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The Balochi Language of Turkmenistan

A corpus-based grammatical description

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Dissertation at Uppsala University to be publicly examined in Geijersalen (6-1023), Engelska parken, Humanistiskt centrum, Thunbergsvägen 3, Uppsala University, Friday, January 19, 2007 at 10:15 for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The examination will be conducted in English

Abstract

Axenov, S. 2006. The Balochi Language of Turkmenistan. A corpus-based grammatical description. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. *Studia Iranica Upsaliensia* 10. 335 pp. Uppsala. ISBN 91-554-5436-4

This dissertation is a synchronic description of the Balochi language as spoken in Turkmenistan. The dissertation consists of three main parts: sound structure, word and phrase-level morphosyntax and clause structure. The purpose of the present study is to describe the basic phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of the Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan in accordance with the principles of descriptive linguistics. This method has been chosen in order to present synchronic data on various language levels and to lay the basis for further studies of this variety of the Balochi language, as well as for comparative studies in Iranian linguistics. The language data are presented in the book in such a way as to make it accessible also to non-specialists in Iranian languages.

The oral texts used as language data have been written down or recorded during seven trips to Turkmenistan in the period between 1989 and 2000. The main part of the material consists of folktales, recordings of common speech and ethnographic texts. Folktales written down in the Latin and Cyrillic scripts by the Baloch themselves have also been used as linguistic data for the dissertation.

During the last twenty years the Baloch have started to leave their national settlements and actively migrate within the territory of Turkmenistan because of lack of water and the soil salination. In the future this migration is likely to bring about diverging Balochi geolects in the territory of Turkmenistan. The majority of migrants from the Baloch settlements, however, seem to switch from Balochi to Turkmen in all linguistic domains, including the home. In this context the recording of speech samples of the Balochi language in Turkmenistan and linguistic descriptions of the language seem to be of special importance.

Keywords: Balochi, Turkmenistan, dialectology, phonology, morphology, syntax, descriptive linguistics, fieldwork, unwritten languages, Iranian languages.

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To the memory of my father, Victor Axenov...

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Acknowledgements

My interest in the Balochi language originates from the middle of the 1980s, when I was a second year student at the Oriental faculty of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) University. At that time my teacher and supervisor Prof. Alexander Grünberg advised me to read the two volumes of Balochi folktales published by Zarubin. The language of these folktales seemed very interesting to me and my next reading was *A Course in Baluchi* by Barker and Mengal. During my last year at the University in St. Petersburg a Baloch from Turkmenistan, Mammad Sherdil, appeared. He came to the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences in order to get help from Prof. Grünberg in creating a writing system for his language. Prof. Grünberg got me involved in the work with Mammad Sherdil, and after a short period of time I began my fieldwork in Turkmenistan. I am infinitely thankful to Prof. Grünberg for introducing me to the world of Iranian linguistics and for involving me in the work with the Balochi language.

I am deeply grateful to my main supervisor at Uppsala University, Prof. Carina Jahani, for her inestimable help, scholarly supervision and encouragement during my work on the dissertation. Prof. Jahani provided an extremely thorough checking of the dissertation, and I am thankful to her for her invaluable comments on every chapter of the dissertation. I am also grateful to my external supervisor Prof. Åke Viberg, Uppsala University, for his thorough supervision and very important comments on the theoretical issues of the dissertation.

I am also indebted to Prof. Bo Utas, Uppsala University, for his valuable remarks and comments during my seminars held at Uppsala University, and for his assistance in clarifying to me some aspects of the BT morphology. I would also like to thank Dr. Geoffrey Haig, Kiel University, for his support and encouragement during my work on several controversial issues of BT morphology.

My special thanks go also to Dr. Agnes Korn, Frankfurt University, for her extremely thorough and important comments on the phonetics and phonology chapter. I would also like to thank Dr. Pétur Helgason, Uppsala University, and Mrs. Gunilla Andersson, SIL, for valuable advice and comments on the phonetics and phonology chapter, and Dr. Anju Saxena, Uppsala Uni-

Abbreviations

List of abbreviations of grammatical glosses

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ATTR	attributive form of an adjective
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
CMP	comparative degree
CONT	continuitive marker
COP	the predicative copula
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
EMPH	emphatic particle
ENC	enclitic pronoun
EXCL	exclusive pronoun
FCOP	full form of the predicative copula
FOC	focus particle
GEN	genitive
GR	group plurality
HI	hiatus filler
IMPF	aspectual enclitic particle of imperfectivity
IMPF_k	aspectual morphological prefix of imperfectivity
INCL	inclusive pronoun
IND	the indefiniteness marker
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
NEG	negation particle
OBJ	objective
OBL	oblique
ORD	suffix of ordinal numerals
PAST	verb past stem
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
PP	past participle

PPRES	present participle
PRES	verb present stem
PRP	present participle
PSUBJ	past subjunctive suffix
PROH	prohibitive particle
REFL	reflexive pronoun
SG	singular
SUB	conjunction of general subordination
SUBJ	subjunctive prefix
TOP	topic particle
VA	verbal adjective

List of abbreviations of languages

AR	Arabic
BT	Balochi of Turkmenistan
NP	New Persian
RUS	Russian
TURKM	Turkmen

List of abbreviations of grammatical terms

addr.	term of address
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
conj.	conjunction
interj.	interjection
mod.	modal particle
n.	noun
num.	numeral
part.	particle
postp.	postposition
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
quant.	quantifier
vi.	intransitive verb
vt.	transitive verb

1. Introduction

1.1 Historical survey of the Baloch of Turkmenistan

The Baloch tribes in Turkmenistan are, for the most part, descendants of former inhabitants of the Sistan area of Afghanistan (the Chakhansur district in the province of Nimruz) and the border regions of Iran (mainly Khurasan) who migrated to the territory of the Mari region of Turkmenistan at the end of the 19th century to escape famine in their native lands. The majority of the Baloch arrived in Turkmenistan during the period from 1923 to 1928 (Axenov 2000: 71). According to the statistical report on Turkmenistan for 1917-1920, there were at that time 936 Baloch living in the Bayram-Ali district of the Mari region (Moshkalo 2000: 97).

The Baloch nowadays inhabit the valley of the river Murghab, mainly the three districts (Yolotan, Turkmen-Qala and Bayram-Ali) of the Mari region (*walāitt*) of Turkmenistan (see map on p. 20).

There is no recent statistical data on the number of Baloch in the territory of Turkmenistan. According to the last USSR census, which took place in 1989, there were 29 000 Baloch in Turkmenistan, and 96.9% of them considered Balochi as their mother tongue, while only 4.6% of them were fluent in Russian and 56.3% in other languages of the USSR (*Naselenie SSSR* 1990: 38). "Other languages of the USSR" might have included the following languages: Turkmen, Persian, Tajik and Brahui. Here are the figures for the Turkmen population for comparison: among the Turkmen, 98.5% considered the Turkmen language to be their mother tongue, whereas 27.7% were fluent in Russian and 2% in other languages of the USSR (*Naselenie SSSR* 1990: 37).

The Baloch mainly live in groups in particular Baloch national quarters, situated at the borders of Turkmen settlements. In none of these settlements is Balochi a predominant language. Besides these, there are a few settlements where only Baloch live. However, the Baloch settlements in Turkmenistan are not truly homogeneous from the point of view of ethnic composition. Together with the Baloch live also Pashtuns, Persians, Brahuis, Kurds, Char Aimaqs (Berberi) and Punjabis, all of whom speak Balochi even at home in their own families. Members of these ethnic groups often prefer to consider themselves as Baloch belonging to various

Map 1.1: Approximate location of the Baloch settlements in Turkmenistan.

clans and tribes. According to information given by an elder of the Rodeni tribe, Khanmammad Alladad, the following Baloch tribes are nowadays represented in Turmenistan: Yesezi, Chakarzi, Shahuseini, Garkhel, Maliki, Rodeni, Somalari, Pirrakari, Karamzi, Rakhshani, Kassani, Ijbari, Aydozi, Kalwali, Gorgej, Lori, Zalozi, Barakzi, Rind, Narui, Barechi, Reki, Sayidzi, Khaja, Damardak and Kirai. Gafferberg (1969: 16) makes a distinction between Brahui and Baloch tribes. According to her, the following Brahui tribes inhabit Turkmenistan: Aydozi, Raatzi, Channal, Yagezi, Kirai, Sorabzi, Mirkhanzi, Zerkali and Sasoli. She also states that the Rakhshani tribe is the most numerous Baloch tribe in the territory of Turkmenistan (Gafferberg 1969: 17). Other tribes of the Baloch not mentioned by Khanmammad Alladad are: Tutanzi, Saparzi, Kharot, Sanjarani, Arbab, Jawteg, Kupdani, Ayatzi, Mallokzi, Musazi, Mammadani, Walidazi, Suurzi, Saruni, Baranzi (Gafferberg 1969: 17).

1.2   The Balochi language and its place in the Iranian language family

The Balochi language belongs to the western group of Iranian languages, where also belong, e.g., Persian, Kurdish, Zazaki, Gilaki, Mazandarani, Talyshi, Lori and Bakhtiari (Jahani 2006: 77). The western Iranian languages can further be subdivided into the north-western and south-western

groups. The north-western group, includes together with Balochi, among others, the following languages: Zazaki, Kurdish, Gilaki, Mazandarani, and Talyshi. According to the newest classification, Balochi might belong to the transitional western Iranian languages, "which may be established as a group in the sense of being a third member in between North and South Western Iranian" (Korn 2005: 329–330).

Apart from Turkmenistan, Balochi is spoken mainly in south-western Pakistan, south-eastern Iran, southern Afghanistan and the Gulf States. The Balochi language is in contact with a number of languages in the different countries where it is spoken, and influence from these languages on Balochi in phonetics, vocabulary, morphology and syntax is inevitable. In Pakistan, Balochi is under strong influence of Indo-Aryan languages, e.g., Urdu, Sindhi and Lahnda. In Afghanistan it is under the influence of Dari and Pashto, in Turkmenistan the Balochi language is influenced by Turkmen, and, to a lesser extent, by Russian, and in Iran a remarkable degree of influence from Persian can be found. In the Gulf States Balochi is influenced by Arabic. In the central parts of Balochistan, where Balochi and Brahui speakers live side by side, many Brahui words are used in Balochi, albeit the opposite influence of Balochi upon Brahui is much stronger.

1.3   Dialect divisions of the Balochi language

The first scientific record on dialect divisions in the Balochi language belongs to Geiger (1889: 66). He distinguishes between northern and southern Balochi: "Entsprechend der räumlichen Scheidung der Balūčen in eine nördliche und eine südliche Gruppe zerfällt auch die balūčische Sprache in zwei Hauptdialekte". Within the two "main" groups, Geiger distinguishes certain dialectal differencies, and southern Balochi is divided into an eastern and a western group (Geiger 1889: 89). As for the northern dialect, Dames subdivides it into "that of the Leghárís and northern tribes, and that of the Mazárís and southern tribes" (Dames 1891: 1).

The next step in the description of the Balochi dialects was taken by Grierson (1921: 329): "the intrusive Brāhūī divides the Balōchī area into two distinct blocks, – a western and an eastern". According to this division, Grierson distinguishes between two main Balochi dialects: "Western Balōchī, – often called 'Makrānī', . . . and Eastern Balōchī". This division does not fundamentally contradict the description of Balochi dialects given by Geiger. Northern Balochi in Geiger's definition corresponds to the eastern group of dialects in Grierson's description and southern Balochi to the western group.

A more detailed dialect division was made by Elfenbein (1966: 10). He chose certain dialect criteria in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon, on the basis of which he suggests the following dialect division: 1) Eastern Hill Dialects; 2) Rakhshani dialects, which are subdivided into the following sub-dialects: a) Kalati; b) Chagai-Kharani; c) Afghani; d) Sarhaddi (where he places also the Marw dialect); e) Panjguri; 3) Sarawani; 4) Kechi; 5) Loṭuni;[1] and 6) Coastal.

Barker and Mengal (1969: I : xxv) mostly agree with the division suggested by Elfenbein, but they prefer to use the terms western (or Rakhshani), southern (or Makrani) and eastern (or Eastern Hill) groups for dialect division in Balochi. Besides, they contrast the eastern dialects to all of the western and southern forms. Describing regular sound correspondences between the three groups of dialects, they write: "…within the Western and Southern group differences are relatively minor and can easily be ignored, but the Eastern dialects are phonologically rather different …." (Barker & Mengal 1969: II : 8).

Carleton & Carleton (1987: 9) divide the Balochi language into eastern, southern and western dialects. Southern Balochi "corresponds roughly to Elfenbein's Coastal dialects, and is also commonly referred to as Makrani". Western Balochi corresponds approximately to Elfenbein's Rakhshani Dialects and Eastern Balochi corresponds to the Eastern Hill Dialects.

A description of Balochi dialects was made by Jahani (1989: 74) in her study of Balochi orthography. On the basis of phonological differences, which are of crucial importance for a study in orthography, she divides the Balochi language into two major dialect groups and distinguishes between eastern Balochi and western Balochi. These two dialect groups undergo a further division. As for Eastern Balochi, Jahani accepts the fact that the Eastern group is not entirely homogeneous, but states that "there is not enough material available for any certain divisions to be made" (Jahani 1989: 74). Western Balochi is divided into two dialects, which are referred to as Makrani and Rakhshani, which share basically the same phonemic structure. Later on, Jahani (2001: 59) and (2003: 117) revises this division in favour of a three-way split, with eastern, southern and western Balochi as the main dialect groups.

The Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan (BT) on the basis of phonological and morphological data, which are described in the corpus of the dissertation, can be classified as belonging to the western group of Balochi dialects. BT is phonologically and morphologically very close to the Balochi dialect spoken in Afghanistan.

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[1] Later renamed Lashari (Elfenbein 1990: II : XIV).

In spite of the linguo-political situation in Turkmenistan, where the Balochi language exists mostly as an unwritten language in a non-Iranian linguistic area, most Baloch have preserved their language. However, about twenty years ago, a process of migration of the Baloch within the territory of Turkmenistan began with a number of Baloch families leaving their settlements because of lack of water and moving to districts inhabited by Turkmen: Hawz-Khan (Oghuz-Khan), Tejen, Serakhs, Qara-Qum, Imam-Baba and Kushka. Most members of the younger generation of these migrants do not use the Balochi language at all, not even in their own families.

Russians in Turkmenistan have never lived in villages, but the number of Russians in the cities which are located in the Balochi speaking areas is considerable. The main environment for Baloch to learn Russian during the Soviet period was the obligatory military service. At that time the Russian language was also taught in almost every middle school, but an active knowledge of spoken Russian was commonly acquired only in the army. The knowledge of Russian is better among the older generation than among the youth, because in the post-Soviet period Russian is no longer taught in schools and the language of the army in Turkmenistan is Turkmen. Balochi-Russian bilingualism is an extremely rare phenomenon.

The vast majority of the adults among the Baloch know Turkmen to some degree. Most of the men communicate freely in Turkmen, whereas a smaller number only understand the Turkmen language but cannot speak it. Some of the Baloch women do not know Turkmen at all. According to the statement of some Turkmen, "it is difficult to find a Baloch with perfect Turkmen language".

Mixed marriages are an extremely uncommon phenomenon among the Baloch in Turkmenistan. The older men I asked could not recall a single case of a Baloch girl being given in marriage to a Turkmen boy. Neither do Turkmen give their girls in marriage to the Baloch. Some men among the Baloch do get married to, e.g., Ossetic and Talysh women, but these are mostly second marriages.

Baloch children begin to go to school when they are seven years old. At that age some of them can already understand and even speak Turkmen. This happens only if they live in neighbourhoods together with Turkmen and children of both language groups play together. But the opposite situation is also quite common: many Turkmen speak Balochi fluently and all of them explained to me that they had learned Balochi before school, because their neighbours were Baloch. The majority of the Baloch, however, hear their first words of Turkmen only in school, where every teacher, be he a Baloch or a Turkmen, is obliged to talk to the children only in Turkmen. This results in a situation where almost all the Baloch children do not understand either

the subjects taught in Turkmen or the Turkmen language itself at least until the fourth or fifth class. In addition, there are no special methods of teaching Turkmen to the Baloch children during their first years in school.

The parallel problem in Pakistan, where the education is also carried out in the national language, has been depicted by Farrell (2000: 22) in the following way:

> "Learning to read and write, and to cope with the concepts in maths and other subjects with their own terminology and paradigms is a daunting task. If all of this takes place in an unfamiliar language it can be a very confusing experience, and if you add the fact that children are often beaten for not saying or doing the required thing, then it becomes an experience that many children do not wish to continue with".

This fact contributes to poor school attendance and drop-outs during the early years of schooling. Almost all the Baloch boys do finish middle school, but many of them can hardly read and write in Turkmen after finishing school because of poor attendance at classes. Mammad Sherdil, who is at present a director of a middle school, explained to me some reasons for this: many of the Baloch families do not have enough money to buy shoes and clothes for their children. Besides, the Baloch boys are often engaged in pasturing herds instead of studying and many of the girls drop out after finishing the fourth or the fifth class, because they have to work in the fields and to perform various household tasks. Thus, a presence of only about fifteen pupils in class instead of forty is a very common situation.

Schooling of girls does not seem to be a social demand among the Baloch in Turkmenistan. Moreover, formal education actually decreases the social position of a woman from the matrimonial point of view: as a rule, the bride-price (*labb*) for an educated woman is much lower than normal, if it is paid at all.

During the Soviet period 20–30% of the Baloch continued their education mostly in technical schools.[2] Some of the main professions among them were school teacher, medical personnel, book-keeper, cashier and agronomist. The language of education in those times was also Turkmen, except at the Medical Technical School in Mari, where all the subjects were taught in Russian. Nowadays only a few Baloch continue their studies after middle school. Without further education they work mainly as shepherds, builders and peasants. All the cultivated land belongs to the State and the Baloch rent the land to cultivate mainly cotton, wheat and melons. Officially, the land is rented exclusively for the cultivation of cotton and the peasants are obliged to sell all the harvest to the State at fixed low prices.

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[2] This approximate figure is given by the Baloch themselves.

1.4 Previous research on the Balochi of Turkmenistan

A number of works have been published on BT, but a complete analysis of its morphology and syntax has still not been done. The study of the language and folklore of the Baloch of Turkmenistan began with the publication in 1930 of Zarubin's article *K izučeniju beludžskogo jazyka i folklora*. The article briefly presents ethnographical data and a grammatical sketch of BT. It also contains several texts. In the article Zarubin demonstrates that the dialect of the Baloch of Turkmenistan belongs to the western group of Balochi dialects and differs in syntactic structure, phonology, morphology and vocabulary from other Balochi dialects.

The first volume of Balochi folktales was published by Zarubin in 1932. These folktales were written down from the accounts of Baloch students in Mari and Leningrad. The book contains 31 folktales in a mixed transcription (both phonological and phonetic) followed by a Russian translation. In 1949 Zarubin published a second volume of Balochi folktales, which contains 14 stories. In the introduction to the book, Zarubin gives some data on the phonetics of BT. The transcription of the texts in the second volume is based on phonological principles.

Special research on the phonology of BT was done by Sokolova. The results of her work were published in 1953 as a separate article in her book *Očerki po fonetike iranskix jazykov*. The article presents a detailed study of the phonology of BT. There are also two texts in her article in the same phonological transcription that was used by Zarubin in his second volume of folktales.

In 1956 the article by Sokolov *Grammatičeskij očerk jazyka beludžej Sovetskogo Sojuza* appeared. The article is a brief but comprehensive analysis of the morphological structure of BT from a comparative–historical point of view and is based on the texts collected and published by Zarubin.

In 1963 *A Vocabulary of Marw Baluchi* was published by Elfenbein. The vocabulary contains all the words occurring in the texts published previously by Zarubin, Sokolova and Sokolov. BT is also described in Rastorgueva's short sketch published in *Jazyki narodov SSSR* in 1966, but this article contains a number of inaccuracies, especially in the description of noun and verb morphology.

An extensive ethnographical description of the Baloch of Turkmenistan was done by Gafferberg and published as a book, *Beludži Turkmenskoj SSR*, in 1969. The book contains information about the Baloch tribes in the territory of Turkmenistan and a description of the economy and material culture of the Baloch of Turkmenistan.

Two articles appeared in 2000 in the volume *Language in Society - Eight Sociolinguistic Essays on Balochi* edited by Jahani. One of them, *Balochi Orthography in Turkmenistan* by Axenov, deals with the history of the writing system of BT. The second article, *Language and Culture of the Baloch in Turkmenistan* by Moshkalo, deals with the history of the Baloch in Turkmenistan and contains several notes on the phonology and morphology of BT.

In 2003, in the volume *The Baloch and their Neighbours* edited by Jahani and Korn, an article *The Balochi Language in Turkmenistan* by Axenov was published. This article deals with several aspects of linguistic contact between BT, Turkmen and Russian in Turkmenistan, with special attention paid to the borrowings from Turkmen and Russian into BT.

Two works dedicated to the Balochi dialect closely related to BT have to be mentioned here. The first, *Baluchi* by Nawata, was published in 1980 and describes briefly the phonology and morphology of the Balochi dialect spoken in Afghan Sistan. The second, *Aus dem Leben eines jungen Balutschen von ihm selbst erzählt*, was published in 1989 by Buddruss. The book contains a text, written down from an oral account by a young Baloch originating from Afghan Sistan, a grammatical sketch and a glossary of the text.

1.5   Purpose of the study

The purpose of the present study is to describe the fundamentals of BT phonological, morphological and syntactic structure in accordance with the principles of descriptive linguistics. Word formation remained beyond the scope of the present research. As it has been said above, a number of researchers have worked on BT. Nevertheless, there is still much to be done in order to establish the morphological structure of BT. The syntactic structure of BT has not been described at all until now. Thus, I hope that the present dissertation will fill some gaps in the study of BT.

In the meantime, BT is very interesting from a comparative and historical point of view, because it preserves archaic features in morphology and especially in phonology. A thorough study of its grammatical system is essential, because such research would make further investigations in comparative Balochi linguistics and dialectology possible. There is also a practical demand for such an investigation. Since BT is an unwritten language, the data presented in the dissertation could facilitate the process of establishing a standardised written norm for the language.

1.6   Methodological remarks

The investigation of unwritten languages such as BT presupposes the use of methods of field linguistics, which are based on both spontaneous and purposeful recording of speech. The spontaneous recording of speech occurs mostly in the process of oral communication in Balochi and assumes the collection of extracts from various types of informative discourse.

Purposeful recording of speech takes place when a speaker is requested to produce an oral text which is written down or recorded on tape by the researcher. The contents of these oral texts vary from ethnographic and everyday accounts to fables and fairy tales. In the present research folkloric texts and, to a lesser extent, ethnographic texts were used as material.

