

CHAPTER ELEVEN

BALOCHI

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Balochi (Bal.) is spoken in south-western Pakistan, in the province of Balochistan as well as by smaller populations in Punjab and Sindh, and by a large number of people in Karachi. It is also spoken in south-eastern Iran, in the province of Sistan and Baluchistan, and by Baloch who have settled in the north-eastern provinces of Khorasan and Golestan. It is furthermore spoken by smaller communities in Afghanistan (particularly in the province of Nimruz), in the Gulf States (especially in Oman and the United Arab Emirates), in the Marw / Mari region in Turkmenistan, in India, East Africa, and nowadays also by a considerable number of Baloch in North America, Europe and Australia.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of Balochi speakers. Central authorities readily underestimate ethnic minorities, while members of ethnicities sometimes do the opposite. Censuses generally ignore the bi- or multilingual situation of most speakers. Moreover, large numbers of those who identify as Baloch do not speak the language any more, particularly in the areas bordering Indian languages in Punjab and Sindh, on the one hand, and in Khorasan and Golestan, on the other hand, as well as in East Africa and in the Gulf States. In contrast, Balochi has been retained quite well in Turkmenistan due to the adherence to a traditional rural lifestyle and the generally low level of education. The total number of speakers of Balochi has been estimated as being between 5–8 million (Jahani 2001: 59), but might also be somewhat higher than that.

From a historical point of view, Balochi is classed as a North-Western Iranian language (see also Korn 2003, 2005a: 328–330), although it is spoken in the south-eastern corner of the Iranian linguistic area today. It is likely that the original habitat of the Baloch was in the north-western part of the Iranian linguistic area, and that they migrated south-eastwards under pressure from the Arabic and Turkic invasions of the Iranian plateau (from mid-seventh century AD onwards). It also appears that tribes and groups of various ethnic origins, including Indo-European, Semitic, Dravidic, Turkic, Bantu and others, have been incorporated into the very heterogeneous ethnic group today known as the Baloch (see e.g. Spooner 1989: 599–600, 606–607, Korn 2005a: 43–51). On the other hand, the Balochi epic tradition provides them with a ‘true Islamic’ genealogy, according to which they are of Arabic origin and migrated from Aleppo in Syria after the battle of Karbala, where, despite the fact that the majority of the Baloch today are Sunni Muslims, the epic tradition has it that they fought on the side of the Shi’ite Imam Hussein against his enemy, the Umayyad caliph Yazid (Dames 1907, I: 1–2).

Balochi is surrounded by languages belonging to at least five language families. In the

Balochi mainland it stands in contact with other Iranian languages, Persian (Farsi and Dari) in the west and north-west, and Pashto in the north and north-east, as well as with Indic languages: Urdu, Panjabi, Lahnda and Sindhi in the north-east and east. In the Gulf States, Balochi is spoken alongside Arabic, and in East Africa with languages such as Swahili. In the central parts of Pakistani Balochistan, the Dravidian language Brahui has lived in symbiosis with Balochi for centuries, and in Turkmenistan, Balochi is in contact with Turkmen (a Turkic language). In the diaspora, Balochi is meeting new languages, mainly of the Indo-European family. It is only natural that Balochi has been influenced by all these languages, some of which are official languages and languages of education in the various states where the Baloch live. The influence of neighbouring languages will be evident in many of the sections to follow.

Balochi is neither an official language nor a language of education in any of the countries where it is spoken. This is reflected, for example, in the lack of a standard written norm for Balochi (see 1.3). There is also a dispute about which dialect, or dialects, ought to be the basis of the literary language (on the importance of the dialects, see 1.2). On the whole, writing and reading Balochi is at the moment an exclusive activity carried out by a limited number of persons belonging to the Balochi literary elite. Balochi is, as a minority language, largely restricted to traditional and informal domains such as home, neighbourhood, and traditional occupations (e.g. pastoralism and agriculture), and a career outside these traditional sectors is to a great extent linked to higher education and a good mastery of the national language. Efforts to preserve and promote the Balochi language are mainly of an unofficial character, based on private initiatives. However, there is a growing concern among the Baloch that their language may well be lost within a few generations if it does not develop a written standard.

Thus, a number of educated Baloch, mainly from Pakistan, where conditions for a long time were less unfavourable than in Iran, have since the 1950s actively attempted to preserve and promote Balochi by creating a literature in this language, establishing 'language academies' and literary societies, running periodicals, publishing dictionaries, oral poetry and folk-tales, etc. They have also tried, although with little success, to promote Balochi as a language of education. Quetta and Karachi are the main centres of these activities, although this effort has in later years spread to other places inside and outside of Balochistan where culturally active Baloch reside.

There is a Balochi Academy in Quetta, founded in 1961, the most important activities of which are the publication of books (mainly in Balochi), and arranging literary meetings. A number of periodicals have been published in the language for varying lengths of time (see Dashtyari 2003). There have also been some attempts at starting primary education in Balochi. In 1991 a state programme for mother tongue education in the Province of Balochistan, Pakistan, was launched, but it did not last long; neither did it result in any official decision on matters of language standardization. In the higher education system it is at the moment possible to study Balochi at the University of Balochistan in Quetta. Private initiatives have also been taken to teach Balochi. Radio broadcasts in Balochi are taking place in Iran and Pakistan, and there are also TV programmes in Balochi broadcast from Quetta.

Balochi oral literature remains rich when it comes to both prose and poetry. The poetic tradition consists of a large number of heroic and romantic epic poems, mainly centred on the tribal wars of the Baloch, where the two main tribes contesting for power were the Rind and Lashari tribes, and on the contests between the Baloch and the Europeans. Some of the famous Baloch heroes, who are still referred to with great pride, are the tribal chiefs Mir Chakar and Mir Gwahram as well as Hammal-i Jiand, who fought against the

Portuguese. There are also romantic ballads of a more common Islamic origin such as those of the famous couples Dosten and Shiren, and Hani and Shih Murid. The first Balochi poet known by name is Jam Durrak, court poet of Nasir Khan I of Kalat (1749–1794). As for prose, there is a rich tradition of fairy tales, tales of the life of the Prophet and his companions, and other stories told for entertainment and to teach moral lessons. Some attempts at collecting and publishing these stories have been made. The most active editors of Balochi oral literature, apart from the Baloch themselves, are M. L. Dames and Josef Elfenbein. Modern short story and novel writing is still a new genre in Balochi, although some good novelists and short story writers are emerging, particularly in Pakistan. Some factual prose writing also takes place.

1.2 Dialects and other variations

Owing to the fact that Balochi does not have a standard language (nor a standardised orthography) or standardised variants within the individual dialects, it is impossible to discuss any phenomenon of the Balochi language without making constant reference to its dialects. For a synchronic description of Balochi, it is not a viable method to present one variant as the standard and describe the others in terms of deviations from that system. Rather, the Balochi dialects need to be presented as grammatical systems in their own right (thus Rossi 1979: 179 for the Bal. phonemic systems).

The main dialect split is between Western (WBal.), Southern (SBal.) and Eastern (EBal.) Balochi. This is a very broad dialect division, within which further dialect demarcations can be made. Some dialects do not easily fit any of these groups. This is true, for example, of the dialect spoken in Iranian Sarawan, which shows transitional features between Western and Southern Balochi.

The fact that the Balochi speakers are separated into several countries with various official languages (see 1.1) is another factor which increases dialect differentiation in Balochi. The dialects in Pakistan are not only influenced by neighbouring languages, but also by the national language Urdu, and by English, the official language in British India and also in Pakistan, where it is the most important language both in administration and in higher education.

There are also sociolectal variations, often coinciding with generatiolects, since it is mainly the younger generation that has received education and thereby also a better command of the national language.

It is access to data and linguistic consultants rather than the relative importance of the dialect in question that has determined which dialects have been better described than others. Among the Pakistani dialects, the most comprehensive modern description is that of Noshke Balochi (Barker/Mengal 1969). Earlier works from Pakistan were mostly on Eastern Balochi: Dames (1891, 1907) and Gilbertson (1923, 1925). Farrell (1989, 1990, 2003) has described the Southern Balochi dialect of Karachi and Collett (1986) that of Oman. The Western Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan has attracted much interest from Russian linguists, e.g. Sokolova (1953), Sokolov (1956), Zarubin (1932, 1949) and Axenov (2006). The most comprehensive description of the dialect spoken in Afghanistan is based on data from only one speaker (Buddruss 1988). Nawata (1981) provides another brief description of this dialect. As for Iranian Balochi, descriptions are available for the Central Sarawani dialect (Baranzehi 2003) and the Lashari dialect (Yusefian 1992).

1.2.1 *Western Balochi*

The Western dialects are spoken in:

- (a) the Mari region of Turkmenistan (TBal.);
- (b) eastern Iran (IrBal.), in pockets in Khorasan and Golestan, then further south in Sistan and in the northern parts of Balochistan around Zahedan and Khash, with varieties often referred to as Sistani (not to be confused with the symbiotic cross-border dialect of Persian) and Sarhaddi (IrBalSarh.);
- (c) southern Afghanistan (AfBal.);
- (d) south-western Pakistan, including the dialects spoken in the districts of Chagai, Kharan and Kalat where the dialect around Noshke / Nushki (WBalNosh.) is of particular importance, because it is spoken by several well-known poets and writers.

WBal. dialects have sometimes collectively been referred to as Rakhshani, and sometimes this term is used for WBal. dialects spoken in the valley of the river Rakhshan in Pakistani Balochistan.

Transitional dialects between Western and Southern Balochi include Sarawani in Iran (IrBalSarw.) and Panjguri in Pakistan.

1.2.2 *Southern Balochi*

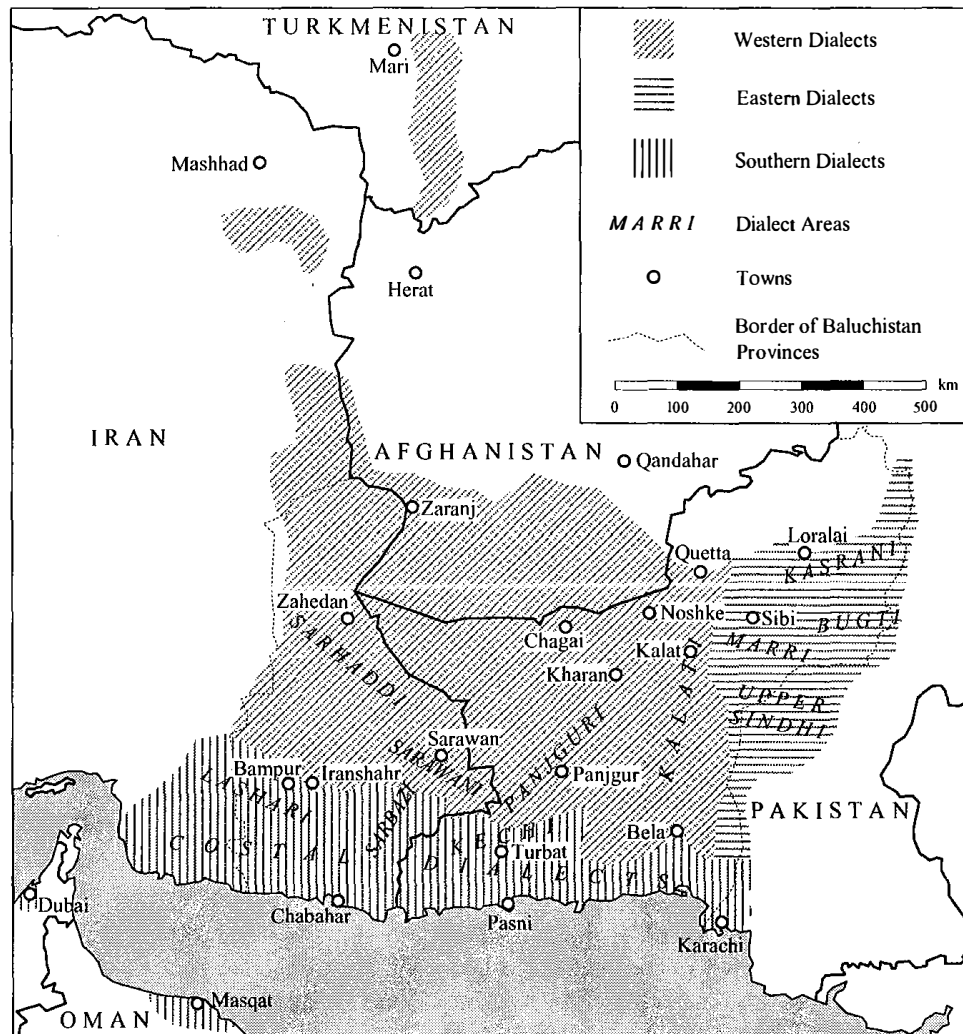
The Southern dialects are spoken in:

- (a) the southern parts of Iranian Balochistan, up to Iranshahr, dialects including Lashari, Bampuri and Sarbazi;
- (b) south-western Pakistan, up to the Kech Valley;
- (d) the Kech Valley itself;
- (e) the coastal areas and in the Gulf States;
- (f) the city of Karachi. Karachi Balochi (SBalKar.) is mainly based on SBal. dialects spoken in Iran (from where there was a heavy influx of Baloch especially after 1928) but is today also under heavy influence from surrounding Indic languages, particularly Urdu.

In particular, the Sarbazi and Kechi dialects have been important vehicles of Balochi poetry.

1.2.3 *Eastern Balochi*

The Eastern dialects constitute a conglomerate of dialects often referred to by their respective tribal names, and include (a) Maḥḥi; (b) Buḡḡi; (c) Leghari; (d) Mazari (both not on the map), (e) Upper Sindhi, and (f) Kasrani. There is too little material available to make well-motivated dialect divisions within this group, even though some of the early descriptions of Balochi (e.g. those by Dames and Gilbertson) were based on Eastern Balochi. Not only is this area largely inaccessible, particularly to foreigners, but there is also very little modern literary output.



MAP 11.1 BALOCHI

Note that the dialect areas shown are only tentative. Large areas of land are uninhabited and dialect areas may overlap due to migration, nomadism, etc.

1.3 Writing systems

Although there have been many suggestions concerning a suitable orthography for Balochi, based on Arabic/Persian/Urdu (see e.g. Jahani 1989: 134–143), Roman and Cyrillic scripts (see e.g. Axenov 2000), no one orthography has won general acceptance among the Balochi cultural elite.

When Balochi is written by the Baloch themselves, the default script employed is an Arabic-based script because it is the script used for the national languages in the countries where Balochi is predominantly spoken.

Questions concerning the pronunciation and the rendering of borrowed phonemes in the Arabic script are likewise hotly debated among the Baloch (cf. Jahani 1989: 150ff.). The typically Arabic sounds found in loans (six pharyngeals and two interdental) are

TABLE 11.1: ALPHABET COMMONLY USED FOR BALOCHI IN PAKISTAN

Letter	Represents the following phoneme(s)	Comments
ا	<i>ā</i>	also for V in vocalic onset
ب	<i>b</i>	
پ	<i>p</i>	
ت	<i>t</i>	
ث	<i>t</i>	
س	<i>s</i>	in Pers.-Ar. loanwords, <i>ṣ</i> in Eastern Balochi
ج	<i>j</i>	
چ	<i>č</i>	
ه	<i>h</i>	
خ	<i>x, k, h</i>	see 2.1.2.1 (2)
د	<i>d</i>	
ڊ	<i>d</i>	
ذ	<i>z</i>	in Pers.-Ar. loanwords, <i>ḏ</i> in Eastern Balochi
ر	<i>r</i>	
ړ	<i>r</i>	
ز	<i>z</i>	
ژ	<i>ž</i>	
س	<i>s</i>	
ش	<i>š</i>	
س	<i>s</i>	in Pers.-Ar. loanwords
ز	<i>z</i>	in Pers.-Ar. loanwords
ت	<i>t</i>	in Pers.-Ar. loanwords
ز	<i>z</i>	in Pers.-Ar. loanwords
-	-	in Pers.-Ar. loanwords (see 2.1.2.2)
گ	<i>ğ, g</i>	see 2.1.2.1 (2)
ف	<i>f, p</i>	see 2.1.2.1 (2)
ک	<i>k</i> (also: <i>x, h, ğ</i>)	see 2.1.2.1 (2)
ک	<i>k</i>	
گ	<i>g</i>	
ل	<i>l</i>	
م	<i>m</i>	
ن	<i>n</i>	
ڻ	<i>ŋ</i>	see 2.1.2.1 (1)
ٺ		nasal element of a nasalized vowel
و	<i>w, u, ō</i>	
و	<i>h</i>	
ی	<i>y, ī, ē</i>	for <i>ē</i> in word-final position, see below
ی	<i>ē</i>	only in word-final position

pronounced without those features, as in New Persian (Pers.), i.e. *t̤* is rendered as *t*; *ʃ* and *ʂ* are rendered as *s*; *z̤*, *ʒ̤*, *ʒ̇* as *z*; *h̤* as *h* (see also 2.1.2.1 (2), 2.1.2.2). These letters, as well as those for the peripheral and borrowed phonemes /f/, /x/, /ǧ/, and /q/ (see also 2.1.2.1 (2) and 2.1.2.2) are treated in various ways in the Balochi orthographies. While some writers use the Pers.-Ar. spelling of loanwords, others prefer to indicate the actual Balochi pronunciation. Mixed strategies are also found. The problem is rendered even more difficult by the use of some ‘Arabic letters’ for certain phonemes of the Eastern Balochi dialects (see 2.1.2.3 (2)).

Another phenomenon that has entered the Balochi writing system is ‘morpho-phonemic writings’ which means that a particular morpheme is represented by a special sign. Various such writings have been suggested for Balochi (see Jahani 1989: 153–155), but the ones that are the most commonly accepted are *é* for the oblique singular case ending *-ā* (in some dialects pronounced *-a*) and *é* for the genitive singular case ending *-ay* (also pronounced *-ē*, or even shorter) and *é* for the word *u* ‘and’.

In Turkmenistan, Balochi has been written in Cyrillic and Roman script (cf. Axenov 2000), if at all (cf. Rzehak 1998: 152).

Also among the literary elite in Pakistan there has been a debate for and against Roman script (cf. Jahani 1989: 144–149 and Elfenbein 2000) and in the 21st century, the ‘lay’ use of Roman letters for representing Balochi in emails, SMS and on Internet pages has again stirred up this discussion.

1.4 Descriptive approach

The text below describes grammatical phenomena for a wide range of Balochi dialects. The description is not exhaustive, though, since not all variants have been investigated yet, and the sources for some dialects do not contain information about all features to be discussed here. While phonology and morphology have been reasonably well investigated for a number of dialects, there are until now few phonetic descriptions for specific Balochi dialects. There are also few descriptions of sentence level syntax, particularly hypotaxis, and none as yet of discourse structure.

Particularly in the field of syntax there is a considerable degree of divergence between the written and the spoken language. However, no systematic studies have yet been made of the different registers of Balochi. Therefore the main variants of Balochi that will be described are those based on geographical distribution (geolects) rather than those based on literary register or variations that are to be attributed to social or other factors (sociolects, etc.).

