination of them as PROX+NP and DIST+NP (cf. Nourzaei 2017). Similar to other Iranian languages, the highest encoding is PROX+NP or DIST+NP and the lowest encoding is zero/PC. Note that in the languages with a strong Ergative alignment PCs are considered higher than normal person marking suffixes zero due to their function as a real pronoun. In Balochi dialects, PCs do not function as a real pronoun (see for more detail on the PC in Balochi. M. Nourzaei, T. Jügel, “The distribution and function of person-marking clitics in Balochi dialects from a real perspective”, in *Studia Iranica* (France, under reviewing), p.29.

²⁸Levinsohn, personal communication, (in 2017).

²⁹Levinsohn (2015), p. 125.

³⁰Levinsohn (2000), p. 294.

³¹B. Fox, “Anaphora in popular written English Narratives”, in *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse*, (ed.) T. Russell, (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 168.

Oral style: typified by having a lot of pro drops, short sentences, oral technics such as tail-head linkage, repetitions, juxtapositions, etc.

Distinction between repetition and tail-head linkage

The main distinction between repetition and tail-head linkage in Balochi is intonation contour. The key feature of repetition is that the repeated part follows the intonation of the first part. So, if the first part has falling intonation, then the second part will start at about the same level and also have falling intonation. It will never be the case that the first part has falling intonation at the end, while the second part ends with rising intonation. In contrast, the key feature of tail-head linkage is that the repeated part (tail) has falling intonation, whereas the second part (head) starts at a higher pitch and has rising intonation at the end.³²

In addition, repetition is more commonly found within paragraphs,³³ while tail-head linkage occurs between paragraphs. In other words, tail-head linkage connects two paragraphs together. The main common feature between repetition and tail-head linkage is that both are used only when the subject is the same as in the previous clause and sentence.

2. Type of linking and frequency of their usage across the dialects

The structure of Balochi syntax varies across the dialects. Balochi dialects spoken in the South to East have preserved an archaic syntactic structure. In contrast, Balochi dialects in the North demonstrate a developed syntactic structure similar to New Persian. This may be due to direct contact with Persian speakers and education, media etc., or it could be an internal development. Regardless of the simplicity and complexity of Balochi syntactic structure, Balochi storytellers use different devices to link passages in their oral narrative texts, and there is variation across the dialects. I discuss these devices in the following sections.

*2.1. Repetition*³⁴

Repetition is the most significant linking device to connect clauses inside paragraphs at a discourse level. There are two types of repetition in oral narrative texts:

- i. Those that repeating the same verb form.
- ii. Those that repeating a whole clause.

Passage 1 exemplifies repeating the same verb form of the previous clause.³⁵ The first instance of *šot* 'went' has raising intonation, and the following repeated verbs *šot* 'went' have the same intonation.

³²Nourzaei, (2017), p. 165.

³³The oral texts have been divided into intonation units and numbered which called a paragraph. The end of each intonation unit is defined by a strongly falling intonation contour (see for a more detailed on it Nourzaei (2017), p. 124.

³⁴I follow Levinsohn, 2015, in using 'repetition' as a cover term and 'tail-head linkage' as a term that denotes a specific type of repetition.

³⁵This type of repetitions is particularly common in CoB.

Ex. 1) repetition with the same verb form (CoB)

\bar{e}	$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$	$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$	$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$	$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$
PROX	go.NPT-3SG	go.NPT-3SG	go.NPT-3SG	go.NPT-3SG
$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$	$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$	$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$	$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$	$\dot{s}ot-\emptyset$
go.NPT-3SG	go.NPT-3SG	go.NPT-3SG	go.NPT-3SG	go.NPT-3SG
"he went, went, went, went, went, went, went, went" ³⁶				

In the following passage, (c)³⁷ 'the girl became aware' has falling intonation, then (d) 'the girl became aware' has the same intonation. Thus, this passage exemplifies repeating all the clause of the previous clause.

Ex. 2) repeating all the clause (SiB)

46c	<i>jene'k=o</i>	<i>sar'pad</i>	<i>ʔūt-∅</i>
	girl=FOC	aware	become.PST-3SG
46d	<i>jene'k=o</i>	<i>sar'pad</i>	<i>ʔū-∅</i>
	girl=FOC	aware	become.PST-3SG
"(c) the girl became aware; (d) the girl became aware" ³⁸			

In addition to the prototypical repetition, the following non-prototypical types have been attested across the dialects.

- i. Repeating the same verb form with conjunction =o
- ii. Repeating the whole clause with conjunction =o

Passage 3 exemplifies repeating the same verb form of the previous clause with conjunction =o. The first verb 'gašto' 'searched and' has falling intonation, and the following repeated verbs 'searched and' have the same intonation.

Ex. 3) repeating the same verb form combine with conjunction o (TB)

\bar{e}	<i>bāde'šāh</i>	<i>'gašt-∅ =o</i>	<i>'gašt-∅ =o</i>	<i>'gašt-∅ =o</i>
PROX	king	search.NPST-3SG=and	search.NPST-3SG=and	search.NPST-3SG=and
$\dot{g}ašt-\emptyset =o$				
search.NPST-3SG=and				
"this king searched, searched, searched and searched" ³⁹				

The constituent that is most commonly repeated is a verb. However, the data reveals that the repeated part can also be an adverbial phrase e.g., *'šapē 'jāē o'rōcē 'jāē o'šapē 'jāē o'rōcē 'jāē uatrā rasēnt* 'He kept walking (lit. one night in one place and one day in one place, one night in one place and one day in one place), until he arrived'. This type of repetition occurs very infrequently.

³⁶A. Korn and M. Nourzaei, unpublished corpus.

³⁷In contrast to other texts in Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), Axenov, (2006) and Nourzaei and Korn, (2019), texts in Nourzaei *et al.* (2015) and (2017) and forthcoming divided into intonation units and numbered. That is why these types of passage has a clause number.

³⁸Nourzaei (2017), p. 166.

³⁹Axenov (2006), p. 276. The quoted passages use slightly modified transcriptions.

2.1.1 Motivation for repetition

Repetition can occur in the discourse when the subject is the same as in the previous clause. The motivation for repetition depends on the subject of the verb.

The main motivations for the default subject repetition (see section 1.4) are:

(a) To enhance the coherence of the text.

In the following passage, the motivation for repeating the same verb form *ta'č-ī* 'runs' is to enhance the coherence of the text.

Ex. 4) repetition to enhance the coherence of the text (CoB)

<i>'padā</i>	<i>ta'č-ī</i>	<i>ta'č-ī</i>	<i>ta'č-ī</i>	<i>kaṃṣ-e</i>
again	run.NPST-3SG	run.NPST-3SG	run.NPST-3SG	shoes-GEN
<i>'tā=e</i>		<i>ka'pīl=e</i>		
match=PC.3SG		fall.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG		

“again she kept running (lit. runs, runs, runs); one of her shoes fell off”⁴⁰

(b) To demonstrate duration of the time and space in the storyline.

In the following passage, the storyteller repeats the verb *ra'w-ā* 'go' is to indicate the passing of time and space from the previous place where the king returns to his county to the second place where the Mullah came with a bad attention to the king's wife.

Ex. 5) repetition to demonstrate duration of time and space (CoB)

76a	<i>ē</i>	<i>ra'w-ā</i>	<i>ra'w-ā</i>	
	PROX	go.NPST-3PL	go.NPST-3PL	
76b	<i>dega</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>men'zel=e-ya</i>	<i>dār-ā</i>
	another	one	stop=IND-OBL	hold.NPST-3pl

“they go, go [and] go, and stop [at night] in another [certain] place”⁴¹

(c) To show duration of an action until an end point.

Sometimes the type of repetition described in (b) precedes the following adverbs *tā, dā, dāke*, 'till, until' as in the following passage.

Ex. 6) repetition to demonstrate duration of the time and space with an end point (CoB)

<i>ham-ā</i>	<i>kār-ān=a</i>	<i>kār-ān=a</i>	<i>kār-ān=a</i>	
EMPH-DIST	work-OBL=COP.PST.3SG	work-OBL=COP.PST.3SG	work-OBL=COP.PST.3SG	
<i>kār-ān=a</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>rōč=e</i>	<i>bī-ō</i>
work-OBL=COP.PST.3SG	until	one	day=IND	become.PST-3SG

“he worked, worked, worked, worked, worked until one day...”⁴²

In the following passage, the storyteller repeats the verb *ǰant* 'beat' to present a completed action of killing the snake. This is reinforced by the lengthening of the vowels.

⁴⁰Nourzaei (2017), p. 442.

⁴¹Nourzaei (2017), p. 458.

⁴²Korn and Nourzaei (2019), p. 681.

Ex. 7) Repetition to show an accomplishment of an action (SiB)

<i>ē</i>	<i>mār-ā</i>	<i>ĵan-t</i>	<i>ĵan-t</i>	<i>ĵan-t</i>
PROX	snake-OBL	beat.NPST-3SG	beat.NPST-3SG	beat.NPST-3sg
<i>ĵan-t</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>mer-īt</i>		
beat.NPST-3SG	until	die.NPST-3SG		

“he beat, beat, beat the snake until it dies”⁴³

The main motivation for the marked subject⁴⁴ repetitions is highlighting; e.g., highlighting a speech, action, event, or an important element in the story. In the following passage, the subject ‘the girl’ in (d) refers to the same person as ‘the girl’ in the previous clause, (c). The motivation for the marked repetition is to highlight the importance of the girl’s speech relating to warning the boy of the approaching Mullah, which is significant for the rest of the story. See for more passages with other type of highlighting Nourzaei (2017).