The recorded conversations and texts have undergone analysis and processing. The first stage includes the establishing of the phonological inventory of the language, and the texts are here reduced to written form by means of a phonological transcription. The subsequent stage consists of a phonological and morphosyntactic analysis of the transcribed texts.

The morphosyntactic analysis of BT is based on a method which aims to provide a linguistic description of the entire structure of the language. This approach assumes a reasonable combination of two methods. First, a paradigm for a separate language phenomenon is assigned and then the paradigm is applied to the language data. During the study various typological schemes have been used, e.g. the category of case in the morphological description of the noun, and the TAM (tense-aspect-mood) category in the morphological description of the verb.

1.7   Material and transcription

The oral folkloric texts used as the main language data have been written down manually or recorded during my seven trips to Turkmenistan in the period between 1989 and 2000. A smaller part of the material represents records of common speech and ethnographic texts. Folktales written down in the Latin and Cyrillic scripts by the Baloch themselves (Khanmammad Alladad and Mammad Sherdil) have also been used as linguistic data for the dissertation. These texts were rewritten in phonological transcription and checked for accuracy with Allanazar Yaghi. The duration of the recorded texts is more than six hours, and the total amount of material makes up about 150 printed pages of text. Occasionally, Zarubin's folktales have also been used. Peculiarities of the language of various poetic genres, such as epic poems, songs and modern poetry remain beyond the limits of the present study.

Folktales were recorded from male informants aged 50 and above. Common speech and ethnographic texts were also written down from male informants of various ages, from 18 to 65. All the informants but one did not have any linguistic education. One informant was educated as a specialist in Turkmen philology from the University of Ashkhabad and worked as a middle school teacher at the time of the recordings. Only one story, dealing with special weaving techniques was recorded from a female informant, who in 1989 was 69 years old.

Folktales and ethnographic texts were told by the Baloch upon my request. All the informants were told that the texts are collected for an investigation of the Balochi language and folklore, and all of them gave their consent to the fact that their speech was tape-recorded. The common speech samples were mostly recorded in the pauses between folktales, when the microphone was still on. The female informant could not tell anything about weaving without modelling the situation. The process of weaving was reproduced in a separate room, and the dialogue of the teller with her daughter-in-law was recorded subsequently.

All the language examples in the dissertation are given in phonological transcription. Only when it is important to represent the pronunciation of a sound and its allophones, phonetic transcription in accordance with the IPA standard is given in square brackets. In the chapter "Phonetics and phonology" all the described phonemes are given in slash brackets.

1.8   Structure of the dissertation

The present dissertation is a synchronic description of the Balochi language as spoken in Turkmenistan. The dissertation consists of three main parts: sound structure, word and phrase-level morphosyntax and clause structure. Structurally it is divided into ten chapters, a bibliography and appendices. In the first chapter, Introduction, information about the classification of the Balochi language within the family of Iranian languages is presented, and different approaches to dialect division of Balochi are outlined. In the introduction also a short historical survey of the Baloch of Turkmenistan as well as information about their tribal divisions and places of their settlements in the territory of Turkmenistan is given.

In the second chapter the sound system of the Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan is described. The following seven chapters contain a detailed morphological and phrase-level syntactic analysis of all the grammatical categories of BT. In these chapters nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, adverbs, adpositions, and verbs are

described. The last chapter of the dissertation is dedicated to a description of clause level syntax, where structures of simple and complex sentences are analysed and various types of subordination in BT are described.

1.9   Word classes in the Balochi of Turkmenistan

One of the most important problems of morphological analysis is the classification of word classes (grammatical categories), viz. the definition of criteria which provide the possibility of establishing boundaries between them.

According to Payne (1999: 32), "every language has two major grammatical categories - nouns and verbs". He also notes: "as with most categorization schemes in descriptive linguistics, grammatical categories tend to be interestingly untidy at their boundaries. Nevertheless, core notions, or prototypes, can usually be identified". These prototypes for the major grammatical categories, noun and verb, can be identified semantically (Payne 1999: 33).

The class of nouns, according to Givón (2001: I : 58) includes words that express highly and obviously time-stable concepts. The class of verbs, according to Givón (2001: I : 59), is the grammatical category that includes lexemes which express the least time-stable concepts. Verbs in BT can serve as heads of verb phrases, which include the verb itself, its modifier (adverb), and one or more noun phrases.

Nouns in BT can serve as principal constituents, or heads of noun phrases. According to Payne (1999: 33), "the head of a noun phrase is the one word within the phrase that refers to the same entity that the whole phrase refers to". Noun phrase elements in BT include modifiers (attributive adjectives and modifiers connected to the head noun with the help of the *izafa*), genitives (possessors), numerals, a classifier, relative clauses, specificators (demonstratives and quantifiers), the indefiniteness marker *-ē*, and the head noun (see p. 232).

In spite of similarities between nouns and adjectives in BT, e.g. *čēr* 'hidden place (n.)' and 'hidden (adj.)', the latter have the four criteria of adjectives established by Brown and Miller (1991: 83-84): adjectives occur as modifiers of the head noun within a noun phrase; adjectives can be used as nominal predicates attributing a quality to the subject noun phrase; adjectives can be preceded by an intensifier; adjectives can be associated with the grammatical category of degree.

Adjectives and adverbs in BT exhibit a lot of common features, which probably would make it possible to combine them under a common word class

of modifiers. As for numerals and quantifiers, Givón (2001: I : 100) points out that "Quantifiers, numerals and ordinals are small classes of noun modifiers that code notion of quantity, extent, number or serial order". Nevertheless, each of these three grammatical categories in BT has quite distinct morphological and syntactic properties. For example, Payne (1999: 69) notes that adverbs "typically function on the clause or discourse level, i.e., their semantic effect (scope) is relevant to entire clauses or larger units rather than simply to phrases". Thus, from point of view of the descriptive analysis it seems to be reasonable to describe all these three grammatical categories as belonging to various word classes.

In accordance with the above principles it seems to be reasonable to distinguish between the following word classes in BT: nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, adpositions, and verbs.

Part I:

Sound Structure

2. Phonetics and phonology

The fundamentals of BT phonology were established by I. Zarubin (1949), who made a general description of Balochi phonemes from the point of view of their qualitative opposition. The problem of the relation between quality and quantity in vowel opposition was discussed by V. Sokolova (1953), who provided a detailed analysis of BT vowels and showed the positional correlations of long and short vowels.

Note on the transcription: phonetic transcription is given in square brackets, phonemic (phonological) transcription without any brackets in italics, and separate phonemes are given in slash brackets. A full-stop indicates a syllable break.

2.1 Vowels

The vowel system of BT has kept historical length and has eight vowels /a/-/ā/, /i/-/ī/, /u/-/ū/, /ē/, /ō/ and two falling diphthongs: /ay/ and /aw/, which can also be classified as a sequence of the short vowel /a/ and the approximants /y/ and /w/.

In BT long and short vowels in pairs /a/-/ā/, /i/-/ī/, /u/-/ū/ do not always coincide in quality. Long vowels are relatively stable in quality and quantity in various phonetic positions. Burquest (2001: 3) points out two fundamental principles "which are particularly important to understanding the patterns exhibited by sound systems". According to the first principle, "sounds tend to be affected by the environment in which they occur". This principle can be applied to short vowels in BT. The quality of short vowels in BT depends on the syllable structure, stress and neighbouring phonemes. The short vowels /i/ and /u/, which undergo changes in various phonetic positions, correlate not only with their long counterparts, but also with the long vowels /ē/ and /ō/ respectively.

In accordance with the second principle of Burquest (2001: 4), "sound systems tend to be symmetrical." This principle "manifests itself in two ways: in the inventory of sounds and in the way sounds are affected by their environment." The system of BT vowels can be characterized as a symmetrical system in which the vowels are arranged as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: *Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ī i		u ū
Close-mid	ē		ō
Open-mid			
Open		ā a	

The phoneme /ā/ is a long open central unrounded vowel. In closed syllables it is pronounced shorter, i.e. the distinction in quantity becomes more unclear and loses its actuality for distinguishing the long phoneme /ā/ and the short phoneme /a/. In this position the qualitative distinction becomes more important. For example, the words *dap* 'mouth' and *āp* 'water' can be represented phonetically as [dap] and [ɑp]. The qualitative distinction is even more obvious in closed syllables before two consonants, where both vowels usually become equal in length and contrast with each other only in their quality (Sokolova 1952: 7). For example, the phonetic representation of the words *dāšta*, past participle of *dāštin* 'to have' and *gašta*, past participle of *gaštin* 'to wander, to seek' can be written as [dɑš.ta] and [gaš.ta].

The phoneme /a/ ia a short unrounded vowel, which is realised by the following allophones depending on its position in a word:

1. Allophone [ɑ] - open central unrounded vowel, pronounced in open syllables in a non word-final position. For example: [kɑ.nīn] 'I do', [ǰɑ.nīn] 'I beat';
2. Allophone [a] - open front unrounded vowel, pronounced in closed syllables and in word-final position. For example: [gaš.tin] 'to walk, to search', [kur.ta] 'he has done';
3. Allophone [æ] - near-open front unrounded vowel, pronounced before the glide /y/ in the sequence *ay* or before the long vowel *ī*. For example: [wæy.lā] 'in vain', [dæ.īn] 'I give'.

The phoneme /ī/ is a long close front unrounded vowel. It is rather stable both in quantity and quality, and does not have any allophones.

The phoneme /ē/ is a long close-mid front unrounded vowel. In the neighbourhood of palatal consonants its pronunciation can approach the pronunciation of the vowel /ī/. For example: *čī ← čē* 'what'.

The phoneme /i/ is a short front unrounded vowel, which has two main allophones depending on its position in a word:

1. Allophone [i] - close front unrounded vowel, pronounced in open syllables in word non-final position. For example, [di.lē] 'a heart', [gi.sē] 'a house'. In this position the qualitative characteristics of this phoneme coincide with those of the long phoneme /ī/.
2. Allophone [e] - close-mid front unrounded vowel, pronounced in closed syllables and in unstressed word-final position. For example: [ā.denk] 'mirror', [del] 'heart', [bger] 'take!', [nešt] 'he sat down', [ǰest] 'he ran away', [bal.ke] 'but', [ke] 'that'. In these positions this phoneme gets into qualitative correlation with the long phoneme /ē/.

The phoneme /ū/ is a long close back rounded vowel. In closed syllables, especially before the nasal consonants /m/ and /n/, the pronunciation of the phoneme /ū/ is fronted, for example: [nȳn] 'now', [bȳm] 'owl'.

The phoneme /ō/ is a long close-mid back rounded vowel, which is usually stable in quantity and quality. However, in closed syllables it can sometimes be heard as a rising diphthong /ᵘō/, for example: [gᵘōš] 'ear', [ǰᵘōš] 'boiling; rage'.

The phoneme /u/ is a short back rounded vowel, which is realized by two main allophones:

1. Allophone [u] - close back rounded vowel, pronounced in open syllables in word non-final position: [gu.lī] 'his/her flower', [gu.šīn] 'I say'. In these positions the phoneme /u/ coincides in quality with the long vowel /ū/;
2. Allophone [o] - close-mid back rounded vowel, pronounced in closed syllables and in word-final position: [gol] 'flower', [bgoš] 'say!', [do] 'two', coinciding in quality with the long vowel /ō/.

Thus, the short front vowel can phonologically either be transcribed as *i* or as *e*, and the short back vowel either as *u* or as *o*, but in both cases it is important to preserve consistency. In the present work the short front vowel is phonologically represented as *i* and the short back vowel as *u* for two main reasons. First, such a phonemic representation reflects the historical phonological system. And second, there is a definite tradition in transcribing BT texts which uses *i* and *u*, not *e* and *o*.

2.2 Consonants

Sokolova (1953: 50) distinguishes between 22 consonants in BT, excluding the three sounds *q, f* and *h* from the consonantal system of BT. She states (Sokolova 1953: 52) regarding the sound /h/ that "it does not have a phonological meaning in Balochi". These three sounds can often be heard in the speech of islamically educated Baloch (cf. e.g. Baranzehi 2003: 80).

This fact rather confirms the variety of individual pronunciation norms in different discourse situations: *qudratt - kudratt* 'strength', *qismatt - kismatt* 'destiny'. For example, the phonetically adapted word [akk] 'wages; verity, God' in its second meaning can sometimes be pronounced even with the voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ], i.e. as [ħaqq]. As Jahani (2005: 89) points out, words that belong to the religious and jurisdictional vocabulary have a stronger tendency to retain their original pronunciation than words belonging to other semantic fields. And further: "This may be due to the fact that these words are more deeply associated with the Arabic language than other words".

All three of the consonants /q/, /f/ and /h/ are usually pronounced in proper names in folkloric texts of Persian origin: *fārūq*, *hāfiz*, etc. As for the consonant /h/, it is used in BT not only as an epenthetic sound between two long vowels /ā/, e.g.: *warnā-h-ān* 'youth-HI-PL', but also can be restored to an independent phoneme in so called "full style" pronunciation. It can be pronounced distinctively for e.g. emphatic purposes or for better comprehension. Buddruss (1989: 44) also notes, that the consonant sytem of Afghan Balochi includes the sound /h/, which is unstable in a word initial and medial position and falls out in a word final position.

The retroflex phoneme /ṛ/ deserves special attention. Sokolova (1953: 54) describes the phoneme /ṛ/ as an allophone of the retroflex plosive /ḍ/, which occurs before a consonant and between two long vowels. Rossi (1979: 209) also removes "a /ṛ/ from the WBal. inventory". Nevertheless, Jahani (1989: 80) states, that for practical purposes it is preferable to separate /ḍ/ and /ṛ/ into two different phonemes, because indigenous grammarians do so. And further: "since double consonants are not generally written in the Arabic script, words like *aṛ* 'entanglement, problem' and *aḍḍ* 'construction'[1] would be written identically if /ḍ/ and /ṛ/ were treated as allophones of the same phoneme and symbolized only with one letter". The Baloch of Turkmenistan also make a clear distinction between the two phonemes, demonstrating all the retroflex consonants of their language, for example, with the following tongue-twister:

(1) *du ǰaṛ   u   du ǰuṭṭ u   du ḍāčī.*
two young camel and two colt and two mature she-camel
'Two young camels, two colts and two mature she-camels'.

Buddruss (1989: 44) points to the problem with geminated consonants and finds as phonologically relevant at least the opposition /m/ - /mm/: *amā*

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[1]In BT *aḍḍ* means 'bone'.

'that very' - *ammā* 'we.EXCL'. Here can be added another pair: *čam* 'possibility, way out' - *čamm* 'eye'. According to Korn (2005: 55-56),

> "Geminated consonants are mainly found in loanwords .... Where geminates occur in genuine words, they go back to a consonant cluster ... or are the result of isometric substitution .... With the exception of *y, h* and the phonemes of limited occurrence ..., all consonants may occur in geminated form .... Geminated consonants only occur after short vowels ...."

Geminated consonants in BT never occur in word-initial position. In word-final position all the consonants, except /w/, /y/, /ṛ/, /γ/, /f/ and /h/, can be geminated: /b/ - *labb* 'bride-price'; /č/ - *mučč* 'all'; /d/ - *gadd* 'clothes, things'; /ḍ/ - *baḍḍ* 'back, shoulders'; /g/ - *blagg* 'begin!'; /ǰ/ - *gaǰǰ* 'foam'; /k/ - *sakk* 'difficult'; /l/ - *bill* 'let!'; /m/ - *kamm* 'little'; /n/ - *tunn* 'thirst'; /p/ - *kapp* 'half'; /r/ - *buγurr* 'two-hump camel'; /s/ - *bass* 'enough'; /š/ - *wašš* 'sweet'; /t/ - *sāatt* 'hour'; /ṭ/ - *baṭṭ* 'cooked lentils'; /q/ - *diqq* 'boredom'; /x/ - *yaxx* 'cold; ice'; /z/ - *nazz* 'assembled'; /ž/ - *mažž* 'epilepsy'. Gemination in word-final position of borrowings is described below on p. 53.

In word-medial position almost every consonant can be geminated:[2] /b/ - *ḍabbū* 'pudge'; /č/ - *laččēntin* 'to glue; to touch'; /d/ - *udda* 'propriety'; /g/ - *saggitin* 'to suffer'; /ḍ/ - *laḍḍitin* 'to load'; /k/ - *dukkān* 'shop'; /l/ - *galla* 'wheat'; /m/ - *γimmat* 'expensive'; /n/ - *drannag* 'sort of herb'; /p/ - *srappitin* 'to hide oneself'; /r/ - *burritin* 'to cut'; /s/ - *trussitin* 'to be afraid'; /š/ - *kaššitin* 'to drag'; /t/ - *albatta* 'certainly'; /ṭ/ - *siṭṭitin* 'to hop'; /x/ - *traxxēntin* 'to copulate'; /y/ - *niyyatt* 'contrivance'; /z/ - *nazzī(n)k* 'near'; /ž/ - *ižžag* 'whistle'.[3]

In BT there also exists a morphophonemic gemination: all the consonants are geminated after prepositions ending in a short vowel: *patta ← pa ta* 'for you', *pazzōr ← pa zōr* 'with strength', *šamman ← ša man* 'from me', etc.

Table 2.2 shows only the main articulation characteristics of BT consonants, but it does not reflect the acoustic properties of the sounds. Therefore, a brief description of the additional articulation properties of BT consonants is given below.

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[2]Korn (2005: 272) notes: "It seems that every consonant can be geminated, with the possible exception of *ṛ, h* and the foreign phonemes *f, ġ* for which no example of gemination has been found. In addition, geminated *w* and *y* are only found in word-internal position".

[3]Geminated /w/ in word-medial position was not found in the analysed material.

Table 2.2: *Consonants*

	lab.	dent.	alv.	prepal.-pal.	retrofl.	vel.	uvul.	glot.
plosive	p b	t d			ṭ ḍ	k g	(q)	
affricate				č ǰ				
fricative	(f)		s z	š ž		x γ	(h)	
nasal	m		n					
lat. approx.			l					
tap			r		ṛ			
approx.	w			y				

2.2.1 Plosives

There is a phonological feature that applies to several plosives, namely spirantization. This process of spirantization is described by Burquest (2001: 126) as follows: "...the consonant is becoming more vowel-like, i.e., has less closure, when it is surrounded by vowels". The main phonetic motivation for spirantization in BT is intervocalic positioning of plosives. Spirantization is an articulation feature of the following consonants in BT: /p/, /b/, /d/, /ḍ/, /g/ and /ṭ/.

The phoneme /p/ can be articulated either as a voiceless bilabial plosive or as a voiceless bilabial fricative. It is normally pronounced without aspiration: [asp] 'horse', [nipād] 'bedding'. In word-initial position it is pronounced with weak aspiration: [pʻiss] 'father', [pʻawǰ] 'army'. The phoneme /p/ in non-initial position before voiceless consonants can sometimes in fast speech be pronounced as an unaspirated fricative [ɸ]: [aɸt] 'seven', [aɸsar] 'officer'. Since the fricative variant of the phoneme /p/ retains its bilabial pronunciation, it does not coincide with the labiodental fricative /f/.

The phoneme /p/ can be found in all positions in a word: *pušt* 'back', *aptag* 'week' *āp* 'water'. It can be found as the first component in the following clusters:[4] *pr-*: *prēnt* 'he/she threw', *pruštag* 'broken'; *pl-*: *plāna* 'a certain one'; *-ps-*: *apsar* 'officer'; *-pt*: *apt* 'seven', *ǰupt* 'pair'; *py-*: *pyāla* 'cup'.

As a second component the phoneme /p/ can enter into the following clusters: *-lp*: *γulp* 'lock'; *-mp-*: *ampān* 'sling', *limpū* 'mucus'; *-rp*: *barp* 'snow';

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[4]No distinction has been made here between intrasyllabic and intersyllabic consonant clusters.

sp-, -sp: *spēt*[5] 'white', *asp* 'horse'; *-šp*: *binašp* 'violet', *pādrašp* 'clatter (of hoofs)'; *-wp*: *xawp* 'fear'; *-yp*: *kayp* 'pleasure'.

The phoneme /t/ is a voiceless dental plosive. It can be found in all positions: *ta* 'you.SG', *kitāb* 'book', *apt* 'seven'. In word-initial position it is pronounced with weak aspiration: [t'ār] 'string'.

It can be found as the first component of the following clusters: *-tk*: *mitk* 'he/she sucked'; *-tl-*: *matlab* 'purpose' and *tr-*: *trū* 'paternal aunt', *trūšk* 'young male goat', *truss* 'fear', *trakkitin* 'to burst'.

As a second component the phoneme /t/ can be found in the following clusters: *-lt-*: *sultān* 'sultan', *γaltaman* 'robber'; *-nt, -nt-*: *dant* 'he/she gives', *girant* 'they take', *dantān* 'tooth'; *-pt*: *ǰupt* 'pair'; *-rt*: *ārt* 'flour'; *-st-, -st*: *ustāt* 'he/she stood up', *dīst* 'he/she saw'; *-št-, -št*: *uštur* 'camel', *gušt* 'he/she said'; *-wt*: *rawt* 'he/she goes'; *-xt-, -xt*: *āxtī* 'of that time', *dūlāxt* 'dust storm'; *-yt*: *kayt* 'he/she comes'.

The phoneme /ṭ/ is a voiceless retroflex plosive. It is articulated at the hard palate with the tip of the tongue in its retroflex position. However, as Sokolova (1953: 53) states, the two retroflex phonemes (/ṭ/ and /ḍ/ - S.A.) can be articulated with the cacuminal position of the tongue, but always above the alveolar ridge. The phoneme /ṭ/ has an affricative articulation /ṭʃ/ in intervocalic position: [lōṭʃit] 'he/she wanted'. In word-initial position it can be articulated with a weak aspiration: [ṭ'ōk] 'play, joke', [ṭ'ū] 'big'. The phoneme /ṭ/ cannot be found in clusters, but it can occur in all word positions: *ṭukkur* 'piece, bit', *kaṭṭitin* 'to gain', *lunṭ* 'lip'.

The phoneme /k/ is a voiceless velar plosive. It can be found in all positions: *kant* 'he/she does', *nakl* 'story', *yakk* 'one', and is articulated with a weak aspiration in word-initial position: [k'ār] 'work'. In other positions it is unaspirated.

It can be found as a first consonant in the following clusters: *-km*: *ukm* 'order'; *-kr*: *pikr* 'thought', *makr* 'trickery'; *-kl*: *akl* 'mind, intellect', *šikl* 'form'; *-ks-*: *maksad* 'goal'; *ky-*: *kyāmatt* 'day of judgement'.