Since a mere listing of the various systems might be confusing to the reader, the text will occasionally make use of the concept ‘Common Balochi’ (ComBal.), which is meant to refer to an abstract (reconstructed) entity which does not show the characteristics of a particular dialect. The term Common Balochi is thus used to illustrate which elements are common to all or most variants of Balochi.

For the sake of brevity, the description makes only few references to the sources used in the language description. All the examples will, however, contain a reference specifying the dialect and/or source. They are here somewhat unified in transcription and the (rather literal) translation, glosses are mostly added.

2 PHONOLOGY

Owing to the fact that the Balochi dialects do not share a common phonemic system (nor a common morphology and syntax), in principle, a separate description would need to be done for each variant (cf. Rossi 1979, Elfenbein 1997). More details about the words mentioned may be found in Korn (2005a: 54–70, 171–286), on which this section is largely based.

2.1 Inventory

2.1.1 Vowels

2.1.1.1 Common Balochi vowel phonemes

Phonologically, Balochi has five vowels and a quality contrast (short vs. long) for the high vowels and for the low one (*a*, *i*, *u*), while the middle vowels (*ē*, *ō*) do not have short counterparts.

The sequences *ay*, *aw* have generally been analysed as diphthongs in descriptions of Balochi, but the analysis as V + C (*a + y*, *a + w*, see 2.1.3.2) is to be preferred in view of the syllable patterns in Balochi (see 2.1.3.1). The sequences *ay*, *aw* are nevertheless included in the vowel charts since they do not pattern the same way in some variants as would *a* plus other consonants.

The ComBal. system of vowel phonemes can be posited as in Table 11.2.

TABLE 11.2: VOWEL PHONEMES OF COMMON BALOCHI

Vowels	<i>i</i> , <i>ī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>u</i> , <i>ū</i>
		<i>a</i> , <i>ā</i>		
V+G	<i>ay</i>		<i>aw</i>	

Nasal vowels are found in the vast majority of Balochi dialects. In most cases, they can be analysed as allophonic sequences of V + *n* (for which see 2.3.1), but there are dialects where at least some nasal vowels seem to have acquired phonemic status (cf. Jahani 1989: 80f.; Farrell 2003: 173f.).

In some SBal. and EBal. dialects, a fronting of *ū* > *ī* has taken place (e.g. SBal. *bīl* ‘was’ vs. other dialects *būt*). Owing to adoption of loanwords it seems that there is no Balochi variant from which *ū* is entirely absent.

Several Balochi variants (independent of their affiliation to one of the major dialect groups) show a loss of quantity contrast for word-final vowels. This chiefly applies to word-final *a*, but in some dialects also to other vowels (see Korn 2005a: 251, 260).

2.1.1.2 Vowel systems of Balochi dialects

Phonetically, the Balochi dialects vary in their pronunciation of /i/, /u/ and of /ay/ and /aw/. As in many languages, the short high vowels tend to be pronounced more open than the long ones. Still, the vowel system of the dialects spoken in Afghanistan (AfBal.) and Turkmenistan (TBal.), as well as of most dialects spoken in Pakistan, is close to the system shown in Table 11.2.

Persian influence has effected a pronunciation of /i/, /u/ as *e*, *o* in most Balochi dialects spoken in Iran, and of *ay* and *aw* as approaching *ey*, *ow* in some of them. Also, /ā/ moves to an open back position under the influence of Persian in some dialects spoken in Iran. Some of these also show the break up of *ē*, *ō* to the falling diphthongs *ie*, *ue*, so that the resulting system has three short vowels (*e*, *a*, *o*), three long ones (*ī*, *ā*, *ū*), plus *ie*, *ue*. The diphthongs *ie*, *ue* differ from *ey*, *ow* in terms of syllable weight (see 2.1.3). These dialects show the vowel system in Table 11.3.

TABLE 11.3: VOWEL SYSTEMS OCCURRING IN BALOCHI DIALECTS IN IRAN

Vowels	<i>ī</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ā</i> , <i>ā̄</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
Diphthongs								<i>ie</i>			<i>ue</i>
V+G		<i>ey</i>				<i>ow</i>		<i>ey</i>		<i>ow</i>	

2.1.2 Consonants

(1) Common Balochi consonant phonemes

While the Balochi vowel system is essentially in line with that of other Iranian languages, the ComBal. consonant system is simpler than one might expect from a comparative Iranian perspective (Table 11.4).

TABLE 11.4: CONSONANT PHONEMES OF COMMON BALOCHI

Stops and affricates	voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>
	voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricatives	voiceless		<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>h</i>
	voiced		<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		
Tap			<i>r</i>		
Lateral			<i>l</i>		
Glides		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	

(2) The Eastern Balochi consonant shift

TABLE 11.5: EASTERN BALOCHI CONSONANT SHIFT

ComBal.	EBal.	
	word-initial and postconsonantal position	postvocalic position
<i>p, t, k</i>	aspiration: <i>p^h, t^h, k^h</i>	fricatives: <i>f, θ, x</i>
<i>b, d, g</i>	(no change: <i>b, d, g</i>)	fricatives: <i>β, δ, ġ</i>
<i>č, ǰ</i>	aspiration: <i>č^h</i> (no change: <i>ǰ</i>)	fricatives: <i>š, ž</i>
<i>w</i>	aspiration: <i>w^h</i>	(no change: <i>w</i>)

The main feature distinguishing the dialects of the EBal. group from the Southern and Western ones (collectively noted SWBal.) is a lenition of consonants in postvocalic position, which shifts voiceless and voiced stops to the corresponding fricatives and effects a loss of the dental element in the affricates (see Table 11.5). Retroflex consonants (see 2.1.2.1 (1)) are not affected by this shift.

2.1.2.1 Specific consonant classes

Contemporary Balochi dialects diverge from the system shown in Table 11.4 in several ways, but chiefly by the adoption of retroflex consonants and by the addition of fricatives.

(1) Retroflex consonants

The phonemic systems of the contemporary Balochi dialects include the retroflex phonemes *ʈ*, *ɖ* and *ʂ*, which mainly occur in loanwords from Indic (Ind.) languages, but are also found as results of developments within the language. Retroflex consonants are rather frequent, indicating that they are an integral part of the phonemic systems of most Balochi variants (for a discussion of *ʂ* see Rzehak 1998: 152). There are, however, a small number of dialects spoken in the westernmost parts of Iranian Balochistan without retroflex consonants.

In SBal., *ɳ* is attested only in a limited number of loanwords and it seems uncertain whether a majority of speakers pronounce it, or rather replace it by *n* (Collett 1986 does not include *ɳ*). However, *ɳ* seems to have acquired phonemic status in Eastern Balochi (Bashir 2008: 58).

The retroflex consonants of Indic loanwords are pronounced as such in Balochi. /t/ and /d/ in loanwords from English (which has alveolar rather than dental /t/ and /d/) are often replaced by retroflex consonants in Pakistani Balochi as they are in Modern Indic languages, e.g. *ʈikaʈʈi* 'ticket', *kabāʈi* 'cupboard', *fuʈbāl*, *puʈbāl* 'football'; *ɖākʈar* 'doctor', *ɖīs* 'satellite dish'.

(2) Fricatives and *q*

While the ComBal. phonemic system (see Table 11.4) does not include fricatives other than the sibilants and *h*, the fricatives are integrated to varying degrees in the various contemporary dialects.

The complete set of *f*, *ɸ*, *x*, (*β*?), *ð*, *ǰ* is present as regular phonemes in EBal. (see 2.1.2.3 (2)). In SWBal., the fricatives *f*, *x*, *ǰ* (which chiefly occur in Persian and Arabic loanwords, but also in loanwords from other languages and potentially from Eastern Balochi) are found as peripheral phonemes (see 2.1.2.3 (1)). The tendency to replace them by sounds found in the core of the phonemic system is strong in SBal., where the fricatives are absent from the repertoire of most speakers, but weaker in the WBal. dialects. In IrBal., the pronunciation of *f*, *x* and *ǰ* in loanwords has become more usual in recent times because of the increasing influence of Persian via television and the educational system. Also, speakers of Balochi with higher education may use a 'learned pronunciation', specifically for Pers.-Ar. words from the sphere of religion. So there are doublets of 'common' and 'learned' pronunciation of the same word: *k(a)rāb*, (*h*)*arāb* 'bad' (Pers.-Ar. *xarāb* 'out of order'); *kudā*, *xudā*, *hudā* 'God' (Pers. *xudā*); *kīāl*, *xayāl*, *hayāl* 'thought, opinion' (Pers.-Ar. *xayāl*, *xiyāl* 'imagination, idea'); *kēriat*, (*h*)*ēriat*, *xayriat* 'health, well-being' (Pers.-Ar. *xayriat* 'welfare').

When the fricatives are not retained, Pers.-Ar. *f* is replaced by *p*: *pāida*, *fāida*

‘advantage’ (Pers.-Ar. *fā’ida*), *pilm* (English *film*). For *x*, the most common substitution is that by *h*: *hālīg* ‘empty’ (Pers.-Ar. *xāltī*), *halās* ‘finished’ (Pers.-Ar. *xalās*), *halk* ‘village, people’ (Pers.-Ar. *xalq*). Since *h* disappears in some WBal. dialects (see 2.1.2.3 (1)), *x* in a loanword may appear as zero (cf. e.g. Buddruss 1988: 44; Axenov 2006: 35–36): *alās* ‘finished’, *alk* ‘village, people’, *ayrān* ‘surprised’, (*h*)*abar* ‘news, talk’ (Pers.-Ar. *xabar*). The substitution of *k* for *x* appears to be a more recent phenomenon and has been attested, for example, in Karachi Balochi (Farrell 2003: 176): *kāmōš*, *xāmūs* ‘quiet’ (Pers. *xāmōš*), *kat*, *xat(t)* ‘letter’ (Pers.-Ar. *xatt* ‘line’). The sound *ġ* is replaced by *g* in most cases: *garīb* ‘poor’ (Pers.-Ar. *ġarīb*), *ġalat* ‘wrong’ (Pers.-Ar. *ġalat* ‘mistake’), *gam(m)* ‘grief’ (Pers.-Ar. *ġam(m)*); *augān* ‘Afghan’ (Pers. *afġān*). In Afghanistan and Turkmenistan Balochi, the pronunciation of *x* and *ġ* is common (Buddruss 1988: 44; Axenov 2006: 43).

The uvular plosive *q* is as a rule replaced by *k*; substitution by *x* and *h* also occurs: *ākibat*, *ākubat*, *āxibat* ‘future’ (Pers.-Ar. ‘*āqibat*’), *kismat* ‘destiny’ (Pers.-Ar. *qismat*), *kulp*, *kulf*, *kubl* ‘(door-)lock’ (Pers.-Ar. *qufl*), *pakīr* ‘beggar’ (Pers.-Ar. *faqīr*), *arax* ‘sweat’ (Pers.-Ar. ‘*araq*’), *wahd* (Ar. *waqt*, Pers. *vaxt*). As *q* and *ġ* fall together in some variants of Modern Persian, borrowings in Balochi may also have *ġ* or *g*: *alġa-gōš* ‘earring’ (Pers.-Ar. *ħalqa* ‘ring’), *āšīġ*, *āšix*, *āšik* ‘lover’ (Pers.-Ar. ‘*āšiq*’), *āġā* ‘lord’ (Pers.-Turkic *āqā*).

(3) Aspiration

As a rule, plosives and affricates are unaspirated in Western and Southern Balochi. However, aspiration is found in several SWBal. variants.

The EBal. consonant shift, which brings about aspirated voiceless stops and *č^h* in word-initial position (see Table 11.5), has been used as a criterion to differentiate Balochi dialects. However, the EBal. aspirated voiceless stops and *č* are still the word-initial allophones of the unaspirated counterparts. Also, it seems that the significance of EBal. aspiration has been slightly overestimated. Aspiration of word-initial stop followed by a sonorant seems to be weak (if there is any) so that unaspirated word-initial stops have probably always been present to some degree in Eastern Balochi. In fact, aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops has been observed in other dialects as well (Farrell 2003: 179). Aspirated voiced stops (*b^h*, *d^h*, *ġ^h*, *g^h*) and the affricate *ġ^h* likewise occur in Indic loanwords in Eastern Balochi, but insofar as these sounds occur at all, they may be considered borrowed phonemes. However, the EBal. dialect from Kohlu district described by Bashir (2008: 58–59) appears to have contrastive aspiration for voiceless and voiced stops and sonorants.

Apart from this, aspiration does not seem to be phonemic in Balochi. In this sense, the only reason to note aspiration of voiceless stops in Eastern Balochi is that EBal. words have been cited this way so far.

(4) Geminaton

With the exception of *y*, *h* and the peripheral phonemes, all consonants may be geminated. Geminate only occur under certain conditions, though (see 2.1.3.3). They are mainly found in loanwords, but are also the result of sound changes in Balochi words.

Dialects and sources vary significantly in the occurrence (or notation) of geminates. The details remain to be studied. So far, it seems that geminates are frequent in some Western dialects and less frequent elsewhere, and gemination also appears to depend on the subdialect or other sort of variant involved.

In what follows, gemination is noted as C(C): *čam(m)* ‘eye’, *duz(z)* ‘thief’, meaning that one or several sources show gemination whereas others do not.

2.1.2.2 Pronunciation of loanwords

'Foreign' consonants other than those mentioned in 2.1.2.1 are rendered as follows in Balochi:

The majority of the Arabic loans are likely to have entered Balochi via Persian, so it is not surprising that they show features also exhibited by their form in Persian. However, Arabic words may also have been adopted via Indic languages or via direct contact. Since the source of a particular word may be difficult to determine, these words will be labelled 'Pers.-Ar.'.

Arabic 'ayn (ع) disappears in word-initial position (as it does in Persian, for the treatment of Arabic 'ayn in Persian, see Jahani 2005a): *adālat(t)* 'court' (Pers.-Ar. 'idālat 'justice'), *izzat* 'honour' (Pers.-Ar. 'izzat), *uzr* 'excuse' (Pers.-Ar. 'uzr), *akl, agl* 'intelligence' (Pers.-Ar. 'aql), *ayb* 'fault' (Pers.-Ar. 'ayb). See also 2.1.3.1.

In postvocalic position, 'ayn lengthens the preceding vowel (as in Urdu and in spoken Persian): *bād* 'later' (Pers.-Ar. *ba'd*), *tārīp* 'praise' (Pers.-Ar. *tārīf*), *tām* 'taste' (Pers.-Ar. *ta'm*), *dāwā* 'lawsuit' (Pers.-Ar. *da'wā*). Postvocalic word-final 'ayn seems to be lost: *tama* 'desire' (Pers.-Ar. *tama*).

The loss of intervocalic 'ayn or hamza (ء) may result in a sequence V + V: *pāida, fāida* 'advantage' (Pers.-Ar. *fā'ida*). A glide may then be inserted (see 2.3.2.1): *sāhat, sahat* 'hour, time' (Pers.-Ar. *sā'at*).

Sindhi *ḍ* is replaced by *ḍ* or *d*. The other implosive consonants are replaced by the corresponding non-implosive consonants.

Although *v* in loanwords (see also 2.1.2.3 (2)) is as a rule replaced by *w*, some cases of word-initial *v*- show up as *g*- or *b*- (and in Iran, also *v*-) when taken over into Balochi (see Korn 2005a: 279–280).

2.1.2.3 Consonant systems of Balochi dialects

(1) Southern and Western Balochi

As the divergences between the SWBal. consonant systems are rather minor, it is convenient to present the overall system as shown in Table 11.6.

TABLE 11.6: CONSONANTS IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN BALOCHI

Stops and affricates	voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>
	voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricatives	voiceless	<i>(f)</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>	<i>(x) h</i>
	voiced		<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>	<i>(ǧ)</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
Taps			<i>r</i>	<i>ɾ</i>		
Lateral			<i>l</i>			
Glides		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>	

ž is rare in SWBal. (comparable to its status in Persian), but as there are minimal pairs, it should be considered a separate phoneme.

h is absent from the WBal. dialect of Turkmenistan and weak in the other WBal. dialects (thence noted as optional e.g. in Barker/Mengal 1969).

f, *x*, and *ǧ* are peripheral phonemes (see 2.1.2.1 (2)).

(2) *Eastern Balochi*

The EBal. consonant system (Table 11.7) differs markedly from that of the other dialects by the integration of a series of voiceless and voiced fricatives. For the status of aspiration, see 2.1.2.1 (3).

Historically, the EBal. fricatives started out as allophones of the corresponding stops, but when the consonant shift (see 2.1.2 (2)) had ceased to operate, the adoption of loanwords containing postvocalic stops and fricatives not only in postvocalic position created a new phonemic opposition.

The number of labial fricative / glide phonemes in Eastern Balochi is not entirely clear (see Korn 2005a: 61–62 for discussion). Some authors have assumed the presence of a glide *w* corresponding to ComBal. *w* (with a word-initial aspirated, or maybe rather devoiced, allophone *w^h*), and of a fricative *β* (noted *β* here for systematic reasons, without implications as to its pronunciation) resulting from postvocalic ComBal. *b* via the EBal. consonant shift. Other authors assume only one phoneme *w*, with or without an allophone *w^h*. It might also be possible that there is a phonemic opposition between *w* and *β* in some EBal. dialect(s) and none in others.

On a synchronic level, the EBal. palatals correspond to the set seen in the other dialects. However, owing to the sound change described in Table 11.5, the status of *ž* within the phonemic system is much stronger than in the other dialects. The affricates *č*, *ǰ* have been reintroduced in Eastern Balochi in postvocalic position via borrowings from other languages and dialects.

TABLE 11.7: CONSONANTS IN EASTERN BALOCHI

Stops and affricates	voiceless	<i>p^(h)</i>	<i>t^(h)</i>		<i>t^(h)</i>	<i>č^(h)</i>	<i>k^(h)</i>	
	voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>d̪</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives	voiceless	<i>f</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
	voiced	<i>β(?)</i>	<i>ð</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>(n)</i>			
Taps			<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ɾ</i>			
Glides		<i>w^(h)</i>				<i>y</i>		

In some EBal. dialects spoken in Sindh the dental fricatives *θ*, *ð* change to the corresponding sibilants *s*, *z* (e.g. *č^hās* ‘spring, fountain’ vs. *č^hāθ*, SWBal. *čāt*; *šuz* ‘hunger’ vs. *šud*, SWBal. *šud*, cf. Geiger 1891: 428, Grierson 1921: 414), yielding a simpler system of consonant phonemes (Table 11.8).

TABLE 11.8: CONSONANTS IN EASTERN BALOCHI DIALECTS OF SINDH

Stops and affricates	voiceless	<i>p^(h)</i>	<i>t^(h)</i>	<i>t^(h)</i>	<i>č^(h)</i>	<i>k^(h)</i>	
	voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d̪</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives	voiceless	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
	voiced	<i>β(?)</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>(n)(?)</i>			
Taps			<i>r</i>	<i>ɾ</i>			
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
Glides		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant clusters

The points described below instantiate a common principle: namely, they restrict the maximum weight of a syllable.

2.1.3.1 Syllable patterns

There are nine possible syllable patterns in Balochi (see Table 11.9). In all these syllable patterns, the vowel may be either long or short.