Ex. 8) marked subject repetition to highlight the following speech (SiB)

46b	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>kapt-Ø</i>		
	CLM	PREV	fall.PST-3SG		
46c	<i>ĵene'k=o</i>	<i>sar'pad</i>	<i>'būt-Ø</i>		
	girl=FOC	aware	become.PST-3SG		
46d	<i>ĵene'k=o</i>	<i>sar'pad</i>	<i>'bū-Ø</i>		
	girl=FOC	aware	become.PST-3SG		
46e	<i>'gošt=e</i>	<i>'xānā</i>	<i>xa'rāb</i>	<i>zā'n-ay</i>	<i>'cōn</i>
	say.PST=PC.3SG	house	ruined	know.NPST-2SG	how
	<i>'b-kan-ay</i>				
	SBJV-do.NPST-2SG				

“(46b) when he [the Mullah] came down, (46c) the girl became aware; (46d) the girl became aware; (46e) [she] said, “Poor fellow, do you know what to do?”⁴⁵

2.2 Tail-head linkage

Like the repetition device, tail-head linkage is also common in oral narrative texts. There are two types of tail-head linkage: Prototypical types of tail-head linkage are as follows:

- i. Repeating the last constituent of the clause (e.g., the verb) from the previous paragraph
- ii. Repeating the whole clause from the previous paragraph

Passage 9 exemplifies repeating the verb in last constituent of the previous paragraph. The verb ‘did not tell’ in (b), has falling intonation, whereas (a) ‘did not tell’ starts at a higher level and has rising intonation at the end.

Ex. 9) Tail-head linkage (CoB)

14b	<i>'pet-a</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'nām</i>	<i>'na-ger-ī</i>
	father-OBL	with	name	NEG-take.NPST-3SG

⁴³Nourzaei, unpublished data.

⁴⁴In the marked ones, the subject remains as non-default encoding. The rest of the categories such as an NP, PROX+NP, DIST+NP and PRO are considered as marked encoding (or non-default encoding) for contexts where the subject remains as in the previous subject Nourzaei (2017), pp. 192, 247, and 297 for a more detailed discussion.

⁴⁵Nourzaei (2017), p. 166, (46b-e).

- 15a 'na-ger-ī
NEG-take.NPST-3SG
15b ta'pīg b-ī
feverish become.NPST-3SG

“(14b) she did not tell [her] father. (15a) She did not tell [her father]; (15b) she got a cough”⁴⁶ The most common repeated constituent from the previous paragraph is the verb. In some passages, however, tail-head linkage is with a noun.⁴⁷ Guthrie uses the term “hook words”, and maintains “a rhetorical device used in the ancient world to tie two sections of material together. A word was positioned at the end of one section and at the beginning of the next to effect a transition between the two”.

Passage 10 exemplifies repeating the same noun form in last constituent of the previous clause. The first noun in (b) *zardācū* ‘a turmeric’ has falling intonation, the following repeated non *zardācū* ‘a turmeric has rising intonation at the end.

Ex. 10) tail-head linkage with a hook word (KoB)

- 27b 'ē wa'd-ī ba'dan=e a='kan-t xā'lī
PROX REFL-GEN body=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG all over
zardācū'a
turmeric
28a *zardācū*'a dok'tor ham ke ma'san pū'l-ā
turmeric doctor ADD TOP in fact money-OBL
a='dā-Ø
VCL=give.NPST-3SG

“she rubbed turmeric on her whole body.’ Turmeric; so the doctor, you know, she gave money to the doctor (lit. wise man)”⁴⁸

Passage 11 exemplifies repeating all the clause from the previous paragraph. The first verb in (26) ‘the father asks her’ has falling intonation, whereas (27a) ‘the father asks her’ starts at a higher level/pitch and has rising intonation at the end.

Ex. 11) tail-head linkage (CoB)

- 26 'nī 'pet 'jos kan-t=e
now father question do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
27a 'pet 'jost=ī kā-Ø 'pet-a gō 'heč
father question=PC.3SG do.NPST-3SG father-OBL with anything
na-goš-ī
NEG-say.NPST-3SG

“then the father asked her [what had happened]. The father asked her; she did not say anything to the father”⁴⁹

⁴⁶Ibid. p. 167.

⁴⁷Guthrie (1998), p.12 uses the term “hook words”: “a rhetorical device used in the ancient world to tie two sections of material together. A word was positioned at the end of one section and at the beginning of the next to effect a transition between the two”. G. H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews: A Text-Linguistic Analysis*. (Grand Rapids, MI, USA, 1998).

⁴⁸Nourzaei et al. (2015), p. 171.

⁴⁹Ibid, p. 443.

Note that the repeated part is not always the same as in the previous paragraph. For instance, the repetition of head in 27a is a variation of repetition of 26. Morphologically, it contains all the elements, but the form is different (see also passage12).

In addition to the prototypical types the following non-prototypical types have been attested across the dialects.

- i. Repeating part of the clause as tail from the previous paragraph combined with the general subordination marker *ke*
- ii. Repeating part of the clause as tail from the previous paragraph combined with *conjunction =o*

Passage 12 exemplifies repeating the whole clause from the previous paragraph combined with *ke*. In (b) '[she] suddenly blows on this bridle inside her hand, this girl' has falling intonation, whereas (a) 'when the girl blows on [the bridle] starts at a higher level/pitch and has rising intonation at the end.

Ex. 12) Repeating the whole clause from the previous paragraph combined with *ke* (SiB)

59b	'bass just	'ē PROX	ma'hār-ā bridle-OBL	'wfi REFL.GEN	das't-ay hand-GEN	de'lā inside
	'yakwa suddenly	'hop=a blow=VCL	kan-t do.NPST-3SG	ha'm=ē EMPH=PROX		
	hāje'zag girl					
60a	hāje'zag girl	ke CLM	'hop=a blow=VCL	kan-t do.NPST-3SG		
60b	'ēš PROX	ka'pot=ē dove=IND	'b-īt=o become.NPST-3SG=and			
60c	'bāl=a wing=VCL	kan-t do.NPST-3SG	be by	al'lāh-ay God-GEN	ra'zā will	

“(59b) you know, [she] suddenly blows on this bridle inside her hand, this girl. (60a) When the girl blows on [the bridle], (60b) this one becomes a dove and (60c) [it] flies by God’s power”⁵⁰

Passage 13 exemplifies repeating the whole clause from the previous paragraph combined with conjunction =o. In (52) ‘this one made himself a crazy camel’ has falling intonation, whereas (53) ‘He made [himself] a crazy camel, and’ starts at a higher level/pitch and has rising intonation at the end.

Ex. 13) Repeating the whole clause from the previous paragraph combined with o (SiB)

52	ē PROX	wat-rā REFL-OBJ	mast-ēn crazy-ATTR	lēra=ē=a camel=IND=VCL	kan-t do.NPST-3SG
	mast-ēn crazy-ATTR	lēra=ē=a camel=IND=VCL	kant=o do.NPST-3SG=and	ham=ē EMPH=PROX	
53	k-ay-Ø IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	mol'lā-ay Mullah-GEN	pa'dā behind	'b-kap-īt SUBJ-fall.NPST-3SG	

“this one made himself a crazy camel. He made [himself] a crazy camel, and he was just about to run after the Mullah.”⁵¹

⁵⁰Nourzaei (2017), p. 686.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p.683.

Passage 14 exemplifies repeating the whole clause from the previous paragraph combined with conjunction =o. In (b) ‘they loaded them up’ has falling intonation, whereas (a) ‘they loaded them up and’ starts at a higher level/pitch and has rising intonation at the end. conjunction =o.

A question that might be posed is whether the conjunction =o is part of the clause or not. The recordings do not show a pause between the tail-head linkage and =o. The coexistence of tail-head linkage with =o might be a secondary development function of =o as opening a new paragraph.⁵²

Ex. 14) repeating the whole clause from the previous paragraph combined with =o (KoB)

13a	<i>har</i>	<i>'do=nī</i>	<i>a=bd'r-ant</i>
	each	two=PC.3SG	VCL=take.NPST-3PL
13b	<i>bār</i>	<i>a=kan-ant</i>	
	load	VCL=do.NPST-3PL	
14a	<i>'bār</i>	<i>a=kan-ant=o</i>	<i>'ar=r-an</i>
	load	VCL=do.NPST-3PL=and	VCL=go.NPST-3PL

“they took both of them [and] loaded them up. they loaded them up and went”⁵³

2.2.1 Motivations for tail-head linkage

Like repetition, motivation for tail-head linkage depends on the subject of the tail-head linkage. The attested motivations for default tail-head linkage (see section 1.4) are as follows.

a) To enhance coherence in the text

In the following passage, the repeated ‘she did not say’ (a) is an example of tail-head linkage. The motivation for the unmarked tail-head linkage is to enhance coherence in the text.

Ex. 15) tail-head linkage to maintain the coherence of the text (CoB)

14b	<i>'pet-a</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'nām</i>	<i>'na-ger-ī</i>
	father-OBL	with	name	NEG-take.NPST-3SG
15a	<i>'na-ger-ī</i>			
	NEG-take.NPST-3SG			
15b	<i>ta'pīg</i>	<i>b-ī</i>		
	feverish	become.NPST-3SG		

“(14b) [she] does not tell [her] father. (15a) [She] does not tell [her father]; (15b) [she] gets a fever.”⁵⁴

b) Duration of time and space in the story

In the following passage, the repeated ‘he run’ (a) is an example of tail-head linkage. The motivation for the unmarked tail-head linkage is to indicate a change of time and space from the previous place where the king’s son was chased by the school children to the king’s palace where they are about to kill his horse. The repeated verb is reinforced by the lengthening of the vowels. Note. In contrast to CoB dialect, KoB storytellers do not use a long repetition of the same verb form (see passage 1).