As a second component the phoneme /k/ can be found in the following clusters: *-čk*: *kučk* 'shell', *tačk* 'spread'; *-lk, -lk-*: *alk* 'village', *balkēn* 'maybe'; *-mk-*: *mumkin* 'probable'; *-nk-*: *činka* 'how many', *dānkū* 'fried wheat grain'; *-rk*: *tark* 'leaving', *gurk* 'wolf'; *-sk-, -sk*: *askar* 'soldier', *bāsk* 'arm'; *-šk, -šk-*: *āšk* 'other side', *iškār* 'hunt'; *-tk*: *mitk* 'he/she sucked'; *-wk-*: *rawkī* 'arch'; *-yk*: *kayk* 'flea'.

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[5]The initial cluster *sp-* is often (not always) pronounced with a preceding short vowel /i/: *ispēt*.

The phoneme /b/ is a voiced bilabial plosive. It is pronounced as a bilabial fricative in intervocalic position: [bīβī] 'lady'. The phoneme /b/ can be found in every position of a word: *balg* 'leaf', *ḍabbū* 'shorty, podge', *dēb* 'demon'.

The phoneme /b/ is the first component in the following clusters: *-bd-*: *abda* 'seventeen'; *br-, -br, -br-*: *brās* 'brother', *zabr* 'good', *kabristān* 'cemetery'; *-bz*: *labz* 'language, word', *sabz* 'green'.

The phoneme /b/ as a second component can be found in the following clusters: *-ĭb-*: *maĭbūr* 'forced'; *-lb-*: *albatta* 'certainly'; *-mb-*: *zrumbišt* 'shaking', *-rb-*: *darbēš* 'dervish'; *-yb*: *ayb* 'blemish'; *-zb*: *lazb* 'language'.

The phoneme /d/ is a voiced dental plosive. It has a distinctive plosion in word initial and final positions, and preserves its plosion in the middle of a word after a consonant: *dil* 'heart', *radd* 'negation', *bandag* 'slave'. However, in intervocalic position and between a vowel and a fricative in fast speech the phoneme /d/ loses the plosion and is articulated as the fricative [ð]: [xuðā] 'God', [pāðšā] 'king'. The phoneme /d/ can be found in all word positions: *dil* 'heart', *bandag* 'slave', *wāund* 'master, owner'.

As the first component it forms the following clusters: *-dg-*: *ādga* 'that another'; *dr-, -dr-*: *draxt* 'tree', *drāĭ* 'long', *qudratt* 'force'; *dw-*: *dwārag* 'again'; *dy-*: *dyār* 'country'.

As the second consonant in a cluster it can be found in the following combinations: *-bd-*: *abda* 'seventeen'; *-gd-*: *ēgda* 'this another'; *-γd-*: *yaγday* 'state, condition'; *-md-*: *imdād* 'help'; *-nd-*: *bāndā* 'tomorrow', *ĭind* 'self', *nind* 'sit down!'; *-rd, -rd-*: *dard* 'pain', *mardum* 'man', *ward* 'food'; *-žd-*: *aždiyā* 'dragon'; *-wd-*: *sawdā* 'trade'; *-yd-*: *paydā* 'evident'.

The phoneme /ḍ/ is a voiced retroflex plosive. In word initial position and after consonants it is pronounced with an instantaneous occlusion and with a distinctive plosion: *ḍēl* 'rolling', *ḍōnk* 'clod of earth', *gwanḍakkī* 'childhood'. In an intervocalic position the pronunciation of the phoneme /ḍ/ is characterized by a tap articulation, which makes it coincide with the retroflex tap /ṛ/: *guṛā* 'then'.

The phoneme /ḍ/ can be found in all word positions: *ḍigār* 'earth', *buḍḍitin* 'to drown', *aḍḍ* 'bone'. In word-final position or in the middle of a word it is usually geminated: *kaḍḍuk* 'beetle', *laḍḍit* 'he/she loaded', *baḍḍ* 'back, shoulders'.

It does not occur as the first component of a cluster. As the second component it can be found in only one cluster *-nḍ*: *gurānḍ* 'ram', *gwanḍ* 'little', *malanḍ* 'jibe'.

The phoneme **/g/** is a voiced velar plosive, and can be found in all word positions: *gul* 'flower', *bagal* 'armpit', *gušnag* 'hungry'. In intervocalic position it has a velar fricative articulation: [sōγa] 'advice'.

The phoneme /g/ can be found as the first component in the following clusters: *-gd-*: *ēgda* 'this other'; *gl-*: *glummitin* 'to sip'; *-gm*: *nagm* 'cave'; *gr-*: *grētin* 'to cry', *grān* 'heavy'; *gw-*: *gwāt* 'wind'; *gy-*: *gyābān* 'desert'.

As the second component the phoneme /g/ can be found in the following clusters: *-dg-*: *ādga* 'that other'; *-ǰg, -ǰg-*: *maǰg* 'brain', *taǰgan* 'cauldron'; *-lg*: *balg* 'leaf'; *-ng, -ng-*: *rang* 'manner; color', *ǰang* 'war', *angūr* 'grape', *āngur* 'there', *šangul* 'hoof'; *-rg, -rg-*: *murg* 'hen', *marg* 'death', *kargōšk* 'hare'; *-wg-*: *sawgāt* 'present'; *-yg-*: *paygām* 'message'; *-zg-*: *bazgar* 'peasant'.

2.2.2 Affricates

The phoneme /č/ is a voiceless prepalatal (postalveolar) affricate. This phoneme can be found in every position of a word: *čōl* 'sand desert', *pāčin* 'male ibex', *pāč* 'open'.

It can be found as the first component in the cluster *-čk*: *kučk* 'shell', *tačk* 'spread', and as the second component it can be found in the following clusters: *-nč*: *panč* 'five'; *-rč*: *kārč* 'knife', *murč* 'pepper'; *-xč-*: *bāxča* '(water-) melon plantation'.

The phoneme /ǰ/ is a voiced prepalatal (postalveolar) affricate. It can be found in all word positions: *ǰang* 'war', *maǰlis* 'assembly', *sōǰ* 'question'. In word-final position after short vowels it is usually geminated: *gaǰǰ* 'foam', *laǰǰ* 'shame'.

As the first component it can be found in the following clusters: *-ǰb-*: *maǰbūr* 'forced'; *-ǰg*: *maǰg* 'brain'; *-ǰl-*: *maǰlis* 'assembly, meeting'; *-ǰm-*: *maǰma* 'tray'; *ǰw-*: *ǰwān* 'good'. As the second component the phoneme /ǰ/ can be found in the following clusters: *-nǰ-, -nǰ*: *sanǰitin* 'to think out', *mānǰīnā* 'among', *brinǰ* 'rice'; *-rǰ, -rǰ-*: *xarǰ* 'expense', *urǰīn* 'saddle bag'; *-wǰ*: *pawǰ* 'troops'.

2.2.3 Fricatives

The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It can be found in all word positions: *sakk* 'difficult', *bastin* 'to tie', *ars* 'tear'.

This phoneme can occur in the following clusters as the first component: *-sk*: *āsk* 'gazelle'; *-sl-, -sl*: *muslaatt* 'advice', *γusl* 'ablution'; *-sm-, -sm*: *āsmān* 'sky', *kism* 'sort, type'; *-sn*: *husn* 'beauty'; *sp-, -sp*: *spēt* 'white', *asp* 'horse'; *sr-*

, -sr: *srēn* 'loins', *γasr* 'palace'; -st-, st-: *ǰistin* 'to flee', *stār* 'star'; -sx-: *masxara* 'jibe'; sw-: *swār* 'rider'; sy-: *syā(h)* 'black'.

As the second component the phoneme /s/ can be found in the following clusters: -γs: *raγs* 'dance'; -ks-: *maksad*[6] 'goal'; -ps-: *apsar* 'officer'; -ns-: *ins-u-ǰins* 'creature'; -rs, -rs-: *ars* 'tear', *pārsī* 'Persian'; -xs-: *ruxsat* 'leave', *taxsīr* 'guilt'; -ws-: *awsār* 'bridle'.

The phoneme /z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative. It can be found in all word positions: *zabr* 'good', *lazzat* 'pleasure', *bazz* 'thick'.

As the first component the phoneme /z/ can be found in the following clusters: -zb: *lazb* 'language, word'; -zg-: *bazgar* 'peasant'; -zm-, -zm: *xizmatt* 'service', *razm* 'battle'; zr-: *zrumbišt* 'shaking'; -zw-: *muzwāk* 'lipstick'; zy-: *zyān* 'loss'.

As the second component the phoneme /z/ can be found in the following clusters: -bz: *labz* 'language, word';[7] -γz-: *taγzīm* 'gift, offering'; -nz, -nz-: *tanz* 'taunt', *manzil* 'stage of a journey'; -rz, -rz-: *arz* 'petition', *burz* 'high', *parzind* 'adopted child'; -wz, -wz-: *hawz* 'tank' basin', *awzār* 'tool'.

The phoneme /š/ is a voiceless postalveolar fricative. It is articulated with the tongue drawn back in its apical position, not with the tongue in its dorsal position as it is in other Balochi dialects. It can be found in all word positions: *šalwār* 'trousers', *γōšun* 'army', *gōš* 'ear'.

As the first component the phoneme /š/ is found in the following clusters: -šγ-: *mašγūl* 'busy'; -šk: *(y)ēšk* 'this side', *ušk* 'dry'; šl-: *šlap* 'splash'; šm-, -šm-: *šmā* 'you.PL', *dušman* 'enemy', *dušmān* 'swearing'; -šn-: *gušnag* 'hungry', *rōšnāī* 'light'; -šp: *trušp* 'sour', *binašp* 'violet'; -šr-: *ašratt* 'pleasure'; -št-: *kuštin* 'to kill', *ništin* 'to sit', *gēštir* 'more'; šw-: *šwānag* 'shepherd'.

As the second component the phoneme /š/ can be found in the following clusters: -γš-: *buγšāb* 'plate'; -mš: *bramš* 'gleam'; -nš-: *manšīn*[8] 'most probably'; -xš, -xš-: *naxš* 'drawing', *baxšātin* 'to forgive'; -wš: *kawš* 'boot', *awš* 'whoa! (to donkeys)'; -yš: *ayš* 'enjoyment'.

The phoneme /ž/ is a voiced postalveolar fricative. It is articulated with the same apical position of the tongue as the phoneme /š/. This phoneme can be found in all word positions, but has a limited distribution: *žand* 'tired', *aždiyā* 'dragon', *mužžuk* 'miserly', *ažda* 'eighteen', *mažž* 'epilepsy', *žappitin*

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[6] The word *maksad* can also be pronounced with the cluster -xs-: *maxsad*.

[7] The cluster -bz and -zb in the previous passage demonstrate metathesis, "which can take place in a given language in an attempt to preserve or restore a more acceptable syllable structure or phonotactics" (Burquest 2001: 175). This normally means that the less sonorant a consonant is, the farther away from the peak of the syllable (i.e. the vowel) it is found.

[8] The word *manšīn* also occurs in the variant *mašīn*.

'to slay', *žamitin* 'to rain heavily', *ižžag* 'hiss, flutter', *γrižžitin* 'to gnash'. The only possible cluster with /ž/ is -*žd*-, as the examples above show.

The phoneme /x/ is a voiceless uvular[9] fricative. It is used mostly in borrowings of Persian, Arabic and Turkic origin. It has to be noted that in word-initial position /x/ is usually replaced by /h/, and this /h/ is treated like any /h/ in BT, i.e. it is normally lost (see Korn 2005: 65): *(h)ar* 'donkey', *(h)abar* 'word', *(h)āk* 'dust', *(h)urǰīn* 'saddle bag', etc. The phoneme /x/ can be found in all word positions in BT: *xātir* 'matter', *waxt* 'time', *āšix* 'enamoured'.

As the initial phoneme /x/ can be found in the following clusters: -*xč*-: *bāxča* 'melon plantation', -*xl*-: *maxlūk* 'people', *šāxla* 'branch (of tree)'; -*xm*-: *baxmal* 'satin'; *xr*-: *xrap* 'crunch'; -*xs*-: *maxsad* 'goal'; -*xš*, -*xš*-: *naxš* 'drawing', *baxšātin* 'to forgive'; -*xt*: *baxt* 'happiness', *waxt* 'time', *taxt* 'throne', *draxt* 'tree'; *xw*-: *xwār* 'poor'.

As the second cluster component the phoneme /x/ can be found in the following combinations: -*lx*-: *alxa* 'encirclement'; -*rx*: *čarx* 'circle', *γarx* 'sinking'; -*sx*-: *masxara* 'jibe'.

The phoneme /γ/ is a voiced uvular fricative. In the same way as its voiceless counterpart, the phoneme /γ/ is used mostly in borrowings. It can be found in all word positions: *γulluγdār* 'servant', *mašγūl* 'busy', *āšiγ* 'enamored'. The phoneme /γ/ in BT does not have the same wide range of pronunciation as in Persian[10], where it can vary between a voiceless or voiced uvular plosive and a voiced velar fricative. In borrowings from the Persian language the Balochi phoneme /γ/ is pronounced as a fricative variant of the original phoneme. It is interesting, that the word *γarib* was borrowed into BT in two different forms with two different meanings: *γarīb* 'poor' and *garīb* 'stranger, strange'. This fact illustrates different degrees of assimilation. In borrowings from the Russian language (see p. 51) the phoneme /γ/ can appear instead of the original velar plosive /k/: *āγuška* 'window' (RUS. *okʹoško*), also in word initial position: *γaladōr* 'corridor' (RUS. *koridʹor*).

The phoneme /γ/ can be found as the first component in the following clusters: -*γd*-: *yaγday* 'state, condition'; -*γl*-: *aγlī* 'clever'; *γr*-: *γrižžitin* 'to gnash'; -*γs*: *raγs* 'dance'; -*γš*-: *buγšāb* 'plate'; -*γz*-: *taγzīm* 'gift, offering'.

As the second component it can be found in the following clusters: -*lγ*: *xalγ* 'people', -*rγ*: *arγ* 'citadel'; -*šγ*-: *mašγūl* 'busy'; -*wγ*-: *sawγāt* 'present, gift'; -*yγ*-: *payγām* 'message'.

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[9] The phoneme /x/ and its voiced counterpart /γ/ are pronounced as uvular in BT, although in other Balochi dialects, as well as in NP, these phonemes have a velar pronunciation.

[10] The term 'Persian' is used here to refer to all its variants, including Dari and Tajiki.

2.2.4 Nasals, lateral and taps

The phoneme /m/ is a bilabial nasal. It can be found in all word positions: *mār* 'snake', *šmā* 'you.PL', *čamm* 'eye'.

As a first component it can be found in the following clusters: *-mb-*: *zrumbišt* 'shaking'; *-md-*: *imdād* 'help'; *-mk-*: *mumkin* 'probable'; *mn-*: *mnī* 'my'; *-mp-*: *limpū* 'mucus'; *-mš*: *bramš* 'gleam'; *my-*: *myāntāī* 'middle'.

As a second component the phoneme /m/ can be found in the following clusters: *-gm*: *nagm* 'cave'; *-ǰm-*: *maǰma* 'tray'; *-km*: *ukm* 'order'; *-lm*: *zulm* 'violence'; *-nm-*: *binmis* 'write!'; *-rm-*: *parmātin* 'to order'; *-sm*: *kism* 'type'; *šm-*: *šmā* 'you.PL'; *-xm-*: *baxmal* 'velvet'; *-wm*: *kawm* 'nation'; *-zm-*: *xizmatt* 'service'.

The phoneme /n/ is an alveolar nasal. It can be found in all word positions: *nām* 'name', *čunt* 'several', *šān* 'glory'. Burquest (2001: 117) noted: "Nasals which directly precede other consonants commonly assimilate to match them in point of articulation". In accordance with this process the nasal /n/ has four allophones in BT:

1. The main articulation of this phoneme is fronted alveolar with the tongue in its apical position: [anār] 'pomegranate'. Before the dental plosives /t/ and /d/ the tongue can take a dental position: [dantān] 'tooth', [bandag] 'slave'.
2. Before the retroflex plosives /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ it has retroflex articulation: [luṇṭ] 'lip', [gurāṇḍ] 'mature ram'.
3. Before the velar plosives /k/ and /g/ the phoneme /n/ has velar articulation: [čiŋka] 'how many', [laŋgār] 'plough'.
4. Before the prepalatal affricates /č/ and /ǰ/ it also has prepalatal articulation: [paɲč] 'five', [māɲǰīnā] 'among'.

The phoneme /n/ is found as the first component in the following clusters: *-nč-*: *ančō* 'as if', *zinčikk* 'collar'; *-nd-, -nd*: *ginday* 'you see', *sōgind* 'oath'; *-ṇḍ*: *gurāṇḍ* 'ram'; *-ng*: *rang* 'manner; color', *lang* 'lame, limping'; *-nǰ-*: *xanǰar* 'dagger'; *-nk, -nk-*: *ādink* 'mirror'; *-ns-*: *insāp* 'justice'; *-nš-*: *manšīn* 'most probably'; *-nt*: *kārant* 'they bring'; *nw-*: *nwāšām* 'evening', *nwāsag* 'grandchild'; *-ny-*: *dunyā* 'world'; *-nz-*: *manzil* 'stage (of a journey)'.

As the second component of a cluster the phoneme /n/ can be found in the following clusters: *mn-*: *mnī* 'my'; *-rn-*: *warnā* 'young'; *-sn*: *isn-u-ǰisn* 'creature'; *-šn-*: *gušnag* 'hungry'; *-wn*: *tawn* 'loom'.

The phoneme /l/ is an alveolar lateral approximant. It is pronounced with apical tongue position. The phoneme /l/ can be found in every word position: *lōṭitin* 'to want', *balg* 'leaf', *gal* 'joy'.

The phoneme /l/ is found as the first component of the following clusters: *-lb-*: *albatta* 'certainly'; *-lg*: *balg* 'leaf'; *-lγ*: *xalγ* 'people'; *-lk*: *alk* 'village'; *-lm*: *zulm* 'violence'; *-lp*: *γulp* 'lock'; *-lt-*: *γaltaman* 'robber'; *-lx*: *alxa* 'encirclement'; *-lw-*: *alwā* 'halva'.

As the second component the phoneme /l/ can be found in the following clusters: *gl-*: *glummitin* 'to sip'; *-γl-*: *aγlī* 'clever'; *-ǰl-*: *maǰlis* 'assembly'; *-kl*: *akl* 'mind'; *pl-*: *plān(a)* 'such and such'; *-sl-*: *muslaatt* 'advice'; *šl-*: *šlap* 'splash'; *-tl-*: *matlab* 'purpose'; *-xl-*: *maxlūk* 'people', *-wl*: *ḍawl* 'manner'; *-yl*: *sayl* 'view'.

The phoneme /r/ is an alveolar tap. It is articulated with apical tongue position and can be found in all word positions: *ramag* 'herd (of goats, sheeps)', *arrag* 'saw', *šīr* 'milk'.

As the first component it can occur in the following clusters: *-rb-*: *darbēš* 'dervish'; *-rč*: *kārč* 'knife'; *-rd-*: *garday* 'you seek'; *-rg*: *āmurg* 'egg'; *-rγ*: *arγ* 'citadel'; *-rǰ*: *xarǰ* 'expense'; *-rk*: *tark* 'leaving'; *-rm*: *šarm* 'shame'; *-rn-*: *warnā* 'young'; *-rp*: *barp* 'snow'; *-rs*: *ars* 'tear'; *-rt*: *kurt* 'he/she did'; *-rx*: *γarx* 'sinking'; *-rw-*: *parwā* 'concern'; *-ry-*: *paryād* 'shout'; *-rz*: *burz* 'high'.

As the second component the phoneme /r/ can be found in the following clusters: *br-*: *brā* 'beauty'; *dr-*: *drōg* 'lie'; *gr-*: *grōšk* 'shine'; *γr-*: *γrižžitin* 'to gnash'; *-kr*: *pikr* 'thought'; *pr-*: *prēntin* 'to throw'; *sr-*: *srēn* 'loins'; *-šr-*: *ašratt* 'pleasure'; *tr-*: *trikkaṛ* 'tripod'; *xr-*: *xrap* 'crunch'; *-wr*: *awr* 'rain'; *-yr-*: *xayrwāī* 'farewell'; *zr-*: *zrumbišt* 'shaking'.

The phoneme /ṛ/ is a retroflex tap. As already mentioned (p. 40), it is often treated as an allophone of the voiced retroflex plosive /ḍ/. The phoneme /ṛ/ never occurs in word-initial position, but it can be found in word-medial intervocalic position: *čiṛikkā* 'sound, rustle', and in word-final position: *lōṛ* 'mixed'. The phoneme /ṛ/ does not form any clusters.

2.2.5 Approximants

The phoneme /w/ is a voiced bilabial approximant, which is articulated with unrounded lips. It can be found in all word positions: *wall* 'vine', *dīwāl* 'wall', *ǰaw* 'brook'.

It occurs as the first consonant in the following clusters: *-wd-*: *sawdā* 'trade'; *-wγ-*: *sawγāt* 'present'; *-wǰ*: *pawǰ* 'troops'; *-wk*: *rawkī* 'arch'; *-wl*: *ḍawl* 'method, way'; *-wm*: *qawm* 'people'; *-wn*: *sawn* 'divorce'; *-wp*: *xawp* 'fear'; *-wr*: *ǰāwrū* 'broom'; *-ws-*: *awsār* 'bridle'; *-wš*: *kawš* 'shoe'; *-wt*: *rawt* 'he/she goes'; *-wz*: *hawz* 'pool'.

The phoneme /w/ can be found as the second component in the following clusters: *dw-*: *dwārag* 'again'; *gw-*: *gwār* 'sister', *gwāt* 'wind'; *ǰw-*: *ǰwān* 'good'; *-lw-*: *alwā* 'halva'; *nw-*: *nwāsag* 'grandchild'; *-rw-*: *parwā* 'concern'; *sw-*: *swār* 'rider'; *šw-*: *šwānag* 'shepherd'; *xw-*: *xwār* 'poor'; *-yw-*: *aywān* 'animal'; *-zw-*: *muzwāk* 'lipstick'.

The phoneme /y/ is a voiced palatal approximant. It can be found in all word positions: *yakk* 'one', *daryāb* 'sea', *say* 'three'. The diphthong /ay/ (or a sequence /a/+/y/) regularly appears as a result of a fusion of two long vowels: the stressed /ā/ and the unstressed /ī/: *ušturay* ← **uštur-ā-ī* 'camel-OBL-ENC.3SG', *saray* ← **sar-ā-ī* 'head-OBL-ENC.3SG', for example:

(2) *nādiršā-ī ǰinēn-ā gō uštur-ay na-dīst-ant.*
PN-GEN wife-OBJ with camel-OBL.ENC.3SG NEG-see.PAST-3PL
'They did not see the wife of Nadirshah with her camel.'