TABLE 11.9: SYLLABLE PATTERNS IN BALOCHI

V	<i>u</i> ‘and’, <i>ā</i> ‘that, he, she’, <i>ē</i> ‘this’
VC	<i>aš</i> ‘from’, <i>āp</i> ‘water’, <i>ēr</i> ‘down, below’
VCC	<i>ars</i> ‘tear (n.)’, <i>umr</i> ‘life’, <i>ārt</i> ‘flour’
CV	<i>na</i> ‘no’, <i>bō</i> ‘smell’, <i>tū</i> ‘big’
CVC	<i>man</i> ‘I’, <i>nōd</i> ‘cloud’, <i>šēr</i> ‘lion’
CVCC	<i>mark</i> ‘death’, <i>garm</i> ‘warm’, <i>bāsk</i> ‘upper arm’
CCV	<i>bra</i> ‘go (imper. 2S)’, <i>trū</i> ‘aunt’, <i>brā</i> ‘brightness’
CCVC	<i>gwar</i> ‘beside’, <i>srēn</i> ‘loins’, <i>brās</i> ‘brother’
CCVCC	<i>bramš</i> ‘twinkle’, <i>dračk</i> ‘tree’, <i>prōšt</i> ‘break’ (pret. 3S)

The pronunciation of a syllable with an initial V after a pause normally starts with a non-phonemic consonantal feature (glottal plosive or glottal fricative) (cf. also Jahani 2005a). In the northern parts of the WBal. area, the glottal plosive is normally encountered. Word-initial *h* is also normally dropped (see also 2.1.2.3). In some dialects, e.g. IRBal. of Sarbaz, the common consonantal onset feature is *h*, e.g. *[h]asp* / *[h]aps* ‘horse’, *[h]ošter* ‘camel’. In the SBal. variant of Chabahar the two onset features are employed side by side, even by the same speaker, e.g. *[h]awr* / *[ʔ]awr* ‘rain’, *[h]astē* / *[ʔ]astē* ‘he/she/it is’.

Onset clusters found in a large variety of Balochi dialects are:

- any plosive (except the retroflex ones) and *s*, *z* + *r*: *prušag* ‘to break (itr.)’, *bramš* ‘twinkle’, *tramp* ‘drip of water’, *drāj* ‘long’, *krinč* ‘wrinkle’, *grand* ‘thunder’, *srēn*;
- *b*, *d*, *g*, *ǰ*, *n*, *s*, *š* + *w*: *dwārag* ‘again’, *gwarā* ‘beside’, *ǰwān* ‘good, well’, *mwāsag* ‘grand-child’, *swār* ‘riding, mounting’, *šwānag* ‘shepherd’, *zring* ‘well’;
- any plosive (except the retroflex ones) and *m*, *n*, *s*, *z* + *y*: *pyālag* ‘cup’, *tyāb* ‘seashore’, *dyār* ‘land’, *kyāmat(t)* ‘resurrection’, *gyābān* ‘desert’, *myān* ‘middle’, *nyām* ‘middle’, *syā(h)* ‘black’, *zyāt* ‘much’;
- *sp*, *st*, *sk*: *spēt* ‘white’, *stār/stāl* ‘star’, *skūl* ‘school’ (these clusters are, however, often pronounced with a prothetic *i*:- *ispēt*, *istār* / *istāl*, *iskūl*).
- For consonant clusters involving the modal prefix *bi*-, see 2.3.2.2.

The number of possible coda clusters found in Balochi is much greater than the onset clusters. (Intrasyllabic clusters are not discussed here.) Some examples of coda clusters are:

- C plus plosive: *-pt* (*(h)apt* ‘seven’), *-tk* (*izbōtk* ‘lovage (ligusticum ajowan)’); *-čk* (*dračk* ‘tree’), *-ǰg* (*maǰg* ‘marrow, bra in’); *-šp*, *-št*, *-šk* (*mušk* ‘mouse’, *trušp* ‘sour’, *gōšt* ‘meat’); *-sk*, *-sp*, *-st* (*āsk* ‘gazelle’, *bwasp* ‘sleep’, *bust* ‘stand up (both imper. 2S)’); *-hd* (*wahd* ‘time’); *-mp* (*tramp* ‘drip of water’), *-nt*, *-nǰ*, *-nd*, *-nǰ*, *-nk*, *-ng* (*pant* ‘advice’, *lunt* ‘lip’),

- rand* ‘after’, *gurānd* ‘ram’, *tēlānk* ‘pushing’, *jang* ‘fight’); *-rp*, *-rt*, *-rd*, *-rk*, *-rg* (*barp* ‘snow’, *ārt* ‘flour’, *mard* ‘man’, *mark* ‘death’, *murg* ‘bird’), *-lp*, *-lk*, *-lg* (*kulp* ‘lock’, (*h*)*alk* ‘settlement, encampment, village’, *balg* ‘leaf’); *-wt* (*rawt* ‘he/she/it goes’), *-yp*, *-yb*, *-yk*, *-yt* (*kayp* ‘pleasure’, *ayb* ‘fault’, *hayk* ‘egg’, *kayt* ‘he/she/it comes’);
- C plus sibilant or affricate: *-nč*, *-nǰ*, *-nz* (*panč* ‘five’, *brinǰ* ‘rice’, *pōnz* ‘nose’); *-mš* (*bramš* ‘twinkle’), *-bz* (*labz* ‘word’); *-rč*, *-rs*, *-rz* (*kārč* ‘knife’, *ars* ‘tear (n.)’, *burz* ‘high’); *-wš*, *-wz* (*kawš* ‘shoe’, *jawz* ‘walnut’), *-yš* (*ayš* ‘luxury’);
 - combinations of stop plus sonorant: *-br*, *-tr*, *-dr*, *-kr* (*zabr* ‘good’, *putr* ‘enter, sneak in (imper. 2S)’, *nadr* (an interjection of appreciation), *pikr* ‘thought’); *-kl*, *-km* (*akl* ‘reason’, (*h*)*ukm* ‘order’);
 - other combinations: *-šn*, *-žn* (*gušn*, *gužn* ‘hunger’); *-sl*, *-sm* (*gusl* ‘washing’, *kism* ‘kind, sort’), *-zm*, *-zr* (*izm* ‘permission (to leave)’, *uzr* ‘excuse’); *-hl*, *-hm* (*tahl* ‘bitter’, *tuhm* ‘seed’); *-lm* (*zulm* ‘oppression’), *-rm*, *-rn* (*garm* ‘warm’, *karn* ‘century’); *-wl*, *-wm*, *-wn*, *-wr* (*kawl* ‘promise’, *kawm* ‘people’, *sawn* ‘divorce’, *hawr* ‘rain’); *-yl*, *-yr* (*sayl* ‘looking’, *hayr* ‘well’).

2.1.3.2 Diphthongs

The sequences *ay* and *aw* (see 2.1.1.1) often referred to as ‘diphthongs’ are biphonemic combinations of *a* plus a glide, which implies they are never followed by another consonant cluster or a geminate. Conversely, *ē* and *ō* (including the IrBal. variants *ie* and *ue*, see 2.1.1.2) may be followed by two consonants, but not by a geminate.

2.1.3.3 Geminated consonants

As a rule, the geminated consonants (see 2.1.2.1 (4)) are limited to the position after short vowels. Gemination is also limited to word-final or intervocalic position. According to Elfenbein (1991: 115), a word-final geminate is shortened when the next word begins with a consonant. So from the perspective of the sentence as a whole, geminates only occur in intervocalic position. Geminates count as consonant clusters in metrical texts.

Some SBal. dialects appear to geminate consonants after *ī* and *ū*. Other cases of geminates after long vowels are specific to some sources, and all of them are likely to be loanwords, e.g. *šāddī* ‘joy’ (WBalNosh., BMC).

2.2 Non-segmental features

2.2.1 Word stress

The scarce information available on word stress in Balochi suggests that it differs considerably among the dialects, and even in the very principles it follows. The diverging stress patterns appear to mirror language contact (see Korn 2005a: 67–70).

Western Balochi

For the Western Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan (cf. Axenov 2006: 48–50, partly revising Rastorgueva 1966: 328f., 334–336; Moshkalo 1991: 40, 67ff.) and Afghanistan (Buddruss 1988: 45ff.), a system of stress has been noted which is similar to that of New Persian. The stress is on the last syllable of the word as a rule, except for the individuation marker (see 4.2) *-ē*, the pronominal suffixes and the present copula, which are enclitic. The verbal

stem is also stressed on the last syllable, but the endings of the present tense are usually stressed. The negative prefix *na-* and the prohibitive prefix *ma-* attract the stress. Verb forms with the prefix *b(i)-* (see 3.2.5.2) likewise have the stress on the first syllable (thus on the first syllable of the stem if the vowel of the prefix is omitted, see 2.3.2.2), and the nominal part of complex predicates takes the phrase stress. Case endings added to monosyllabic nouns always bear the stress (on their first syllable if the ending has more than one syllable), whereas polysyllabic nouns are stressed on the last syllable of the stem, all case endings being enclitic. Inflected forms of the interrogative pronouns *čē* ‘what’ are stressed on the first syllable, however. There are also a few adverbs that are stressed on the first syllable.

Southern Balochi

According to available data (which, however, would need careful checking), the stress patterns in the SBal. dialect of Karachi differs markedly from the WBal. system in that the place of the stress depends on the weight of the syllables. A heavy syllable is one which contains a long vowel or diphthong or a short vowel followed by more than one consonant. The nasal element of nasal vowels does not count as a consonant. A word-final long vowel and a word-final short vowel followed by one consonant count as light syllables. The domain of the stress is the last three syllables of a word. Counting from the end of the word, the stress is on the first syllable that is heavy. A secondary stress may fall on the initial syllable of longer words, and some morphologically conditioned rules may override these principles.

In the SBal. dialect of Chabahar (Iran), however, stress is on the final syllable irrespective of syllable quantity.

Eastern Balochi

Information on the EBal. stress is particularly scarce. The description by Gilbertson (1925/II: 797), although presented in categories different from those used here, seems to suggest rules very similar to (if not identical with) those observed for Karachi Balochi: i.e. essentially, the last heavy syllable of a word is stressed. Complex verbs and preposition + noun are treated as a unit as far as stress is concerned.

2.2.2 *Intonation*

There is contrastive intonation in Balochi. Declarative sentences and sentences with question words are characterized by a falling pitch on the final syllable of the sentence. Interrogative sentences without a question word have a gradually rising pitch towards the end while an added tag question has a falling tone.

2.3 **Conditioned morphophonemic changes**

2.3.1 *Nasal vowels*

Nasal vowels are widespread in Balochi, specifically in the Eastern and Southern dialects; some WBal. dialects do not have nasal vowels at all. In most instances nasalisation is not phonemic, and nasal vowels can be analysed as allophonic sequences of V + *n*. There is often a pronunciation *Vn* when a vowel follows: OBL.P *-ān* + V vs. *-ā̃* + C, adj. suffix *-ēn* + V vs. *-ē̃* + C.

Nasalisation mostly affects *ān* and *ēn*; the number of dialects that show nasalisation of other vowels is smaller. In some dialects, *Vnt* may yield a nasal vowel as well: *zānt* vs. *zā̃* ‘knows’, *int* vs. *ē̃* (3S copula) in Karachi Balochi.

In some dialects, certain nasal vowels have acquired phonemic status. This applies to *ā̃* and *ē̃* in the EBal. dialect described by Bashir (2008: 60), to the vowels just mentioned and to *ō̃* in Karachi Balochi (Farrell 2003:174), and to all vowels in Sarawani (Baranzehi 2003: 81).

In the following sections, nasal vowels (e.g. *ā̃*) will be noted when the given dialect(s) do not have a non-nasalised variant; otherwise the notation will be *Vn* (e.g. *ān*).

2.3.2 Consonants

2.3.2.1 Hiatus

Adjacent vowels may be separated by a hiatus-deleting consonant (HI, see Korn 2005a: 162, 235, 242, 249, 259). This applies to hiatus caused by absence of C (e.g. *šā(h)ir* ‘poet’ (Pers.-Ar. *šā’ir*), *mahī* ‘May’) and to the addition of suffixes to stems in vowels (e.g. *ā-h-ān* / *ā-y-ān* / *ā-w-ān* DEM-HI-POBL. *čā-h-ān* ‘tea (POBL)’, *zā(h)-* / *zāy-* ‘give birth’, *grē(w)-* ‘weep’). In other cases, the vowel hiatus remains (see 2.1.2.2).

To some extent, the use and the choice of the consonant depend on the dialect involved. The use of *h* is widespread, with WBal. dialects also making use of *w* and *y*.

2.3.2.2 The modal prefix *bi-*

The vowel of the modal prefix *bi-* (see 3.2.5.2) may be rounded before back vowels in the following syllable (e.g. *bu-pōš* ‘put on (clothes)’), or it may be omitted. In this case it often assimilates to the following consonant (cf. Buddruss 1988: 59): *p-kašš* ‘pull!’ (Baranzehi 2003: 96), *p-kan* ‘do’, *b-gind* ‘see’, *b-čār* / *p-čār* ‘look’, *b-dōč* ‘sew’, *b-šōd* / *p-šōd* ‘wash’, *b-nind* / *m-nind* ‘sit’. It may merge with *p-* and *b-*, e.g. *putr* ‘enter’, *bar* ‘carry’. Before vowels, it displays the variants *b-* (before back vowels) e.g. *b-ōšt* ‘stand’, *b-ust* ‘stand up’, or *by-*, e.g. *by-ār* ‘bring’ (all examples are imperative 2S).

2.3.2.3 Verbal suffixes

Parallel to the nasalisation of vowels (see 2.3.1), the form of some verbal suffixes may depend on the following sound. In some dialects, there is a tendency for the *-t* of the 3S and the 3P (see 3.2.4) to be limited to the position before vowel while there is a reduced or nasalised form in other contexts (Baranzehi 2003: 88 note 22, cf. also the frequent alternation *farmāinī* ‘(God) commands’ vs. *farmāinīt-ī* (with 3S pronominal suffix) in Farrell 2008: 130ff.).

Similarly, the perfect participle (see 3.2.3.2) is mostly *-ag* before a suffix with vowel, but often *-a* otherwise.

2.3.2.4 Metathesis

There are several instances of metathesis of consonant clusters (see Korn 2005a: 176–178, 234, 240–241, 265–267). One type involves stops or a stop plus *s*: *waps-* vs. *wasp-* ‘sleep’, *bašk-* ‘forgive’ (also *bakš-*) (vs. Pers. *baxš-*); SBal. *gētk* vs. WBal. *gēht* < **gēxt-*, past stem of *gēj-* ‘throw’), others arrange syllables according to the preferred sonority pattern (*kulp* vs. Pers.-Ar. *qufl* ‘lock’, *tahl* vs. Pers.-Ar. *talx* ‘bitter’).

3 MORPHOLOGY

Balochi dialects differ considerably in many aspects, and the morphology is no exception. For the notation of nasal vowels, see 2.3.1.

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Nominal categories

There is no grammatical gender in any dialect of Balochi.

The categories relevant for the Balochi nominal system are case and number (singular (S) and plural (P), see also 4.5.1).

Mass nouns like *āp* ‘water’, *čā* ‘tea’, *nān* ‘bread’, *gōšt* ‘meat’, *galla(g)* ‘wheat’, etc. are treated as plural nouns and used with a 3P verb when they denote a certain quantity:

ē čammag-ay yaxx-ēn u pāk-ēn āp-ānā-a war-ant
 DEM spring-GEN ice-ATTR and pure-ATTR water-P.OBJ-V.EL drink.PR-3P
 ‘they drink the cold and pure water of this spring’. (TBal., ABT: 68)

In the generic meaning, they are treated as singular:

āp-a war-ant
 water-V.EL drink.PR-3P
 ‘they drink water’. (WBal.)

3.1.1.2 Case system

(1) There is no agreement in grammatical descriptions of Balochi on the number of cases and what they should be called (see Korn 2005b, 2008b). Essentially there are the following cases (see also 3.2.7, 4.1 and 4.4 for discussion of case marking):

- The direct (DIR) case (also called nominative by some authors) denotes the subject in sentences constructed nominatively and the patient in sentences constructed ergatively.
- The oblique (OBL) case is used for the agent in ergative sentences, with prepositions and in locative and adverbial functions.
- The object (OBJ) case is employed for direct and indirect objects in sentences with nominative-accusative alignment. The oblique case is also used in this function.
- The genitive (GEN) case is used for possessors and with postpositions.
- The vocative (VOC) case is used in direct address.

Points of much variation are the use of the object case suffix *-rā*, and of the genitive case. The WBal. dialects have *-ay* for the GEN.S and *-ārā* or *-ānā* for the OBJ.P. The SBal. system has genitive singular *-ē* and the OBJ.P is marked with *-ānā(rā)*, *-ānā* or *-ānrā*. In EBal., the suffix *-ān* may optionally be used in the DIR.P. The object case has the suffixes *-ār(ā)* (S), *-ār(ā)* (P). The GEN.S may be marked with *-ē*, *-a* or zero.

(2) Table 11.10 shows the case system common in dialects spoken in Pakistan.

(3) In the Balochi dialects of Afghanistan and Turkmenistan (Table 11.11), there is no separate form of the object case in the singular and the marker of the GEN.S is *-ay* for nouns while *-ī* is used on *xudā* ‘God’ and on names. Objects are found in the OBJ case.

TABLE 11.10: CASE SYSTEM OF PAKISTANI BALOCHI

	Direct	Oblique	Object	Genitive	Vocative
Singular	$-\emptyset$	$-\bar{a}$	$-\bar{a}r\bar{a}$	$-ay, -\bar{e}, -\bar{i}$	$-\emptyset$
Plural		$-\bar{a}n$	$-\bar{a}n\bar{a}, -\bar{a}nr\bar{a}$	$-\bar{a}n\bar{i}$	$-\bar{a}n$

TABLE 11.11: CASE SYSTEM OF TURKMENISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN BALOCHI

	Direct	Oblique	Object	Genitive	Locative	Vocative
Singular	$-\emptyset$		$-\bar{a}$	$-ay, \bar{i}$	$-ay\bar{a}, -\bar{i}\bar{a}$	$-\emptyset$
Plural		$-\bar{a}n$	$-\bar{a}n\bar{a}$	$-\bar{a}n\bar{i}$	$-\bar{a}n\bar{i}\bar{a}$	$-\bar{a}n$

The element $-r\bar{a}$ is not systematically used for nouns, but occurs in the pronominal paradigms as marker of the object case.

More noteworthy is a case called ‘oblique II’ by Buddruss (1988: 45–52) and ‘locative’ by Axenov (2006: 80–83, 104), which is used in local/directional function (cf. Korn 2008a). Its marker is composed of the oblique case ending $-\bar{a}$, which is suffixed to that of the genitive, thence $-ay-\bar{a}$ or $-\bar{i}-\bar{a}$, pl. $-\bar{a}n-\bar{i}-\bar{a}$.

(Note that the case ending $-\bar{a}$ in these dialects is glossed in two different ways, OBJ when it is an object (direct or indirect) and OBL elsewhere.)