⁵²One of the SiB storytellers applies the conjunction =o in the same function as a development device *Ibid*, pp. 648–700.

⁵³Nourzaei *et al.* (2015), p. 126.

⁵⁴Nourzaei (2017), p. 167.

Ex. 16) tail-head linkage for duration of time and space (KoB)

47a	<i>fād</i>	<i>a=reč-ī</i>		<i>mā</i>	<i>čamm=aš=o</i>	
	salt	VCL=pour.NPST-3SG	into	eye=PC.3PL=and		
47b	<i>šāh-ay</i>	<i>bač</i>	<i>ar=r-a</i>			
	king-GEN	son	VCL=go.NPST-3SG			
48a	<i>ar=r-a</i>		<i>a=ras-ī</i>		<i>ta</i>	<i>bale</i>
	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG	MIR	yes		
	<i>korrag-ay</i>	<i>dawrā</i>	<i>geft-ag=eš=o</i>			
	foal-GEN	around	take.PST.PP=PC.3PL=and			

“the salt poured into their eyes and the king’s son went [on]. He went [and] arrived [and saw], that indeed, [the king’s men] had surrounded the foal and.”⁵⁵

c) As a hesitation device

In the following passage, the repeated ‘getting thinner’ (19) is an example of tail-head linkage. The storyteller uses the unmarked tail-head linkage as a hesitation device to give herself some time to remember what happens next in the story.

Ex. 17) tail-head linkage as a hesitation device (KoB)

18	<i>ēš-ān</i>	<i>a=gen'n-ant</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ōšto'r-ok</i>
	PROX-PL	VCL=see.NPST-3PL	day	to	day	PROX	camel-DEF
	<i>lā'gar...</i>	<i>ōšto'r-o'bār</i>	<i>lā'gar</i>	<i>ma-bī-'yaq=en</i>			
	thin...	camel-PL	thin	IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG			
19	<i>lā'gar</i>	<i>ma-bī-'yaq=en</i>					
	thin	IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG					
20	<i>hālā 'kō</i>	<i>tā</i>					
	right now	then					

“[the owner of the camels] saw that these camels were (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin) day by day. So, no...”⁵⁶

d) The same function as a development device

In the following passage, the repeated ‘she studies’ in (19a) is an example of tail-head linkage. The motivation for the unmarked tail-head linkage is to close the previous event where the king’s daughter for a while studies very well at school and to begin a new event in the story where the Mullah starts to give hard time to the king’s daughter again.

Ex. 18) unmarked tail-head linkage preceding a development device (CoB)

18b	<i>uā'n-ī</i>		<i>ša'r-īye</i>		<i>sa'rā</i>	
	read.NPST-3SG		good-NMLZ-GEN		on	
19a	<i>uā'n-ī</i>					
	read.NPST-3SG					
19b	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'rōč=ē</i>	<i>'hančō</i>	<i>'kan-t</i>
	PROX	again	one	day=IND	like this	do.NPST-3SG

“(18b) she studied well.... (19a) She studied, (19b) again, this one did the same thing [to the girl].”⁵⁷

⁵⁵Nourzaei *et al.* (2015), p. 177.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁵⁷Nourzaei (2017), pp. 440–441.

e) To introduced a climax of the story

In the following passage, the repeated ‘It turned around and came in (12) is an example of tail-head linkage. The motivation for the unmarked encoding tail-head linkage to slow down the story and introduces one of the significant climaxes of the story where the caravan returns and captures both the donkey and the camel in the story.

Ex. 19) unmarked tail head-linkage at the climax of the story (KoB)

11	'āqā	'dar	a=kaf-ī	'āja	'hārr-ay
	sir	PREV	VCL.fall.NPST.3SG	there	hee-haw-GEN
	ḍr-yag-ā		'hā	gāfē'la	'zorr
	give.NPST-INF-OBL		yes	caravan	turning
	a=g-ī				
	VCL=take.NPST-3SG				
12	'zorr	a=g-ī	a='k-ay-Ø		ham
	turning	VCL=take.NPST-3SG	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		ADD
	os'tor-ā	a='g-ī=o	ham	ka'r-ā	
	camel-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3SG	ADD	donkey-OBL	

“(11) sir, [the donkey] started heeing and hawing there and then. Well, the caravan turned around. (12) It turned around and came and took both the camel and the donkey”⁵⁸

f) Prior to the introduction of important background information in the story

In the following passage, the repeated ‘he took another wife in clause (3a) is an example of tail-head linkage. The motivation for the unmarked encoding to introduce important background information regarding the king’s new wife into the story.

Ex. 20) tail-head linkage prior to the introduction of important back ground information (KoB)

2b	ar='ra						
	VCL=go.NPST-3SG						
2c	'ye	'jan=e	'dya	a='g-ī			
	one	wife=EZ	other	VCL=take.NPST-3SG			
3a	'ye	'jan=e	'dya	a='g-ī=o			
	one	wife=EZ	other	VCL=take.NPST-3SG=and			
3b	'ē	'jan=ī	gō	'ē	'bač=e	'xaylī	'bad
	PROX	wife=PC.3SG	with	PROX	son=PC.3SG	very	bad
	bod-a=Ø			bokān=ī		bod-a=Ø	
	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG			want=PC.3SG		become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	
	ke	'ē	'bač=ī		'be-mer-ī		
	CLM	PROX	son=PC.3SG		SUBJV-die.NPST-3SG		
3c	'harče	ser'wat=en		'gīr=e	'wad=ī		
	whatever	wealth=OP.NPST.3SG		grip=EZ	REFL=PC.3SG		
	'by-ay-Ø						
	SUBJV-come.NPST-3SG						

‘he went [and] took another wife.’ He took another wife and this wife of his was very mean to his son (lit. this son of his), she wanted his son to die [so that] all the wealth would be hers”⁵⁹

⁵⁸Nourzaei et. al (2015), p. 126.

⁵⁹Ibid, p.163.

g) to resume the storyline

Storytellers can be interrupted at different stages of their narrations. One of the most common interruptions is when the storyteller explains some points to the audience. He/She then resumes the storyline by repeating the last sentence.⁶⁰ In the following passage, the audience asks for the meaning of *eškar* ‘live.ember’. The storyteller stops his narration to explain it to them. Then he returns to the storyline by repeating the verb of the previous passage.

Ex. 21) Repetition to show resumption to the storyline (SiB)

ša	<i>kasd-ā</i>	<i>pīrakk-ī</i>	<i>kawš-ān-ī</i>	<i>tā</i>
from	intention-OBL	Pirakk-GEN	shoe-PL-GEN	in
<i>tāgaz-(z)ay</i>	<i>eškar</i>	<i>rēt-ant</i>	<i>eškar</i>	
tamarisk-GEN	live.embers	pour.PST-3PL	live.embers	
<i>rēt-ant=u</i>	<i>eškar</i>	<i>čī=int</i>	<i>eškar</i>	
pour.PST-3PL=and	live.embers	what=COP.PRS.3SG	live.embers	
<i>am=ē</i>	<i>zoğāl</i>	<i>rōšan-ēn</i>	<i>zoğāl</i>	<i>eškar=o</i>
EMPH=DEM	charcoal	light-ATTR	charcoal	live.ember=TOP
<i>zānt-ay</i>	<i>dega</i>	<i>eškar</i>	<i>rēt-ant=o</i>	
know.PST-2SG	other	live.embers	pour.PST-3PL=but	

“they intentionally poured live tamarisk embers in Pirakk’s shoes. They poured live embers and What is ‘*iškar*’? Live embers, this very charcoal, burning charcoal. Live embers, you got that, didn’t you? They poured live embers but”⁶¹

The main motivations for marked tail-head linkages are as in the following:

a) To mark the beginning of a new narrative unit

In the following passage, the repeated ‘the girl for her part goes to her home’ in clause (21a) is an example of tail-head linkage. The motivation for such over-encoding is to mark the beginning of a new narrative unit. This is because there is an attention shift from the place where Alamdar stopped the girl, her father and her brother, to the place where the girl reported to her family what happened to her father and brother.

Ex. 22) tail-head linkage at the beginning of a new narrative unit (KoB)

20a	<i>ā='bā-Ø</i>	<i>'šām-ī</i>	<i>ko'h-ā</i>	<i>'ē</i>
	VCL=bring.NPST-3SG	evening-ADVZ	mountain-OBL	PROX
	<i>do='en-ā</i>			
	two=PC.1PL-OBL			
20b	<i>ǰa'nek</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ar='ra-Ø</i>	<i>'lōg=aš</i>
	girl	ADD	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	house=PC.3PL
21a	<i>ǰa'nek</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ar='ra-Ø</i>	<i>'lōg=aš</i>
	girl	ADD	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	house=PC.3PL
21b	<i>a='š-ī</i>			
	VCL=say.NPST-3SG			

“(20a) in the evening, he takes both of them into the mountain; (20b) the girl for her part goes to her home. (21a) **The girl** for her part goes to her home, [and] (21b) says, (...)”⁶²

⁶⁰Nourzaei (2017), pp. 155–157.