(3) *ōš-ī ša sar-ay parrit.*
consciousness-ENC.3SG from head-OBL.ENC.3SG fly.PAST.3SG
'He lost his conscousness (lit. 'His consciousness fled from his head').'

If the stress falls on the last vowel in the sequence, i.e. on /ī/, both vowels preserve their quantity: *āī* 'his/her'.

The phoneme /y/ can be found as the first consonant in the following clusters: *-yb*: *ayb* 'blemish'; *-yd-*: *paydā* 'evident'; *-yg-*: *paygām* 'message';[11] *-yk*: *kayk* 'flea'; *-yl*: *sayl* 'view'; *-yp*: *kayp* 'exhilaration'; *-yr-, -yr*: *ayrān* 'amazed', *xayr* 'well'; *-yš*: *ayš* 'enjoyment'; *-yt-, -yt*: *šaytān* 'satan', *kayt* 'he/she comes'; *-yṭ*: *payṭ* 'curse'; *-yw-*: *aywān* 'animal'.

As the second component the phoneme /y/ can be found in the following clusters: *dy-*: *dyār* 'country'; *gy-*: *gyābān* 'desert'; *ky-*: *kyāmatt* 'resurrection'; *my-*: *myāntāī* 'middle'; *ny-*: *nyāmatt* 'grace'; *py-*: *pyāla* 'cup'; *-ry-*: *daryāb* 'sea'; *sy-*: *syā* 'black'; *zy-*: *zyān* 'loss'.

2.3 Epentheses

The approximants /w/ and /y/ can appear as epentheses in word-initial position, /w/ before /ō/ and /a/: *ōš - wōš* 'memory', *ant - want* 'COP.PRES.3PL', and /y/ before /ē/: *ēšī - yēšī* 'his/her'. These phonemes eliminate the hiatus in other word positions also, e.g., if the present stem of a verb ends in a vowel. These phonemes can occur in intervocalic position between the last

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[11]The word *paygām* can also be pronounced with the cluster *-yγ-*: *payγām*.

syllable of the present stem and personal endings. However, very often the hiatus is preserved, i.e. personal endings are attached to the present stem without any connecting sound. As a matter of fact, a combination of two vowels is a very common phenomenon in BT and can be found not only in verb morphophonology. Here are some examples of the hiatus, which occurs in the genitive case forms of words ending in vowels: *bādišāay* 'of the king', *badraay* 'of the bucket', *māay* 'of the month', *tūtīay* 'of the parrot', etc.

Yotational epenthesis occurs more often at the juncture of two central vowels, e.g. the final /ā/ of the present stem and /a/ of personal endings: *patāyay* 'you fold', while in front of the front vowels /i/ and /ī/ a pronunciation with hiatus is more preferable: *ǰīay* 'you flee'. The epenthesis /w/ appears between the final /ē/ of the present stem and the central vowel /a/ of personal endings: *grēway* 'you cry'. Probably the epenthesis /w/ can be interchangeable with the yotational epenthesis in all verbs ending with a central vowel in front of the vowel /a/ of the personal endings, although the analysed material does not contain any such forms except of the verb *ātin* 'to come': *kāway, kāyay* 'you come'.

2.4   Syllable structure

The definition of a syllable and its structure, as well as the classification of syllable types is closely related to the definition of morpheme and word structure. According to Burquest (2001: 147), "The syllable level is the phonological level immediately above the level of the segment; it is a structural unit into which segmental phonemes are distributed". The syllable as a phonological unit of speech segmentation in BT consists of one syllable nucleus (or peak of sonority, commonly a vowel) and one or several peripheral elements (consonants).

A syllable in BT can begin with one consonant: *bāp* 'vapour', one vowel: *āt* 'he / she came', and a cluster: *gwāt* 'wind'. Any vowel in BT can constitute a separate syllable: *ā.murg* 'egg', *i.dā* 'here', *ō.dā* 'there', etc. Consonants are grouped in a syllable either before a vowel or after it, and the number of consonants in either position can not be more than two.

Depending on the number and place of peripheral elements and on their distribution, the structure of the Balochi syllable has the following types:

1. V: *ē* 'this', *ā* 'that', *u* 'and';
2. VC: *āp* 'water', *ēl* 'skill, habit', *ar* 'donkey';
3. VCC: *asp* 'horse', *alk* 'village', *āsk* 'gazelle';
4. CV: *bē* 'without', *ṭū* 'big', *pa* 'for';
5. CVC: *kār* 'work', *dēr* 'late', *sar* 'head';

6. CVCC: *balg* 'leaf', *kārč* 'knife';
7. CCV: *trū* 'paternal aunt', *brā* 'beauty', *bra* 'go!';
8. CCVC: *brās* 'brother', *drāǰ* 'long', *xrap* 'crunch';
9. CCVCC: *draxt* 'tree', *grōšk* 'shine'.

Vowels in all these positions can, as shown above, be either short or long.

A syllable can begin with the following onset clusters: *br-, dr-, dw-, dy-, gl-, gr-, gw-, gy-, γr-, ǰw-, ky-, mn-, my-, nw-, ny-, pl-, pr-, py-, sp-, sr-, sw-, sy-, šl-, šm-, šw-, xr-, xw-, zr-, zy-.*

All the possible syllable coda clusters in BT are the following: *-br, -bz, -čk, -dr, -gr, -γs, -ǰg, -kl, -km, -kr, -lg, -lγ, -lk, -lm, -lp, -mp, -mš, -nč, -nd, -nḍ, -ng, -nǰ, -nk, -ns, -nt, -nṭ, -pt, -rč, -rd, -rg, -rγ, -rǰ, -rk, -rm, -rn, -rp, -rs, -rt, -rx, -rz, -sk, -sl, -sm, -sn, -sp, -sr, -st, -šk, -šm, -šn, -šp, -št, -tk, -tr, -wl, -wm, -wn, -wp, -wr, -wš, -wt, -wz, -xs, -xt, -yb, -yk, -yl, -yp, -yr, -yš, -yt, -yṭ, -zb, -zm.*

2.5 Stress

Nominal parts of speech in BT have fixed stress, which with few exceptions falls on the last syllable of a word. The fixed stress pattern can be seen in two- or three-syllabic nominal lexemes in the direct case: *ǰǐˈnikk* 'girl', *čōrīˈka* 'fellow', *maˈzan* 'big'.

However, the situation changes, when a nominal lexeme takes an ending, which can be the indefiniteness marker *-ē* with or without the objective marker *-rā*, case endings in the singular and plural, the attributive suffix *-ēn*, and the suffix of the comparative degree *-tir*.

The indefiniteness marker *-ē* is always unstressed: *ǰǐˈnikk-ē* 'a girl', *čōrīˈka-ē* 'a fellow', *ˈwall-ērā* 'a certain vine'.

The suffix of the comparative degree *-tir* is always stressed: *bēaklˈtir* 'more stupid', *zūtˈtir* 'more quick'.

The case endings and the attributive suffix *-ēn* change the stress in the following way:

- The attributive suffix of monosyllabic adjectives is always stressed, for example: *nōˈkēn* 'new'. If an adjective with the attributive suffix adds case endings, the stress does not move, for example, the words *nōˈkēnā* in SG.OBJ and *nōˈkēnānā* in PL.OBJ preserve the stress on the attributive ending.

- In polysyllabic adjectives the syllable before the attributive suffix, i.e. the last syllable of the stem carries the stress: *šōˈragēn* 'saline, salty'. When a polysyllabic adjective is followed by case endings, the stress remains on the last syllable of the stem: *šōˈragēnā, šōˈragēnānā*.
- In monosyllabic nouns case endings are stressed: *saˈrā* SG.OBJ of *sar* 'head', *buˈzay* SG.GEN of *buz* 'goat'. In oblique forms of the plural of monosyllabic nouns, the case ending of the oblique plural - *ān* is stressed: *saˈrānā* PL.OBJ of *sar* 'head', *buˈzānī* PL.GEN of *buz* 'goat'.
- Case endings in polysyllabic words are unstressed, i.e. the stress remains on the last syllable of the stem: *baˈčakkay* SG.GEN of *baˈčakk* 'boy', *baˈčakkānī* PL.GEN of *baˈčakk* 'boy'.

Verbal nouns are stressed in the same way as any other nouns: *gipˈtin* 'to take', *gipˈta(g)* the past participle of *giptin*, *giˈrōk* the present participle of the same verb, *giptiˈnī* the verbal adjective of the same verb. The distribution of the stress in verb forms occurs in the following way:

- In forms of the present indicative the stress falls on personal endings: *giˈrīn* 'I take', *giˈran* 'we take'.
- The forms of the present and past subjunctive have the stress on the first syllable of the stem: *ˈ(b)girīn* 'I would take', *ˈ(b)giran* 'we would take', *ˈ(b)giptēnun* 'I would have taken'.
- In forms of the preterite indicative and imperfect indicative the stress falls on the last syllable of the verb stem: *ˈgiptun* 'I took', *anˈditay* 'you laughed', *man-a ˈkurtun* 'I was doing'.
- In all past indicative forms built with the help of the past participle, the stress is preserved on the last syllable of the participle: *gipˈtag-un* 'I have taken'.
- In forms of the pluperfect indicative the stress falls on the first syllable of the predicative copula: *gipˈtatun* 'I had taken', *andiˈtatay* 'you had laughed'.
- The negation particle *na-* and the prohibitive particle *ma-* attract stress in all verb forms: *ˈna-girīn* 'I do not take', *ˈma-gir* 'do not take'.
- In compound verbs the stress falls on the last syllable of the nominal component[12], while the secondary stress takes the position of the primary stress of the verb component, as described above: *ˈkār-a kaˌnay* 'you work', *giˈčēn ˌkurtay* 'you chose'.

Several words, which do not belong to the nominal categories, have the stress on the first syllable: *ˈbalki* 'maybe', *ˈbalē* 'but', *ˈyānē* 'that is', etc.

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[12]The nominal component of a compound verb is stressed following the rules for nouns given above.

Stress can be moved for emphatic purposes. For example, the emphasized forms of the indefinite pronouns have the stress on the first syllable: ˈhičyakk 'nobody'.

Burquest (2001: 206) notes: "In many languages …stress serves the function of demarcating the boundary of the phonological word". Rubinčik (1981: 117) also states that stress and the following pause are important for the definition of word boundaries and the distinction between compound words and unbound word combinations and phraseological units. Thus, such polysyllabic words in BT as yakkˈdast 'single handed', aptˈsar 'seven headed' differ from unbound word combinations ˈyakk ˈdast 'one hand', ˈapt ˈsar 'seven heads' not only in meaning, but also by just one stress and absence of a pause between their components.

2.6   Intonation structures

The majority of sentences consist of two, three or more syntagmas. In declarative sentences the final syntagma is characterized by falling tone on the last syllable of the final word. Falling intonation is most distinctively heard in a final syntagma, which contains the present or preterite forms of the predicative copula.

The interrogative sentence in BT can be distinguished from a declarative sentence either by intonation alone, or by a combination of intonational resources and lexical ones. The lexical interrogative resources are the interrogative words and particles. Depending on these types, there are the following intonation patterns of an interrogative sentence:

1. Without lexical means. The intonation of an interrogative sentence which does not contain any lexical interrogative resources is characterized by a gradually rising tone towards the end of the sentence. The last syllable of the last word in such sentences is pronounced with the highest pitch.
2. With a question word. Interrogative sentences which contain a question word are characterized by falling tone towards the end of the sentence, while the question word gets the highest pitch. As question words the interrogative pronouns kay 'who', čē 'what', guj̆ām 'which', and interrogative adverbs kadēn 'when', guj̆ā 'where', čōn 'how', pačē 'why', etc. can be used.
3. With a question particle. The intonation of an interrogative sentence with a question particle is characterized by a rising tone in every syn-

tagma. In BT the following two question particles are used in interrogative contexts: *maga(r)* 'perhaps' and *napa* 'do . . . really', etc.

4. An alternative question. The first part of the sentence is pronounced with a gradually rising tone, while the second part (after the conjunction *yā*) 'or' is pronounced with a falling tone.

2.7 Phonological structure of loanwords

The most prevalent object of borrowing is a word (or a lexeme), because the lexical level of a language is more liable to change than other levels (phonology, morphology or syntax). In order for a word to become a lexical item of another language it often has to undergo an assimilation phase.

2.7.1 Borrowings from Russian

The phonetic changes during the process of assimilation of Russian lexical items have the following main features. Russian words with initial consonant clusters which exist in BT are often pronounced with a vowel between the two initial consonants, e.g., *tarāxtir*[13] 'tractor' (RUS. ˈ*traktor*); *kilōnka* 'oilcloth' (RUS. *kle*ˈ*jonka*); *karūška* 'mug' (RUS. ˈ*kružka*):

(4) *zāg-ā gō karūška āp b-day.*
     boy-OBJ with mug-OBL water SUBJ-give.PRES
     'Give the boy water in a mug.'

Example (4) also shows that the stressed vowel of Russian words sometimes becomes lengthened in BT. Another example of this phenomenon is *kapūsta* 'cabbage' (RUS. *ka*ˈ*pusta*).

The first vowel of a Russian word, even if not stressed, can appear as long in BT. For example, *māxurka* 'a kind of tobacco' (RUS. *ma*ˈ*xorka*); *āɣuška* 'window' (RUS. *o*ˈ*koško*, from *okno* with the diminutive suffix -*šk*-):[14]

(5) *gis rōč-ay nēmag-ā āɣuška dār-īt,   gis-ay*
     house sun-GEN side-OBJ window have.PRES-3SG house-GEN
     bit   garm-a   bīt.
     interior warm-IMPF be.PRES.3SG

---

[13]Since the cluster *tr*- is not excluded by BT phonotactics, the first vowel shows that the word most likely has been borrowed from Turkmen where it has the form *tarāxtir*.

[14]In BT this word is not understood as diminutive.

'If windows of a house looks towards the south, the interior of the house will be warm.'

Besides, it may seem that there is a qualitative change of the first vowel, but since the word is an oral borrowing, the vowel of the first syllable in BT preserves the Russian pronunciation, where it is pronounced as /a/. This word also demonstrates that the Russian voiceless velar plosive /k/ here in an intervocalic position has become a voiced fricative /γ/ in BT. The Turkmen language has borrowed this word in the form *æpišge*.

Sometimes a Russian unstressed final syllable is omitted in BT, as in *māšī* 'car' (RUS. *maˈšina*), *ōčur* 'line, queue' (RUS. *ˈočered'*).

The Turkmen language sometimes uses borrowings from Russian in an unassimilated form, that is as foreign words, e.g. *brigada* 'brigade' and *brigadir* 'brigadier'. The two latter words entered BT to denote new forms of labour organisation, with Turkmen as a mediator language. Both words underwent phonetic changes in BT and merged into one word *birgād*, which has taken on the meanings of the two source words:

(6) *ammay   birgād har sāl-ē   du sad   tōnna*
     we.EXCL.GEN brigade every year-IND two hundred ton
     paxta-a   dant.
     cotton-IMPF give.PRES.3SG
     'Every year our brigade produces two hundred tons of cotton.'

(7) *birgād walī-ī zāg zī   ša γōšun-ā bir*
     brigadier PN-GEN son yesterday from army-OBL PREV
     gašt-ī.
     turn.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
     'The son of brigadier Wali returned from the army yesterday.'

The loss of the last syllable can be explained by reference to the grammar of the Turkmen language, that is *birgādir* could be understood by the Baloch as containing the Turkmen copula *dir/dır*, thus *birgād + dir*.

An interesting form of the Russian word *koridor* 'corridor' is found in BT. It is also used in Turkmen in the same form as in Russian and is in both these languages pronounced as [karidor], but in Balochi it occurs in the form *γaladōr*. Here the assimilated BT form reflects a distortion of the norm of pronunciation in spoken Russian, where the word *koridor* sometimes is pronounced as *kalidor*.

In addition to phonetically assimilated borrowings, BT also uses a small number of unassimilated Russian and Turkmen words (Axenov 2003: 252-

253). The former belong mostly to sociopolitical vocabulary, while the latter represent Turkmen toponyms. The specific feature of these words is that they may preserve in BT the quality and quantity of their vowels, i.e. the first short /e/ in *prezident* 'president' can be pronounced as [e] in BT.[15] Possibly such borrowing could influence the vowel system of BT, i.e., if the pronunciation [e] is retained in open syllables (see the description of the phoneme /i/ above on p. 34), but these Russian loanwords do not belong to everyday vocabulary and have a rather occasional usage, which makes it unlikely that /i/ and /e/ will develop into two different phonemes in BT due to Russian loanwords.

2.7.2 Borrowings from Turkmen

The phonetic form of borrowings from the Turkmen language (except toponyms) changes according to the phonological standards of the Balochi language. The main transformations are the following: long vowels preserve their quantity in Balochi, for example, *dīnč* 'rest, relaxation' (TURKM. [dī̇nč]), thus the Turkmen /ī̇/ qualitatively changes into /ī/ in BT.

The Turkmen long front vowel /ǣ/ preserves its length in BT, but appears as /ā/, and the Turkmen short /e/ - as /a/: *ādik* 'jackboot' (TURKM. *ǣdik*)[16]; *kāranda* 'rent' (TURKM. [kæ̆rende]). The short and long rounded front vowels /ʏ/ and /ȳ/ are backed, that is changed to /u/ and /ū/. For example: *učūn* 'for, because of' (TURKM. [ʏčȳn]). The conjunction [yø̄ne] 'but' is occasionally pronounced without assimilation.

If the final closed syllable in Turkmen contains a short vowel /e/, /a/ or /i/ and ends with a voiceless velar or with the alveolar tap /r/[17], this last consonant becomes geminated in BT. For example, *čēlakk* 'barrel, big can' (TURKM. [čelek]); *γapakk* 'lid' (TURKM. [γapak]); *pūdakk* 'branch' (TURKM. [pūdak]); *tigirr* 'wheel' (TURKM. [tigir]).

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[15]The first short /e/ can be pronounced either as /e/ or as /i/. The form *pirizident* is also possible.

[16]The BT word for jackboot is *mōzag*, but it is considered obsolete by the Baloch.

[17]The geminated /r/ is pronounced as a trill.

Part II:

Word and Phrase Morphosyntax

3. Nouns

3.1 Introduction

The simple (non-compound) inflectional markers of nouns are presented in Table 3.1.[1]

Table 3.1: *Simple (non-compound) noun inflectional markers*

Grammatical function	Marker	Gloss
Indefiniteness	*-ē*	IND
Oblique singular	*-ā*	OBL
Oblique plural	*-ān*	PL
Objective	*-ā*	OBJ
Genitive	*-ī*	GEN

Simple inflectional markers of nouns can be used in combination with each other thus building the compound markers, as shown in Table 3.2, or contracted markers,[2] as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.2: *Compound noun inflectional markers*

Grammatical function	Marker	Gloss
Indefinite direct object	*-ē-rā*	IND-OBJ
Objective plural	*-ān-ā*	PL-OBJ
Genitive plural	*-ān-ī*	PL-GEN
Locative singular (proper nouns)	*-ī-ā*	GEN-OBJ
Locative plural	*-ān-ī-ā*	PL-GEN-OBJ

---

[1] The oblique plural is glossed as PL because there is no direct plural form in BT.
[2] Contracted inflectional markers are glossed in accordance with their grammatical functions, so, e.g., the genitive singular of common nouns is glossed GEN, and not OBL.GEN.

Table 3.3: *Contracted noun inflectional markers*

Grammatical function	Marker	Gloss
Objective singular (common nouns)	-ā (OBL.OBJ)	OBJ
Genitive singular (common nouns)	-ay (OBL.GEN)	GEN
Locative singular (common nouns)	-ayā (OBL.GEN.OBJ)	LOC

In terms of generality and reference, nouns in BT are divided into common nouns and proper nouns. According to Givón (2001: I : 58), "common nouns do not refer to individual entities, but only connote classes of entities. Proper nouns, on the other hand, refer to individual entities". In other words, the main semantic feature of proper nouns is the ability to distinguish separate objects by naming them without revealing their individual characteristics. Common nouns and proper nouns in BT behave morphologically differently. For example, the proper noun *bībī*, which literally means 'lady', has a different declension paradigm when used as a common noun.

Common nouns according to their semantics can be divided into abstract nouns, e.g.: *tārī(n)kī* 'darkness', *bāwarī* 'trust, confidence', *syādī* 'kinship', *bēadabī* 'discourtesy, bad manners', and concrete nouns, e.g.: *sar* 'head', *dasag* 'rope', *gis* 'house', *draxt* 'tree', *kištī* 'boat'. According to Givón (2001: I : 56), abstract entities exist neither in time nor in space. Temporal entities (e.g.: *rōč* 'day', *šammī* 'Saturday') exist in time but not in space, while fully concrete entities exist in both space and time.

In BT both concrete and abstract nouns can be either mass nouns or count nouns. Mass nouns are defined by Givón (2001: I : 57) as "groups of individuals" or "invisible masses", and count nouns as "individuated entities". Both concrete and abstract nouns can have either a count or a mass meaning. For example, the concrete noun *āp* 'water' is used as a mass noun in (8), and as a count noun in (9). At the same time, the abstract noun *žandī* 'tiredness' is used as a count noun in (10). These examples demonstrate that the count/mass nouns distinction is of limited validity in BT.

(8) *āp   āwurt   u   mnī dast u dēm-ā šušt.*
     water bring.PAST.3SG and I.GEN hand and face-OBJ wash.PAST.3SG
     'He brought water and washed I.GEN hands and face.'

(9) *ša   māīgīr-ā   say dānag zindag-ēn māī zīt*
     from fisherman-OBL three CL   living-ATTR fish buy.PAST3SG
     u   badra-ay   āp-ān-ī   tā   prēnt.
     and bucket-GEN water-PL-GEN inside throw.PAST.3SG

'(She) bought three living fish from the fisherman and threw (them) into the water in the bucket.'

(10) *wat-ī   bār-ān-ā   y-ēr   kurt-ant   ki   wat-ī*
      REFL-GEN burden-PL-OBJ HI-down do.PAST-3PL SUB REFL-GEN
      žandī-ān-ā   gir-ant.
      tiredness-PL-OBJ take.PRES-3PL
      'They put down their burdens in order to take a rest (lit. 'take their tirednesses').'

Payne (1999: 33) divides the morphosyntactic properties of nouns into two groups: "distributional (or configurational) and structural properties. Distributional properties have to do with how words are distributed in phrases, clauses, and texts. …Structural properties have to do with the internal structure of the noun itself". On a phrase level a noun can serve as the head of a noun phrase which, in its turn, assumes various distributional properties (or syntactic characteristics) on a clause level.