(4) In IrBal., there is a restructuring in progress towards a primary contrast between singular and plural, whereas the opposition between direct vs. oblique case tends to get lost (cf. Jahani 2003). The suffix $-\bar{a}n$ is used for the functions that DIR and OBL case have in the other dialects, while the OBL.S is mostly not marked in functions other than objects (i.e. $-\emptyset$ after prepositions, for adverbial use and for the agent in ergative constructions), yielding a system that may be described as in Table 11.12. As in AfBal. and TBal., the element $-r\bar{a}$ is not systematically used for nouns, but occurs in the pronominal paradigms as case marker of the OBJ.

TABLE 11.12: CASE SYSTEM OF IRANIAN BALOCHI

	Direct	Object	Genitive	Vocative
Singular	$-\emptyset$	$-\bar{a}(r\bar{a})$	$-ey$	$-\emptyset$
Plural	$-\bar{a}n$	$-\bar{a}n\bar{a}$	$-\bar{a}n\bar{i}$	$-\bar{a}n$

Note, however, that in the southernmost IrBal. dialects (spoken in, for example, Sarbaz, Kaserkand and Chabahar) the case system is similar to that of Pakistani Balochi, insofar as the DIR.P is unmarked and the OBL.P takes the ending $-\bar{a}n$, but follows the IrBal. system for OBJ/OBL.S and OBJ.P. There are also intermediary dialects with $-\bar{a}n$ for the DIR.P.

IrBal. dialects also use the *ezāfe* construction (see Jahani 1994, 2003: 128, cf. also 3.1.3 (1)). In the dialect of the Central Sarawan valley, the GEN is replaced by the *ezāfe* construction (Baranzehi 2003: 81, see Table 11.13).

TABLE 11.13: CASE SYSTEM OF CENTRAL SARAWANI

	Direct	Object	Vocative
Singular	-Ø	-ā(rā)	-Ø
Plural	-ān	-ānā	-ān

3.1.2 Pronouns and deixis

Balochi pronouns exhibit a variation in number and function of cases similar to the one observed for nouns in 3.1.1.2. As the pronouns present more complex systems than the nouns in several respects (cf. also Korn 2005b), they are kept as one unit (i.e. without hyphens) in the morphological analysis.

3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

Tables 11.14 and 11.15 display the pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons. They show the same form for the DIR and OBL in several dialects. It is not clear whether the contrast DIR vs. OBL noted in the earlier sources for the EBal. IS pronoun is (still) valid, and if so, in which dialect(s). Bashir (2008: 48) has *mā*, *mā̃* for both direct and oblique case.

TABLE 11.14: PRONOUNS FOR THE 1ST AND 2ND SINGULAR

		Direct, Oblique	Object	Genitive	Locative	
1S	EBal.	<i>ma, mā, mā̃, mā</i>	<i>manā, manā̃</i>	<i>maī, maī̃</i>	—	
	SBal.	<i>man</i>	<i>manā, manārā</i>	<i>m(a)nī</i>		
	WBal.	Pakistan	<i>man</i>		<i>m(a)nā</i>	<i>mnā̃</i>
		Afgh.+Turkm.				
	IrBal.		<i>man</i>			
Sarawani		<i>mon</i>	<i>mona</i>	—		
2S	EBal.	<i>t^haw, t^ha</i>	<i>t^har(ā)</i>	<i>t^haī, t^hī̃</i>	—	
	SBal.	<i>taw, tō</i>	<i>t(a)rā, tarārā</i>	<i>taī</i>		
	WBal.	Pakistan	<i>taw</i>		<i>t(a)rā</i>	<i>tī̃</i>
		Afgh.+Turkm.	<i>ta</i>			
	IrBal.		<i>taw, ta</i>	<i>tarā, torā</i>	<i>taī, tī̃</i>	<i>tīā</i>
Sarawani		<i>ta</i>	<i>tara</i>	—		

TABLE 11.15: PRONOUNS FOR THE 1ST AND 2ND PLURAL

		Direct, Oblique	Object	Genitive	Locative	
1P	EBal.	<i>mā</i>	<i>mār(ā)</i>	<i>māī, māī</i>	—	
	SBal.	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>maē, mē</i>		
	WBal.	Pakistan	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>		<i>may</i>
		AfBal.+TBal.	<i>am(m)ā</i>	<i>am(m)ārā</i>	<i>am(m)ay</i>	<i>am(m)ayā</i>
	IrBal.	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>may</i>	—	
Sarawani	—					
2P	EBal.	<i>š(a)wā, šā</i>	<i>š(a)wār, šār</i>	<i>š(a)wāī, šāī</i>	—	
	SBal.	<i>šumā</i>	<i>šumārā</i>	<i>šumē</i>		
	WBal.	Pakistan	<i>š(u)mā</i>	<i>š(u)mārā</i>		<i>š(u)may</i>
		AfBal.+TBal.				
	IrBal.	<i>š(o)mā</i>	<i>š(o)mārā</i>	<i>š(o)mey</i>	—	
Sarawani	—					

For the functions of the non-direct cases, pronominal suffixes are also used (see 3.1.2.2), and possessive adjectives may be used instead of the genitive (see 6.1).

Demonstrative pronouns are employed for the 3rd person (see 3.1.2.3).

A separate form for the 1P inclusive (*mā-š(u)mā*) is found in the Balochi dialects of Afghanistan (Buddruss 1988: 51), Turkmenistan (Sokolov 1956: 69) and some IrBal. dialects, e.g. Sarawani; the latter also has an additional 1P exclusive (*mā-wat*, lit. 'we ourselves'), and dual (*mā-taw* 'I and you.S') (Baranzehi 2003: 85).

3.1.2.2 Pronominal suffixes

In addition to the independent pronouns, there are pronominal suffixes, also called enclitic pronouns (ENCL.PRO, Table 11.16), which are used in all functions of the oblique case, i.e. agent of ergative constructions (see 3.2.7, 4.4.1), direct and indirect objects (4.4.2), and as possessive pronouns.

TABLE 11.16: PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

	1st			2nd			3rd		
	EBal.	WBal.	IrBal.	EBal.	WBal.	IrBal.	EBal.	SBal.	WBal., IrBal.
Sg.	<i>-ā, -ū</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>-on, -om</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-it</i>	<i>-et</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī, -ē, -iš</i>	<i>-ē, -ī</i>
Pl.		<i>-in</i>	<i>-en</i>		<i>-ū</i>	<i>-ō, -iš</i>	<i>-iš</i>	<i>-iš, -ē</i>	<i>-iš, -ēš</i>

The pronominal suffixes are used to markedly varying degrees. Balochi dialects in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan use them mainly for the 3rd person, although in the literary language (e.g. oral and written poetry, modern short stories and novels) other persons are also encountered. IrBal. dialects use them frequently for all persons.

3.1.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected essentially in the same way as the nouns. The distal demonstratives are also used as personal pronouns for the 3rd person.

The attested stems differ across the dialects (Table 11.17). Some demonstrative pronouns only occur in adjectival function, that is, in attributive position. Frequently, demonstratives take the prefix *ham* for emphasis (*(h)am-ā*, *(h)am-ē*, EBal. *haw-*). In some dialects, these forms have become the usual forms of the demonstratives.

TABLE 11.17: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOMINAL STEMS

	Stem	Use	Dialects
proximal	<i>ē</i>	attributive, in direct case also substantive	all dialects
	<i>ēš</i>	inflected	
	<i>īn</i>		several dialects
	<i>ī</i>	attributive, in direct case also substantive	EBal.
	<i>(i)š-</i>		several dialects
distal	<i>ā</i>		SWBal.
	<i>ān</i>		EBal.

3.1.2.4 Other pronouns

The pronouns *kay* ‘who’ and *čē / čī* ‘what, which’ are inflected like demonstrative pronouns. The pronoun *wat* ‘self’ is used as a reflexive pronoun for functions entirely parallel to that of Persian *xod* (both < **lwwat-*). Its case forms are, depending on the dialect, OBL *wat(ā)*, OBJ *watā / wat(ā)rā*, GEN *watī*. When the possessor coincides with the subject, *watī* must be used for all persons, for example

man watī pādišcū u taxt-ā tark-a kan-īn
 I self.GEN kingdom and throne-OBJ abandoning-V.EL do. PR-1S
 ‘I will leave my (lit. own) kingdom and throne’. (TBal.)

3.1.3 Adjectives

(1) Attributive adjectives usually precede the head noun. In this position, they are used with the suffix *-ēn*: *warnā-ēn bačak(k)* ‘the young boy’, *waš(š)-ēn hāl* ‘good news’. Adjectives can also be used as nouns, in which case they take case endings: *(h)am-ē warnā-ā* ‘that young (man) (OBL/OBJ)’. When postposed to a noun for emphasis and clarification, the adjective is treated as a noun:

gunākārī-ē mazan-ēn-ā
 sin-INDEF big-ATTR-OBJ
 'a big sin' (TBal., ABT: 88)

In fixed phrases (and in IrBal. also elsewhere), *ezāfe* constructions are used. Here, the adjective is found with or without the attributive suffix:

awlād-e nēk-ēn o swāleh-ēn
 children-EZ good-ATTR and pious-ATTR
 'good and pious children' (IrBalSarw., BSD: 84)

pa izzat-i tamām
 for honour-EZ complete
 'with great honour' (TBal., ABT: 92)

(2) The comparative is formed by adding *-tir*, and the superlative by adding the attributive ending *-ēn* to the comparative: *šar(r)-tir* 'better', *šar(r)-tir-ēn* 'better, the best' (*šar(r)* 'good'). This means that *šarrtir-ēn kitāb-ē* (with the individuation suffix *-ē*) means 'a better book' and without this suffix 'the best book'. Noteworthy irregular forms are *mas-tir* and *kas-tir* (for *mazan* 'big' and *kasān* 'small'). The adposition used in comparisons is *ša / čē* (etc., see 3.1.5) 'from, than'.

(3) A number of dialects also have analytic expressions with *ša / čē*:

āā čē mazan
 DEM.OBL from big
 'bigger than he/she', 'lit. 'from him/her/it big' (SBal., Karachi dialect, Farrell 2003: 197)

man ša zāg-ā ũ at-un
 I from child-OBL big COP.PT-1S
 'I was bigger than the child'. (AfBal., BLB: 50)

The superlative form occurs in attributive position and when the adjective functions as a noun. In predicative position the formulation 'than all' is added to the comparative to give the superlative meaning.

tājir bi swār-ānī mastir-ēn-ā gušt
 merchant to rider-P.GEN big.SUP-OBL say.PT.3S
ki pādīšā-ay zāmās am-ēš int
 CL king-GEN son-in-law EMPH-DEM COP.PR.3S
 'the merchant told the eldest (lit. biggest) of the riders that this was the king's son-in-law'. (TBal.)

mastir-ēn gušt mnī piss nājōr at
 big.SUP say.PT.3S I.GEN father ill COP.PT.3S
 'the eldest one said: my father was ill'. (TBal.)

ašpswār-ay zām ša mučč-ān ũ-tir at
 rider-GEN sword from all-P.OBL big-COMP COP.PT.3S
 'the sword of the rider was the biggest'. (TBal., ABT: 90)

3.1.4 Adverbs

Adjectives normally also function as adverbs in Balochi: *ǰwān int* ‘it is good’ vs. *ǰwān kurt* ‘he/she did well’ (WBal.). Certain adjectives in the OBL may function as adverbs: *dūr-ā* ‘hard’ (adv.), *ǰahl-ā* ‘deep down’ (see also 3.1.1.2 (1)).

Further adverbial expressions can be formed with the help of the postposition *sarā* ‘on’ (see 3.1.5), e.g. *zōr-ē sarā* ‘powerfully’ (SBalKar., FBB: 68), or the preposition *pa* ‘for’, e.g. *pa drōg* ‘lyingly’ (TBal., ABT: 97).

3.1.5 Adpositions

Prepositions, postpositions as well as circumpositions are found in Balochi. Table 11.18 shows some frequently encountered adpositions.

TABLE 11.18: BALOCHI ADPOSITIONS (SELECTION)

Prepositions	Postpositions	Circumpositions
<i>ša</i> / <i>ča</i> / <i>aš</i> / <i>ač</i> ‘from’	<i>čē</i> ‘from’	<i>ša</i> . . . <i>puštā</i> (etc.) ‘from behind (etc.)’
<i>pa(r)</i> ‘for’	<i>puštā</i> ‘behind’	<i>pa</i> . . . <i>xātir-ā</i> ‘for, for the sake of’
<i>bi</i> ‘to’	<i>tahā</i> ‘inside’	<i>bi</i> . . . <i>tahā</i> ‘into’
<i>gōn</i> ‘with’	<i>sarā</i> ‘on (top of)’	
	<i>dēmā</i> ‘in front of, before’	
	<i>čērā</i> ‘under’	
	<i>nēmāgā</i> ‘towards’	
	<i>nyāmā</i> ‘between, among’	

- (1) Many postpositions are originally nouns in the OBL (literally ‘at the front/back/top of’ . . .), so the noun or pronoun is in the genitive: *čukk-ē dēm-ā* ‘in front (lit. face) of the child’ (SBal.); *ēš-ānī pad-ā* ‘behind them’, lit. ‘in the footstep of them’ (WBal.).
- (2) Prepositions are for the most part used with the OBL of nouns and pronouns, e.g. *pa zāg-ā* ‘for the child’, *ša man* ‘from me’, *gōn āw-ān* ‘with them’ (WBal.).
- (3) Circumpositions occur in most dialects; they are composed of one of the most common prepositions, i.e. mostly *ač*, *ča* (etc.) ‘from’, *pa* ‘for’ and to some degree also *bi* ‘to(wards)’, and one of the postpositions. The noun or pronoun normally follows the rule for postpositions, i.e. is in the GEN: *pattī pad-ā* ‘after you’ (TBal., ABT: 150), *pa wāntin-ay xātir-ā* ‘for the sake of studying’ (TBal., ABT: 150), *až* . . . *p^had-ā* ‘behind’ (EBal., Dames 1891: grammar: 37).
- (4) The dialects heavily influenced by Persian prefer prepositions, but those in direct contact with Indic languages chiefly use postpositions (cf. Jahani 2003: 127; Farrell 2003: 195ff.). The difference can conveniently be exemplified with two of the most common adpositions, namely the preposition *ša* (with variants) ‘from’, which is a postposition in Karachi Balochi (*čē*), and the postposition *tahā* ‘inside’, which is often encountered as a preposition in IrBal.

3.1.6 Numerals

Table 11.19 gives the ordinals found in the various dialects and sources presenting the most common variant(s) first. ° means that the given item is found as second member of a compound (like *nine* in *thirty-nine*).

TABLE 11.19: CARDINAL NUMBERS

1–9	11–19
<i>yak(k)</i> <i>dō, du</i> <i>sai, saē, sē, sah</i> <i>čār, EBal. čyār</i> <i>panč, panj</i> <i>šaš(š)</i> <i>(h)apt, (h)aft</i> <i>(h)ašt</i> <i>nō, nuh, nu, °nau</i>	<i>yāzda(h), yānzda(g), EBal. yāzdah</i> <i>d(u)wāzda(h), dwānzda(g) EBal. dwāzdah</i> <i>sēzda(h), sēnzda(h)</i> <i>čārda(h), BMC čārda(g), EBal. čyārdah</i> <i>pānzda(h)</i> <i>šānzda(h)</i> <i>(h)abda(h), hawdah</i> <i>(h)ažda(h)</i> <i>nōzda(h), nōzda(g), nūzdah</i>
10–90	100–
<i>da(h), FBB dā, BMC °da(g)</i> <i>bīst, EBal. gīst</i> <i>sī</i> <i>čil(l), čihil</i> <i>panjā(h)</i> <i>šast, šašt, EBal. sai-gīst, sah-gīst</i> <i>(h)aptād, (h)afiād, EBal. sai-gīst-u-dah</i> <i>(h)aštād, EBal. čyār-gīst</i> <i>nawad, nuwad, EBal. čyār-gīst-u-dah</i>	<i>sad</i> ‘100’ <i>hazār</i> ‘1,000’ <i>lak(k)</i> ‘100,000’ <i>kurōr</i> ‘10,000,000’ <i>arab</i> ‘1,000,000,000’

Interestingly, there is a system of counting by 20s in EBal. (For more details about the attestation and history of the numerals, see Korn 2006).

arab is 1,000 million in FBB and Sayad Hashmi 2000, but 100 million in BMC (which is indeed the meaning of Urdu *arab*). Numbers like ‘21’ are compounds made in the same way as in Persian (thus *bīst-u-yak*, EBal. *gīst-u-yak*). 200 etc. is *dōldu-sad* etc.

According to Dames (1913:13ff.), subtraction strategies also occur in EBal. (e.g. *say k^ham yāzda(h)-gīst* ‘3 less than 11 times 20’ = 217).

3.2 Verb morphology

3.2.1 Simple and complex verbs

Balochi verbs are either simple or complex. Complex verbs may have a noun, adjective or preposition (preverb) as their first element (e.g. *sar kan-* ‘bring, deliver’, *tarr kan-* ‘wet’, *dar kan-* ‘take out, remove’). Borrowed verbs are often incorporated in this way, e.g. *pōn kan-* (SBal. of Karachi, Farrell 2003: 185), *zang jan-* (WBal. of Iran) both meaning ‘phone’, *tačīt kan-* ‘sharpen’ (TBal., Axenov 2003: 250), *ğarašakk kan-* ‘wait’ (TBal., Axenov 2003: 251), but may also be incorporated as simple verbs, e.g. *dār-* ‘hold, have’, *likk-* ‘write’, *čūt-* ‘be freed’ (Korn 2001, A. 1).

3.2.2 Stem formation

3.2.2.1 Present and past stems

As in most Iranian languages, Balochi verbal morphology is based on the dichotomy of present stem (PR) and past stem (PT).

Most past stems are formed from the corresponding present stems by adding the suffix *-it* (which is productive and the most common suffix, also for borrowed words and denominatives), *-t*, or, more rarely, *-āt*, e.g. PR *gwār-* ‘rain’ → PT *gwār-t*, *čār-* ‘look’ → *čār-it*, *bašk-* ‘forgive’ → *bašk-āt*.

Some verbs have synchronically unpredictable past stems, reflecting Old Iranian formations (e.g. *kan-* → *kurt* ‘do’, *gind-* → *dīst* ‘see’). Others show retention of historically regular, but synchronically irregular forms: *rud-* → *rust* ‘grow’, *waps-*, *wasp-* → *wapt* ‘sleep’. For a list of verb stems, see e.g. Moshkalo (1991: 53–62) or Korn (2005a: 312–322, 344–416).

3.2.2.2 Causatives and double causatives

Causatives are formed by suffixing *-ēn-* to the present stem. Double causatives occur in many dialects. The suffix for double causatives is SWBal. *-āēn-* / EBal. *-ain-*:

man čuk-ā *ras-ēn-ā*
I child-POBL arrive.PR-CAUS-1S
‘I transport the children’, lit. ‘cause the children to arrive’.

man āyā . *čē* *čuk-ā* *ras-āēn-ā*
I DEM.OBL from child-POBL arrive.PR-DBL.CAUS-1S
‘I make him/her transport the children’, lit. ‘I cause the children to be transported by him/her’. (both SBalKar., FBB: 49).