⁶¹Barjasteh Delforoos (2010), p. 328.

⁶²Nourzaei (2017), p. 169.

a) Highlighting (highlighting the following event, the facts, and the significant elements in the story and etc.)

In the following passage involving tail-head linkage, the subject ‘Zarafshan in clause (40a) ‘Zarafshan gives him the wooden club’, is an instance of the marked encoding. The motivation for the marked encoding is to highlight the following event in the story where Alamdar attacks to the people with the club and bits them.

Ex. 23) tail-head linkage for highlighting the following event (KoB)

39b	<i>čō'māk-ā</i> wooden club-OBL <i>zaraf'sān</i> Zarafshan	<i>a=rasā'n-ī</i> VCL=take.NPST-3SG	<i>'bahr=ay</i> for=PC.3SG
40a	<i>čō'māk-ā</i> wooden club-OBL <i>zaraf'sān</i> Zarafshan	<i>a=rasā'n-ī</i> VCL=take.NPST-3SG	<i>'bahr=ay</i> for=PC.3SG
40b	<i>dobā'ra</i> again <i>čō'māk-ā</i> wooden club-OBL	<i>ham</i> ADD <i>'sar</i> head <i>a=kan-Ø</i> VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG	<i>'gō</i> with

“(39b) [he] gives him the wooden club, Zarafshan. (40a) [He] gives him the wooden club, Zarafshan; (40b) so again he attacks them with the club.”⁶³

Similarly, to the un-marked tail-head linkage, the marked tail-head linkage appears in the oral narrative texts when the storyteller resumes to the storyline due to either distraction or to remember what is next in the story. Note that it has been attested in my corpus where the storyteller laughs to some events in the story during her narration. She stops laughing and resuming to the storyline by repeating the last sentence. As in the following passage.

Ex. 24) Repetition to show resumption to the storyline (CoB)

<i>'be-z-ā</i> SUBJV-know-2SG	<i>'na-kan-ay</i> NEG-do.NPST.2SG	<i>ke</i> CLM	<i>ĵa'nek-ā</i> girl-OBL	<i>pē'sarā</i> already
<i>'če</i> from	<i>deš'tār=ē =a</i> fiancé=IND=COP.NPST.3SG	<i>hā hā hā</i> <i>hā hā hā</i>		
<i>ĵe'nek-ā</i> girl-OBL	<i>deš'tār=ē</i> fiancé=IND	<i>hastē</i> COP.NPST.3SG		

“look, you know, this girl had a fiancés already (lit. there was a fiancés for the girl), hā hā hā... The girl had a fiancé.”⁶⁴

Similar to the un-marked tail-head linkages the marked one also attested when the narrator gives time her/himself to remember the rest of the story. In the following passage, the repeated ‘The king had seven daughters’ (66a) is an example of tail-head linkage. The motivation for it is the narrator gives some times to himself to remember the next part of the story. In fact, the next part of the story starts in 66b.

⁶³*Ibid*, p. 168.

⁶⁴*Ibid*, forthcoming.

Ex. 25) Tail-head linkage to remember the rest of the story (KoB)

65b	<i>tā</i>	<i>'šāh</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'hafī</i>	<i>ǰa'nek=ī</i>	<i>a</i>
	then	king	ADD	seven	daughter=PC.3SG	be.NPST.3SG
66a	<i>'šāh</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'hafī</i>	<i>ǰa'nek=ī</i>		<i>'ass=en=o</i>
	king	ADD	seven	daughter=PC.3SG		be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=and
66b	<i>xay'le</i>	<i>'xo</i>	<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>taǰ'ī</i>	<i>a=kan-ant...</i>	
	very	well	in short	leisure	VCL=do.NPST-3PL	

“the king had seven daughters, in fact. The king had seven daughters and well you know, they enjoyed themselves...”⁶⁵

The frequency and types of repetition and tail head-linkage are not the same across the dialects. The four Balochi dialects being studied use repetition and tail-head linkage to a different extent which can be represented on a cline. CoB,⁶⁶ the most conservative dialect in the present study, displays a high tendency to use prototypical repetition and tail-head linkage in its narrations. It is situated at one end of the cline. KoB is located in the middle, with older narrators in particular having a strong tendency to use tail-head linkage.⁶⁷ The narrations by the younger generation reveal almost no trace of using tail-head linkage and repetition.⁶⁸ SiB and TB are situated at the other end of the cline, having a very low tendency to use repetition and tail-head linkage. When they are attested, they may be in combination with conjunctive =o ‘and’ and the general marker of subordination *ke*. Such is the case in Barjasteh Delforooz’s corpus (eighteen passages), Axenov’s corpus (eight passages) and in my own corpora (twenty passages). I found only eight examples of prototypical tail-head linkage in Axenov⁶⁹ and five in my own unpublished corpora.

The following passage demonstrates prototypical tail-head linkage in TB taken from Axenov.⁷⁰

Ex. 26) Prototypical tail-head linkage (TB)

<i>šāp-ī</i>	<i>šap</i>	<i>gept=o</i>	<i>na-zānt-ant=o</i>			
night-ADJV	night	catch=and	NEG-know.NPST-3PL=and			
<i>amādā</i>	<i>ēr=ī</i>		<i>ko</i>			
EMPH-there	PREV=PC.3PL		do.PST			
<i>ēr=ī</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>šap-ī</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>sar-ā</i>	<i>ešt-ant</i>
PREV=PC.3PL	do.PST	night-ADJV		CLM	head-OBL	leave.PST-3PL

“it got dark, and without knowing he stayed there. He stayed there; at night they laid their heads...”⁷¹

This passage could suggest that both Sistani and Turkman Baloch storytellers used to use prototypical tail-head linkage in their narrations before starting to linking them with the subordination marker *-ke* and conjunctive =o. One could assume that the attested examples

⁶⁵Nourzaei *et al.* (2015), p. 184.

⁶⁶One of my storytellers twice used tail-head linkage in combination with the relative clause marker *ke* or *wakte* ‘when’ Nourzaei (2017), pp. 505, and 520.

⁶⁷In one published text ‘King’s Son’ narrated by an old storyteller, there is a competition of prototypical repetition and tail-head linkage with the second type in particular in combination with =o Nourzaei *et al.* (2015), pp. 162, 177, 184, and 193.

⁶⁸In one published text ‘King’s Son’ narrated by a young female speaker, just three examples of tail head linkage were attested and all were in combination with the relative marker *ke* Nourzaei (2017), pp. 562, 565 and 583.

⁶⁹Axenov (2006), pp. 273, 274, 275, 284.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 273.

are a remnant of an earlier stage when prototypical repetition and tail-head linkage were common in this dialect.

2.3 Development devices

In addition to the use of tail-head linkage to connect two paragraphs within a discourse, there is another type of connective that marks the development of the oral narrative text. SiB presents a variety of development devices (see Barjasteh Delforooz for a detailed description of them in SiB).⁷² The most common development devices attested in the SiB corpora are: *āxer/āxerā* ‘at last, finally, in the end’, *goṛān\goṛā* and *bad* ‘then, after that, next’, *ta/tā* ‘until, as soon as’, *bass* ‘just, just then, immediately after that’, *xayr* ‘well’, *belaxara* ‘finally’ and *ta e ki* ‘until that’.

In addition to these connectives, the word *īcī* ‘well’ and the conjunction *o* have been attested as markers of development in my data, though Barjasteh Delforooz makes no reference to them.⁷³ In the following passage, the narrator uses the word *īcī* ‘well’ to close the previous even where the youngest son goes and steals one pieces of golds and jumps to a new event where their father dies.

Ex. 27) Development device (SiB)

<i>gwan' d-ēn</i>	<i>'zāq=ē=</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>por'sat-ā</i>	<i>estepā'da</i>
small-ATTR	child=IND	from	chance.OBL	use
<i>kort=o</i>	<i>'šot</i>		<i>yak te'lā=e-rā</i>	<i>'pāc</i>
do.PST.3SG=AND	go.PST.3SG		one gold=IND-OBJ	open
<i>dāt=o</i>	<i>doz 'zet</i>			
give.PST.3SG=and	steal.PST.3SG			
<i>'īcī pīna 'mard-ay</i>	<i>'rōc 'pīra</i>		<i>būt o</i>	
well old man-GEN	day complete		become.PST.3SG=and	
<i>'mort</i>				
die.PST.3SG				

‘the youngest son saw [his] chance and went [and] dug up one of these [pieces of] gold and stole it. Well, the old man’s days came to an end and he died.’⁷⁴

In SiB, a development device always appears at the beginning of the clause as in passage 27. However, it has been attested sporadically in second position in the clause in Barjasteh Delforooz’s corpus with some of the words listed above such as *goṛān\goṛā*.⁷⁵

In KoB, the development devices are not as diverse as in SiB. The most common ones are: *xolāsa*,⁷⁶ ‘in short’, *tā*, ‘till, until’, *goda* and *bad*, ‘and then, afterwards’. Apart from ‘*goda*’, which is an original Balochi word, the rest of these devices are most probably a borrowing from Persian.

As a development device, *xolāsa* ‘in short’, indicates a temporal break with a lapse of time. This device introduces a new development in the narrative by signalling the close of one set of events and the beginning of another set that immediately follows. In the following

⁷²Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), pp. 202–212.

⁷³Barjasteh Delforooz (2010).

⁷⁴Nourzaei (forthcoming).

⁷⁵See Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), p. 208.