3.2   Distributional properties of nouns

Within the noun phrase, "a noun is typically the syntactic and semantic head, defining the type of entity involved. All other elements in the noun phrase are modifiers of that head noun" (Givón 2001: I : 59).

BT is a language with a nominative-accusative structure. The ergative construction, which is characteristic for several other Balochi dialects, is never used in BT. Hence noun phrases in BT perform the following syntactic functions:

- of a subject, which in example (11) is represented by the noun phrase is *yakk lingōṭaīēn balōčē* 'a Baloch in a turban':

    (11) *ša   rā-ā   yakk lingōṭaī-ēn   balōč-ē*
          from road-OBL one   with a turban-ATTR Baloch-IND
          raw-t.
          go.PRES-3SG
          'A Baloch in a turban is walking on the road'.

- of a direct object, which in example (12) is represented by the noun phrases *watī kārčā* '(my) own knife' and *yakk kūṭigērā* 'one of water melons':

(12) *kaššit-un   wat-ī   kārč-ā   u   yakk*
pull.PAST-1SG REFL-GEN knife-OBJ and one
kūṭig-ē-rā   āt-un   kapp b-kan-īn.
water melon-IND-OBJ come.PAST-1SG half   SUBJ-do.PRES-1SG
'I took out my knife and was going to cut one of those water mel-
ons in two parts'.

- of an indirect object, which in example (13) is represented by the noun
phrase *bi watī zāgā* 'to his (own) son':

(13) *am-ā   ǰinikk-ā bi wat-ī   zāg-ā   dāt.*
EMPH-DEM girl-OBJ to REFL-GEN son-OBL give.PAST.3SG
'He gave this girl to his son'.

- of a nominal predicate, which in example (14) is represented by the noun
phrase *yakk γarībēn zāgē* 'a poor boy':

(14) *nasrō yakk γarīb-ēn   zāg-ē   at.*
PN   one   poor-ATTR boy-IND COP.PAST.3SG
'Nasro was a poor boy'.

- as a direct address:

(15) *ay mazan-ēn wazīr, ta   du   mardum-ay sarag-ā   gō   yakk*
oh big-ATTR vizier you two man-GEN   head-OBJ with one
zām-ē   zurt-ag   na-kurt-ay.
sword-IND take.PAST-PP NEG-do.PAST-2SG
'Oh great vizier, you could not cut off the heads of two people with
one stroke of the sword.'

- as an adverbial modifier:

(16) *šā abbās šap-ā   wat-rā   γalatnimā-a*
NP   night-OBL REFL-OBJ mistake.appearance-IMPF
kurt.
do.PAST.3SG
'Shah Abbas used to change his appearance in the evening.'

Nouns in noun phrases with respect to the head noun can syntactically be
used as:

- a genitive attribute:

(17) *mnī sāl-ay   akk-ā-a   na-dant.*
I.GEN year-GEN salary-OBJ-IMPF NEG-give.PRES.3SG
'He will not give me my annual salary'.

- an apposition:

(18) *tārī   wazīr kawšdōč   kār-ā   āt-ī.*
morning vizier shoemaker work-OBJ come.PAST-3SG

'In the morning the vizier-shoemaker came to work'.

3.2.1   Pair words

Two words (nouns, adjectives or adverbs) with similar meaning can be joined with the help of the conjunction *u* 'and', and a unique stress on the last syllable of the second word: *āp-u-nān* 'food' (lit. 'water and bread'), *sōǰ-u-purs* 'questioning' (lit. 'question and inquiry'), *xwār-u-zār* '' (lit. 'wretched and angry'), *ēšk-u-āšk* 'around' (lit. 'here and there'), *pučč-u-mučč* 'clothes' (lit. 'clothes and everything'). When declined, only the second word gets the morphological markers (the indefiniteness marker *-ē*, case endings or the attributive ending *-ēn*):

(19) *wat-ī   ǰan-u-zāg-ān-ā   bēwōš-a   kurt.*
REFL-GEN wife-and-child-PL-OBJ unconscious-IMPF do.PAST.3SG

'He used to forget about his family.'

(20) *nān-u-āp-ē   wārt-ant.*
bread-and-water-IND eat.PAST-3PL

'They had some food.'

(21) *y-ēšk-u-ašk-ā   sayl-ī   kurt.*
HI-here-and-there-OBJ view-ENC.3SG do.PAST.3SG

'He looked around.'

The second word in a pair can be represented by a dummy word which is never used as a stand-alone lexeme. It differs phonetically from the first word in the pair only by the initial consonant which is usually *m-*. The two words usually function as a pair without the conjunction *u* 'and': *čīz-mīz* 'something', *nān-mān* 'meal', etc. The inflectional markers are attached to the dummy word:

(22) *ta pa-mman am-ōdā   nān-mān-ē by-ār-ay.*
you for-I   EMPH-there meal-IND SUBJ-bring.PRES-2SG

'You should bring some food for me there.'

(23) *bēga   ki būt,   čīz-mīz-ē   wārt-ant.*
evening SUB be.PAST something-IND eat.PAST-3PL

'When the evening came, they had some food.'

(24) *ēš-ā   gō-m-ē   gadd-madd-ay   š-am-idā*
DEM-OBJ with-EMPH-DEM rags-OBL.ENC.3SG from-EMPH-here
irr-ē   dāt.
fling-IND give.PAST.3SG
'He flung him from here with these rags of his.'

3.3 Structural properties of nouns

Nouns in BT are characterized by the following morphological categories: genericness, definiteness-indefiniteness, specificity, number and case. There is no grammatical gender in the Balochi language. Gender difference of animate nouns is expressed with the help of different words: *gurānḍ* 'ram', *mēš* 'sheep', *minḍ* 'female dog', *pāčin* 'he-goat' or with the help of noun phrases, where the head noun is modified by the following gender identifiers: *nar* 'male' and *mādag* 'female'. The gender identifiers are used with the attributive marker *-ēn*:

(25) *yakk waxt-ē yakk nar-ēn   u yakk mādag-ēn kapōt-ē*
one time-IND one male-ATTR and one female-ATTR pigeon-IND
amrā-a   bay-ant.
friend-IMPF become.PRES-3PL
'Once a male pigeon and a female pigeon became friends'.

3.3.1 Genericness, definiteness, indefiniteness and specificity

In BT the unmarked form of a noun, as in Persian, "may be generic and imply single or more items, whether subject, predicative complement, direct object or other" (Windfuhr 1989: 533). As Smirnova (1974: 6) puts it, "the unmarked form exists beyond any kind of paradigm". A generic noun is used without any kind of suffixes or modifiers, and means an indefinite plurality or a totality. Windfuhr (1989: 533) notes, that the genericness of a noun "is exploited in compound verbs" (see section 9.2.2). The categories of definiteness, indefiniteness and number are irrelevant for a generic noun.

The categories of definiteness and indefiniteness in BT do not represent a binary opposition, because indefiniteness is opposed both to genericness and definiteness. Generally, indefiniteness is marked by the suffix *-ē* (singular specific non-definite marker, which from now on will be referred to as the indefiniteness marker). The indefiniteness marker occurs with both count and mass nouns and "marks restrictive selection out of a generic

unit" (Windfuhr 1989: 533),[3] which confirms the lack of importance of the distinction between mass nouns and count nouns in BT. Paul (2003: 45) defines the suffix *-i* in Persian in the following way: "Although *-i* does occur only with entities which are unidentifiable to the hearer (and so expected to be grammatically indefinite), this morpheme is a classifier whose primary function is best categorised as one of individuation". A noun with the indefiniteness marker *-ē* (with or without *yakk* 'one')[4] can be found in the following syntactic positions:

1. as an indefinite singular subject:

   (26) *yakk ǰinikk-ē gis-ay   tā   ništ-a.*
        one   girl-IND house-GEN inside sit.PAST-PP
        'A girl is sitting in the house.'

   (27) *yakk mardum-ē bi bāzār-ā   sad   gurānḍ āwurt.*
        one   man-IND   to market-OBL hundred ram   bring.PAST.3SG
        'A man brought a hundred rams to the market.'

   (28) *bi diga šār-ē   ham ham-ē   rang-ēn   drōgburr-ē*
        in other town-IND also EMPH-DEM manner-ATTR liar-IND
        at.
        COP.PAST.3SG
        'In another town there was a liar of the same kind.'

2. as an indefinite singular direct object:

   (29) *yakk mardum-ē bi wat-ī   dast-ā   padagī-y-ē*
        one   man-IND   to REFL-GEN hand-OBL cudgel-HI-IND
        zurt.
        take.PAST.3SG
        'One man took a cudgel in his hand.'

   (30) *zarr-ē   na-dāšt   ki pa wat-ī*
        money-IND NEG-have.PAST.3SG SUB for REFL-GEN
        mās-ā   kapan-ē   b-zint.
        mother-OBL shroud-IND SUBJ-buy.PRES.3SG
        'He did not have any money to buy a shroud for his mother.'

3. as an indefinite singular predicate:

   (31) *man dēγān-ē   un.*
        I   peasant-IND COP.PRES.1SG
        'I am a peasant.'

---

[3]Unlike in Persian, the indefiniteness marker in BT is never used with nouns in the plural.
[4]It is important to distinguish the use of the word *yakk* as a marker of indefiniteness from its use as a quantitative modifier, see p. 130.

4. in prepositional phrases with an indefinite head noun:

(32) *bi yakk šār-ē   yakk zālum-ēn   pādišā-y-ē   at.*
in one town-IND one cruel-ATTR king-HI-IND COP.PAST.3SG
'In a town there was a cruel king.'

(33) *šēr-ā   gō   yakk tīr-ē   kušt.*
lion-OBJ with one arrow-IND kill.PAST.3SG
'He killed a lion with one arrow.'

Specificity in BT can be expressed by the suffix combination *-ērā*, which consists of the indefiniteness marker *-ē* and the suffix *-rā*. This suffix combination marks an indefinite entity from a definite plurality. A noun with the suffix combination *-ērā* is used either as a direct object or as an indirect object, therefore the suffix combination *-ērā* can not be regarded as a general marker of specificity:

(34) *yakk rōč-ē   kōh-ay   pācin-ē-rā   iškār   kurt.*
one day-IND mount-GEN goat-IND-OBJ hunting do.PAST.3SG
'One day he hunted for a mountain goat.'

(35) *zūt-ē   yakk spēt-ēn   tās-ē-rā   zurt   u*
quickly-IND one white-ATTR basin-IND-OBJ take.PAST.3SG and
dēm-ay   zabr šušt.
face-OBJ.ENC.3SG good wash.PAST.3SG
'Quickly she took a white basin and thoroughly washed it on the inside (lit. 'its front).'

(36) *yakk-ē-rā   zarr   dāt-ī.*
one-IND-OBJ money give.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
'He gave money to one of them.'

Morphologically, the definiteness of a noun can be expressed by the use of case endings:

(37) *šā abbās gis-ay   dabgir-ā   ṭappit-ī.*
PN   door-GEN knocker-OBJ knock.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
'Shah Abbas knocked the door-knocker of the house.'

(38) *ilyās-ā guš   ki pa ammā ša rōč-ayā awāl-ē*
PN-OBJ tell.PRES SUB for we.EXCL from sun-LOC news-IND
by-ār-īt.
SUBJ-bring.PRES-3SG
'Tell Ilyas to bring news from the sun for us.'

Lexically, the definiteness of a noun can be expressed by the following means:

1. Demonstrative pronouns *ē* 'this' and *ā* 'that' and their emphasized forms *amē* and *amā* used in the attributive function:

    (39) *ā   ǰādūgir wābkēn at.*
         DEM sorcerer sleepy   COP.PAST.3SG
         'That sorcerer was sleepy.'

    (40) *ē   iškārī-ay   čamm bi ǰinenzāg-ā   kapt.*
         DEM hunter-GEN eye   to woman-OBL fall.PAST.3SG
         'This hunter's eye fell on the woman.'

2. Possessive and reflexive pronouns:

    (41) *napa gir   mnī asā-ā   u wat-ī*
         then SUBJ.take.PRES I.GEN staff-OBJ and REFL-GEN
         čamm-ān-ā muṭṭ kan.
         eye-PL-OBJ frown SUBJ.do.PRES
         'So, then take my staff and close your eyes tightly.'

    (42) *sawdāgir-ay   ǰind pīr at.*
         merchant-GEN self old COP.PAST.3SG
         'The merchant himself was old.'

3. Enclitic pronouns:

    (43) *balluk-ī   ē   nām-ā wašš   kurt.*
         grandmother-ENC.3SG DEM name-OBJ approved do.PAST.3SG
         'His grandmother approved of this name.'

    (44) *lāp-iš   bi trakkit-in-ā   āt,   ammā*
         belly-ENC.3PL to burst.PAST-INF-OBL come.PAST.3SG but
         luṇṭ-iš   tarr na-būt.
         lip-ENC.3PL wet NEG-be.PAST.3SG
         'Their bellies were near to bursting, but their lips were not wet.'

4. Genitive attributes:

    (45) *pīrazāl   rāstām-a   k-ayt   bi*
         old woman straight-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PRES.3SG to
         dukkāndār-ay ǰinēn-ay piss-ay   gis-ā.
         shop-keeper-GEN wife-GEN father-GEN house-OBL
         'The old woman comes straight to the house of the father of the shop-keeper's wife.'

5. The definite quantifier *mučč* 'all':

(46) *mučč-ēn mardum ā-ī   abar-ā   bāwar-a   kan-ant.*
all-ATTR man   DEM-GEN word-OBJ faith-IMPF do.PRES-3PL
'All the people believe his words.'

(47) *ā-w-ān-ī   amrā   mučč-ēn zarr-ān-ā*
DEM-HI-PL-GEN friend all-ATTR money-PL-OBJ
burt-a.
take away.PAST-PP
'Their friend has taken away all the money.'

6. Ordinal numerals:

(48) *say-umī-ēn   brās-ay   dēmā   um āxtī-ēn*
three-ORD-ATTR brother-GEN in front of also aforesaid-ATTR
pīramard dar   būt.
old man   PREV be.PAST.3SG
'The old man mentioned above also appeared in front of the third brother.'

(49) *du-w-umī-ēn   šap-ā   um am-ē   rang*
two-HI-ORD-ATTR night-OBJ also EMPH-DEM way
būt.
be.PAST.3SG
'On the second night too the same thing happened.'

3.3.2   Number

The category of number is expressed by the opposition between singular and plural, which are morphologically distinguished only in non-direct cases. When a noun is generic, the category of number becomes irrelevant and the difference between singular and plural disappears. Thus, the word *dast* 'hand' can signify one hand or several hands, as well as the generic and collective notion of a hand or hands.

The oblique stem in the plural is built by attaching the suffix –ān to the direct stem of a noun: *mōlid* 'maidservant' - *mōlidān*, *pad* 'footstep' — *padān*, *kārč* 'knife' - *kārčān*, etc. The genitive and the objective case endings are added to this stem:

(50) *mōlid-ān-ā   tawār b-kan.*
maidservant-PL-OBJ voice SUBJ-do.PRES
'Call the maidservants.'

(51) gwāt u dūlāxt uštur-ay pad-ān-ā zyān
wind and storm camel-GEN footprint-PL-OBJ lost
kurt-at.
do.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG
'The wind and the storm had wiped out the footprints of the camel.'

(52) am-ē say-ēn māī-ān-ā ša āp-ān-ī tā
EMPH-DEM three-ATTR fish-PL-OBJ from water-PL-GEN inside
zurt.
take.PAST.3SG
'She took these three fishes from the water.'

Nouns with a unique reference like *mā(h)* 'moon', *rōč* 'sun' do not have forms of plural. These two nouns can also be used as count nouns, but with a different meaning, i.e. *mā(h)* 'month', and *rōč* 'day':

(53) *rōč* ništ u tārīk būt.
sun sit.PAST.3SG and dark be.PAST.3SG
'The sun went down and became dark.'

(54) *čunt* šap u rōč rāh šut-ant.
several night and day road go.PAST-3PL
'They walked several nights and days.'

(55) nu māh u nu rōč ki gwaz-īt, ā-ī
nine month and nine day SUB pass by.PRES-3SG DEM-GEN
gis-ā bačakk-ē bīt.
house-OBJ boy-IND be.PRES.3SG
'When nine months and nine days have passed by, there appears a boy in his house.'

After numerals and quantifiers a noun is used in the singular, as shown in examples (54) and (55) (see also chapter 7).

Mass nouns, e.g. *āp* 'water', *šīr* 'milk', *tājag* 'fresh milk', *dōg* 'fermented milk', *rōgin* 'oil', *zarr* 'money', *asal* 'honey', *(h)ōn* 'blood', *nān* 'food', *gōšt* 'meat', *atukk* 'soup', *birinǰ* 'rice (grains)', *ǰaw* 'barley', *galla* 'wheat', etc., are used either in the singular or in the plural. Mass nouns are pluralized to express the meaning of a definite inseparable quantity, i.e. mass nouns are in the plural when they are used as count nouns "to refer to a *bounded quantity* of the substance concept" (Payne 1999: 41):

(56)   *ē*   *čammag-ay yaxx-ēn*   *u* *pāk-ēn*   *āp-ān-ā-a*
     DEM spring-GEN cold-ATTR and pure-ATTR water-PL-OBJ-IMPF
     war-ant.
     eat.PRES-3PL
     'They drink the cold and pure water of this spring.'

(57)   *kučakk asal-ān-ā-a*   *gind-īt*   *u* *lagg-īt*   *bi*
     dog   honey-PL-OBJ-IMPF see.PRES-3SG and begin.PRES-3SG to
     čaṭṭit-in-ā.
     lick.PAST-INF-OBL
     'The dog sees the honey and begins to lick (it).'

(58)   *iškārī-a*   *gind-īt*   *ki* *kučakk-ay sar* *u* *dap*   *gō*
     hunter-IMPF see.PRES-3SG SUB dog-GEN   head and mouth with
     ōn-ān   *int.*
     blood-PL COP.3SG
     'The hunter sees that the dog's head and mouth is (covered) with
     blood.'

(59)   *galla-ān-ā*   *mōrink u*   *mušk* *u*   *murg-a*   *war-ant.*
     wheat-PL-OBJ ant   and mouse and bird-IMPF eat.PRES-3PL
     'Ants, mice and birds will eat the wheat.'

Mass nouns are used in the singular to convey the generic meaning or a definite amount. In (60) the noun *nān* 'bread, food' has the meaning of a definite amount, while in (61) the same noun is employed with generic meaning:

(60)   *ā-ī*   *ǰinēn nān-ā-a*   *pač-īt.*
     DEM-GEN wife   bread-OBJ-IMPF bake.PRES-3SG
     'His wife bakes the loaf of bread.'

(61)   *man nān*   *pakkit-a-un.*
     I   bread bake.PAST-PP-1SG
     'I have prepared food.'

Other examples of the use of mass nouns in the singular with the meaning of a definite amount:

(62)   *ta*   *gō kamm-ē galla-ā*   *u* *yakk tašt-ē*   *āp-ā*
     you.SG with little-IND wheat-OBL and one basin-IND water-OBL
     bālā   *bay*   *bi gis-ay*   *sarā.*
     upwards be.PRES to house-GEN on
     'Go up to the roof of the house with a little bit of wheat and a basin
     of water.'

(63) *mās-ī*   *p-ēš-ī*   *diga atukk-ā-a*
mother-ENC.3SG for-DEM-GEN other soup-OBJ-IMPF

k-ār-īt.
IMPF$_k$-bring.PRES-3SG

'His mother brings for him another (portion of) soup.'

Group plurality of humans can be expressed with the word *kadag*, which is never used independently.[5] The primary stress falls on the last syllable of the preceding noun, and the secondary stress falls on the last syllable of the word *kadag*, e.g. *xizmatˈkār-kaˌdag* 'servants':

(64) *pādišā-ay xizmatkār-kadag pādišā-ay ukm-ā*   *biĵā*
king-GEN servant-GR   king-GEN order-OBJ fulfilled

kurt-ant.
do.PAST-3PL

'The king's servants fulfilled the order of the king.'

(65) *yakk rōč-ē*   *tālibilm-kadag wat-ī*   *nān-u-xarĵī-ā*
one   day-IND student-GR.PL REFL-GEN bread-and-supply-OBJ

alās   *kurt-ant.*
finish do.PRES-3PL

'One day the students finished their food and supplies.'

3.3.3 Case

Windfuhr (1992: 25), in defining the term "case", distinguishes between three linguistic levels: semantic, syntactic and flectional ("morphological" means). Morphologically the case category can be expressed with the help of affixes. Case can also be marked analytically, i.e. with the help of prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions, or simply be indicated by word order. The case system of BT can, by analytical means, refer to a wide range of spatial semantics (temporal and local), which is done with the help of various prepositions, postpositions and all their possible combinations. According to Payne (1999: 100),

> "[c]ase marking is the morphosyntactic categorization of noun phrases that is imposed by the structure within which the noun phrase occurs. Adpositions are free of such configurational constraints".

Analytical formations are not regarded as belonging to the case system in the present work.

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[5]The historical meaning of the word *kadag* is 'settlement, village'.

Formation of cases

The Balochi case system of the three major dialect groups (western Balochi, southern Balochi, and eastern Balochi) has from a historical point of view been described by Korn (2005).[6] The case system in Iranian Balochi is treated by Jahani (2003), who describes the restructuring of the Balochi case system taking place in the Balochi dialects spoken in Iran.

This section deals with the BT case system in synchronic perspective. The two descriptions of the Balochi case system which are relevant for the purpose of the section, are that of Sokolov (1956) and the description of the Balochi case system of Afghanistan by Buddruss (1989).

Sokolov (1956: 63) claims the noun declension paradigm in BT to be universal [7] [i.e. common for all types of nouns - S.A.] and distinguishes between the following cases: nominative: *brās, brās*;[8] prepositional: *brāsā, brāsān*; objective: *brāsā, brāsānā*; genitive: *brāsay, brāsānī*. Buddruss (1989: 45) choses the following scheme of case endings: nominative (rectus): (–, –); oblique I: *-ā, -ān*; dative, accusative - *-ā, -ānā*; genitive: *-ay (-ī), -ānī*; oblique II: *-ayā (-īā), *-ānīā*; vocative: –, *-ān*.

Both paradigms exhibit the same case marker for two cases in the singular, i.e. objective and prepositional of Sokolov: *brāsā*, and oblique I and dative–accusative of Buddruss: *-ā*, on the one hand, and two different case markers for these cases in the plural, on the other hand. At the same time, in both paradigms there are two different case markers for the genitive singular: *-ay* and *-ī*, but only one for the genitive plural: *-ānī*.