3.2.3 Non-finite forms

3.2.3.1 Infinitive

The formation of the infinitive depends on the dialect. Most dialects use *-ag* added to the present stem: *kan-ag* ‘to do’. In a number of dialects, all from the WBal. group, the infinitive is formed by adding *-in* to the past stem; thus from *kan-* → *kurt-* ‘do’: *kan-ag* / *kurt-in* ‘to do’. Infinitives may be used and inflected as a verbal noun, e.g. *pa wānt-in-ay xātirā* ‘for reasons of the studying’ (TBal., ABT: 291).

3.2.3.2 Participles

A present participle is formed by adding *-ān* to the present stem, e.g. *kan-ān* ‘doing’, *raw-ān* ‘going’, *k-āy-ān* ‘coming’.

The perfect participle is derived from the past stem by the suffix *-ag* / *-a* (see 2.3.2.3), e.g. *kurt-a(g)* ‘done’, *šut-a(g)* ‘gone’, *likkit-a(g)* ‘written’.

3.2.3.3 Gerundive

The gerundive is formed by adding *-ī* to the infinitive, e.g. *man guš-ag-ī ā / un* ‘I am about to say’ (SBal./WBal).

tī *piss* *trā* *wat bimman dāt-in-ī* *būt-a*
 you.S.GEN father you.S.OBJ self to.I give.PT-INF-GERV become.PT-PF.3S
 'your father himself was going to give you to me'. (TBal., ABT: 211)

3.2.3.4 Agent noun

There is an agent noun with *-ōk* added to the present stem: *kuš-ōk* 'killer', *nivīs-ōk* 'writer', which to a certain extent may also be used as a present participle.

3.2.4 Person marking and auxiliaries

The verbal endings are largely identical with the corresponding forms of the copula. Where no separate forms are given in Table 11.20, the quoted forms apply for both.

TABLE 11.20: VERBAL ENDINGS AND COPULA

		EBal.	SBal.	WBal.	Sarawani
1S	ending present	<i>-ān, -ūn</i>	<i>-ān, -un, -ō</i>	<i>-īn, -ān</i>	<i>-ān</i>
	copula			<i>un, ān</i>	
	ending past	<i>-ān</i>		<i>-un</i>	
2S	endings & copula	<i>-ē</i>		<i>-ay</i>	<i>-ey</i>
3S	ending present	<i>-ī ʔ, -t</i>	<i>-īl, -ī, -t</i>		<i>-et, -t</i>
	copula	<i>ē</i>		<i>int</i>	<i>o</i>
	ending past	<i>-∅</i>			
1P	ending present, copula	<i>-ūn</i>	<i>-ēn, -an, -in</i>	<i>-an, -ēn</i>	<i>-ēn</i>
	ending past				
2P		<i>-ē ʔ, -ē</i>	<i>-ēt, -ē, -it</i>	<i>-it</i>	<i>-ēt, -ē</i>
3P		<i>-ant, -ā</i>		<i>-ant</i>	<i>-ent, -ē</i>

The 3S ending *-t* is confined to certain verbs, and some of these forms lengthen the preceding vowel. Some of these verbs even have an alternative reduced form: *dan-t* 'gives', *jan-t* 'hits', *kan-t* 'does', *zān-t* 'knows', *raw-t* 'goes'; with lengthening: *gīr-t* 'takes', *wār-t*, *wā* 'eats'; *bār-t*, *bā* 'carries'.

The imperative has the ending zero in the 2S: *b-ra* 'go!', *p-kan* 'do!', *b-gir* 'take!' (see 3.2.6.3).

Note that in Balochi dialects that pattern ergatively (see 3.2.7), the past endings in Table 11.20 only apply to intransitive verbs, while transitive ones do not agree with the agent in the verb forms from the past stem.

Most Balochi dialects have a past tense for the copula which is composed of a stem *at-* (SBal. sometimes *it-*) and the copula forms from Table 11.20 (the 3S is without ending: *at*). Some SBal. dialects use the past stem of 'become' plus verbal endings. The copula is also used for the compound tenses (see 3.2.8.2) and in some periphrastic aktionsart and modal constructions (see 4.5.3).

The present stem of ‘become’ is (depending on the dialect) *bay-*, *bē(y)-*, *bī-*, *bū-*, *b-*, its past stem is *būt* / *bīt* (see 2.1.1.1). This verb is also used as an auxiliary for the passive voice (see 3.2.6.4) and in some of the aktionsart and modal constructions (see 4.5.3).

The *verbum existentiae* (‘to be, to exist’) is 3S (*(h)ast* ‘there is’ (negative *nēst* ‘there is not’), 3P (*(h)ast-ant* (see also 3.2.8.4). Its other TAM-forms are supplied by the verb ‘become’.

Other verbs used in an auxiliary-like function in some aktionsart and modal constructions include *dār-* ‘hold’, *kan-* ‘do’ and *lōt-* ‘want’ (see also 3.2.8.4 and 4.5.3).

3.2.5 Aspectual-modal affixes and negation

3.2.5.1 Imperfective markers

(1) In many dialects, some or most verbs with a word-initial vowel show a prefix *k-* in the present indicative (e.g. *k-āy-īn* ‘I come’, WBalNosh.), the present participle (*k-āy-ān* ‘coming’) and (where applicable) in the imperfective aspect of the past tense. In most IrBal. dialects (except in the very south), the verb stem is often found with a prothetic *y-* instead (*y-āy-īn* ‘I come’, WBal. of Iran).

bāndā āhinkār-ē-ā k-ār-an
tomorrow blacksmith-INDEF-OBL V.PREF-bring.PR-1P
‘tomorrow we will bring a blacksmith’. (WBalNosh.)

mučč mardum ša ham-ōdā āp-a k-āwurt-ant
all human from EMPH-there water-V.EL V.PREF-bring.PT-3P
‘all the people used to bring water from there’. (TBal.)

(2) In several Balochi dialects, a ‘verbal element’ *-a* marks the imperfective aspect (see Buddruss 1977: 9–13, 1988: 62–65; Axenov 2006: 166–170); in the non-past tense the verbal element also marks the indicative mood as opposed to the subjunctive mood (see 3.2.6.2 and 4.5.2.6).

While morphologically, the element belongs to the verb, it is enclitic to the word preceding the verb phonologically (and thus generally written as if it were a suffix). It can therefore not occur in clause initial position or after a pause. Other restrictions apply as well (for details, see Axenov 2006: 168–170).

3.2.5.2 Modal markers

The prefix *bi-* (see 2.3.2.2 for its variants and 3.2.6.3 for its use) marks the imperative and the subjunctive: *bi-ka(n)* ‘do!’, *bi-kan-it* ‘that he/she do’, *bi-kurt-ēn* ‘he/she would do.’ The prefix is often omitted in complex verbs, e.g. *bir gard* ‘return!’, *sōj kan* ‘ask!’ (TBal., ABT: 165), *dūr (p-)kan* ‘remove!’.

The past subjunctive adds *-ēn-* to the past stem, usually also employing *bi-* at the same time.

The optative is marked by the suffix *-āt-* (see 3.2.6.3).

3.2.5.3 Negation

The negative prefix is *na-*; the prohibitive prefix is *ma-* (occasionally *na-* in IrBal.), which is used for all non-indicative forms, i.e. those that also use positive *bi-*, with which both are mutually exclusive (see 3.2.5.2). In compound TAM-forms, complex verbs and periphrastic aktionsart and modal constructions, *na-* and *ma-* are added to the main verb.

3.2.6 System of tense, aspect, mood and voice

3.2.6.1 Tense

Balochi dialects essentially contrast non-past (present/future) and past tense. There is no separate construction to express the future tense.

3.2.6.2 Aspect

Several Balochi dialects show an opposition of perfective vs. imperfective aspect in the indicative mood (see also 4.5.2.5 and 4.5.2.6). In some of these dialects (WBal. of Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan, Sarawani) the ‘verbal element’ *-a* (see 3.2.5.1 (2)) is employed to mark the imperfective aspect in the past tense:

dars-a wānt ‘he/she used to study (imperfective aspect)’, as opposed to
dars wānt ‘he/she studied (perfective aspect)’.

3.2.6.3 Mood

Balochi dialects show indicative, imperative, subjunctive and optative mood. The optative mood has a limited distribution (see 4.5.2.4), but is attested in, for example, IrBal. of Lashar and Pakistani WBal.

(1) In many Balochi dialects, the prefix *bi-* (see 3.2.5.2) is employed in a way parallel to Persian to generate the imperative and subjunctive. In EBal. dialects, the corresponding forms are more often found without *bi-* (cf. Bashir 2008: 75–77).

bi- plus the present stem yields the imperative sg.; the pl. is identical with the 2P subjunctive (see 4.5.2.3). *bi-* is used with the forms of the present tense to form a subjunctive (see 4.5.2.2).

bi- with the past stem (for this pattern see 3.2.6.3 and Tables 11.10 and 11.11) and the suffix *-ēn-* (according to Farrell 1990: 75 also without *-ēn-*) generates a form which denotes counterfactual modality (see 4.5.2.9 and e.g. Barker/Mengal 1969/I: 459–460; Baranzehi 2003: 99; Axenov 2006: 197–199).

(2) The optative adds the suffix *-āt-* plus the copula to the present stem, e.g. *nend-āt-en(t)* ‘may they sit’ (IrBal., Yusefian 1992: 66). The 3S has either the copula 3S or zero suffix:

ahmad yāy-āt-e
 PN come.PR-OPT-COP.PR.3S
 ‘would that Ahmad came’. (IrBal., Yusefian 1992: 59)

(3) In WBal. dialects spoken in Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan the verbal element *-a* is found in the indicative mood of the non-past tense (parallel to the Modern Persian use of the prefix *mī-*), so for the non-past tense, it marks indicative mood rather than aspect (see also 3.2.6.2).

3.2.6.4 Voice

Notwithstanding the existence of ergativity in many Balochi dialects (see 3.2.7), a passive voice is also found. However, owing to the predominantly oral style of Balochi texts, it is not frequently used, and rare with an explicit agent.

It is constructed by (1) the past participle or (2) the infinitive (see 3.2.3.1) with *bay-* ‘become’ as auxiliary:

ar dukēn-ānī sar burrit-ag biit
each two.ATTR-P.GEN head cut.PT-PF become.PT.3S
‘the heads of both of them were cut off’. (TBal., ABT: 200)

ē mardom-ān jat-en bīt-ē
DEM human-P.DIR hit.PT-INF become.PT-3P
‘these people were beaten’. (IrBalSarw., BSD: 100)

maskat-ē tōkā lānč gir-ag bīt-ag-it-ā
PN-GEN in boat take.PR-INF become.PT-PF-COP.PT-3P
‘boats had been caught in Muscat’. (SBal.Kar, Farrell 1989: 37)

(3) Eastern Balochi has acquired a morphological passive, which is formed by affixing *-īj-* to the present stem of the verb (see Bashir 2008: 60–64 for discussion).

ağar ta āhī bārava tavk-ē kan-ay
if you.S DEM.GEN about talk-INDEF do.PR-2S
guṛā jan-īj-a bay
then hit.PR-PASS-V.EL become.PR.2S
‘if you make a complaint about him you will be beaten’. (EBal., Bashir 2008: 63)

3.2.7 Transitivity and ergativity

Transitivity is an important category in Balochi, since the construction of verb forms and the marking of arguments depend on this feature. Many dialects of Balochi show split ergativity (cf. Farrell 1989, 1995, Korn 2008c and forthc.): while an intransitive verb is inflected according to the nominative pattern throughout (namely, the endings of the verb indexing subject), transitive verbs follow a different pattern in all verb forms based on the past stem (see 3.2.2.1), including those formed from the perfect participle (see 3.2.3.2) and the past subjunctive (see 3.2.6.3 and 4.5.2.9).

Balochi ergative constructions show the logical subject (i.e. agent) in the OBL case and the object (patient) in the DIR case by default. It is common to use pronominal suffixes (see 3.1.2.2) for the agent (particularly in IrBal. dialects); they may occur in addition to an overt agent, to which they are never suffixed (see also 4.4 for further discussion).

There is no person (or gender, see 3.1.1.1) agreement of the verb with the patient in any dialect of Balochi, but there is an optional agreement in number for 3rd person patients, i.e. the 3P ending is optionally added if the patient is understood to be plural. This marking of plurality for patients is independent of animacy and definiteness.

janēn-ā mard-ē bi bādšāh-ay nēmagā dēm dāt
woman-OBL man-INDEF to king-GEN beside face give.PT
‘the wife sent a man to the king’. (WBalNosh.)

bānuk-ā zahm kaššit drust jat-ant
lady-OBL sword pull.PT all hit.PT-3P
‘the lady drew the sword and struck [them] all’. (SBal., Elfenbein 1983: 14)

ahmad-ā ē ketāb zort-ant
PN-OBL DEM book take.PT-3P
‘Ahmad bought these books’. (IrBal. of Sarbaz)

haw-ē čāḡ kʰay-ā jaḡ-a
 EMPH-DEM well who-OBL hit.PT-PF
 ‘who has dug that well?’ (EBal., Gilbertson 1923: 121)

Balochi dialects differ to a considerable degree in their use of the ergative construction, ranging from a rather consistent ergative pattern to a complete substitution by the nominative construction in some WBal. dialects, particularly AfBal. and TBal. In these variants, the category of transitivity is not relevant:

mā āyrā bāz kāgad likkit-an
 we DEM.OBJ much letter write.PT-1P
 ‘we wrote many letters to him/her’. (WBalNosh., BMC I: 282)

In those IrBal. dialects that show a restructured case system (see 3.1.1.2 (4)), both agent and object of ergative constructions are in the DIR case. The agent is often also referred to by a pronominal suffix.

alī jan-ī-ī košt-a o jēst-a
 PN wife-ENCL.PRO.3S-ENCL.PRO kill.PT-PF and flee.PT-PF
 ‘Ali has killed his wife and run away’. (IrBal. of Lashar, Mahmoodi Bakhtiari 2003: 143)

dars-en-a wā ā zamān-ā
 lesson-ENCL.PRO.1P-V.EL read.PT DEM time-OBL
 ‘we used to study in those days’. (IrBal. of Khash, Jahani 2003: 125)

3.2.8 Individual verb forms

3.2.8.1 Simple tenses

The endings shown in Table 11.20 are joined to the present stem to build the simple present (sometimes also called aorist). The preterite (simple past) is built by suffixing the verbal endings to the past stem. However, in the Balochi dialects with ergative patterning (see 3.2.7), this applies only to intransitive verbs whereas the bare past stem is used with transitive verbs. In EBal. dialects, the present perfect is used instead of the preterite (see 4.5.2.7).

With the affixes shown in 3.2.5, the present and preterite can be converted into modal and aspectual forms. For examples, see 4.5.2.

3.2.8.2 Compound tenses

Compound tenses are based on the perfect participle (see 3.2.3.2). They are constructed ergatively in dialects that pattern ergatively if the main verb (that is, the one represented by the perfect participle) is transitive (note the contrast to the periphrastic aktionsart and modal constructions mentioned in 4.5.3, where it is the transitivity of the finite verb that determines the type of construction).

The present perfect uses the perfect participle with the present copula, but omitting the copula in the 3S:

man kapt-ag-ō ā kapt-a man gušt-a
 ‘I have fallen’; ‘he/she has fallen’; ‘I have said . . .’
 (all SBalKar., FBB: 73)

The past perfect uses the perfect participle or the past stem with the past copula or the auxiliary ‘become’ (see 3.2.4):

<i>kalāt-ē</i>	<i>bast-ag-at-ant</i>	<i>rapt-at-ant</i>
fort-INDEF build.PT-PF-COP.PT-3P		go.PT-COP.PT-3P
‘they had built a fort’		‘they had gone’
(WBalNosh., BMC I:348)		(IrBalSarh., ASG: 17)
intransitive		transitive
<i>man kapt-a</i>	<i>bīt-ag-ō</i>	<i>āyā</i>
I fall.PT-PF	become.PT-PF-COP.PR.1S	DEM.P.OBL say.PT-PF
‘I had fallen’.		‘they had said . . .’
(both SBalKar., FBB: 73–74)		

3.2.8.3 Basic Balochi TAM-forms

The following tables show the basic Balochi TAM-forms, from which individual dialects may diverge to a certain extent.

Table 11.21 shows the forms which apply (with varying personal endings, here demonstrated with those of WBalNosh.) to WBal. of Pakistan, and, with the modifications noted in 3.2.4 and 3.2.8.2 also to SBal., and with those noted in 3.2.4 and 3.2.8.1 to EBal. Table 11.22 (with TBal. endings) presents those applying for systems with the verbal element *-a*. In these dialects the past perfect form with past stem + past copula is predominant.