⁷⁶*xolāsa* ‘well’ also functions as “reorientation”. The discussions on reorientation is outside focus of the present study.

passage, the narrator employs *xolāsa* to close the conversation between the king's son and the horse and to introduce that a new event in the story.

Ex. 28) Development device (KoB)

a='š-ī 'na 'ta 'be-ga-Ø *če'tar*
 VCL.say.NPST-3SG no PN.2SG IMPV-say.NPST-2SG How
 'gott=ī ka'n-ān 'man wad=om
 big=PC.3SG SBJV-do.NPST-1SG PN.1SG REFL=PC.1SG
 'as'p-ok-ā 'gott a=kanān
 horse-DEF-OBL big VCL.do.NPST-1SG
xolā'se as'p-ok 'ā 'sāl bo'kān=ī bod-a=Ø
 in short horse-DEF DIST year want.NPST=PC.3SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
kor'rag-a 'by-ār-īd=o e'sān jōgā'l-ok kor'rag-a d'=g-ī
 foal-OBL SBJV-bring-3SG=and you know boy-DEF foal-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG
 "he said, "No, let me know how to raise it; I myself will raise the horse." In short, that year, [when] the horse wanted to give birth to her foal, you know, the boy took the foal."⁷⁷

goda bad, badke 'then', afterwards, after that, after' is used in my oral narrative texts to introduce what happened next in the story. In the following passage, *godda* 'after' indicates the passing of three and four days before the man took a rope and went to the well.

Ex. 29) Development device (KoB)

xolā'sa nārā'hat a=b=īd=o a='š-ī
 in short upset VCL=take.NPST-3SG=and VCL=take.NPST-3SG
 'ber-r-ān šāyad zenma
 SBJV-go.NPST-1SG maybe alive
mant-ag=en=o eš-ān
 stay.NPST.INF=COP.NPST.3SG=and PROX-PL
godda=y say čār rō ye bann=e=am a=zor-t
 After=EZ three four day one rope=IND=ADD VCL=take.NPST-3SG
ar=raf-t čāh-ok-ay sarā
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG well-DEF.OBL.PC.3SG on
 "in short, he became troubled and said, "Let me go, maybe she is still (lit. has stayed) alive, you know." After three or four days, he took a rope [and] went to the well"⁷⁸

The development device *tā* 'till, until' has both temporal and spatial meanings. It is used to mark the end of a development unit. This is illustrated in the following passage.

Ex. 30) Development device (KoB)

xolā'sa 'šš-tā ja'nek 'wad-ī šū'b-ār=eš
 In short six.CLS girl REFL-GEN husband-PL=PC.3PL
ente'xāb a=kan-ant 'yek=ī wa'zīr-ay 'bačč
 choose VCL=do.NPST-3PL one=IND minister-GEN son
bod-a 'yekī... 'ā yak=e pūl'dār=e
 become.PST-PP one=IND DIST one=IND rich=IND
ente'xāb a=kan-ant ham=ī'taw 'tā
 choose VCL=do.NPST-3PL EPMH=PROX.like until
a=a's-ī be haft-o'm-īn ja'nek-ā
 VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG to seven-ORD-ATTR girl-OBL

⁷⁷Nourzaei (2017).

⁷⁸Nourzaei (forthcoming).

“you know, the six girls chose their husbands; one was the minister’s son, one... another (lit. that) one was rich; they chose like this until it was the seventh girl’s turn.”⁷⁹

A combination of two development devices has also been attested, such as *tā xolāsa* and *tā bad* in.⁸⁰

In CoB, the most common development devices are: *goṛā*, ‘then, after that, next’ *nī* ‘then, now’, *āxer*, ‘at last, finally, in the end’, *dāke*, *dan*, and *tā* ‘until, till’ and *xayer* ‘well’. *goṛā*, *nī* and *dāke*, *dan*, and *tā* are the most frequent development markers. Their function is similar to KoB and SiB.

In the case of *nī*, beside its function as a development device, it also links clauses inside a paragraph. It could be that its function as development device is a secondary function as in the following passage:

Ex. 31) *nī* in (CoB)

'nī	ke	sāj'j-ē		ja'nek	tā'tīl	ka'nā	ra' w-ā	'nī
now	CLM	all-ATTR		girl	dismissal	do.NPT-3PL	go.NPT-3PL	now
'ham=e		yak	'paš	ka' p-ī	'nī	'k-ay-Ø		'ešt
EMPH=PROX		one	behind	fall.NPT-3SG	now	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		PROX.OBL
sa'bak	d-ā							
lesson	give.NPT-3SG							

“then, when all the girls were dismissed [and] went away; only this one [girl] was now left [in the class]; he now came [and] taught her.”⁸¹

In contrast to the SiB dialect, both KoB and CoB use unmark tail-head linkage as a development device in the discourse as in passage (18). However, it has been attested in Turkman Balochi.⁸²

The position of the development devices in KoB and CoB is very interesting.

- (a) They appear alone at the beginning of the paragraph. In the following passage, the narrator uses the lexical development device *xolā'sa* to close the previous group of events where the camel and the donkey has a long discussion and open a new event where the camel takes an action and throws the donkey down the hill.

Ex. 32) Development device (KoB)

<i>xolā'sa</i>	oš'tor=am	'āḡa	'īḡa	a=te'ḡ-ī=o
in short	camel=ADD	there	here	VCL=sway.NPAST-3SG=and
ka'r-ā	ā	bā'lād	'berr	a=dā-Ø
donkey-OBL	from	up	PREV	VCL=give.NPAST-3SG

“well, then the camel swayed to and fro [and] threw the donkey down from up there. It got shattered among the rocks”⁸³

- (b) A development device also accompanies tail-head linkage. In the following passage, the narrator employs both tail-head linkage and the development device *tā* to show the

⁷⁹Nourzaei (2017), p. 576.
⁸⁰Nourzaei et al. (2015), pp. 72, and 169.
⁸¹Nourzaei (2017), pp. 438–439.
⁸²Axenov (2006), p. 274.
⁸³Nourzaei et al. (2015), p. 129.

passing of time in the story, where it takes a long time that both the camel and donkey stays on the camp until the spring arrives. The frequency of this type is much higher than the development devices alone in both dialects.

Ex. 33) The coexistence of a development device and tail-head linkage (KoB)

<i>a=mā'n-t̄</i>	<i>'rū=ye</i>	<i>or'd-ā</i>	
VCL=remain.NPST-3SG	on=ez	camp-OBL	
<i>a=mā'n-t̄</i>	<i>'ru=ȳ e</i>	<i>or'dā</i>	<i>tā</i>
VCL=remain.NPST-3SG	on=ez	camp-OBL	until
<i>modat' -hā=ȳ t̄</i>	<i>kam 'kam</i>	<i>'haur</i>	<i>a=ȳan-t=ō</i>
time-PL=IND	little by little	rain	VCL=hit.NPST-3SG
<i>ba'hār</i>	<i>a=b-t̄t</i>		
greenery	VCL=become.NPST-3SG		

“they stayed back at the camp. They stayed back at the camp for a long time until slowly but surely it started to rain and the grass grew.”⁸⁴

In the following passage, the narrator uses both tail-head linkage ‘*naḡošt̄*’ and the development device ‘*dāke*’ to close the previous group of events where the king’s daughter came back from school to the palace but at the palace, she does not say to his father what has been happened to her at school, and to open a new event where the Mullah comes to the king and complains about her daughter.

Ex. 34) The coexistence of a development device and tail-head linkage (CoB)

<i>pet-a</i>	<i>ḡō</i>	<i>'heč</i>	<i>'naḡošt̄</i>	
father-OBL	with	anything	NEG-say.NPST-3SG	
<i>'na-ḡošt̄</i>		<i>'dāke</i>	<i>mol'lā</i>	<i>'wat</i>
NEG-say.NPST-3SG		then	Mullah	REFL
<i>'k-ay-Ø</i>				
IMP.K-come.NPST-3SG				

“she did not say anything to the father. She did not say [anything] until the Mullah himself came”⁸⁵

The coexistence of lexical development devices with unmarked tail-head linkage in both KoB and CoB confirms that development devices are rather new in these dialects and they have not become systematised as in SiB. In addition, the usage of tail-head linkage with the same function as a development device in CoB and KoB, and the existence of some remnants of tail-head linkage in TB⁸⁶ strengthens our hypothesis that before lexical development devices appeared, the norm was using tail-head linkage in the same way as a development device in Balochi.

So far, I have discussed how paragraphs are linked together at the discourse level. Now I will discuss how the clauses are linked together at the discourse level in the following sections.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 123–124.

⁸⁵ Nourzaei (2017), p. 443.

⁸⁶ Axenov (2006), p. 275.

2.4 Coordinating strategies

Clauses in the Balochi dialects being studied are coordinated through juxtaposition (asyndetic coordination) of clauses or the use of coordinating conjunctions (syndetic coordination).

2.4.1 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is a common means of coordinating clauses to associate them in Balochi and other Iranian languages.⁸⁷ Nourzaei *et al.* report that, “Such events are not portrayed as distinct, but as part of a whole; the one flows into the next. Rising intonation at the end of each clause is the only means by which the coordinated structure can be recognized”.⁸⁸ The following passage illustrates this.