First, the question is, is the singular ending *-ā* a unique ending for both cases (objective and prepositional of Sokolov; oblique I and dative-accusative of Buddruss), or there are two different homophonous endings? The following examples demonstrate the formation of the singular prepositional (oblique I) case from common nouns (66), proper nouns (67), pronouns (68), and the plural prepositional (oblique I) case of common nouns (69):

(66)   *tī*   *ǰinēn gō uštur-ā   āt-ī.*
       your.SG.GEN wife with camel-OBL come.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
       'Your wife came with the camel.'

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[6]Korn (2005) holds a different view on the diachronic development of the Balochi case system than the one presented in this work.

[7]Sokolov (1956: 63) also notes that the genitive singular can, especially in proper nouns, have the ending *-ī*.

[8]The first word in sequences is singular, the second is plural. The same is true for the following paradigm in this passage.

(67) *ēš um prēnt wat-ī kār-ā u rādag*
   DEM also throw.PAST.3SG REFL-GEN work-OBJ and en route
   būt   gō xānbādurr.
   be.PAST.3SG with PN
   'He also left his job and went with Xanbadurr.'

(68) *gō man yakk ǰang u γalγal-ē b-kan.*
   with I one war and noise-IND SUBJ-do.PRES
   'Make a quarrel with me.'

(69) *nasrō gō mardum-ān iččī na-gušt.*
   PN with man-PL nothing NEG-say.PAST.3SG
   'Nasro did not tell the people anything.'

By analogy with the plural form, which exhibits the pure plural oblique stem and serves as an initial stem for formation of other non-direct cases, the singular forms can be classified as the singular oblique stem. Thus, the singular oblique stem of common nouns has the ending *-ā*, and that of proper nouns and pronouns has the zero ending, i.e. is equal to the direct stem.[9] Consequently, it is possible to abandon the previous terms (prepositional or oblique I) and classify the case itself as the oblique case.

The plural ending of the case called objective by Sokolov and dative-accusative by Buddruss, is *-ā* which is attached to the plural oblique stem, example (70). Proper nouns and pronouns behave similarly in the singular, i.e. they also attach the ending *-ā*, as shown in (71) and (72).

(70) *ā wat-ī zāg-ān-ā bāz-ēn zarr-u-tilā-ē*
   DEM REFL-GEN son-PL-OBJ many-ATTR money-and-gold-IND
   dāt.
   give.PAST.3SG
   'He gave a lot of money to his sons.'

(71) *ē sangaw-ā xōškabān-ā dāt-ant.*
   DEM bracelet-OBJ PN-OBJ give.PAST-3PL
   'They gave this bracelet to Khoshkaban.'

(72) *mnā āp-u-nān-ā dāt.*
   I.OBJ water-and-bread-OBJ give.PAST.3SG
   'He gave me food.'

---

[9]Proper nouns and pronouns are definite by their nature. The declension of proper nouns is similar to the declension of personal and demonstrative pronouns. The only difference between the declension of proper nouns and personal pronouns on the one hand, and the declension of demonstrative pronouns on the other hand, is the oblique case, where proper nouns and personal pronouns have zero ending and demonstrative pronouns have the ending *-ī*. Thus, the form of the oblique case of demonstrative pronouns coincides with their genitive form. See also Jahani (2003: 116).

But what happens with the singular of common nouns *sangaw* and *āp-u-nān* in (71) and (72)? Do they use the same form for the objective (dative-accusative) case as for the oblique case? It seems to be more reasonable to assume that common nouns in the singular also attach the ending *-ā*, which merges with the oblique ending into one sound *-ā*, i.e. *-ā* + *-ā* → *-ā*. Hence the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The oblique case and the objective case both in the singular and plural use different endings.
2. The ending of the objective case both in the singular and plural is *-ā*.
3. The objective case in the singular is built from the singular oblique stem, and the objective case in the plural is built from the plural oblique stem with the help of the objective case ending *-ā*.

The second problem is the two endings of the genitive singular, i.e. *-ay* and *-ī*. The following examples show that the ending of the singular genitive of proper nouns (73) and pronouns (74), as well as the ending of the plural genitive of common nouns (75) is *-ī*:

(73) *šut   pa xōškabān-ī dīdan-ā.*
     go.PAST.3SG for PN-GEN   meeting-OBL
     'She went to meet Khoshkaban.'

(74) *mnī   pučč-ān-ā   by-ār.*
     I.GEN clothes-PL-OBJ SUBJ-bring.PRES
     'Bring my clothes.'

(75) *duzz-ān-ī   mazan āt.*
     thief-PL-GEN chief   come.PAST.3SG
     'The chief of thieves came.'

It was noted on p. 46 that the sequence *-ay* regularly appears as a result of a fusion of two long vowels: the stressed *ā* and the unstressed *ī*. Thus, there is no doubt that the singular ending *-ay* of common nouns could result from a fusion of the final stressed *-ā* of the singular oblique stem and the unstressed ending of the genitive case *-ī*, i.e. the genitive singular *ammām-ay* in (76) results from *ammāmā* + *-ī*.

(76) *ammām-ay   yakk dīwāl-ē   čappī   būt.*
     bath-house-GEN one   wall-IND wrecked be.PAST.3SG
     'One wall of the bath-house collapsed.'

Hence it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

1. There two noun stems in BT: direct and oblique.

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2. The ending of the genitive case in both the singular and plural is *-ī*.
3. The genitive case in the singular is constructed from the singular oblique stem, and the genitive case in the plural is constructed from the plural oblique stem with the help of the genitive case ending *-ī*.

Thus, there are only two case building formants in BT: the genitive ending *-ī*[10], and the objective ending *-ā*, which are added to either the singular or the plural oblique stem of a noun. The noun stems in BT are presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: *Noun stems*

Stem	Singular	Plural
Direct	*gis, brās, Māmmad*	*gis, brās*
Oblique	*gis-ā, brās-ā, Māmmad*	*gis-ān, brās-ān*

The direct singular stem is used in the singular and plural of the direct case and in the singular of the vocative case. The oblique singular stem is used in all non-direct cases except vocative in the singular. The oblique plural stem is used in all non-direct cases in the plural.

The final case system of BT is shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: *Case system*

	Singular	Plural	Case endings
Direct	*gis, brās, Māmmad*	*gis, brās*	*-Ø*
Oblique	*gisā, brāsā, Māmmad*	*gisān, brāsān*	*-ā/-ān*
Genitive	*gisay, brāsay, Māmmadī*	*gisānī, brāsānī*	*-ī*
Objective	*gisā, brāsā, Māmmadā*	*gisānā, brāsānā*	*-ā*
Locative	*brāsayā, Māmmadīā*	*brāsānīā*	*-ī + -ā*
Vocative	*gis, brās, Māmmad*	*gisān, brāsān*	*-Ø/-ān*

Direct object marking

As noted by different authors (cf. e.g. Bossong 1985: 52–55 and Jahani 2003: 114), the Balochi case system can be characterized by differential object marking (DOM), which means that the direct object in a clause can be marked in different ways under different circumstances.

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[10]The ending *-ī* also functions as the enclitic pronoun of the 3SG (see p. 107).

Bossong (1985: 4) notes:

> "Vor jedem Eingehen auf die Faktoren, welche DOM im einzelnen deter-
> minieren, muß zunächst die fundamentale Tatsache hervorgehoben werden,
> daß die Kasus-Rolle des sogenannten direkten Objekts für semantische Dif-
> ferenzierungen besonders privilegiert ist".

In BT the main criteria for marking a direct object (patient) are the cat-
egories of definiteness, genericness, specificity, number and whether the
patient is a common noun or a proper noun. Proper nouns used as direct
objects are always marked with the ending of the objective case -*ā*:

(77)   *am-ā   waxt-ā   ta   gulšād-ā dīst-ag-a*
      EMPH-DEM time-OBJ you.SG PN-OBJ see.PAST-PP-IMPF
      kan-ay.
      do.PRES-2SG
      'At that very time you will be able to see Gulshad.'

Common nouns used as direct objects are marked with the help of the fol-
lowing endings:

- the objective case ending -*ā* which marks definite singular and plural
  nouns:

    (78)   *šā abbās gis-ay   wāund-ā   gušt-ī.*
          PN   house-GEN owner-OBJ say.PAST-ENC.3SG
          'Shah Abbas said to the house owner.'

    (79)   *akk-u-akkdād-ā   wat-ī-ā-a*
          wages-and-salary-OBJ REFL-GEN-OBJ-IMPF
          k-ār-īn   gis-ā.
          IMPF$_k$-bring.PRES-1SG house-OBJ
          'I am bringing my wages home.'

    (80)   *wat-ī   waxt-ā   pa šādī-a   gwāzēn-īn.*
          REFL-GEN time-OBJ for joy-IMPF spend.PRES-1SG
          'I am spending my time in joy.'

    (81)   *wat-ī   čamm-ān-ā muṭṭ   kan!*
          REFL-GEN eye-PL-OBJ closed tightly SUBJ.do.PRES
          'Close your eyes tight!'

- the zero marker which marks generic nouns:

(82) *man kawšdōčī-a   kan-īn   u wat-ī   rōč-a*
I   shoemaking-IMPF do.PRES-1SG and REFL-GEN day-IMPF
gind-īn.
see.PRES-1SG

'I am a shoemaker and earn my livelihood from this (lit. I am doing shoemaking and seeing my days).'

(83) *ar   rōč gōšt u   nīwag u   digar čīz-a*
every day meat and fruit   and other thing-IMPF
k-āwurt-ī.
IMPF$_k$-bring.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG

'Every day she brought meat and fruits and other things.'

- the indefiniteness marker *-ē* which marks indefinite singular nouns:

(84) *pa gulšād bālāxānaī-ēn   γasr-ē   jōṛ kurt.*
for PN   mezzanine-ATTR palace-IND built do.PAST.3SG

'He built a palace with a mezzanine for Gulshad.'

(85) *pādišā ārōs-ē   mazan-ēn kurt.*
king   wedding-IND big-ATTR do.PAST.3SG

'The king held a big wedding.'

- the combination of suffixes *-ē* + *rā* (usually used with the numeral *yakk* 'one' preceding the noun) which marks specific singular nouns:

(86) *wat-ī   yakk amrā-ē-rā   dēm-ī   dāt.*
REFL-GEN one   friend-IND-OBJ face-ENC.3SG give.PAST.3SG

'He sent one of his friends.'

(87) *yakk zāg-ē-rā   y-ēr   kurt-ag-a*
one   boy-IND-OBJ HI-down do.PAST-PP-IMPF
na-kan-it.
NEG-do.PRES-2PL

'You cannot take down a single boy (from the tree).'

The distinction count vs. mass nouns[11], seems to be irrelevant for direct object marking in BT. In the following examples the mass noun *āp* 'water' is used in the singular and in the plural as the direct object with different markers:

(88) *āyrā   nazzīk-ēn āp-ā   nišān-ī   dāt.*
DEM.OBJ near-ATTR water-OBJ sign-ENC.3SG give.PAST.3SG

'He showed him the nearby water.'

---

[11]The same is true for the lack of distinction animate vs. inanimate nouns for direct object marking.

(89) *kārīgar-ān-ā āp   b-day!*
bull-PL-OBJ water SUBJ-give.PRES
'Water the bulls! (lit. 'Give water to the bulls!')'

(90) *man wat-ī   zāg-ā nān u āp-ē*
I   REFL-GEN son-OBJ bread and water-IND
b-da-īn.
SUBJ-give.PRES-1SG
'Let me give food to my son.'

(91) *mōlid   āp-ān-ā   wat-ī wāǰa-ay dast-ān-ī*
maidservant water-PL-OBJ REFL-GEN master-GEN hand-PL-GEN
sarā rēt.
upon pour.PAST.3SG
'The maidservant poured the water on her master's hands.'

Indirect object marking

The indirect object in BT can be marked either with the objective case end-
ing *-ā* or with the preposition *bi* 'to'. The objective case ending *-ā* marks a
definite indirect object in both the singular and plural (see also examples
(119) and (120), p. 80):

(92) *kawšdōč-ā   bāz-ēn   zarr-ē   dāt-ant.*
shoemaker-OBJ many-ATTR money-IND give.PAST-3PL
'They gave a lot of money to the shoemaker.'

(93) *am-ā   čīz-ān-ā   tī   piss mnī piss-ā*
EMPH-DEM thing-PL-OBJ you.SG.GEN father I.GEN father-OBJ
na-dāt.
NEG-give.PAST.3SG
'Your father did not give those things to my father.'

A specific indirect object, as has already been said (see p. 64), is marked with
the combination of suffixes *-ē + –rā*.[12]

After the preposition *bi* a definite noun both in the singular and in the plural
is used in the oblique case, examples (94) and (95):

(94) *ukm-ā bi nōkar-ān-ī   dast-ā dāt-ī.*
order-OBJ to servant-PL-GEN hand-OBL give.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
'He gave an order to the servants (lit. 'to the servants' hand').'

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[12]There is only one example of a specific indirect object marked with the combination of suf-
fixes *-ē + –rā* in the analysed material, see example (36).

(95) *ā   bi wat-ī   nōkar u   xizmatkār-ān gušt.*
DEM to REFL-GEN servant and servant-PL   say.PAST.3SG
'He said to his servants.'

An indefinite noun in the singular takes the indefiniteness marker *-ē*:

(96) *mnī   piss   mnā bi ganōk-ē dāt.*
I.GEN father I.OBJ to fool-IND give.PAST.3SG
'My father gave (i.e. 'married') me to a fool.'

No indefinite nouns in the plural or generic nouns used as the indirect object after the preposition *bi* have been found in the analysed material.

Syntactic functions of case forms

Direct case

The semantic role of agent is grammaticalized in BT as the morphological direct case. There is no opposition of singular and plural in the direct case. The direct case is used for:

1. A definite singular or plural subject:

    (97) *iškārī   šēr-ā   dīst.*
    hunter lion-OBJ see.PAST.3SG
    'The hunter saw a lion.'

    (98) *zāg āyrā   zarr-a   dāt-ant.*
    boy DEM.OBJ money-IMPF give.PAST-3PL
    'The boys were giving him money.'

2. An indefinite plural subject:

    (99) *bi rāh-ay   sarā mardum-a raw-ant.*
    to road-GEN on   man-IMPF go.PRES-3PL
    'People are going on the road.'

    (100) *piššik gis-ay   tay   mušk-ān-ā   gir-ant.*
    cat   house-GEN inside.GEN mouse-PL-OBJ take.PRES-3PL
    'Cats catch the mice which are in the house.'

    An indefinite singular subject always has the indefiniteness marker *-ē* with or without the preceding numeral *yakk* 'one':

    (101) *yakk šēr-ē   ša burzag-ā ɣurrag-a ǰat.*
    one   lion-IND from height-OBL growl-IMPF beat.PAST.3SG
    'A lion was growling from above.'

(102) *bi maydān-ā   kučakk-ē piššik-ē-rā gōn dāt.*
       on open area-OBL dog-IND cat-IND-OBJ chase give.PAST.3SG
       'A dog chased a cat on the (market) place.'

3. Generic and indefinite plural objects:[13]

(103) *pādišā mardum dēm-a   dant.*
       king   man   face-IMPF give.PRES.3SG
       'The king sends men.'

(104) *zāg ustāt   u   kamm-ē balg čit.*
       boy rise.PAST.3SG and few-ART leaf pluck.PAST.3SG
       'The boy stood up and plucked a few leaves.'

4. The vocative singular:

(105) *aw pīramard, ta   ganōk būt-ag-ay?*
       oh old man   you crazy become.PAST-PP-2SG
       'You old man, have you gone crazy?'

(106) *ay   bačakk, by-ā   idā!*
       hey boy,   SUBJ-come.PRES.2SG here
       'Hey boy, come here!'

5. as the nominal part of compound verbs:

(107) *tāǰir   arkatt   kurt.*
       merchant movement do.PAST.3SG
       'The merchant stood up.'

(108) *m-nind   u   gōš b-kašš.*
       SUBJ-sit.PRES and ear SUBJ-drag.PRES
       'Sit down and listen'.

Oblique case

The oblique case is used in prepositional phrases with a definite head noun,
as shown in the following examples:

(109) *mōlid   gō y-ē   warnā-ā abar dāt.*
       maidservant with HI-DEM youth-OBL word give.PAST.3SG
       'The maidservant talked to this youth.'

(110) *sarbar-ay um yakk assag-ē   ša   atukk-ān-a*
       top-GEN also one spoon-IND from soup-OBL-IMPF
       zūr-īt   u   glumm-īt.
       take.PRES-3SG and sip.PRES-3SG
       'He takes a spoonful from the top of the soup and sips.'

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[13]For indefinite singular direct object see the section 3.3.3, p. 73.

Genitive case

The genitive ending of common nouns in the singular in BT is grammaticalized as the ending *-ay*. The genitive case is used:

1. As a genitive attribute preposed to a noun:

   (111) *gis-ay   wāund mēmān-ay abar-ā   uškit.*
   house-GEN owner guest-GEN word-OBJ hear.PAST.3SG
   'The owner of the house heard the words of the guest.'

   (112) *dukkān-ān-ī čīz-ān-ī   bahā-ā   γīmmat kurt.*
   shop-PL-GEN thing-PL-GEN price-OBJ expensive do.PAST.3SG
   'He raised the prices of the goods in the shop.'

2. As a predicative genitive:

   (113) *guḍān wārī pučdōč-ay būt.*
   then   turn tailor-GEN be.PAST.3SG
   'Then it was the tailor's turn.'

   (114) *ar   du asp tī   zāg-ay   ant.*
   every two horse you.SG.GEN son-GEN COP.PRES.3PL
   'Both horses belong to your son.'

3. Before postpositions:

   (115) *man ša   ḍigār-ay čērā   y-ē   māī-ān-ā   gipt-un.*
   I   from earth-GEN under HI-DEM fish-PL-OBJ take.PAST-1SG
   'I took these fish from under the earth.'

   (116) *ǰinikkō aḍḍ-ān-ā-a   zūr-īt   u kučakk-ay*
   girl   bone-PL-OBJ-IMPF take.PRES-3SG and dog-GEN
   dēm-ā-a   prēn-īt.
   before-IMPF throw.PRES-3SG
   'The girl takes the bones and throws them in front of the dog.'

Objective case

The objective case is used for:

1. A definite singular or plural direct object:

   (117) *šā abbās gis-ay   dabgir-ā ṭappit-ī.*
   NP   house-GEN door-OBJ knock.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
   'Shah Abbas knocked on the door of the house.'

(118) ǰam   b-kan   wat-ī   swār-ān-ā.
      whole SUBJ-do.PRES REFL-GEN rider-PL-OBJ
      'Gather your riders.'

2. A definite singular or plural indirect object:

(119) tāǰir   y-ēširā   abdullāxān-ā gušt.
      merchant HI-DEM.OBJ NP-OBJ   say.PAST.3SG
      'The merchant said this to Abdullakhan.'

(120) ǰinēn-ī   wat-ī   amsāig-ān-ā   gušt.
      wife-ENC.3SG REFL-GEN neighbour-PL-OBJ say.PAST.3SG
      'His wife told her neighbours.'

3. Adverbial modifiers:

(121) am-ā   rōč-ā   šm-ay   gis-ā   um šut-un.
      EMPH-DEM day-OBJ your-GEN house-OBJ also go.PAST-1SG
      'That very day I also went to your house.'

(122) tāǰir-ē   wat-ī   uštur u ar-ān-ā
      merchant-IND REFL-GEN camel and donkey-PL-OBJ
      bār-a   laḍḍ-īt.
      goods-IMPF load.PRES-3SG
      'A merchant loads goods onto his camels and donkeys.'

Locative case

The genitive ending *-ī* can take the objective ending *-ā*, building the following forms: *gisayā*, *Māmmadīā* and *gisānīā*. Buddruss (1989: 48) identifies these forms as the "Obliquus II" case. This case formation will be referred to as the "locative" case here. In the analyzed material the locative case is used:

1. With or without prepositions on both animate and inanimate nouns to indicate location or direction:

(123) pādišā-ay zāg āyrā   zīt   u wat-ī
      king-GEN son DEM.OBJ buy.PAST.3SG and REFL-GEN
      brās-ān-ī-ā   āt.
      brother-PL-GEN-OBJ come.PAST.3SG
      'The king's son bought it and came to his brothers' place.'

(124) dukkāndār wat-ī   dukkān-ayā āt.
      shopkeeper REFL-GEN shop-LOC   come.PAST.3SG
      'The shopkeeper came to his shop.'

(125)   *zūt-ē*   *bi warnā-ayā-a*   *k-ayt.*
        quickly-IND to youth-LOC-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PRES.3SG
        'Quickly she comes to the place where the young man is.'

2. After the prepositions *čō, mānand-i* 'like' in equative constructions:

(126)   *tī*   *mard*   *čō mnī* *mard-ayā*   *čīz-ē*
        you.SG.GEN husband like I.GEN husband-LOC thing-IND
        na-dārīt.
        NEG-have.PRES-3SG
        'Your husband, like my husband, does not have anything.'

(127)   *mēmān čō–m-ē*   *spēt-ēn*   *pākīzag-ēn tās-ayā*
        guest   like-EMPH-DEM white-ATTR clean-ATTR basin-LOC
        pākīzag int.
        clean   COP.PRES.3SG
        'A guest is clean like this very white clean basin.'

(128)   *āp*   *mānand-i ḍigār-ayā sakk int.*
        water like-IZ   earth-LOC hard COP.PRES.3SG
        'The water is hard like earth.'

However, the prepositions *mānand-i* 'like' and *čō* 'like' can sometimes be followed by a noun in the oblique case:

(129)   *ǰamāl-ī*   *mānand-i māh u rōč-ā*   *int.*
        beauty-ENC.3SG like-IZ   moon and sun-OBL COP.PRES.3SG
        'Her beauty is like (the beauty of) the moon and sun.'

(130)   *pa mēmān-ā xizmatt kurt-in*   *čō asal-ā*   *wašš*
        for guest-OBL service   do.PAST-INF like honey-OBL sweet
        int.
        COP.PRES.3SG
        'To serve a guest is sweet like honey.'

(131)   *y-ē*   *ǰinēnzāg čō mnī ǰind-ay ǰinikk-ā*
        HI-DEM woman   like I.GEN self-GEN daughter-OBL
        int.
        COP.PRES.3SG
        'This woman is like my own daughter.'

3. After the preposition *bē* 'without':

(132)   *bē*   *kišmiš-ayā palaw-a*   *na-bīt.*
        without raisins-LOC pilaw-IMPF NEG-be.PRES.3SG
        'There will not be any pilaw without raisins.'