TABLE 11.21: BASIC BALOCHI TAM-FORMS: SYSTEM I

Present			
indicative	subjunctive	imperative	optative
<i>kap-īn</i>	<i>bi-kap-īn</i>		<i>bi-kap-āt-un</i>
<i>kap-ay</i>	<i>bi-kap-ay</i>	<i>bi-kap-Ø</i>	<i>bi-kap-āt-ay</i>
<i>kap-īt</i>	<i>bi-kap-īt</i>		<i>bi-kap-āt-Ø</i>
<i>kap-an</i>	<i>bi-kap-an</i>		<i>bi-kap-āt-an</i>
<i>kap-it</i>	<i>bi-kap-it</i>	<i>bi-kap-it</i>	<i>bi-kap-āt-it</i>
<i>kap-ant</i>	<i>bi-kap-ant</i>		<i>bi-kap-āt-ant</i>
Past			
preterite	subjunctive	perfect	past perfect
<i>kapt-un</i>	<i>bi-kapt-ēn-un</i>	<i>kapta(g)-un</i>	<i>kaptag-at-un</i>
<i>kapt-ay</i>	<i>bi-kapt-ēn-ay</i>	<i>kapta(g)-ay</i>	<i>kaptag-at-ay</i>
<i>kapt-Ø</i>	<i>bi-kapt-ēn-Ø</i>	<i>kapta(g)-Ø</i>	<i>kaptag-at-Ø</i>
<i>kapt-an</i>	<i>bi-kapt-ēn-an</i>	<i>kapta(g)-an</i>	<i>kaptag-at-an</i>
<i>kapt-it</i>	<i>bi-kapt-ēn-it</i>	<i>kapta(g)-it</i>	<i>kaptag-at-it</i>
<i>kapt-ant</i>	<i>bi-kapt-ēn-ant</i>	<i>kapta(g)-ant</i>	<i>kaptag-at-ant</i>

TABLE 11.22: BASIC BALOCHI TAM-FORMS: SYSTEM II

Present				
indicative		subjunctive	imperative	optative
-a kap-īn		(bi-)kap-īn		(bi-)kap-āt-un
-a kap-ay		(bi-)kap-ay	(bi-)kap-Ø	(bi-)kap-āt-ay
-a kap-īt		(bi-)kap-īt		(bi-)kap-āt-Ø
-a kap-an		(bi-)kap-an		(bi-)kap-āt-ēn
-a kap-it		(bi-)kap-it	(bi-)kap-it	(bi-)kap-āt-it
-a kap-ant		(bi-)kap-ant		(bi-)kap-āt-ant
Past				
preterite	imperfect	subjunctive	perfect	past perfect
kapt-un	-a kapt-un	bi-kapt-ēn-un	kapta(g)-un	kapt-at-un
kapt-ay	-a kapt-ay	bi-kapt-ēn-ay	kapta(g)-ay	kapt-at-ay
kapt-Ø	-a kapt-Ø	bi-kapt-ēn-Ø	kapta(g)-Ø	kapt-at-Ø
kapt-an	-a kapt-an	bi-kapt-ēn-an	kapta(g)-an	kapt-at-an
kapt-it	-a kapt-it	bi-kapt-ēn-it	kapta(g)-it	kapt-at-it
kapt-ant	-a kapt-ant	bi-kapt-ēn-ant	kapta(g)-ant	kapt-at-ant

3.2.8.4 Possession

There are various constructions for the concept ‘to have’ in Balochi (see Jahani 1995):

(1) A construction corresponding to the Latin *mihi est* ‘to me there is’ is used to express permanent ownership (in EBal., ownership in general). Forms that are used for this purpose are the 3S of the copula or *verbum existentiae* (when existence or non-existence is in focus) (see 3.2.4), with or without agreement in number with the items possessed. The possessor is in the OBJ or GEN case, for example

<i>manā</i>	<i>ḍagār</i>	<i>ast</i>	<i>tarā</i>	<i>brās</i>	<i>nēst</i>		
I.OBJ	land	V.EX.3S	you.S.OBJ	brother	NEG.V.EX.3S		
		‘I have land’.			‘you don’t have brothers’.		
		(WBalNosh., BMC I: 69)			(WBalNosh., BMC I: 73)		
<i>manī</i>	<i>bāz</i>	<i>brās</i>	<i>ant</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>t^hara</i>	<i>mahal</i>	<i>ē</i>
I.GEN	much	brother	COP.PR.3P	now	you.S.OBJ	leisure	COP.PR.3S
			‘I have many brothers’.				‘are you now at leisure?’
			(WBalNosh., BMC I: 74)				(EBal., Gilbertson 1923: 187)

(2) Adpositions are used to express temporary ownership:

<i>taī</i>	<i>kitāb</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>manī</i>	<i>brās-ā</i>	<i>int</i>
you.S.GEN	book	with	I.GEN	brother-OBL	COP.PR.3S
					‘my brother has your book’,
					lit. ‘your book is with my brother’. (WBalNosh., BMC I: 73)

gōn man bāz kitāb ant
 with I much book COP.PR.3P
 ‘I have many books (in the sense of: I have them with me, without necessarily owning them)’. (WBalNosh., BMC I: 73)

taī kīrrā dān ast-ē
 you.S.GEN beside rice V.EX.3S-COP.PR.3S
 ‘do you have rice?’,
 lit. ‘is there rice at your side?’ (SBalKar., FBB: 27)

(3) In some dialects (e.g. TBal., AfBal. and some IrBal. variants) the verb *dār- / dāšt* (which otherwise means ‘hold, keep, protect’) is used for ‘have’:

yē dēb mazan-ēn xazānag-ē dār-īt
 DEM demon big-ATTR locker-INDEF hold.PR-3S
 ‘this demon has a big locker’. (TBal.)

čākar u hānī sey zahg dār-ant
 PN and PN three child hold.PR-3P
 ‘Chakar and Hani have three children’. (IrBal. of Zahedan)

4 SYNTAX

4.1 Noun phrase structure

(1) As a rule, the Balochi noun phrase is head-final (left-branching): genitives and attributive adjectives are placed before the head noun. The same applies to adpositions (see 3.1.5) since, on the whole, postpositions dominate.

mnī brās-ay kitāb mazan-ēn asp gis-ay puštā
 I.GEN brother-GEN book big-ATTR horse house-GEN behind
 ‘my brother’s book(s)’ ‘big horse(s)’ ‘behind the house’. (all WBal.)

(2) When two semantically similar nouns are enumerated, nominal endings are used only once, at the end of the phrase (‘group inflection’):

bādšāh u wazīr-ay jīnikk āht-ant
 king and minister-GEN girl come.PT-3P
 ‘the king’s and the minister’s daughters came’. (WBalNosh.)

4.2 Definiteness

There is no definite article in Balochi. The term ‘indefinite article’ has been used for the suffix *-ē*, whose main function is to mark an indefinite specific form in the singular. Except for its function of marking antecedents of restrictive relative clauses (see 5.2.2), it is not used with plural nouns in Balochi. So *-ē* might be better termed ‘singularity marker’ or ‘individuation marker’, e.g. *kitāb-ē* ‘a [certain] book’ (not ‘any [one] book’).

Definiteness also plays a role in word order and in the marking and placement of objects (see 4.3.1 and 4.4.2.1), but not for verbal agreement in ergative constructions (see 3.2.7).

4.3 Clause structure and word order

4.3.1 Word order

The default word order is SOV (Subject – Object – Verb). Adverbial phrases generally follow the verb. Balochi is a pro-drop language. The order between the direct and indirect object is not fixed. A definite direct object tends to precede the indirect object, whereas an indefinite or generic one usually follows it. Alternative constituent orders may occur for pragmatic reasons (see 4.3.2).

yakk pīr čilla-kašš-ē manā damī-ē sōp-ē
 one holy.man forty-pull.PR-INDEF I.OBJ blessed-ATTR apple-INDEF
 dāt-ag
 give.PT-PF.3S
 ‘a holy man observing a period of fasting and praying gave me a blessed apple’.
 (WBalNosh.)

man digar-ay rōzī-ā bitta dāt-ag-a na-kan-īn
 I other-GEN daily.bread-OBJ to.you.S give.PT-PF-V.EL NEG-do.PR-1S
 ‘I cannot give someone else’s daily bread to you’. (AfBal.)

šut-ant bādšāhī māṛī-ā
 go.PT-3P royal mansion-P.OBL
 ‘they went to the royal mansions’. (WBalNosh.)

bakī-y-ā dāt bi rā-y-i xudā
 rest-HI-OBJ give.PT.3S to way-HI-EZ God
 ‘he gave the remainder as charity’. (AfBal.)

4.3.2 Focus and prominence

A constituent can be placed in the postverbal or preverbal position, or be left-dislocated to the beginning of the sentence for prominence.

sundūk-ā mōlid-ā baḍ dāt-ant
 chest-OBL maidservant-P.OBL back give.PT-3P
 ‘the maidservants carried the chest’. (WBalNosh.)

putr am-ē sandūx-ay tā
 enter.PR.SBJ EMPH-DEM chest-GEN in
 ‘get inside this chest!’ (TBal., ABT: 233)

ē kār-ā man kurt-un
 DEM work-OBL I do.PT-1S
 ‘it is I who has done this’. (WBalNosh.)

Cleft constructions are another strategy for marking focus:

ā čīz-ē ki šmā dīst-ag-it
 DEM thing-INDEF CL you.P see.PT-PF-COP.PR.2P
ā mardum-ē būt-a
 DEM human-INDEF become.PT-PF.3S
 ‘what you have seen turned out to be a man’. (TBal., ABT: 240)

4.3.3 Nominal clauses

Balochi also employs nominal clauses, but only for the 3S of the non-past indicative. These sentences have a nominal predicate followed by the individuation marker *-ē* (see 4.2), e.g.:

<i>murg-ē</i> Ø	‘it is a bird’, but
<i>murg-ē at</i>	‘it was a bird’, and
<i>bačakk-ē ay</i>	‘are you a boy?’

4.4 Case marking

4.4.1 Subject marking

In nominative constructions, the subject is in the direct case, which has a zero suffix in both the singular and the plural (except in IrBal., see 3.1.1.2 (4)). This applies to the transitive agent of verb forms based on the non-past stem, to the intransitive subject in all dialects, and to the transitive agent in non-ergative dialects (see 3.2.7).

In ergative constructions, the agent is in the oblique case. This applies to the transitive agent of verb forms based on the past stem in ergative dialects. Since pronominal suffixes (see 3.1.2.2) function as unstressed variants of the oblique case pronouns, they may also be used for ergative agents.

<i>wāja ālī gopt-ī</i>	<i>baḡḡ-ī</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>karbās-ānā</i>
mister PN say.PT-ENCL.PRO.3S	back-ENCL.PRO.3S	do.PT	cotton-P.OBJ
‘Mr. Ali said . . .’			‘she carried the cotton’.
(IrBalSarw., BSD: 105)			(IrBalSarw., BSD: 106)

4.4.2 Object marking

4.4.2.1 Direct object

The marking of the direct object by the oblique and object case is governed by the principles of DOM (differentiated object marking). A direct object that is generic/indefinite, non-specific and inanimate is in the direct case (see also Farrell 1990: 65) whereas definite direct objects are in the oblique or object case (see 3.1.1.2 (1)).

In sentences constructed ergatively, the direct object is usually in the direct case, but it may also be in the oblique or object case if it is definite. This is even the predominant pattern for the 1st and 2nd person pronouns (cf. Farrell 1995, Korn, *forthc.*), but the DIR of these pronouns is occasionally found when a pronominal clitic follows.

<i>nām-ā</i>	<i>har kas-ā</i>	<i>zānt</i>	<i>dīt-iš</i>	<i>mard-ārā</i>
name-OBL	each person-OBL	know.PT	see.PT-ENCL.PRO.3P	man-OBJ
‘everyone knew the name’.			‘they saw the man’.	
(SBal., Elfenbein 1983: 30)			(SBal., Elfenbein 1983: 16)	

<i>ēšān</i>	<i>ki wāja panč-kuš-ā</i>	<i>dīst</i>	<i>sakk waššāl būt-ant</i>
DEM.P.OBL	CL mister five-kill.PR-OBL	see.PT	very happy become.PT-3P
	‘when they saw Mr. Five-slayer, they became very happy’.		
	(WBalNosh., BMC II: 178)		

čī-ā man-et weyl kot-ag
 what-OBL I-ENCL.PRO.2S abandoned do.PT-PF
 ‘why have you left me?’ (IrBal. of Sarbaz)

rāh-ā mnā tunn-ā jat-a
 way-OBL I.OBJ thirst-OBL hit.PT-PF
 ‘on the way, I was overcome by thirst’,
 lit. ‘thirst struck me’. (AfBal., Rzehak 1998: 178)

4.4.2.2 Indirect object

Indirect objects are marked with OBL or OBJ. OBL is used only for nouns, and in dialects following the case system outlined in Table 11.10. OBJ can also be used to mark nouns as indirect objects in these dialects.

mō dāt-ē ramazān-a ke ra
 I give.PT-3P PN-OBJ CL go.PT.3S
 ‘I gave [them] to Ramazan, who [then] went’. (IrBalSarw., BSD: 83)

gallapān-ā bādšāh-ārā hāl dāt
 horse.herder-OBL king-OBJ news give.PT
 ‘the horse herder gave news to the king’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 174)

manā lōt-īt ki har čō bi-būt
 I.OBJ want.PR-3S CL each how SBJ-become.PR.3S
man ā mazār-ā bi-gir-īn u zindag-ā bādšāh-ā pēš
 I DEM tiger-OBL SBJ-take.PR-1S and alive-OBL king-OBL before
bi-dār-īn
 SBJ-hold.PR-1S
 ‘by all means he wants me to catch that tiger and bring (lit. show) it alive to the king’.
 (WBalNosh., BMC II: 175)

In TBal., AfBal. and IrBal. indirect objects constructed with the preposition *bi* ‘to’ (dative drift) are frequently encountered:

ta be čākar manā bakšet
 you.S to PN I.OBJ give.PT
 ‘you gave me to Chakar’. (IrBal. of Khash, Jahani 2003: 126)

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

4.5.1 Concord

Except for ergative constructions (see 3.2.7 and 4.4), verbs most often agree with the subject in number and person (see also 3.1.1). However, there are cases of 3P subject with singular verb:

ar dukēn-ānī sar burrit-ag būt
 each two.ATTR-P.GEN head cut.PT-PF become.PT.3S
 ‘the heads of both of them were cut off’. (TBal., ABT: 200)

4.5.2 Use of TAM-forms

4.5.2.1 Present indicative

The present indicative basically denotes continuous and habitual actions and states. It may also imply present continuous and future time reference. It is thus used for habitual actions or states and ongoing actions in the non-past temporal field, as well as for general truths and future events. It is, furthermore, used for past events in narrative style (historical present). See 3.2.5.1 (1).

man ham-ē rang-ē mard-ē un
I EMPH-DEM kind-ATTR man-INDEF COP.PR.1S
u ē ḡawl-ē sitāh-ānā k-arz-īn
and DEM kind-ATTR praise-P.OBJ V.PREF-deserve.PR-1S
'I am such a man and I am worthy of this kind of praise'. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 173)

man watī laṭṭ u kawš-ānī badal-ā gir-īn
I self.GEN stick and shoe-P.GEN exchange-OBL take.PR-1S
'I will take revenge for having been beaten up'. (WBalNosh.)

šumā šut-ag-it mā k-ā-h-ān
you.P go.PT-PF-COP.PR.2P we V.PREF-come.PR-HI-1P
'you have gone [to the afterworld already], we will come [as well]'. (Badalkhan 2008: 302)

gwast-ag-ēn ḡawr u zamān-ān yakk warnā-ē
pass.PT-PF-ATTR period and time-P.OBL one young.man-INDEF
pa dukkāndār-ay jīnēn-ā āšig-a bīt
for shopkeeper-GEN woman-OBL enamoured-V.EL become.PR.3S
'in ancient times a young man fell in love with the shopkeeper's wife'. (Tbal., ABT: 183)

4.5.2.2 Present subjunctive

The present subjunctive denotes uncertain actions and states (irrealis) in the non-past temporal field. It is employed in modal constructions (see 3.2.6.3 and 4.5.3) and various types of subordinate clauses (see 5.2.3) as well as in exhortations, admonitions, wishes, etc.

marōčī madrasag-ē-ā bi-rav-īn
today school-INDEF-OBL SBJ-go.PR-1S
balkin čī-ē by-ār-īn
perhaps thing-INDEF SBJ-bring.PR-1S
'let me go to school today, maybe I will bring something [from there]'. (WBalNosh.)

aga da b-day-ay sad-a dant
if ten SBJ-give.PR-2S hundred-V.EL give.PR.3S
'if you give ten, he will give a hundred'. (AfBal.)

4.5.2.3 Imperative

The imperative is used for commands.

pīr gušt šarr tav ē laṭṭ-ā b-zūr
 holy.man say.PT.3S good you.S DEM stick-OBL SBJ-take.PR
b-ra āšk-ay sōp-ay dračk-ā b-ĵan
 SBJ-go.PR that.side-GEN apple-GEN tree-OBL SBJ-hit.PR
 ‘the holy man said: Well, take this stick, [and] go and hit the apple tree over there’.
 (WBalNosh.)

4.5.2.4 Optative

The optative is used in literary style and formalized phrases to communicate wishes. Most dialects (in non-literary style all dialects) replace it with the subjunctive.

gul bi-rič-āt
 flower SBJ-pour.PR-OPT.3S
 ‘may flowers shower [down]’. (Badalkhan 2008: 302)

durāh bāt-ay
 healthy become.PR.OPT-2S
 ‘farewell’, lit. ‘may you be healthy’. (WBalNosh.)

manī zird-ay sirāb-ēn wāhag int ki
 I.GEN heart-GEN burning-ATTR desire COP.PR.3S CL
gam-ay garm-ēn gwāt tāi dēm-ā ma-kašš-āt
 sorrow-GEN warm-ATTR wind you.S.GEN face-OBL PROH-pull.PR-OPT.3S
 ‘the burning desire of my heart is that the hot wind of sorrow should not blow upon
 your face’. (WBal.)

4.5.2.5 Preterite

The preterite (simple past) indicates past tense with perfective aspect, that is, events completed in the past and viewed as a whole with no internal time structure. It is the most common verb form in narratives. It is additionally used as a relative tense referring to future events in temporal and conditional clauses (see 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.6) when the subordinate clause is backgrounded and/or assumed to take place before the main clause and for events which are about to happen.

pōryāgir paṭṭiṭ dīst šinikk-ā gipt
 labourer search.PT.3S see.PT.3S goat.kid-OBL take.PT.3S
dast-ā burt šinikk-ay nukkk-ā
 hand-OBL take.PT.3S goat.kid-GEN mouth-OBL
inčukk-ē trišk-ē kaššit ĵan-ā dāt-ē
 such-ATTR piece-INDEF pull.PT.3S wife-OBL give.PT.3S-ENCL.PRO.3S
 ‘the labourer searched and saw the goat kid, caught it and put his hand in the goat
 kid’s mouth, pulled out a small (lit. such a) piece and gave it to the wife’.
 (WBalNosh.)

yakk sōp-ē kapt kapp-ē watī ĵan-ā b-day
 one apple-INDEF fall.PT.3S half-INDEF self.GEN wife-OBL SBJ-give.PR
 ‘[if] one apple falls, give half [of it] to your wife’. (WBalNosh.)

ešo yaht-ē
 look! come.PT-3P
 ‘here they come (lit. came)’. (IrBalSar., BSD: 92)

4.5.2.6 Imperfect

In those dialects that have a distinct imperfective past it is used for ongoing and habitual states or events in the past temporal field. Dialects without this verb form employ the preterite in these instances.

iškārī pa watī kār-ā bāz bāz pašōmānī-a kaššit
 hunter to self.GEN work-OBL much much regret-V.EL pull.PT.3S
 ‘the hunter was (being) very regretful of his deed’. (Tbal., ABT: 190)

4.5.2.7 Present perfect

The present perfect expresses events in the past which are relevant to the present. For transformative verbs (‘lie down’, ‘stand up’, ‘sit down’, etc.) it has a stative meaning. In EBal. the perfect form is also used where other dialects have the preterite (and imperfective past), see 3.2.8.1.

dīst-ī ki āā mazār pa radī-ā
 see.PT-ENCL.PRO.3S CL DEM.OBJ tiger for mistake-OBL
gipt-a u bast-a
 take.PT-PF and tie.PT-PF
 ‘he saw that he had caught and tied up the tiger by mistake’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 177)

yakk ballī-ē ništ-a
 one grandmother-INDEF sit.down.PT-PF.3S
šīr u šīlānč kan-ag-ā int
 milk and whey do.PR-INF-OBL COP.PR.3S
 ‘an old woman is sitting and making whey (out of milk)’. (WBalNosh.)

mā zahm ārḏ-ag-ant
 I.OBL sword bring.PT-PF-3P
 ‘I have brought the swords’. (EBal., Gilbertson 1923:113)

There also seems to be an inferential use of the perfect (for assumptions, indirect report, etc., see also Rossi 1989).

wat dōšī bē-wāb būt-a u atk na-kan-t
 self last.night without-sleep become.PT-PF.3S and come.PT NEG-do.PR-3S
 ‘as for him, he was sleepless last night and can’t come’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 177).
 Actually, he was not sleepless according to the story, but the wife reports him to have been sleepless as an excuse.