Ex. 35) Juxtaposition (CoB)

<i>'nī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sāj'jē</i>	<i>ǰa'nek</i>	<i>tā'fīl</i>	<i>ka'n-ā</i>
now	CLM	all.ATTR	girl	dismissal	do.NPST-3PL
<i>rau-ā</i>					
go.NPST-3PL					

“then, when all the girls were dismissed [and] went away”⁸⁹

Similar to repetition and tail-head linkage, CoB and KoB have the highest frequency of juxtaposition across the dialects with (54 and 40 tokens respectively). SiB demonstrates the lowest frequency of juxtaposition with (10 tokens).⁹⁰ My data demonstrates that in fact, juxtapositions in SiB has even been started to be replaced with conjunction =o ‘and’. In many contexts where one could expect for a juxtaposition, the narrator employs the conjunction =o.

2.4.2. The associative conjunction =o

The most common coordinating conjunction across the dialects is expressed by =o. It has two allomorphs as *ua*, and *o*. Its function is always associative. It is used to associate clauses when there are various semantic relationships between them. The range of semantic relationships between clauses vary. The following table demonstrates a summary of the range of semantic relationships regarding to the associative conjunction =o between clauses across the dialects.

For SiB, Barjasteh Delforoos reports the following contexts: when the events being coordinated are not in chronological sequence (“simple coordination”), when they are in chronological sequence, when they introduce the result of the previous event, and when the two clauses are in an adversative relationship.⁹¹ However, my corpus demonstrates that associative conjunction =o also functions as a development device. In the following

⁸⁷In general, see e.g. D. L. Stilo, “Coordination in three Western Iranian languages: Vafsi, Persian and Gilaki”, in: *Coordinating constructions*, (ed.), M. Haspelmath, (Amsterdam, 2004), p. 277 and C. van der Wal Anonby, 2015. *A Grammar of Kumzari, a Mixed Perso-Arabian Language of Oman* (PhD dissertation), (Leiden, 2015), p. 181.

⁸⁸Nourzaei *et al.* (2015), p.101.

⁸⁹Nourzaei (2017), p. 438.

⁹⁰Figures have been obtained from a three long tales published in Nourzaei *et al.* (2015) and Nourzaei (2017) see also Table 2. in section 3.

⁹¹Barjasteh Delforoos (2010), pp. 162–169.

Table 1. summary of the range of semantic relationships regarding to the associative conjunction=*o*

Dialect	simple coordination	chron. sequence	result	adversative	development device
SiB:	Frequent	common	common	common	common
KoB:	Frequent	rare	not attested	common	not attested
CoB:	Frequent	rare	not attested	very rare	not attested

passage, the narrator uses the associative conjunction =*o* to close the previous event in the story where the merchant and his family decide how to reject the shepherd's son's proposal and jumps on a new event where after passing seven days, the shepherd comes far way to receive the merchant's answer regarding his son's proposal.⁹²

Ex. 36) Associative conjunction (SiB)

<i>o</i>	' <i>mā</i>	<i>hapt-o'mī-ēn</i>	' <i>rōč -ā</i>	' <i>padā</i>
and	EMPH.DIST	seven-ORD-ATTR	day-OBL	again
<i>šwā'nag</i>	<i>bečā'rag</i>	<i>ša'mōdā</i>	<i>be'rāh=ent</i>	
shepherd	poor	from.EMPH.there	in-way=COP.NPST.3SG	

"and on the seventh day, again the poor shepherd set out from there"⁹³

In KoB, in contrast to SiB, this element is utilised in more limited contexts. Nourzaei *et al.* 2015 reports the following contexts in which it is used: simple coordination and adversative. The sporadic use of =*o* has also been shown in the chronological sequence contexts in.⁹⁴

In CoB, the associative conjunction=*o* is found in the following contexts: simple coordination, which has a high percentage usage in the corpus, adversative (just once appeared in the corpora). Its usage in chronological sequences contexts is very rare. It has been attested very sporadically only by one of my storytellers. One of his texts published in⁹⁵ as in the following passage:

Ex. 37) The associative conjunction=*o* (CoB)

' <i>pet=očok</i>	' <i>har</i>	<i>jā'gah</i>	<i>ham'rāh=ant=o</i>		
father=and child	every	place	companion=COP.NPST.3PL=and		
' <i>pet</i>	' <i>kār=a</i>	<i>kan-t=o</i>	' <i>čok</i>	' <i>kār=a</i>	
father	work=VCL	do.NPST-3SG=and	child	work=VCL	
<i>kant=o</i>	<i>o'fī</i>		' <i>tē m- ā</i>	' <i>pās</i>	
do.NPST-3SG=and	REFL.GEN		time-OBL	passing	
<i>kan-a' g-a=y ā</i>					
do.NPST-INF-OBL=COP.NPST.3PL					

"the father and the son were together everywhere, and the father was working and the son was working, and they were spending their time"⁹⁶

Comparing the range of semantic relationships of associative conjunction=*o* across the dialects could suggest that the original usage of associative conjunction =*o* most probably was as a simple coordination. Extending its usages to other contexts such as indicating

⁹²Nourzaei (2017), p. 660.

⁹³*Ibid*, pp. 658–660.

⁹⁴Nourzaei *et al.* (2015) and Nourzaei (2017).

⁹⁵*Ibid*, pp. 496–544.

⁹⁶*Ibid*, p. 500.

chronological sequence, adversative, resultative, and also its usage as a development device is its later semantic development.

2.4.3 Disjunctive conjunctions

Clauses in a discourse can also be linked by a disjunctive conjunction, of which I discuss two types: positive disjunction (‘or, either ... or’) and negative disjunction (‘neither ... nor’).

In SiB, the common positive disjunctive conjunction is *yā* ‘or’ which can also be repeated as *yā...yā* (*na...na*) ‘either...or’. There are 10 tokens in Barjasteh Delforooz’s corpus and 28 tokens in mine. The frequency of the simple disjunctive conjunction *yā* ‘or’ is higher than the repeated *yā...yā* ‘either ... or’, which is illustrated in the following passage.

Ex. 38) Disjunctive conjunction (SiB)

<i>yā</i>	<i>'marg=a</i>	<i>b-ṭ</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>ha'm=e</i>
or	death=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	or	EMPH=PROX
<i>'elm=a</i>	<i>b-ṭ</i>			
knowledge=VCL	become.NPST-3SG			

“either it will be [my] death or that (lit. this) knowledge”⁹⁷

For KoB, Nourzaei *et al.* report that the common disjunctive conjunction is *yā* which can also be repeated as *yā...yā* ‘either’.⁹⁸ There are 22 tokens in the corpora.⁹⁹ In both dialects there are very few remnants of expressing disjunction through juxtaposition. In Barjasteh Delforooz’s corpus disjunction is expressed only twice through juxtaposition.¹⁰⁰

In CoB, in contrast, the most common means to express disjunction is juxtaposition. However, one of my storytellers uses disjunctive *yā* ‘or’, (five times) and *yā...yā* (once).¹⁰¹ Note that *aga* ‘if’ is also used for disjunction in this dialect.

Ex. 39) disjunctive conjunction (CoB)

<i>goṣ-ṭ</i>	<i>'tra</i>	<i>mar' dom</i>	<i>ha=Ø</i>
say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG.OBJ	people	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG
<i>'nē</i>			
NEG.be.NPST.3SG			

“she said, “Do you have relatives [or] not?”¹⁰²

The negative disjunctive combination *na... na* ‘neither...nor’ is rarely used across the dialects. It has been attested (eight tokens) in SiB (three tokens),¹⁰³ in KoB¹⁰⁴ and just once in CoB.¹⁰⁵

It seems that the development of a specific disjunctive marker (as distinct from juxtaposition) is rather new across the Balochi dialects. Both SiB and KoB due to contact with Persian have a tendency to use it, whereas for most of my CoB narrators except one who is

⁹⁷*Ibid*, p. 666.
⁹⁸Nourzaei *et al.* (2015).
⁹⁹*Ibid*, Nourzaei (2017) and Nourzaei, (forthcoming).
¹⁰⁰Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), p. 319.
¹⁰¹Nourzaei (2017), pp. 496–544.
¹⁰²*Ibid*, p. 49.
¹⁰³*Ibid* and Nourzaei (forthcoming).
¹⁰⁴Nourzaei *et al.* (2015) and Nourzaei (2017) and forthcoming.
¹⁰⁵Nourzaei (2017), p. 516.

traveling around, the disjunctive conjunction ‘neither... nor’ is not attested. So, a question which might be posed is whether a disjunctive conjunction exists in their daily usage or whether it simply didn’t feature in their oral stories.

2.4.4 Additive

The most common additive across the dialects is *ham*/(=*am/om*) and *hã*. It has been attested as both a free word and a clitic. SiB and CoB have the highest frequency of additives across the dialects with (19 and 12 tokens respectively) and KoB displays the highest frequency with (57 tokens).