(133) *man watī   waxt-ā   bē   tī-ā   čōn*
      I   REFL-GEN time-OBJ without you.SG.GEN-OBJ how
      b-gwāzēn-īn?
      SUBJ-spend.CAUS.PRES-1SG
      'How shall I spend my time without you?'

The locative case in BT has adverbial semantics and is described as an adverbial modifier in the section 5.2, p. 99.

Contracted forms

The forms of the genitive case in the singular with the ending *-ay* formally coincide with the oblique singular plus the enclitic pronoun of the 3SG:

(134) *ša   sar-ay   yakk mūd-ē bi āp-ay   tā*
      from head-OBL.ENC.3SG one hair-IND to water-GEN inside.OBL
      kapt-ī.
      fall.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
      'From her head one hair fell into the water.'

(135) *āyrā   rasēnt   u   ša   kōpag-ay*
      DEM.OBJ reach.CAUS.PAST.3SG and from shoulder-OBL.ENC.3SG
      gipt   u   gušt.
      take.PAST.3SG and say.PAST.3SG
      'He reached him, took him by his shoulder and said.'

(136) *ammā bi dast-ay   iččī   na-gipt.*
      but   in hand-OBL.ENC.3SG nothing NEG-take.PAST.3SG
      'But he did not take anything in his hand.'

The ending *-ay* in the forms *ša saray* 'from his/her head', *ša kōpagay* 'by his/her shoulder' and *bi dastay* 'in his/her hand' consists of the *-ā* of the oblique case before the enclitic pronoun. The oblique case is used here after prepositions.

The ending *-ay* occurs also as a result of contraction of the objective singular ending *-ā* plus the enclitic pronoun of the 3SG:

(137) *dēm-ay   šušt.*
      face-OBJ.ENC.3SG wash.PAST.3SG
      'He washed it on the inside (lit. 'its front').'

The enclitic pronoun of the 3SG, being attached to the plural objective form of a noun, eliminates the objective ending *-ā*. The ending *-ānī* thus can also

mark a direct object in the plural, as shown in examples (138), (139) and (140):

(138) *uškummag u   rōtink-ān-ī   kašš-ant   u   dar-a*
       stomach   and gut-PL-ENC.3SG pull.PRES-3PL and PREV-IMPF
       kan-ant.
       do.PRES-3PL
       'They take out its stomach and guts.'

(139) *har   du pālunk-ān-ī   dūr-a   kan-ant.*
       every two rib-PL-ENC.3SG away-IMPF do.PRES-3PL
       'They remove both its ribs.'

(140) *āyrā   gōš na-kaššit-ant   u   dast u   pād-ān-ī*
       DEM.OBJ ear NEG-pull.PAST-3PL and hand and foot-PL-ENC.3SG
       bast-ant.
       tie.PAST-3PL
       'They did not listen to him and tied his hands and feet.'

The forms *rōtink-ān-ī, pālunk-ān-ī* and *pād-ān-ī* thus result from **rōtink-ān-ā-ī, *pālunk-ān-ā-ī* and **pād-ān-ā-ī.*

4. Adjectives

4.1 Introduction

Payne (1999: 63) defines adjectives as specifying some property of the head noun of the noun phrase. Payne also notes that "there is no semantically definable class of concepts that universally falls into a category that we would want to call adjectives; rather, adjectives stand somewhere between nouns and verbs, lexicalizing properties or characteristics that are indeterminate or variable in terms of time stability". Nevertheless, adjectives are quite different not only from nouns and verbs, but also from adverbs. Bhat (1994: 18–19) provides several semantic, functional and morphosyntactic characteristics of adjectives which make it possible to differentiate them from nouns, verbs and adverbs. In referring to the differences between adjectives and nouns, he notes (1994: 23):

> "Adjectives are different from nouns mainly due to the fact that their primary function of modification requires a concept which is rather different from the one that is required for the function of nouns, namely participant-identification. Adjectives have to denote a single, specific property with the help of which the reference of their head noun can be restricted or suitably modified, whereas nouns have to provide a name or a tag with the help of which a given object can be identified, and also differentiated from other objects."

As for the differentiation from verbs, Bhat (1994: 43) points out, that "in their primary function of modification, adjectives get subordinated to nouns ...; verbs, on the other hand, retain their independence as the nuclei of sentences, with nouns, which occur as their arguments".

Adjectives are similar to adverbs in having the same kind of function, namely that of modifying the reference (or meaning) of another lexical item. However, according to Bhat (1994: 67), the two are also different from one another because of the fact that they modify lexical items belonging to two rather distinct categories. Adjectives modify nouns which prototypically denote visible or tangible objects, whereas adverbs modify verbs which prototypically denote transient events or actions.

In spite of a number of similar semantic and morphological features, which BT adjectives share with adverbs, numerals and especially nouns, adjectives in BT constitute a separate morphological category.

4.2 Semantic and morphological features of adjectives in BT

According to Payne (1999: 63), if a language has a morphosyntactically distinct class of adjectives, these adjectives will express at least the following properties: age, dimension, value and colour. Adjectives in BT can, e.g., express, the following properties:

- age: *warnā* 'young', *pīr* 'old', etc.;
- colour: *sōr* 'red', *spēt* 'white', *syā(h)* 'black', *zard* 'yellow', *sabz* 'green', etc.;
- dimension: *ṭū* 'big', *gwaṇḍ* 'small', *drāǰ* 'long', *paṭakk* 'short', *zaṇḍ* 'thick', *lāɣar* 'thin', etc.;
- value: *gandag* 'bad', *zabr* 'good', etc.;
- taste: *wašš* 'sweet', *tāl* 'bitter', *šōr* 'salty', *trušp* 'sour', etc.;
- physical characteristics: *grān* 'heavy', *subukk* 'light', etc.;
- human propensity: *aklī* 'clever', *bēakl* 'foolish', etc.

As in NP, any adjective in BT can be used as a noun, if the meaning permits it (cf. Mace 2003: 47). Compare these two sentences following one after another in a story:

(141) *yakk bēadab-ēn zāg-ē   bāzār-ay   tā   yakk ɣarīb-ēn*
      one   rude-ATTR boy-IND market-GEN inside one   poor-ATTR
      mardum-ay kōṭ-ā   ša   padā   kōnag-ēn puččukk-ē
      man-GEN   coat-OBJ from behind old-ATTR rag-IND
      bast.
      bind.PAST.3SG
      'A rude boy tied an old rag from behind onto the coat of a poor man in the market.'

(142) *y-ē   ɣarīb   y-ē   bēadabī-ā   dīst.*
      HI-DEM poor man HI-DEM rudeness-OBJ see.PAST.3SG
      'This poor man saw this rudeness.'

Adjectives in BT have two forms: the suffixed form which is built with the help of the attributive suffix *-ēn*,[1] and the unsuffixed form which represents

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[1] The suffixed attributive form of adjectives also exists in other Iranian languages, cf. e.g. Grünberg (1963: 37) and Rastorgueva (1971: 77).

the pure stem of an adjective. The syntactic usage of both forms is explained in section 4.3.

The attributive suffix *-ēn* is not an exclusive feature of adjectives, because it can be added to numerals: *dukēn* 'both',[2] adverbs: *zīēn* 'of yesterday', and non-finite verb forms which function as adjectives: *giptinīēn* 'which can be taken', *pruštagēn* 'broken'. Adjectives can never be used in their attributive function before a noun or in the elliptic construction without the attributive suffix *-ēn*.

There are two morphological features which in BT differentiate adjectives from other morphological categories. First, adjectives preposed to a noun are undeclinable:

(143) *marōčī-ēn   čīz-ā   dār-īn,   bānd-ay   pikr-ā*
      today-ATTR thing-OBJ have.PRES-1SG morrow-GEN thought-OBJ
      γussa-a   na-war-īn.
      worry-IMPF NEG-eat.PRES-1SG
      'I have the needs for today and do not worry about tomorrow's trouble.'

(144) *rašīd-ēn   ǰinēnzāg-ā bi ḍigār-ā   y-ēr   kurt.*
      slender-ATTR woman-OBJ to ground-OBL HI-down do.PAST.3SG
      'He put down the slender woman (from the camel).'

However, adjectives are declined if they are used either as nouns (145), (146) or postposed (for emphatic purposes) to the noun they modify (147), (148):

(145) *wat-ī   rāst-ēn-ā   b-guš-it.*
      REFL-GEN true-ATTR-OBJ SUBJ-tell.PRES-2PL
      'Tell the truth.'

(146) *gis dāt   ṭū-ēn-ā   ṭū-ēn-ayā.*
      house give.PAST.3SG big-ATTR-OBJ big-ATTR-LOC
      'He married the elder (brother) to the elder (sister).'

(147) *nādiršā ki tāǰir-ay   ǰawāb-ā   mardī-ēn-ā*
      PN   SUB merchant-GEN answer-OBJ manly-ATTR-OBJ
      uškit,   ā-ī   māl-u-dunyā-ā   padā
      hear.PAST.3SG DEM-GEN property-and-world-OBJ back
      dāt.
      give.PAST.3SG
      'When Nadir Shah heard the brave answer of the merchant, he gave back his property.'

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[2]Being used with the attributive suffix, numerals (p. 131) before a noun express a number of definite objects.

(148) *yakk rōč-i   digar mīrzā zakkī gunākārī-ē mazan-ēn-ā-a*
one   day-IZ other PN   sin-IND   big-ATTR-OBJ-IMPF
kan-t.
do.PRES-3SG
'Another day Mirza Zakki commits another big sin.'

Example (148) illustrates the absence of parallelism in case marking of the adjective and the preceding noun. An adjective becomes definite by attaching the attributive suffix *-ēn* (as modifying only one definite quality of an otherwise indefinite noun) and is thus always declined as a definite noun.

The second distinctive morphological feature of adjectives in BT is the ability of adjectives to take the suffix *-tir* in order to build the comparative degree.

4.2.1   Intensity and degrees of comparison

Qualitative intensity of an adjective can be expressed:

1. by reduplication of an adjective. The reduplicated adjectives can either follow each other directly or be connected by means of the conjunction *u* 'and'. The attributive suffix is attached to the last adjective in this combination:

   (149) *sōr-sōr-ēn   pučč-u-pōš-ē   gwar-ā   dāšt.*
   red-red-ATTR clothes-and-cover-IND breast-OBJ have.PAST.3SG
   'She wore very red clothes (or: She was dressed all in red).'

   (150) *am-ē   gwanḍ-u-gwanḍ-ēn zāg int-ī.*
   EMPH-DEM little-and-little-ATTR son COP.PRES.3SG-ENC.3SG
   'This is his very little son.'

2. by inserting the words *bāz* and *bēxī* 'very' before an adjective:

   (151) *mnī bār   bāz grān int.*
   I.GEN burden very heavy COP.PRES.3SG
   'My burden is very heavy.'

   (152) *ā   bēxī rašīd-ēn   ǰinēnzāg-ē at-ī.*
   DEM very slender-ATTR woman-IND COP.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
   'She was a very slender woman.'

Adjectives in BT have three degrees of comparison: positive, comparative and superlative. The positive degree indicates the quality of an object irrespective of the same quality of other objects: *zōrēn uštir* 'strong camel',

syāēn kučakk 'black dog'. It is also used in equative constructions indicating equal quality. Adjectives in equative constructions are shown in (153) and (154):

(153) *āp   mānand-i ḍigār-ayā   sakk int.*
      water like-IZ   earth-LOC hard COP.PRES.3SG
      'The water is as hard as the earth.'

(154) *man čō tī-ā   bēakl-ē na-w-un.*
      I   like you.SG.GEN-OBJ fool-IND NEG-HI-COP.PRES.1SG
      'I am not a fool like you.'

The suffix of the comparative degree *-tir* is added to the stem of an adjective. Sokolov (1956: 67, fn. 2) writes that the comparative degree in *-tir* is unproductive in BT. However, the analysed material contains numerous occurrences of this suffix, which makes it possible to conclude that the suffix *-tir* is active in BT as a suffix of the comparative degree. Two adjectives have special forms of the comparative degree: *kasān* 'little' - *kastir*, and *mazan* 'big' - *mastir*. Two other adjectives do not have the positive degree: *gētir* 'better' and *gēštir* 'more', or, in other words, the adjectives *zabr* 'good' and *bāz* 'numerous' have suppletive comparative forms *gētir* 'better' and *gēštir* 'more'.

When an adjective in the comparative degree functions as a noun modifier (p. 91) or is used in elliptic constructions, it takes the attributive suffix *-ēn*,[3] as in examples (157) and (158).

(155) *ḥar gu̯ǰām-ē ki ṭū-tir   būt,*
      every which-IND SUB big-CMP be.PAST.3SG,
      b-ill-ī   ki am-ā   tānā
      SUBJ-let.PRES-ENC.3SG SUB EMPH-DEM alone
      b-wārt   u sēr b-kan-t.
      SUBJ-eat.PRES.3SG and full SUBJ.PRES.3SG
      'Let the one who is bigger eat that alone and make himself satisfied.'

(156) *pas bāid ki ša say-sālag-ā   mas-tir*
      sheep necessary SUB from three-year old-OBL big-CMP
      ma-bīt.
      PROH-be.PRES.3SG
      'The sheep must not be older than three years.'

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[3]The attributive suffix *-ēn* used after the comparative suffix *-tir* should not be regarded as the superlative suffix by analogy with NP *-tarin*.

(157) p-ā-ī   ṭū-tir-ēn   liṭṭik-ē   ĵōṛ-a   kan-t.
       for-DEM-GEN big-CMP-ATTR tail-IND ready-IMPF do.PRES-3SG
       'He makes a bigger tail for him.'

The object of comparison can be preceded by the preposition *ša* 'from', as shown in examples (158 and 159):

(158) *bāwar b-kan   ki bi dunyā-ay tā   ša-mman um*
       belief SUBJ-do.PRES SUB in world-GEN inside from-I   also
       bēakl-tir-ēn   ast.
       stupid-CMP-ATTR FCOP.PRES.3SG
       'Believe me, there is a more stupid man than I in the world.'

(159) *ē   har   ša mnī piss-ā   am tunnag-tir būt-a.*
       DEM donkey from I.GEN father-OBL also thirsty-CMP be.PAST-PP
       'This donkey has become even more thirsty than my father.'

The suffix of comparative degree is occasionally omitted and the comparative degree is thus expressed syntactically:

(160) *man ša-tta   zōr   un.*
       I   from-you.SG strong COP.PRES.1SG
       'I am stronger than you.' (Sokolov 1956: 67)

There are no special morphological resources in BT for the superlative degree, which can be built analytically with the help of the preposition *ša* and the pronoun *mučč* 'all' in the plural oblique: *ša muččān* 'from all'. The proper adjective is used either in the positive or in the comparative degree:

(161) *aspswār-ay zām ša mučč-ān ṭū-tir   at.*
       rider-GEN   sword from all-PL   big-CMP COP.PAST.3SG
       'The sword of the rider was the biggest.'

(162) *mašmay   alk-ay   tā   ša mučč-ān dārindag-ēn*
       our.INCL.GEN village-GEN inside from all-PL   wealthy-ATTR
       mardum qalandarbā int.
       man   PN   COP.PRES.3SG
       'In our village, the wealthiest man is Qalandarbay.'

In BT the superlative degree can also be built with the help of the particle *ing* 'most' borrowed from Turkmen, which precedes an adjective in the positive degree. So example (162) can also be expressed as:

(163) *mašmay   alk-ay   tā   ing bā-ēn   mardum*
      we.INCL.GEN village-GEN inside most wealthy-ATTR man
      qalandarbā int.
      PN   COP.PRES.3SG

      'In our village, the wealthiest man is Qalandarbay.'

If the referent is definite, the superlative meaning can also be expressed
with the comparative suffix *-tir* plus the attributive suffix *-ēn*. In this case
the adjective is substantivised:

(164) *kastir-ēn   nān-ē   zurt.*
      younger-ATTR bread-IND take.PAST.3SG

      'The youngest took a piece of bread.'

(165) *tāǰir   bi swār-ān-ī   mastir-ēn-ā   gušt.*
      merchant to rider-PL-GEN senior-ATTR-OBJ tell.PAST.3SG

      'The merchant said to the senior of the riders.'

4.3   Syntactic functions of adjectives

Adjectives can perform the functions either of an attribute or of a predicate
in a sentence. An adjective in the attributive function can be connected to
the noun it modifies in the two following ways:

1. In the attributive form before or after a noun. More than one adjective
   can be used in this manner. The attributive suffix *-ēn* is attached either
   to each of the adjectives or to the last of them. It is usually added only
   to the last adjective in a series if the adjectives are connected with the
   conjunction *u* 'and':

   (166) *du nēmagī-ēn mazan-ēn ǰang-ē   binā-a*
         two sided-ATTR big-ATTR war-IND beginning-IMPF
         kan-ant.
         do.PRES-3PL

         'They begin a big two-front war.'

   (167) *pādišā yakk nawras-ēn zabr-ēn   sūrattī-ēn   ǰinikk-ē*
         king   one young-ATTR good-ATTR looking-ATTR girl-IND
         dāšt.
         have.PAST.3SG

         'The king had a young good-looking daughter.'

(168) *yakk zamān-ē ɣarīb-ēn bazgar-ē rašīd u*
       one time-IND poor-ATTR peasant-IND slender and

       warnā-ēn ǰinēn-ē dāšt.
       young-ATTR wife-IND have.PAST.3SG

       'Once upon a time a poor peasant had a slender and young wife.'

Attributive adjectives can be separated from the following noun only by a numeral:

(169) *am-ā   zī-ēn   du bandī-ān-ā*
       EMPH-DEM yesterday-ATTR two captive-PL-OBJ

       by-ār-it.
       SUBJ-bring.PRES-2PL

       'Bring those two prisoners taken yesterday.'

2. In the unsuffixed form (without the attributive suffix) following a noun and connected to it with the help of the *izafa*. As a rule, in BT the adjective *digar* is connected to the noun it modifies with the help of the *izafa*, example (170). The *izafa* construction is also used in combinations borrowed from NP, examples (171) and (172). The tense used in (172) is the historical present (p. 183).

(170) *man du rōč-i digar-ā rādag-a   ba-īn.*
       I   two day-IZ other-OBJ en route-IMPF be.PRES-1SG

       'I will depart in two days.'

(171) *sawdāgir ša bāzār-ā   yakk tūtī-i suxangō-y-ē*
       merchant from market-OBL one parrot-IZ talking-HI-IND

       zin-t.
       buy.PRES-3SG

       'The merchant buys a talking parrot at the market.'

(172) *dukkāndār-ay   ǰinēn pīrazāl-ā   pa izzat-i   tamām*
       shopkeeper-GEN wife old woman-OBJ for honour-IZ complete

       bi gis-ay   tā   nādēn-īt.
       in house-GEN inside place.CAUS.PRES-3SG

       'The wife of the shopkeeper seated the old woman in the house with great honour.'

Nouns in the genitive case can be used as modifiers:

(173) *wat-ī   čunt rōč-ay āp-u-nān-ā   zurt.*
       REFL-GEN several day-GEN water-and-bread-OBJ take.PAST.3SG

       'He took his food for several days.'

(174) *yakk rōč-ē   kōh-ay   pāčin-ē-rā   iškār kurt.*
       one   day-IND mountain-GEN ibex-IND-OBJ hunt do.PAST.3SG
       'Once he hunted a mountain ibex.'

An adjective in the predicative function is not declined and is used either with the attributive suffix or without it:

(175) *āp   mānand-i ḍigār-ayā   sakk int.*
       water like-IZ   earth-LOC hard COP.PRES.3SG
       'The water is as hard as the earth.'

(176) *tī   rang   marōčī bēxī xarāb int.*
       you.SG.GEN appearance today   very bad   COP.PRES.3SG
       'You look very bad today.'

(177) *du prušt-ag-ēn   at-ant.*
       two break.PAST-PP-ATTR COP.PAST-3PL
       'Two were broken.'

(178) *māl-ay   dil-ay   gōšukk   ṭū-ēn   at-ant.*
       sheep-GEN heart-GEN mitral valve big-ATTR COP.PAST-3PL
       'The mitral valves of the sheep's heart were big.'

5. Adverbs

5.1 Introduction

In BT there is no distinct boundary between adverbs and other nominal word classes, i.e. nouns and adjectives. Adjectives without the attributive suffix *-ēn* can be used in the adverbial function qualifying a verb if their semantics permits them to do so. Examples (179) and (180) demonstrate attributive and predicative usage as an adjective of the word *ǰwān* 'good', while in examples (181) and (182) the same word is used in the adverbial function.

(179) *ǰwān-ēn   gōšt-ē   kabāb kurt.*
      good-ATTR meat-IND roasted do.PAST.3SG
      'He roasted a good piece of meat.'

(180) *ā-ī   pučč-u-pōš   bāz ǰwān at.*
      DEM-GEN cloth-and-cover very good COP.PAST.3SG
      'Her clothes were very good.'

(181) *āyrā   bāz ǰwān dīst.*
      DEM.OBJ very good see.PAST.3SG
      'He liked him very much.'

(182) *ā   gušt-ī   bāz ǰwān int.*
      DEM say.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG very good COP.PRES.3SG
      'He said: very well.'

Nouns with the semantics of time used either in the objective case or with the indefiniteness marker *-ē* can also be used in an adverbial function:

(183) *rōč-ā   bi ǰangal-ay tā-a   gašt   u šap-ā*
      day-OBJ in forest-GEN inside-IMPF walk.PAST.3SG and night-OBJ
      ša   gurk u ǰanāwar-ān-ī truss-ā   bi draxt-ān-ī   sarā
      from wolf and beast-PL-GEN fear-OBL in tree-PL-GEN upon
      bālā-a   būt.
      upwards-IMPF be.PAST.3SG
      'By day he walked in the forest and by night he climbed the trees because of his fear of wolves and beasts.'

(184) *yakk rōč-ē   dīst-un   ki ša yakk gōk-ay   padā*
       one   day-IND see.PAST-1SG SUB from one   cow-GEN behind
       āmurg-ē kapt.
       egg-IND fall.PAST.3SG
       'I once saw an egg fall down from behind a cow.'

Nevertheless, in BT there is a group of words which are always used in an adverbial function and thus can be classified as adverbs. The morphological class of adverbs in BT can thus be subdivided into two groups: 1) proper adverbs; 2) inflectional forms of nominal word classes, i.e. nouns and adjectives used as adverbs.

5.2   Morphological and semantic groups of adverbs

Anderson (1985: 200) noted: "Since adverbs typically do not manifest agreement, they are even simpler in inflectional structure than adjectives". The only inflectional element of a limited group of proper adverbs (adverbs of place) in BT is the comparative suffix -*tir*.