4.5.2.8 Past perfect

The past perfect indicates that the situation in question is located prior to another reference point in the past. For transformative verbs (see 4.5.2.7) it expresses a past state.

naryān ki hičč swārī na-dīst-ag-at,
 stallion CL any rider NEG-see.PT-PF-COP.PT.3S
traḡḡ-ān u gwānz war-ān-ā dēm pa laškar-ay
 skip.PR-PART and swing eat.PR-PART-OBL face to army-GEN
nēmagā šut
 towards go.PT.3S
 ‘the stallion, which had not carried (lit. seen) any rider [before], went skipping and swinging towards the army’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 180)

pūll-ē tamām kort-at
 money-ENCL.PRO.1P finished do.PT-COP.PT
zang-ē jat ke pūll be-y-ār-ēt
 phone-ENCL.PRO.1P hit.PT CL money SBJ-HI-bring.PR-2P
 ‘we had run out of money, [so] we phoned [and told them]: bring money’.
 (IrBalSarw., BSD: 95)

yak rōč-ē sardār bi watī gis-ā ništ-at u
 one day-INDEF chief in self.GEN house-OBL sit.PT-COP.PT.3S and
gwarag-ay kabāb wārt-ī
 lamb-GEN roast.meat eat.PT.3S-ENCL.PRO.3S
 ‘one day the chief was sitting in his house and ate roast lamb’. (TBal., ABT: 197)

4.5.2.9 Past subjunctive

The past subjunctive expresses counterfactual events or actions such as doubts, unreal conditions and wishes in the past and non-past temporal fields.

na-ke ōda be-rapt-ēn-ā āhīā kār kuḡ-ē
 NEG-CL there SBJ-go.PT-SBJ-1S DEM.OBL work do.PT-SBJ
 ‘I wish I had gone there’. ‘if he had worked’
 (IrBalSarw., BSD: 99) (EBal., Bashir 1991: 105)

aga ē jāga-ay badalā taw diga bādšāhī-ā būt-ēn-ay,
 if DEM place.GEN instead you.S other kingdom-OBL become.PT-SBJ-2S
taī bāz qadr u wāhag bīt
 you.S.GEN much recognition and desire become.PT.3S
 ‘if you had been in another kingdom instead of in this place you would have been given due honour’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 172)

It can also be used in counterarguments:

mnī piss mnā arčōn dōst dāšt-ēn ham,
 I.GEN father I.OBJ although friend hold.PT-SBJ.3S also
pa wānt-in-ay xātir-ā mnā-a gipt u jat
 for study.PT-INF-GEN sake I.OBJ-V.EL take.PT.3S and hit.PT.3S
 ‘even though my father loved me very much, he took and beat me because I did not study’. (TBal., ABT: 265)

In subordinate clauses it may denote iterative past:

puč wa nān wa masrap-ē ki
 clothes and bread and consumption-INDEF CL

man bi-dāšt-ēn-un mnā dāt
 I SBJ-hold.PT-SBJ-1S I.OBJ give.PT.3S
 'he gave me clothes and food and [other] consumables that I needed'. (AfBal.,
 BLB: 22)

4.5.3 Aktionsart and modal constructions

There are various periphrastic constructions that express both aktionsarten and modalities. These are either nominal constructions or, in Persian style, double finite constructions (for the nominal forms, see 3.2.3), as shown in Table 11.23 and 11.24. For a (not necessarily exhaustive) list of the dialects in which these constructions are found, see the examples.

4.5.3.1 Aktionsart constructions

TABLE 11.23: AKTIONSART CONSTRUCTIONS

nominal constructions	Persian-style constructions
(1) Progressive / Ingressive INF-OBL + COP PR.PART + COP INF-OBL + <i>lagg-</i> / <i>laggit</i> 'begin' (bi) INF-OBL + <i>binā kan-</i> / <i>kurt</i> 'begin' or <i>binā kan-</i> / <i>kurt</i> + <i>bi</i> + INF-OBL	<i>golāyīš</i> + COP + SBJ <i>dār-</i> / <i>dāšt</i> 'hold' + SBJ
(2) Terminative INF-OBL + <i>ill-</i> / <i>išt</i> 'leave'	(3) Immediate future <i>āy-</i> / <i>āt</i> 'come' <i>ki</i> + SBJ

(1) Progressive / Ingressive

Several Balochi dialects have a syntactic construction comparable to the English 'continuous form', employing the infinitive (see 3.2.3.1) in the OBL (thus a kind of locative expression) with the copula to express the progressive.

man guš-ag-ā un man guš-ag-ā it-ō
 I say.PR-INF-OBL COP.PR-1S I say.PR-INF-OBL COPPT-1S
 'I am saying' (WBal.) 'I was saying' (SBalKar., FBB: 74)

In Pakistani SWBal. there is a continuous construction based on the present participle + copula:

wāḷa pañ-kuš bi har-ā swār rav-ān at
 mister five-kill.PR to donkey-OBL riding go.PR-PART COPPT.3S
 'Mr. Five-slayer kept moving forward riding on his donkey'. (WBalNosh., BMC
 II: 178)

Central Sarawani has a special progressive construction consisting of *golāyīš* + copula employed with the present form of the verb:

golāyīš-ē zapt-a kan-ē
 PROG-COP.PR.1P recording-V.EL do.PR.SBJ-1P
 'we are busy recording'. (IrBalSarw., BSD: 90)

golāyīš-at-ē dar-a yāy-ē
 PROG-COP.PT-1P out-V.EL come.PR-1P
 'we were coming out'. (IrBalSarw., BSD: 93)

Some variants of IrBal. (e.g. Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin, described by Ahangar 2007) have acquired a progressive/ingressive construction modelled on the Persian construction with the verb *dār- / dāšt* 'hold, have':

dāšt-on rapt-on ke ta yaht-e
 hold.PT-1S go.PT-1S CL you.S come.PT-2S
 'I was about to go when you came'. (IrBalSarh., ASG: 14–15)

kessa dār-īt gehter o gehter-a bīt
 story hold.PR-3S better and better-V.EL become.PR.3S
 'the story is getting better and better'. (IrBalSarh., ASG: 11–12)

Ingressives may be expressed by the infinitive in the oblique with the verb *lagg- / laggit* 'begin'. In TBal., *binā kan- / kurt* 'to start' may also be used in this sense.

man giš-ag-ā lagg-ā
 I say.PR-INF-OBL start.PR-1S
 'I begin to say'. (SBal.Kar., FBB: 76)

čārit-in-ā laggit binā kurt bi zulm-ay
 look.PT-INF-OBL start.PT.3S building do.PT.3S to cruelty-GEN
kurt-in-ā
 do.PT-INF-OBL
 'it started to graze'. 'he started to do cruel things (lit. cruelty)'.
 (both TBal., ABT: 218)

nān u āp-ay jōr kurt-in-ā binā-a kan-t
 bread and water-GEN ready do.PT-INF-OBL building-V.EL do.PR-3S
 'she starts to prepare the meal'. (TBal.)

(2) Terminative

TBal. also has a terminative construction with *ill- / išt* 'to leave':

watī jang kurt-in-ā išt
 self.GEN fight do.PT-INF-OBL leave.PT.3S
 'he stopped quarrelling'. (TBal., ABT: 218–219)

(3) Immediate future

TBal. also has a construction for immediate future, in the present or past, employing the motion verb *āy- / āt* 'come' followed by a purpose clause in the subjunctive:

pādišā k-ayt ki āyrā maland u masxara b-kan-t
 king V.PREF-come.PR.3S CL DEM.OBJ joke and ridicule SBJ-do.PR-3S
 'the king is going to ridicule him'. (TBal.)

āt ki dār-ānā baḡḡ kan-t
 come.PT.3S CL wood-P.OBJ back do.PR.SBJ-3S
 'he was just going to load up the wood on his back'. (TBal.)

4.5.3.2 Modal constructions

TABLE 11.24: MODAL CONSTRUCTIONS

nominal constructions	Persian-style constructions
(1) Ability / possibility PT(-PF) + <i>kan-</i> / <i>kurt</i> 'do'	<i>t(o)wān-</i> / <i>t(o)wānt</i> 'be able' + SBJ
(2) Intention / ability GERV + COP	
(3) Necessity / intention noun-OBL GERV + <i>int</i> noun-OBL INF + <i>lōtī(t)</i>	
(4) Desiderativity INF + <i>lōt-</i> / <i>lōtīt</i> 'want'	

(1) Ability / possibility

Ability may be expressed with *kan-* / *kurt* 'do' as auxiliary:

dīst-ag-a *kan-ay* *šut* *na-kurt*
see.PT-PF-V.EL do.PR-2S go.PT NEG-do.PT.3S
'you can see' (TBal., ABT: 223) 'he could not go'. (WBal.)

kut *kan-ē* *āyā* *kapt* *kut-ag-ā*
do.PT do.PR-2S DEM.P.OBL fall.PT do.PT-PF-3P
'you can do' 'they could have fallen'. (both SBalKar., FBB: 58, 75)

In IrBal. this construction is less frequently found. Instead, the construction modelled on Persian with *t(o)wān-* / *t(o)wānt* 'be able to' + subjunctive of the main verb is normally used to express ability:

mō šerā *na-towān-ā* *čest* *kan-ā*
I DEM.OBJ NEG-be.able.PR-1S lifting do.PR.SBJ-1S
'I cannot lift this up'. (IrBalSarw., BSD: 97)

(2) Intention / ability

Pakistani SWBal. also has constructions expressing intent, ability and necessity based on the gerundive (see 3.2.3.3) + copula.

man raw-ag-ī *un*
I go.PR-INF-GERV COP.PR.1S
'I intend to / will be able to / have to go'. (WBalNosh., BMC I: 238) / the same construction means 'I am about to go' in (SBalKar., FBB: 76)

(3) Necessity / intention

manā raw-ag-ī *int*
I.OBJ go.PR-INF-GERV COP.PR.3S
'I have to go'. (WBalNosh., BMC I: 240; same construction SBalKar., FBB: 76)

Another construction expressing necessity, which consists of infinitive + the verb *lōt-* / *lōtīt* 'want, wish', is found in SBal. of Karachi:

manā likk-ag lōṭ-ī
 I.OBJ write.PR-INF want.PR-3S
 'I should write', lit. 'to me it needs to write'. (SBalKar., FBB: 45)

(4) Desiderativity

The verb *lōṭ- / lōṭīt* 'want, wish' is also used to express desiderativity. In some Balochi dialects the construction employs the infinitive + *lōṭ-* (*raw-ag lōṭ-īn*), in others it is constructed in the Persian way with the subjunctive of the main verb, e.g. *lōṭ-īn b-rīn* 'I want to go'. This is particularly common in Balochi dialects in close contact with Persian (IrBal., TBal., AfBal.).

lōṭīt ki mnā watī zāmās b-kan-t
 want.PT.3S CL I.OBJ self.GEN son-in-law SBJ-do.PR-3S
 'he wanted to make me his son-in-law'. (TBal.)

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Coordinate clauses

The most common coordinate conjunctions are *u*, *aw*, *wa* 'and', *balē*, *walē*, *ammā* 'but', *yā* 'or'. Coordination may also be accomplished by the reduplicated conjunctions (*h*)*am* . . . (*h*)*am* 'both . . . and', *yā* . . . *yā* 'either . . . or', and *na* . . . *na* 'neither . . . nor'.

Examples:

watī čunt rōč-ay āp u nān-ā zurt u
 self.GEN some day-GEN water and bread-OBJ take.PT.3S and
ham-ā šār-ay rāh-ā watī dēmā gipt
 EMPH-DEM town-GEN way-OBJ self.GEN before take.PT.3S
 'he took [enough] bread and water for a few days and set out for that very town'.
 (TBal.)

bādšāh gōn watī laškar-ā bi šahr-ā atk balē wāḡa panč-kuš
 king with self.GEN army-OBL to town-OBL come.PT.3S but mister five-kill.PR
ča āhā pēsar bi watī lōg-ā atk u rast
 from DEM.POBL before to self.GEN house-OBL come.PT.3S and arrive.PT.3S
 'the king came to the town with his army but Mr. Five-slayer had reached his house
 before them'. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 178)

am grēt u am gal-a kurt-ī
 also cry.PT.3S and also joy-V.EL do.PT.3S-ENCL.PRO.3S
 'he both cried and rejoiced'. (TBal.)

5.2 Subordination

There are few descriptions of subordination in Balochi. The most comprehensive one so far is that of Axenov (2006: 243–267) for TBal., on which this section is largely based (examples are mainly from TBal. and other WBal. dialects). As Balochi is primarily a spoken language, the syntax is usually fairly simple. Subordination closely follows the basic pattern of Persian, and several conjunctions have been borrowed from neighbouring languages (e.g. *agar* 'if', *lēkin* 'but').

Subordinate clauses sometimes precede and sometimes follow the matrix clause, into which they can also be embedded. The particle *ki* serves as a general subordinator: it introduces complement and relative clauses as well as quoted speech. It may also introduce adverbial clauses. Other subordinating conjunctions are mainly formed with *ki* as their basis, e.g. *wahdē ki* ‘when’, *pa(r)čē ki* ‘because’, *tān ki* ‘in order that’.

Sometimes a subordinate argument is asyndetically connected to the matrix clause (i.e. without a conjunction):

mūsā [] ta xudā-ayā raw-ay ta allā-ā b-guš ki
 PN you.S God-LOC go.PR-2S you.S God-OBJ SBJ-say.PR CL
am-ē yakk rōč-ē mnī lāp-ā ša nān-ā
 EMPH-DEM one day-INDEF 1.GEN belly-OBJ from bread-OBL
sēr kan
 full do.PR.SBJ
 ‘Moses, [when] you go to God, tell him to fill my belly with food even if only for one day’. (AfBal.)

kass-ē hast [] manā kamm-ēn āp bi-dant
 person-INDEF V.EX.3S 1.OBJ little-ATTR water SBJ-give.PR.3S
 ‘is there anyone [who could] give me a little water?’ (WBal.)

5.2.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are normally introduced by the subordinator *ki*. Complements may constitute either the subject or the direct object of the main clause.

tārīk at u zabr mālūm-a na-būt
 dark COP.PT.3S and good evident-V.EL NEG-become.PT.3S
ki mardum-ē yā diga čīz-ē
 CL human-INDEF or other thing-INDEF
 ‘it was dark and it was not quite clear whether it was a man or something else’.
 (TBal., ABT: 247)

na-zān-ay ki manī nām wāĵa pañč-kuš int
 NEG-know.PR-2S CL 1.GEN name mister five-kill.PR COP.PR.3S
 ‘don’t you know that my name is Mr. Five-slayer?’ (WBalNosh., BMC II: 172)

Quoted speech can be considered a subtype of object complement.

ĵanēn-ā gwašt ki nēt gapp čē int
 woman-OBL say.PT.3S CL now talk what COP.PR.3S
 ‘the woman said (that:) what is the matter (lit. talk) now?’ (WBalNosh., BMC II: 175)

Non-finite complements employing infinitives are also common.

mēmān-ay xizmatt kurt-in čō-m-ē asal-ayā wašš int
 guest-GEN service do.PT-INF like-EMPH-DEM honey-LOC good COP.PR.3S
 ‘to pay honour to a guest is sweet like honey (lit. this honey)’. (TBal., ABT: 246)

5.2.2 *Relative clauses*

The subordinator *ki* also introduces relative clauses. Head nouns of restrictive relative clauses are introduced by a demonstrative or indefinite pronoun (functioning as an adjective) and/or marked by the individuation suffix *-ē* (see also Jahani 2008).

If the antecedent has the syntactic function of subject or direct object in the relative clause, it can be resumed either by zero (more common) or by a pronoun (less common). If the antecedent carries another syntactic function, which is very rare in Balochi, there must be a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause.

(Temporal and locational clauses are structurally relative clauses, but are used as adverbial complements and do not require a resumptive pronoun, see 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.2).

čīz-ē-rā ki dīn guš-īt wāgīyat dār-īt
 thing-INDEF-OBJ CL religion say.PR-3S truth hold.PR-3S
 ‘what religion says holds true’. (AfBal., Jahani 2008: 147)

ta p-ē kār-ān ki man-a kan-īn baxt na-dār-ay
 you.S for-DEM work-P.OBL CL I-V.EL do.PR-1S luck NEG-hold.PR-2S
 ‘you don’t have any success in the things that I occupy myself with’. (TBal., Jahani 2008: 148)

gis-ē ki mnī balluk bi āi tahā zindagī-a kurt
 house-INDEF CL I.GEN grandmother in DEM.GEN inside life-V.EL do.PT.3S
annūn bēxī wayrān int
 now totally destroyed COP.PR.3S
 ‘the house in which my grandmother lived is now totally in ruins’. (TBal., ABT: 251)

mard-ē ki ča panč mazār-ay kuš-ag-ā bajj na-wārt
 man-INDEF CL from five tiger-GEN kill.PR-INF-OBL fear NEG-eat.PR.3S
ē yakk-ē mazār-ay kuš-ag pa āi
 DEM one-ATTR tiger-GEN kill.PR-INF for DEM.OBL
hičč čī-ē būt na-kan-t
 any thing-INDEF become.PT NEG-do.PR-3S
 ‘to kill this one tiger cannot be any problem for a man who is not afraid of killing five tigers’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 174–175)

čōš-ē mard-ē bī ki gunāh čī na-k^huθ-a
 such-ATTR man-INDEF become.PR.3S CL sin thing NEG-do.PT-PF
 ‘it should be such a man who has not committed any sin’. (EBal., Dames 1891: Part I:5)

pa-čē am-ā lunka-ē ki āt-ay ki b-ōr-ay
 for-what EMPH-DEM mouthful-INDEF CL come.PT-2S CL SBJ-eat.PR-2S
am-āyrā um padā išt-ay
 EMPH-DEM.OBJ also afterwards leave.PT-2S
 ‘why did you leave the mouthful that you were about to eat?’ (TBal.)

5.2.3 Adverbial clauses

5.2.3.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are introduced by one of the conjunctions *wahd-ē ki* / *waxt-ē ki*, *(h)ar (ka)dēn ki* ‘when’, *an-čō ki*, *(h)am-ē ki* ‘as soon as’ and *tā(n) ki*, *tā wahd-ē ki* ‘until’, or by the subordinator *ki*, which in this function is placed after the first word or phrase of the clause. In some dialects the main clause is frequently resumed by *ta*, *tō*, *guḏā* ‘then’.

In narratives, the time frame is generally the past, and the preterite is used in the temporal clause. In the non-past temporal field, the indicative denotes certainty and the subjunctive uncertainty. Also, the preterite can be used as a relative tense in non-past temporal clauses with the matrix clause as the deictic centre: it puts the matrix clause in the foreground and the temporal clause is construed as background information.

yakk rōč-ē hardē ki ā bēwass
 one day-INDEF when CL DEM poor.one
ča pōryāt-ā bi gis-ā atk u rast
 from work-OBL to house-OBL come.PT.3S and arrive.PT.3S
ta āi čamm bi panč mušk-ānī sarā kapt
 then DEM.GEN eye to five mouse-P.GEN on fall.PT.3S
 ‘one day when that poor one came home from work his eye fell on five mice’.
 (WBalNosh., BMC II: 172)

jinēnzāg ki ša ḏannā k-ayt
 woman CL from outside V.PREF-come.PR.3S
pādišā kitāb-ā by-āi-a dant
 king book-OBJ to-DEM.OBL-V.EL give.PR.3S
 ‘when the woman comes from outside, the king gives her the book’. (TBal., ABT: 254)

arkadēn ki watī čiz-ānā bā b-kan-īn
 when CL self.GEN thing-P.OBJ sale SBJ-do.PR-1S
pa wat čiz b-zin-īn ra-īn
 for self thing SBJ-buy.PR-1S go.PR-1S
 ‘whenever I sell my things and buy something for myself, I will go’. (TBal., ABT: 254)

waxtē ki ta mardum āwurt-ay am-ē gis-ay tā
 when CL you.S human bring.PT-2S EMPH-DEM house-GEN in
ša mučē-ān dēmā ta wat putr
 from all-P.OBL before you.S self enter.PR.SBJ
 ‘when you bring people, go into this house, yourself, before everyone [else]’. (TBal., ABT: 255)

5.2.3.2 Locational clauses

In locational clauses, *ki* is preceded by an adverb or a noun indicating place, e.g. *idā* ‘here’, *ōdā* ‘there’, *(h)ar jā* / *(h)ar kuḏā* ‘wherever’. Depending on the prominence of the two clauses and the degree of realis of the locational clause, the preterite, past subjunctive, or non-past indicative or subjunctive may be used in this clause.

arjā ki oštāt, zān-ay
 wherever CL stand.PT.3S know.PR-2S
ki tī brās am-ōdān ant
 CL you.S.GEN brother EMPH-there COP.PR.3P
 ‘know that your brothers are wherever it stops’. (TBal.)