The common function of this additive is similar to ‘also, as well, and too’ in English. So far, the previous researcher reported other contexts in which it is used in SiB.¹⁰⁶ KoB uses the particle *ham* in a way that is not attested in SiB or CoB. When a reported speech in KoB is followed by a “response proposition” which “is anticipated by the stimulus [i.e., the reported speech], fulfils the conditions of the stimulus, or is closely associated with the stimulus”¹⁰⁷ then the response is introduced with an overt reference to the respondent, to which is attached the additive enclitic. Consider the following passage:

Ex. 40) S2 NP in connection with the particle *ham*

14d	'ham=ɪ	'wad-ɪ	kor'rag=ay	a='ʒ-ɪ
	EMPH=PROX	REFL-GEN	foal=PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG
	ke	ma'rō	'raft-ay	lō'g-ā
	CLM	today	go.NPST-2SG	home-OBL
	a='na-war-ay		xo'rāk=e	ke
	VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-2SG		food=IND	bah'r=at
	'ēr	ma-ka'n-aq=en		CLM
	PREV	IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG		for=PC.2SG
	'rekk-a	'mān=e	zambā'b=āt	'zahr=e
	pour.PST-PP	into=PC.3SG	step mother=PC.3SG	poison=PC.3SG
	mas'mūm=en			xorā'k-ok
	poisoned=COP.NPST.3SG			food-DEF
15a	jo'ga'l-ok	ham	'gōʃ	a=g-ɪ
	boy-DEF	ADD	ear	VCL=take.NPST-3SG

“(14d) this his own foal says, “Today, when you go home, do not eat the food, the food which they serve you; she poured poison into it, your stepmother; her food is poisoned.” (15a) **So the boy** obeys (lit. listens)”¹⁰⁸

In the above passage, the enclitic *ham* adds the expected result to the speech that stimulated it.¹⁰⁹ The exact function of this conjunctive requires further research in Balochi dialects.

Note that it has been attested in the CoB data a construction with *bɪ* ‘also’ as in the following passage. This construction might be a borrowing from Urdu since it has not been attested in KoB and SiB.

¹⁰⁶Barjasteh Delforoos (2010), pp. 119–120.

¹⁰⁷C. M. Follingstad, “Thematic development and prominence in Tyap discourse”, in *Discourse Features of Ten Languages of West-Central Africa*. (ed.) S. H. Levenson (Texas, 1994), p. 168.

¹⁰⁸Nourzaei (2017), p. 133.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid*, p. 133.

Ex. 41)

nī 'pet-e 'molk bī
 now father-GEN country also
 naz'zīk=en=ī
 near=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG
 "you know, her father's country was also close now"¹¹⁰

2.5 Adversative

The most common words which express an adversative meaning in SiB are *mage*, *bale*, *ama* and *o* 'but'. Barjasteh Delforooz gives a detail description of their functions, which my data also confirms it.¹¹¹ It is more likely that SiB speakers have borrowed them from Sistani Persian due to the close contact.

An adversative relationship can also be expressed via juxtaposition in SiB. However, their frequency is very low. In my large corpora the adversative was attested only once¹¹² and five instances in Barjasteh Delforooz's corpus¹¹³ via juxtaposition. These passages indicate the remnant of using juxtapositions to express an adversative meaning in SiB.

The most common way to express adversative meaning in KoB is via juxtaposition.¹¹⁴ However, it has been attested both *wale*, *walī* 'but' most probably copied from Persian which occurred (in twelve passages) in the corpora.¹¹⁵ This demonstrates that this borrowing from Persian is rather new in this dialect because it has not been systematised in the language.

Ex. 42) Adversative (KoB)

xolā'sa a=nen'n-ī do'mī keš'nā
 in short VCL=sit down.NPST-3SG second neighing.OBL
 ke a=ka's-ī jōg'la hara'kat
 CLM VCL=pull.NPST-3SG boy movement
 a=kan-t
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG
 "so he sat down, [but] when it neighed the second time the boy took off (lit. makes movement)"¹¹⁶

Note that it has been attested =*o* and *ke* also function as adversative in discourse, but their frequency is very low.¹¹⁷

Similar to KoB the data demonstrates that high frequency of adversatives in the discourse expresses through the juxtaposition in CoB. It has been attested only one lexical word *bale*, 'but' which functions as adversative as in the following passage:

¹¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 464.

¹¹¹Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), pp. 184–196.

¹¹²Nourzaei (2017).

¹¹³Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), pp. 290, 295, 303, 312 and 320.

¹¹⁴Nourzaei *et al.* (2015).

¹¹⁵*Ibid*, Nourzaei (2017) and Nourzaei (forthcoming).

¹¹⁶Nourzaei *et al.* (2015).

¹¹⁷One of my storytellers used the word *montasi* 'but' a copy from Persian. The correct pronunciation of it is *montaha*.

Ex. 43) Adversative (CoB)

'ē	'mačč=e	'bar	āortā	
PROX	date- plam=PC.3SG	fruit	bring.PST-3PL	
ga'war	kīma't-ī	bīr-ag=ā		'na
gem	cost-ADJZ	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL		Question
bale	'ham	'sāl	čō'bīr	
but	each	year	you know	
de'ga	'yak=e-yā	borre't-ā	bor't-ag-ā	
another	one=IND-OBL	cut.PST-3PL	take.PST-3PL	

“this date palm of his produced fruit; they were valuable gems, you know; but every year someone else cut them off [and] took them.”¹¹⁸

This observation leads us to conclude that Juxtaposition could reveal the earlier stage of expressing adversative across the dialects before development of adversative words.

2.6 Subordination

All Balochi dialects under study make use of general subordinating conjunction *ke* to introduce complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses see in.¹¹⁹ What is interesting here among these dialects and worthy to be discussed is the issue of relative clauses.

Subjects, objects, and adjuncts can all be relativised. Relative clauses are introduced with the subordinating conjunction *ke*. The dialects show a different strategy towards using of relative clauses. CoB hardly uses the relative clauses.¹²⁰ It means that the relative clauses expressed in two separate clauses instead of linking with relative marker *ke*. For instance, the speaker uses two separate clauses to express an English relative clause i.e., I saw a man who was a teacher. He/she says: I saw a man. He was a teacher. It has only been attested eight passages with subjects which have been relativised in my large corpora¹²¹ as in the following passage:

Ex. 44) Relative clause (CoB)

'ham=ī	sā'lōnk-ā	'ham=ī	'mard-ā	<i>ke</i>
EMPH=PROX	bridegroom-OBL	EMPH=PROX	man-OBL	CLM
ro...	'ham=ē	je'nek=ī	'ham=ē	je'nēn=e
FRAG	EMPH=PROX	girl=IND	EMPH=PROX	woman=PC.3SG
ente'kāb	kot-a			
choose	do.PST-PP			

“this bridegroom, this man who... has chosen this girl, this woman”¹²²

KoB has a stronger tendency to relativise subjects, objects and adjuncts. However, in some oral narratives still one can find traces of combining two sentences to relativised a subject or object. The following passage is an example of the relativised subject.

¹¹⁸Nourzaei (forthcoming).

¹¹⁹Axenov (2006), Jahani and Korn (2009) and Nourzaei *et al.* (2015).

¹²⁰My new data based on questionnaire which I am using it for my current Post-doc project on “evolution of definiteness markers in New Western Iranian languages” demonstrates that contrary to the storytellers, educated speakers use a lot of relative clauses in their speech.

¹²¹Nourzaei (2017) and Nourzaei (forthcoming).

¹²²Nourzaei (2017).

Ex. 45) Relative clause (KoB)

bē'rād=ī *ke* *raf't-ā* *bod-a*
 brother=PC.3SG CLM go.PST-PP become.PST-PP
čūbdā'rī-ā *a= 'k-ay-Ø*
 trade-OBL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
 "her brother who had gone for trading, returned"¹²³

SiB has a very strong tendency for using relative clauses and show high frequency of usage of relative clauses across the dialects. The following passage presents a relativised object in SiB.

Ex. 46) Relative clause (SiB)

pas *a'm=ā* *xā'nom=ē* *'mās=ē*
 well EMPH=DIST wife=PC.3SG mother=IND
'dāšt-a=Ø *ke* *bese'lā* *ā*
 have.PST.PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM you know DIST
je'nek=ay *bal'lok* *b-ī*
 girl=PC.3SG grandmother become.NPST-3SG
 "well, /that/, his wife had a mother, you know, who was that girl's grandmother"¹²⁴

3. Some thoughts and reflections

When I studied the state of orality in these three dialects, I discovered that they demonstrated three different types of orality. As with the alignment system.¹²⁵

CoB was the most conservative one in the present study and presented traditional orality in all social contexts. The storytellers use short sentences, with hardly any lexical conjunctions, and almost no trace of subordination. In contrast, they employ a lot of unmarked repetition and tail-head linkage as enhancing coherence and as development device in their narrations. In addition, they use juxtaposition, instead of associative conjunctions and adverbials, to express logical relations in the discourse.

KoB preserved orality in prose, however, storytellers prefer Qaşqā'i for narration. In comparison with CoB, the KoB storytellers tend to produce complex sentences with the help of subordination. Unmarked repetition and tail-head linkage are still used for coherence and as a development device in the narrations. However, there is a strong tendency among younger storytellers to use less repetition and tail-head linkage. Similar to CoB, the strategy of juxtaposition is very strong in narrations.

In SiB, the storytelling tradition has almost disappeared, except when using oral style for reciting songs, which was still common among the older generation when I did my field work. The structure of the sentences has become more and more complex with a high usage of subordination and conjunctions. There is a strong tendency to borrow conjunctions from Persian to express logical relations in the oral narratives. In contrast to CoB and KoB, there is almost no trace of repetition or of tail-head linkage as a development device. In contrast to CoB and KoB, the lexical development devices have been fully

¹²³Nourzaei (2017).

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 181–182, 240 and 292.

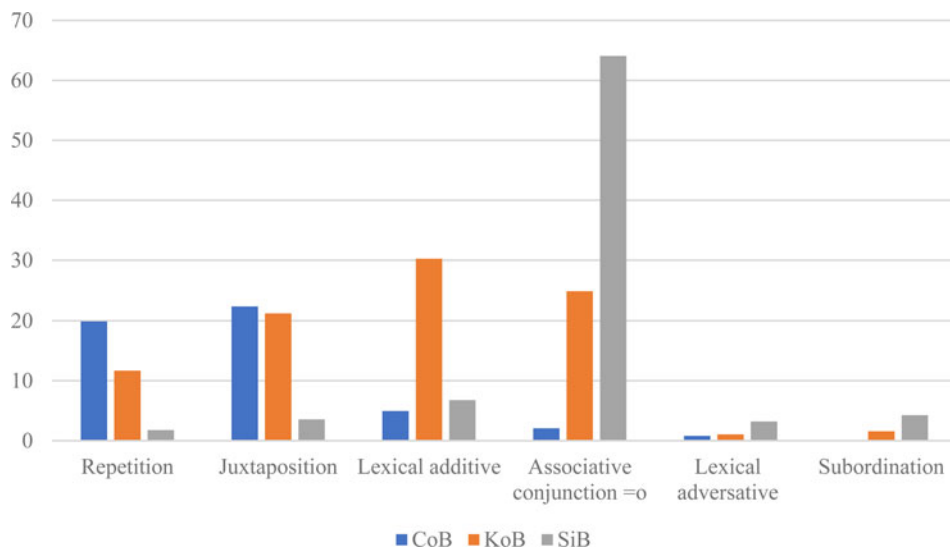


Figure 1. Overall frequency of the features above mentioned across the dialects per 1000 words

systematised. The juxtaposition strategy is not as strong as in CoB and KoB. Juxtaposition has already started to be replaced by the conjunction =o and by new conjunction borrowings from Persian. Thus, the narration style has switched from an oral style to a more written style by losing of oral techniques.¹²⁶

The following table demonstrates the frequency of the oral features discussed above across the dialects. The figures have been obtained from three long stories published in.¹²⁷ Each text represents the longest fairy tale for the respective dialect in my corpus. The total amount of the words per text is 2411 for CoB, 1884 for KoB and 2810 for SiB, normalised to a value of frequency per 1000 words to enable comparison across texts of different length.¹²⁸

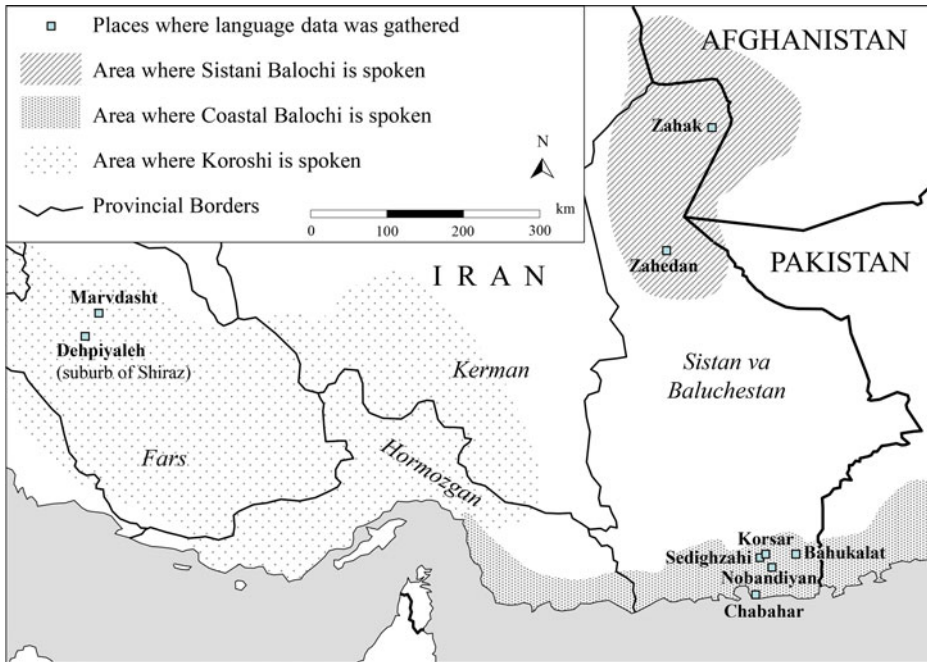
As can be seen from the above table, CoB shows high frequency of using repetitions and less frequency of using additives, associative conjunction =o, lexical adversatives and no subordination. SiB, on the other hand, presents less usage of repetitions but a high usage of subordination, adversative and associative conjunction =o across the dialects. This observation leads us to conclude that SiB storytellers simply changed their style of narration due to stronger influence of the written language which was presumably considered more prestigious or higher school rate, using more writing techniques.¹²⁹ In contrast, the CoB storytellers use more archaic orality techniques in their narrations. KoB takes an intermediate position. It

¹²⁶As a suggestion for a future investigation, it would be highly interesting to compare the Balochi written texts with the oral texts to see Baloch writers what types of strategies employ instead of common oral features such as tail-head linkages, repetition, juxtapositions, etc.

¹²⁷Nourzaei *et al.* (2015), pp. 162–209. and Nourzaei (2017), pp. 435–495 and 648–700.

¹²⁸Repetition is used as a cover term for both repetitions and tail-head linkages in this table to save space.

¹²⁹In SiB and KoB, people are not used to write in Balochi. The educated people use Persian for writing.



Map 1: Map of the areas where data was gathered taken from¹³⁰

has a close similarity with CoB regarding the usage of juxtaposition, and lexical adversatives. But, it has the highest usage of lexical additives across the dialects.¹³¹

These three dialects represent three different stages on a cline that is determined by the degree to which the relation between sentences is made explicit. Sentence connections in CoB are mostly implicit (simple juxtaposition). For this type, repetition of co-referent elements is the most common means to express a closer relation between sentences. The additive marker could be a sign of the intermediate stage as it makes the consecutive order explicit. This means that the additive marker *ham/am/ hā* = was used to spell out the relation that was otherwise implied by juxtaposition. Adversatives, associative, and subordinative conjunctions are another means to refine the different logical relations by different explicit expressions in the discourse.

This cline of the degree of explicitness might not only be a synchronic typological cline, but a diachronic one as well. We have seen that repetition and juxtaposition are very common in CoB (where oral narration prevails, while the use of subordinating conjunctions by using complementizers is more elaborate in SiB where the tradition of oral storytelling is nearly lost). This suggests that the types identified above are linked to oral and written language. It is plausible that oral language represents the original style with written language

¹³⁰Nourzaei (2017), p.31.

¹³¹The motivation for it could be either its close contact with Qaşqā’i speakers or other New Iranian languages spoken in this region. In my current research on Shirazi, which is one of Koroshi’s close contact languages, I find that the Shirazi speakers uses lexical additive ‘*ham*’ very frequently. I would also be valuable to check the issue of additives in Qaşqā’i as the main contact language of Koroshi.

being a later elaboration. If we assume a Proto-Balochi which all these three dialects derived from, it is likely that it exhibited prototypical features of oral style, i.e. repetition and juxtaposition. Additive, associative conjunction, adversative and subordination features would then be later developments, with additive markers probably being the first to emerge. This gives the following stages:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Repetitions					
Juxtapositions					
Additive					
Associative conjunction					
Adversative					
Subordination					

Stages 1–2 exhibit prototypical oral features and stages 3–6 prototypical written features. CoB is located at stage 2, KoB at stage 3 and SiB at stage 6.

This cline of the degree of explicitness corresponds to another gradual development, viz. the fading of ergativity in Balochi. This gives rise to the question whether there is any correlation between the fading of orality and ergativity? I would suggest that at least in Balochi the fading of orality (oral style) had a strong connection with fading of ergativity.¹³² In the dialect that has preserved ergativity (CoB), orality was a living art. In the dialects that have lost ergativity (KoB and SiB) the state of orality was not so prominent.

Since we do not have any documented material from the earlier stages of Balochi, it will be difficult to draw a pathway of fading orality features in Balochi. However, the present comparison between three dialects sheds light on the course of the change from pure orality style to more written style by losing oral techniques.

In addition, one could think that education plays an important role in fading of the orality features across the dialects. However, the background of my storytellers from the CoB, KoB and SiB dialects belies this, as most of them were without a school education except for three storytellers who had a primary school education (primary school). The oral narrative texts from SiB demonstrate a high loss of orality features even though the storytellers were without a school education as well.¹³³ Thus, I would suggest that fading of orality features in Balochi dialects is a language-internal development.

Abbreviations and glosses

1	first person	NEG	negation
2	second person	NPST	non-past stem
3	third person	OBJ	object case
-	affix boundary	OBL	oblique case
=	clitic boundary	PC	person-marking enclitic (person clitic)
ADD	additive particle	PL	plural
ADJZ	adjectivizer	PN	personal pronoun
ADVZ	adverbializer	PP	past participle
CLM	clause linkage marker	PREV	preverb

¹³²See for more detailed discussion of ergativity in these three dialects Nourzaei (2017), pp. 48–54, 57–61, and 63–68.

¹³³It could be that language contact, media, and education accelerated the internal development, but they do not trigger it.

CoB	Coastal Balochi	PROH	prohibitive prefix
COP	copula (present indicative)	PROX	proximal deixis
DEF	definite	PST	past stem
DIM	diminutive	REFL	reflexive pronoun
DIST	distal	SBJV	subjunctive
EMPH	emphasis	SiB	Sistani Balochi
EZ	eḏāfe particle	SG	singular
GEN	genitive case	UT	unpublished text
IMP	imperfective	VOC	vocative case
IMP.k	imperfective prefix <i>k-</i>	VCL	verbal clitic
IMPV	imperative		
IND	individuation clitic		
INF	infinitive		
KoB	Koroshi Balochi		

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