ēšānā āwurt am-ōdā
 DEM.POBJ bring.PT.3S EMPH-there
ki wazīr-ay jīnikk-ā-a šōd-ant
 CL minister-GEN girl-OBJ-V.EL wash.PR-3P
 ‘he brought them to the place where they were washing the minister’s daughter’.
 (TBal., ABT: 257)

5.2.3.3 Clauses of manner

Clauses of manner are linked to the matrix clause by, for example, *čōn ki* ‘like’, and the matrix clause may be resumed by an adverb of manner such as *amā rang* ‘in that way’.

nōkar um čōn ki šā abbās gušt-at-ī
 servant also like CL king PN say.PT-COP.PT.3S-ENCL.PRO.3S
am-ā rang kurt
 EMPH-DEM kind do.PT.3S
 ‘and the servant did it the way that Shah Abbas had told him’. (TBal., ABT: 262)

5.2.3.4 Causal clauses

Causal clauses are most frequently introduced by *pa(r)-čē ki* or *š-am-ā ki* ‘because’. The subordinator *ki* and other conjunctions also have this function. Since the causal clauses express factual circumstances, the verb is in the indicative mood.

bē-šakk taī nām panč-kuš int
 without-doubt you.S.GEN name five-kill.PR COP.PR.3S
parčē ki ā panč-ē mušk taī janōk-ē ant
 because CL DEM five-ATTR mouse you.S.GEN slayer-ATTR COP.PR.3P
 ‘undoubtedly your name is Mr. Five-slayer because you have slain those five mice’,
 lit. ‘those five mice are your slain’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 172)

šamā ki mnī gis-ā-a k-āy-ay
 because CL I.GEN house-OBL-V.EL V.PREF-come.PR-2S
mnī mēmān am bāz-a bay-ant
 I.GEN guest also much-V.EL become.PR-3P
 ‘I will have many guests because you come to my house’,
 lit. ‘my guests will be many, too’. (TBal., ABT: 259)

mnā yakk rūpī-ay brinj b-day
 I.OBJ one rupee-GEN rice SBJ-give.PR
ki mnī mard-ay dil pa palāv-ā mant-a
 CL I.GEN man-GEN heart for rice.dish-OBL remain.PT-PF.3S
 ‘give me one rupee[’s worth] of rice because my husband’s heart is longing for *pilaw*’.
 (TBal., ABT: 259)

5.2.3.5 Consecutive and final clauses

Consecutive (resultative) and final (purposive) clauses are both introduced by the subordinator *ki*. The only difference between these two types is that the indicative mood is used in consecutive clauses, since they describe real events, whereas final clauses always exhibit the subjunctive mood, owing to the fact that they state a desired purpose.

Result (indicative)

ē dēb-ā yakk zām-ē ĵan-t
DEM demon-OBJ one sword-INDEF hit.PR-3S
ki sarag-ī ādā-a kap-īt
CL head-ENCL.PRO.3S there-V.EL fall.PR-3S

'he strikes the demon with a sword once so that his head falls far away'. (TBal., ABT: 260)

Purpose (subjunctive)

sakk gō zamzīl-ān bi-band-ī
hard with chain-P.OBL SBJ-tie.PR-ENCL.PRO.3S
ki wat-ā pačč kurt ma-kan-t u ma-rawt
CL self-OBL open do.PT PROH-do.PR-3S and PROH-go.PR.3S

'tie it tight with chains so that it can not untie itself and get away'. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 176)

A non-finite construction with the infinitive in the oblique case is also common to express purpose.

šut kū-ā āp kašš-ag-ā
go.PT.3S well-OBL water pull.PR-INF-OBL
'he went to the well to pull up water'. (WBalNosh.)

5.2.3.6 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by the conjunction *aga(r)* (*ki*). The matrix clause is sometimes resumed by the particle *tō / ta*.

Hypothetical conditions have either a preterite (relative tense) or a non-past subjunctive form of the verb depending on focus.

age be bāzār rapt-ō čīz-ē ger-ō
if to market go.PT-1S thing-INDEF take.PR-1S
'I will buy [a little] something if I go to the market'. (IrBal. of Lashar, Mahmoodi Bakhtiari 2003: 138)

agar ki ēla-ī ma-kan-t mnī dil patta-a
if CL free-ENCL.PRO.3S PROH-do.PR-3S I.GEN heart for.you.S-V.EL
suč-īt
burn.PR-3S

'if he does not set him free, I will feel sorry for you'. (TBal., ABT: 264)

Counterfactual conditions have a past subjunctive form in the conditional clause and an imperfect form in the main clause in dialects with the verbal element *-a* (see 3.2.5.1 (2)). In other dialects the verb form in the main clause is preterite.

aga ta w manī nām wāḡa pañč-kuš ēr ma-kurt-ēn
 if you.S I.GEN name mister five-kill.PR down PROH-do.PT-SBJ
u manī sitā-ā ma-kurt-ēn
 and I.GEN praise-OBL PROH-do.PT-SBJ
ta par čē marōčī ē balāh manī sarā kapt
 then for what today DEM calamity I.GEN on fall.PT.3S
 ‘if you had not called me Mr. Five-slayer and praised me, why then would this
 calamity have befallen me’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 175)

5.2.3.7 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are marked by *(h)ar-činkas*, *(h)ar-čī*, *(h)ar-čōn* ‘even if, although’ (+ *ki*). The matrix clause is sometimes resumed by *balē* ‘but’. The verb in the concessive clause is found both in the indicative and in the subjunctive (see also 4.5.2.9 for an additional example).

harčinkas ki janēn-ā diljamī dāt
 although CL woman-OBL comforting give.PT
balē wāḡa pañč-kuš na-mannit
 but mister five-kill.PR NEG-obey.PT.3S
 ‘even though Mr. Five-slayer’s wife comforted [him], he did not calm down’ (i.e. did not listen to her). (WBalNosh., BMC II:177)

6 WORD FORMATION

6.1 Nominal word formation

Common nominal suffixes are *-ag*, *-k*, *-ak(k)*, *-ik*, *-uk* (see Korn 2005a: 163–169), which in many cases do not change the meaning of the word, and are also used interchangeably, e.g. *ādēn* vs. *ādēnk*, *ādēnag*, all ‘mirror’.

Several of these suffixes are also used to derive adjectives from nouns, as are the suffixes *-ūg* and *-īg*. Here as well, there is a certain degree of interchangeability of suffixes, e.g. *šud* ‘hunger’ → *šudag*, *šudīg*, *šudīk* ‘hungry’. However, the most productive adjective suffix is *-ī*, e.g. *nōšī* ‘tasty’ (from *nōš* ‘drink(ing)’), *waxtī* ‘on time, timely’ (from *waxt* ‘time’).

Adjectives derived from personal pronouns with the suffix *-īg* are used in the function of predicative possessives in some dialects, e.g. *manīg* ‘mine’, *taīg* ‘yours’, *āīg* ‘his, hers, its’, *mayg* ‘ours’, *šumayg* ‘yours’, *āwānīg* / *āyānīg* / *āhānīg* ‘theirs’.

The suffixes *-ik(k)*, *-uk* and *-luk* (to a certain extent also *-ak(k)*) (also) have a diminutive function; *-uk* is particularly productive (also on names, cf. Badalkhan 2003: 297).

Another suffix *-ī* derives abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives (e.g. *waš(š)ī* ‘happiness’ from *waš(š)* ‘good, nice’; *duz(z)ī* ‘theft’ from *duz(z)* ‘thief’), and *-ōk* forms agent nouns from the present stem of verbs (see also 3.2.3.4). Both suffixes are productive.

6.2 Verbal word formation

(1) Denominative verbs can be formed from inherited as well as borrowed nominals without adding a suffix, that is, by using the noun as the present stem, e.g. *čōp-* ‘hit’ (from

čōp ‘stick’), *duz(z)*- ‘steal’ (from *duz(z)* ‘thief’), *šōm*- ‘plough’ (from *šōm* ‘ploughing’), *ǰall*- ‘contain’ (from *ǰall* ‘box’), *g(a)rand*- ‘thunder’ (from *g(a)rand* ‘thunder(n.)’), *badl*- ‘change’ (from *badal* ‘change (n.)’).

Very frequently, inherited and borrowed nominals are converted into verbs by combining them with a light verb to give a complex verb (see 3.2.1). Common light verbs are *kan*- ‘do’ and *ǰan*- ‘hit’ for actions with the feature [+ control], and *war*- ‘eat’ (see Farrell 2008: 126–127 for a list of examples), *gir*- ‘take’ and *bēy-lbay*- ‘become’ for [– control].

(2) The formation of causative verbs is productive. Causatives are formed by suffixing *-ēn*- to the present stem; double causatives use the suffix *-āēn*- (see 3.2.2.2).

7 SAMPLE TEXTS

The two sample texts below are intended to illustrate the great variation among the Balochi dialects. Karachi Balochi is located in the very south-east of the Balochi linguistic area and Turkmenistan Balochi in the very north. The first sample text is from Farrell 2003: 207–209, and the second is an excerpt from the text A 1.5 published by Axenov 2006: 291–293 (with glosses added), both with a few minor changes in text and/or translation.

Karachi Balochi: Fishing

matlab iš ē, ǰō ast-ē,
 meaning DEM COP.PR.3S REL V.EX.3S-COP.PR.3S
 ‘It means that, you know’,

idā ǰab dar k-āy-ant-ē,
 here when out V.PREF-come.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
 ‘when they leave here’,

išānī takrīban tēm bīt-ē dā baǰ-ē tēm-ā
 DEM.P.GEN about time become.PR.3S-COP.PR.3S ten hour-GEN time-OBL
 ‘it will be about ten o’clock for them’.

dā baǰ-ē tēm-ā, ǰō ast-ē
 ten hour-GEN time-OBL REL V.EX.3S-COP.PR.3S
 ‘At ten o’clock, you know’,

ē māhōr-ā dawr dē-ant-ē,
 DEM net-OBL throwing give.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
 ‘they will throw out the net’.

dā baǰ-ē tēm-ā, na?
 ten hour-GEN time-OBL NEG
 ‘At ten o’clock, right?’

dā-ē tēm-ā māhōr-ā dawr dē-ā.
 ten-GEN time-OBL net-OBL throwing give.PR-3P
 ‘They throw out the net at ten’.

māhōr-ā dawr dē-ā, dāki saē baǰ tak, ǰō ast-ē,
 net-OBL throwing give.PR-3P until three hour until REL V.EX.3S-COP.PR.3S
 ‘They throw out the net until three o’clock, you know’,

ē māhōr-ā gō sarpuṭ bē-ā.
 DEM net-P.OBL with busy become.PR-3P
 'they will be busy with the nets'.

anču rēč-ant išā, padā čār baḡ tak
 so pour.PR-3P DEM.P.OBL then four hour until
 'So they throw them out, and then, until four o'clock',

ē kammuk nind-ā, ārām kan-ant-ē.
 DEM little sit.PR-3P quiet do.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
 'they sit a bit and rest'.

saḡḡ-ē šap dā . . . māhōr, ḡō ast-ē,
 whole-ATTR night until net REL V.EX.3S-COP.PR.3S
 'All night until . . . the nets, you know',

āp-ē tahā bīt-ē.
 water-GEN inside become.PR.3S-COP.PR.3S
 '[they] are in the water'.

ham-ā sōb-ē sarā takriban pañč baḡ-ē ṭēm-ā,
 EMPH-DEM morning-GEN on about five hour-GEN time-OBL
 'Early that morning at about five o'clock',

pañč-ē ṭēm-ā, na?
 five-GEN time-OBL NEG
 '-- at five o'clock, right?'

nī māhōr-ē kašš-ag-ā šurū kan-ant-ē,
 now net-GEN pull.PR-INF-OBL start do.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
 'Now they begin to pull in the net'.

dāki šap-ē, matlab rōč-ē bār baḡ tak ē māhōr
 until night-GEN meaning day-GEN twelve hour until DEM net
kašš-ant-ē.
 pull.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
 'Until twelve at night, I mean day, they pull in the net'.

māhōr-ā kašš-ant-ē maččī-ān alag kan-ā
 net-OBL pull.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S fish-P.OBL separate do.PR-3P
 'They pull in the net [and] separate the fish'.

maččī-ān alag kan-ā, barf-marḡ kuṭṭ-ant-ē, lāč-ē sarā
 fish-P.OBL separate do.PR-3P ice-DBL cut.up.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S boat-GEN on
 'They separate the fish, they cut up ice, on the boat'.

sāḡā bār baḡ, yak baḡ lagg-ī, fārig bē-ā,
 half twelve hour one hour take.PR-3S free become.PR-3P
 'When it turns half past twelve or one o'clock, then they are free [for that day]',

padā warag-marḡ war-ant-ē, lāč-ē sarā
 then food-DBL eat.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S boat-GEN on
 'and eat some food, [right there] on the boat'.

ara ce bād watī mähōr-ā sāiḡ-ā kan-ant-ē,
 DEM.OBL from after self.GEN net-OBL side-OBL do.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
 ‘After that they [again] put their net to the side’

padā mähōr-ā rēč-ā āp-ā
 then net-OBL pour.PR-3P water-OBL
 ‘and throw the net into the water’.

Turkmenistan Balochi: My Childhood

gwandakkī-ā man watī jīnd-ay gis-ay māl-ānā-a
 childhood-OBL I self.GEN self-GEN house-GEN cattle-P.OBJ-V.EL
čārēnt-un.
 graze.CAUS.PT-1S
 ‘When I was a child, I used to graze the sheep of our household’.

ammā nazzīk-i sad pas dāšt-an.
 we near-EZ hundred sheep hold.PT-1P
 ‘We had almost one hundred sheep’.

man u mnī brās usmān u sapor wārī-pa-bērī māl-ānā-a
 I and I.GEN brother PN and PN turn-by-turn cattle-P.OBJ-V.EL
čārēnt-an.
 graze.CAUS.PT-1P
 ‘I and my brothers Usman and Sapor took turns grazing the sheep’.

ammā pa watī māl-ān yakkyakkī nām išt-at-an,
 we for self.GEN cattle-P.OBL one.by.one name leave.PT-COP.PT-1P
 ‘We had given names to each one of our sheep’.

āwānā bāz dōst dāšt-an u zabr drust-a kurt-an.
 DEM.P.OBJ much friend hold.PT-1P and good recognized-V.EL do.PT-1P
 ‘We loved them very much and would recognize [each one] right away’.

gis-ay dapā bāḡ u pālēz ham kišt-an.
 house-GEN in.front.of garden and melon.field also plant.PT-1P
 ‘We planted a garden and a melon field in front of our house as well’.

man da-dwāzda sālagī-ā gō ar-ā alap-a k-āwurt-un.
 I ten-twelve year.old-OBL with donkey-OBL grass-V.EL V.PREF-bring.PT-1S
 ‘When I was about ten or twelve years old, I used to fetch grass with the donkey’.

ham-ā waxt-ā yakk spēt-ēn ar-ē dāšt-an,
 EMPH-DEM time-OBL one white-ATTR donkey-INDEF hold.PT-1P
 ‘At that time we had a white donkey’.

nām-ī dabbū at.
 name-ENCL.PRO.3S PN COP.PT-3S
 ‘its name was Shorty’.

mnī piss mnā ša panč-šaš sālagī-ā
 I.GEN father I.OBJ from five-six year.old-OBL
 ‘From the age of five or six, my father’

qurān-ay wānt-in-ā ēl dāt.
 Quran-GEN read.PT-INF-OBL learning give.PT.3S
 ‘taught me [*mnā*] to read the Quran’.

man gāvaxt-a na-wānt-un, ša āī dēmā-a ǰist-un.
 I sometimes-V.EL NEG-read.PT-1S from DEM.GEN before-V.EL flee.PT-1S
 ‘Sometimes I did not study, I ran away from him’.

mnī piss mnā arčōn dōst dāšt-ēn ham,
 I.GEN father I.OBJ ‘even.though friend hold.PT-SBJ.3S also
 ‘[And] even though my father loved me very much’,

pa wānt-in-ay xātirā mnā ǰipt u ǰat.
 for read.PT-INF-GEN sake I.OBJ take.PT.3S and hit.PT.3S
 ‘when it came to studying, he used to take me and hit me’.

man zār-a būt-un, tā čunt rōč
 I angry-V.EL become.PT-1S until some day
 ‘[And then] I got angry, [and] for several days’

gō ičkass ǰis-ay tā abar-a na-dāt-un.
 with nobody house-GEN in word-V.EL NEG-give.PT-1S
 ‘I did not talk to anyone in the house’.

nūn, waxt-ē ki tū būt-un, sarpad-a bāin
 now time-INDEF CL big become.PT-1S aware-V.EL become.PR.1S
 ‘Now that I have grown up, I understand

ki mnī piss zabr kurt-a ki mnā ǰat-a.
 CL I.GEN father good do.PT-PF.3S CL I.OBJ hit.PT-PF.3S
 ‘that my father did a good thing to beat me.’

agar ma-ǰat-ēn, man-a na-wānt-un.
 if PROH-hit.PT-SBJ.3S I-V.EL NEG-read.PT-1S
 ‘if he hadn’t beaten [me], I wouldn’t have studied’.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABT	Axenov 2006 (TBal.)
AfBal.	Balochi spoken in Afghanistan
ASG	Ahangar 2007 (IrBalSarh.)
Bal.	Balochi
BLB	Buddruss 1988 (AfBal.)
BMC	Barker/Mengal 1969 (WBalNosh.)
BSD	Baranzehi 2003 (IrBalSarw.)
ComBal.	Common Balochi (see 1.4)
EBal.	Eastern Balochi dialect(s)
FBB	Farrell 1990 (SBalKar.)
IrBal.	Balochi spoken in Iran
IrBalSarh.	Iranian Balochi of Sarhadd
IrBalSarw.	Iranian Balochi of Sarawan
SBal.	Southern Balochi dialect(s)
SBalKar.	Southern Balochi of Karachi
SWBal.	Southern and Western Balochi
TBal.	Balochi spoken in Turkmenistan
WBal.	Western Balochi dialect(s)
WBalNosh.	Western Balochi of Noshke, Pakistan

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