The group of proper adverbs includes morphologically unchangeable words, which can be used only in the adverbial function. Proper adverbs in accordance with their semantics represent the following classes:

1. Adverbs of place and direction: *gujă* 'where', *gujāngu(r)* 'where to', *id(in)ā(n)* 'here', *ōd(in)ā(n)* 'over there', *ād(in)ā(n)* 'there', *ingu(r)* 'hither', *āngu(r)* 'thither', *bālā* 'upwards', etc.
2. Adverbs of time: *kadī, kadēn* 'when', *annūn* 'now', *guḍ(ān)* 'then, afterwards', *angat, tāngat(ā)* 'still', *dwārag* 'again', etc.
   The adverbs of time include a large group of words ending with the suffix -*ī*: *marōčī* 'today', *zī* 'yesterday', *āxtī* 'that time, then', *ē gaštī* 'this time', *šapī* 'this night', *došī* 'last night', *pōšī* 'the day after tomorrow', *imbarānī* 'this year', *šidingurī* 'from now on', *padōī* 'backwards', etc.
3. Adverbs of manner: *čōn* 'how', *zūt* 'quickly', etc.

Proper adverbs can be used with prepositions, but they do not take the oblique case ending: *pa dwārag* 'again', *ša gujă* 'from where', *ša annūn* 'from now', *ša marōčī* 'from today', etc.

The adverbs of place *ingu(r)* 'hither', *āngu(r)* 'thither', and *bālā* 'upwards' can be expressed in the comparative degree with the help of the suffix -*tir*:

(185) *āngur-tir ki raw-t, dēm-ay ǰikkī-ē*
thither-CMP SUB go.PRES-3SG face-OBJ.ENC.3SG thorn-IND
dar-a bīt.
PREV-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
'When he goes a bit further, there appears a thorn in front of him.'

The second group of adverbs includes nouns and adjectives used in the objective case, and in the direct case with or without the indefiniteness marker *-ē*. If such an adverb is preceded by a preposition, it is used either in the oblique case (adverbs of time and place) or in the direct case (adverbs of manner): *rōčā* 'by day', *šapā* 'at night', *zimistānā* 'in winter', *dūrā* 'far off', *ša dūrā* 'from far away', *ēškā* 'on this side', *āškā* 'on that side', *rōčē* 'once', *pa drōg* 'falsely', *pa izzat* 'respectfully'. Adverbs of manner are usually constructed with the help of the preposition *pa* 'for'.

(186) *ǰind-ī šut, dūr-ā čēr kapt.*
body-ENC.3SG go.PAST.3SG far-OBJ beneath fall.PAST.3SG
'He himself went and concealed himself far off.'

(187) *yakk rōč-ē mnī piss gō ar-ā alap āwurt.*
one day-IND I.GEN father with donkey-OBL grass bring.PAST.3SG
'Once my father brought grass with the donkey.'

(188) *š-ēšk-ā nānwā gwanḍ-ēn nān-ē-rā*
from-this side-OBL baker little-ATTR bread-IND-OBJ
zurt.
take.PAST.3SG
'The baker took a little loaf of bread from here.'

(189) *ǰinēn-ī um pa drōg larzit.*
wife-ENC.3SG FOC for lie tremble.PAST.3SG
'His wife pretended to tremble.'

The adverb *zūt* 'quickly' is usually used with the indefiniteness marker *-ē*:

(190) *zūt-ē uštur-ā gipt u ǰukkēnt.*
quickly-IND camel-OBJ take.PAST.3SG and kneel.CAUS.PAST.3SG
'He quickly caught the camel and made it kneel.'

(191) *zūt-ē gis-ay tā šut.*
quickly-IND house-GEN inside go.PAST.3SG
'He went quickly into the house.'

Adverbs of adjectival origin belonging to this group can be used to construct the comparative degree:

(192) *ša   čā-ā   yakk ṭukkur-ē dūr-tir-ā   urinǰa-ay*
from well-OBL one   piece-IND far-CMP-OBJ lucerne-GEN
ḍigār-ē   at.
field-IND COP.PAST.3SG

'A bit further away from the well there was a lucerne field.'

(193) *ā   zabr wat-rā   sērāp kurt   u   āšk-tir-ā*
DEM good REFL-OBJ fed   do.PAST.3SG and that side-CMP-OBJ
šut.
go.PAST.3SG

'He ate till he was full and went further.'

Four adverbs of time, namely *šap-ēn-ā* 'this (that) night', *rōč-ēn-ā* 'this (that)
day', *bēga-ēn-ā* 'this (that) evening' and *dam-ēn-ā* 'this (that) moment', in-
sert the attributive suffix before the case ending. The semantics of the at-
tributive suffix in these words is not adjectival; here it conveys a certain
definite time. Forms like **šap-ēn*, **rōč-ēn*, etc. are impossible in BT.

(194) *šap-ēn-ā   tā tārī-a   gašt-ant.*
night-ATTR-OBJ until morning-IMPF walk.PAST-3PL

'They wandered that night until morning.'

(195) *am-ā   dam-ēn-ā   drust kurt   ki y-ē*
EMPH-DEM moment-ATTR-OBJ known do.PAST.3SG SUB HI-DEM
pādišā int.
king   COP.PRES.3SG

'At that very moment he recognised that this was a king.'

(196) *mnī   ōš-ā   int   am-ā   šap-ēn-ā*
I.GEN memory-OBJ COP.PRES.3SG EMPH-DEM night-ATTR-OBJ
ǰammar-ē   āt.
cloud-IND come.PAST.3SG

'I remember that a cloud appeared that very night.'

(197) *ē-gda   rōč-ēn-ā   zard-ēn   gwāt-ē ustāt.*
DEM-other day-ATTR-OBJ yellow-ATTR wind-IND rise.PAST.3SG

'The other day there arose a yellow storm.'

(198) *bēga-ēn-ā   mnī mard ša kār-ā   āt.*
evening-ATTR-OBJ I.GEN husband from work-OBL come.PAST.3SG

'That evening my husband came from work.'

Another adverb of time, *tārīēnā* 'this (that) morning', on the other hand, can
be used without the objective ending only in combination with the postpo-
sition *sarā* 'upon', giving thus the meaning 'the next morning':

(199) *kawšdōč   tārī-ēn   sarā āt.*
shoe maker morning-ATTR upon come.PAST.3SG
'The shoe-maker came the next morning.'

(200) *nokar tārī-ēn   sarā bi bāzār-ān u   bi kūča-ān dar*
servant morning-ATTR upon to market-PL and to street-PL PREV
būt-ant.
be.PAST-3PL
'The servants came out to the markets and streets the next morning.'

This group of adverbs also contains forms of the locative case in *-ayā / -īā*,
(see p. 80. Cf. also Sokolov 1956; Buddruss 1989). The ending of the objec-
tive case *-ā* added to the genitive case of a noun has an adverbial meaning
in these forms. These adverbs function either as adverbs of place (201) and
(202), or as adverbs of manner, (203), (204) and (205):

(201) *šut   bi-m-ā   draxt-ayā.*
go.PAST.3SG to-EMPH-DEM tree-LOC
'He went to that tree.'

(202) *pādisā-ay zāg wat-ī   brās-ān-ī-ā   āt.*
king-GEN son REFL-GEN brother-PL-GEN-OBJ come.PAST.3SG
'The king's son came to his brothers.'

(203) *abdullā čō-m-ā   awal-ayā gō   wat-ī   kārīgar-ān ḍigār*
PN   as-EMPH-DEM first-LOC with REFL-GEN ox-PL   field
langār-a   kurt.
plough-IMPF do.PAST.3SG
'Abdulla was ploughing with his oxen as before.'

(204) *ša awal-ayā gēš-tir   mnī dast-ā   zarr   kapt.*
from first-LOC more-CMP I.GEN hand-OBJ money fall.PAST.3SG
'I got even more money than before.'

(205) *gō   ā-w-ān   čō brās-ayā   mēr-u-mābatt-a*
with DEM-HI-PL as brother-LOC love-and-respect-IMPF
kurt.
do.PAST.3SG
'He accepted them fraternally with love and respect.'

6. Pronouns

6.1 Introduction

In the typological classification of pronouns generally the following principles are indicated: morpho-phonological form, syntactic function, discourse function, and referential properties (Siewierska 2004). Some linguists emphasize the connection of the meaning of pronominal elements with the speech situation and define them as belonging to "instances de discours" (Benveniste 1966: 251). Others point out the substitutional function of pronouns and call them "substitutes, whose meaning consists largely or entirely of class-meanings" (Bloomfield 1933: 146). Siewierska (2004: 13) discusses the universality of the category of personal pronoun and uses the terms "person form" or "person marker" in place of the term "pronoun".

According to Saxena (2006: 131),

> "There are two kinds of identification often distinguished in the literature, 'deictic' and 'phoric'. A deictic pronoun (or a deictic usage of a pronoun) refers directly to something in the world. …A phoric (usage of a) pronoun, on the other hand, provides an index to some part of the discourse in which it occurs; it 'corefers' rather than refers …"

The deictic force of various groups of pronouns in BT is different. The phoric (anaphoric or cataphoric) functions of the pronouns in BT are a distinctive feature of demonstratives.

Pronouns are deictic by their nature. Deictic expressions are "those linguistic elements whose interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extralinguistic context of utterance in which they occur" (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 259). In BT morphology deictic information can be expressed not only by different categories of pronouns, but also by the verb categories of person, tense and by adverbial expressions.

(206) *zī   mardum-ē-rā kušt-ay.*
       yesterday man-IND-OBJ kill.PAST-2SG
       'Yesterday you killed a man'.

Thus, the deictic information in (206) is expressed by:

- person deixis, which is evident in the 2SG personal ending -*ay* and refers to the addressee;
- temporal deixis, which is expressed by the adverb *zī* and at the same time by the preterite indicative of the verb *kuštin* 'to kill';

When the semantics of pronouns can be conveyed with personal endings, personal pronouns, as shown in (206), if not emphasized, can be omitted. Personal pronouns reveal a definite similarity with the personal verb forms in the grammatical system of BT, because the semantics of personal pronouns is present in the personal endings of the verb. For example, the verb form *kuštay* denotes an action performed by a 2SG subject. Because of this, the syntagmatic combination *ta kuštay* 'you killed' is semantically excessive in BT.

According to Anderson and Keenan (1985: 260), "person deictics may encode information of several different sorts concerning the identification of speaker and addressee, including: the sex of the referent; the number of individuals represented by the referent; the social status of the referent". Since there is no grammatical gender in BT, the sex of the referent is not expressed in pronouns. Number is expressed by the opposition of singular and plural forms of pronouns, and social status can be expressed by the opposition in number of the pronoun of the second person (see p. 104).

In accordance with morpho-phonological form, pronouns are divided into dependent and independent ones. According to Siewierska (2004: 16),

> "Typically what is meant by an independent/free/full, etc. person form is a person marker which constitutes a separate word and may take primary word stress .... Dependent forms, by contrast, typically cannot be stressed (though some may receive contrastive stress), are often phonologically reduced relative to the independent forms, and either morphologically dependent on another element in the utterance or at least restricted in distribution relative to the independent forms."

There are six groups of independent pronouns in BT: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive, reciprocal and indefinite. Enclitic pronouns belong to the group of dependent pronouns. There are no relative pronouns in BT which usually are used for connection of matrix clauses with a relative subordinate clause. The function of relative pronouns is performed by a head noun in combination with the indefiniteness marker -*ē*, and / or a demonstrative pronoun used in the attributive function, plus the conjunction of general subordination *ki*.

Pronouns in BT have a common declension paradigm, which at the same time differs from the paradigm of nouns and adjectives. The declension of pronouns can be characterized by the following features:

1. Pronouns, like proper nouns, do not have lexical meaning. The semantics of the word and its definiteness is relevant for the marking of the oblique case, and, in accordance with this principle proper nouns and pronouns being definite by their semantics, form the oblique stem identically, i.e. with the zero ending.[1] The genitive case is thereafter constructed with the help of the genitive ending *-ī*: *mnī* ← *manī* 'my', *watī* 'own', etc.
2. The objective case is built with the help of the ending *-rā*: *trā* 'to you.SG', *watrā* 'oneself'. Exceptions are the 1SG personal pronoun *man* 'I' - *mnā* 'me', which seems to be a contracted form from *man + rā*, and the demonstrative pronoun *ē* 'this', which can build two equally usable forms of the objective case in the singular: *ēšā* and *ēširā*. The plural objective form of this pronoun is *ēšānā*.
3. Demonstrative pronouns in the oblique case have the ending *-ī* and formally coincide with the genitive forms: *pa āī* 'for it, for him/her', *gō ēšī* 'with it, with him/her'.

Structurally pronouns can be either simple - *man* 'I', *wat* 'self', or compound - *hičyakk* 'nobody', *hiččīz* 'nothing'.

6.2 Personal pronouns

According to the principle of lexical marking of the deictic features of personal pronoun systems formulated by Ingram (1978: 215), the personal pronouns in BT form a seven-person system. This system differs from the six-person system of Ingram (I, you.SG, he, we, you.PL, they) by the addition of an inclusion-exclusion distinction in the 1PL. Since functions of the 3SG and 3PL personal pronouns are performed by demonstratives, they will be described separately (p. 111). Nevertheless, demonstrative pronouns lexically mark the deictic features of the 3SG and 3PL, and therefore they can not be excluded from the BT person system. Thus, the personal pronouns in BT are: *man* 'I', *ta* 'you.SG', *ammā* 'we.EXCL', *mašmā* / *mušmā* 'we.INCL' and *šmā* 'you.PL'. Flection of personal pronouns is shown in Table 6.1.

In the genitive forms of the 1PL and 2PL the contracted suffix *-ay* originates from the combination of the final *-ā* with the genitive suffix *-ī*.

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[1]The coincidence of the direct and oblique forms of personal pronouns in BT can be explained by the origin of both of them from the historical oblique case.

Table 6.1: *Personal pronouns*

Case	1SG	2SG	1PL.EXCL	1PL.INCL	2PL
Direct/Oblique	*man*	*ta*	*ammā*	*mašmā / mušmā*	*šmā*
Genitive	*mnī*	*tī*	*ammay*	*mašmay / mušmay*	*šmay*
Objective	*mnā*	*trā*	*ammārā*	*mašmārā / mušmārā*	*šmārā*
Locative	*mnīā*	*tīā*	*ammayā*	*mašmayā / mušmayā*	*šmayā*

Ingram (1978: 222–223) offers three features of person deixis, which capture the fact that the speech act has three basic roles, the speaker, the hearer, and the one talked about:

a. Speaker (sp)
b. Hearer (hr)
c. Other (X)

The person deictic unit is structured by Ingram (1978: 223) as follows: {± sp, ± hr, ± X}. Thus, in BT the person deixis, for example, of the 1PL.INCL is {+sp, +hr, -X}, and that of the 1PL.EXCL is {+sp, -hr, +X}.

It is important to point out that the form of the 1PL is not the emphatic form built with the help of the prefixal emphatic particle *(h)am*, which can be met in the morphological structure of other groups of pronouns: *(h)amā* 'that', *(h)aminka* 'so much'.[2] Thus, the form *mā*, usual in other Balochi dialects (cf. e.g. Barker & Mengal 1969; Baranzehi 2003), does not exist in BT.

The variation of number to express degrees of respect and/or social distance, as shown by Head (1978: 156), "is found in pronominal reference to each of the three participant roles in discourse: the speaker, the addressee, and the one spoken about. . . . It is more frequently reported in pronouns of the second person that in those of the first or third". In BT the use of the 2PL personal pronoun instead of the 2SG in order to show a higher degree of respect to the addressee or his/her higher social status is not a widespread phenomenon. Children, e.g., can address one of their parents using either *ta* or *š(u)mā*. The same is true of the way a wife addresses her husband. In an utterance a speaker can apply both pronouns to one and the same addressee with ease, as shown in the example (207):

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[2]This form represents the development of the OIr 1PL genitive form **ahmāxam* or **ahmākam*, cf. e.g. the Avestan 1PL GEN *ahmākəm*, and the Parthian form *amāh ('m'h)* 'we'.

(207)　*ay ammay mihrabān-ēn pādišā, ta　　wat nakl-a*
　　　oh we.GEN gracious-ATTR king　you.SG REFL story-IMPF
　　　kan-ay　　ki　wat-ī　　rōč-ā　pa šādī u　šādkāmī
　　　do.PRES-2SG SUB REFL-GEN day-OBJ for joy　and pleasure
　　　gwāzēnt-un.　　man um ki　bi šār-ā　　āt-un
　　　pass.CAUS.PAST-1SG I　　too SUB to town-OBL come.PAST-1SG
　　　ki　putr-īn,　　　　awalī-ēn sarā šumā mnī　dēmā
　　　SUB SUBJ.enter.PRES-1SG first-ATTR upon you.PL I.GEN before
　　　laggit-it.
　　　meet.PAST-2PL

　　　'Oh our gracious king, you yourself tell that you passed[3] your days
　　　in joy and pleasure. When I was going to enter the town, first of all I
　　　came across you.'

Personal pronouns in the direct case perform the syntactic function of a
subject:

(208)　*man pa wat　kištī-ē　　zin-īn.*
　　　I　　for REFL boat-IND buy.PRES-1SG
　　　'I will buy a boat for myself.'

(209)　*mušmā ā　　ragǰan-ā　bi dār-ā-a　　ǰan-an.*
　　　we.INCL DEM barber-OBJ in wood-OBJ-IMPF beat.PRES-1PL
　　　'We will hang this barber.'

The objective case of the personal pronouns marks the direct (210) and the
indirect (211) object:

(210)　*kučakk mnā　b-gind-ant　　　u　ma-gwakk-ant,*
　　　dog　　I.OBJ SUBJ-see.PRES-3PL and PROH-bark.PRES-3PL
　　　tī　　　abar rāst ant.
　　　you.SG.GEN word true COP.PRES.3PL
　　　'If the dogs see me and do not bark, your words are true.'

(211)　*man trā　　na-gušt-un　　ki　ta　　zimistān-ā ša*
　　　I　　you.OBJ NEG-say.PAST-1SG SUB you.SG winter-OBJ from
　　　dānag-ān ma-war-ay?
　　　grain-PL　PROH-eat.PRES-2SG
　　　'Did not I tell you that you should not eat from the grain during the
　　　winter?'

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[3]On indirect speech representation in BT see p. 249.

Personal pronouns in the genitive case are used as possessive pronouns, which can be employed either as an attribute (212) or as a predicate (213) of a sentence:

(212) *y-ē   ammay   bībī-ay   bāg   int.*
       HI-DEM we.EXCL.GEN lady-GEN garden COP.PRES.3SG

       'This is our lady's garden.'

(213) *kay-a   zān-t   ki   y-ē   šayr   tī*
       who-IMPF know.PRES-3SG SUB HI-DEM poem you.SG.GEN
       int?
       COP.PRES.3SG

       'Who knows that this poem is by you (lit. 'yours')?'

Personal pronouns in the oblique case, which formally coincide with the direct case, are used after prepositions, examples (214) and (215). After prepositions ending in a short vowel, the personal pronouns of the 1SG and 2SG usually geminate their initial consonant: *ša-mman* 'from me', *pa-tta* 'for you':

(214) *ša-mman hiččīz-ē   sōǰ-u-purs-ī*
       from-I   nothing-IND question-and-query-ENC.3SG
       na-kurt.
       NEG-do.PAST.3SG

       'He did not ask me anything.'

(215) *ammay   pādišā wat-ī   ǰinikk-ā   bi-tta*
       we.EXCL.GEN king   REFL-GEN daughter-OBJ to-you.SG
       dāt-ag-ī
       give.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG

       'Our king has given his daughter to you.'

In circumpositional constructions or before postpositions the genitive case of personal pronouns is used (216) and (217):

(216) *ammām   čappī-a   bīt   tī   sarā.*
       bathhouse turned over-IMPF be.PRES.3SG you.GEN on

       'The bathhouse will collapse on you.'

(217) *pa mnī   pad-ā   bīst   swār dēm dāt-a.*
       for I.GEN trace-OBL twenty rider face give.PAST-PP

       'He has sent twenty riders after me.'

6.3 Enclitic pronouns

The enclitic pronouns do not have their own stress and are attached to a preceding word, hence they can also be called dependent pronouns or pronominal suffixes. In BT, as shown in Table 6.2, there are enclitic pronouns only for the 3SG *-ī*[4] and for the 3PL *-iš*.

Table 6.2: *Enclitic pronouns*

3SG	*-ī*
3PL	*-iš*

Enclitic pronouns for other persons but the 3SG and 3PL, which exist in other Balochi dialects (cf. e.g. Baranzehi 2003: 86), and even are described as existing in BT (see Sokolov 1956: 71), have not been found in the analyzed material.

The enclitic pronouns of both singular and plural can be attached to nouns, postpositions, preverbs, nominal components of compound verbs, personal forms of verbs, and even to the copula. However, the environmental distribution and the semantic range of the enclitic pronoun of the 3SG is much wider, than those of the 3PL.

The enclitic pronoun of the 3SG is attached to the direct case: *mard-ī* 'her husband', to the oblique case *-ā, -ān*, and to the objective case *-ā, -ānā* of a noun. Fusion of the oblique and objective endings in the singular and the enclitic pronoun of the 3SG results into the sequence *-ay*: *-ā + -ī → -ay* (see p. 46). The enclitic pronoun *-ī* substitutes the unstressed objective ending *-ā* in the form of the objective plural: *-ān-ā + -ī → -ān-ī*, e.g. *pālunk-ān-ī* 'its ribs' (see p. 83).

The enclitic pronoun of the 3SG is used:

1. in attributive function with possessive meaning:

    (218) *mard-ī   dēdēn langār-a   kurt.*
    husband-ENC.3SG CONT plough-IMPF do.PAST.3SG
    'Her husband kept on ploughing.'

    (219) *uštur-ay   awsār-ā   bi gardin-ay   pēčit.*
    camel-GEN bridle-OBJ to neck-OBL.ENC.3SG twist.PAST.3SG
    'He twisted the camel's bridle around its neck.'

2. as a direct object:

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[4]The 3SG enclitic pronoun is a possible source of the genitive case ending *-ī*.

(220) *agar ki pādišā tī zāg-ā baxšā-īt*
if   SUB king you.SG.GEN son-OBJ SUBJ.forgive.PRES-3SG

u ēla-ī b-kant, zabr int.
and free-ENC.3SG SUBJ-do.PRES.3SG good COP.PRES.3SG

'If the king forgives your son and releases him, it will be good.'

(221) *xurāk-a ǰan-t-ī u ša gis-ā*
violently-IMPF beat.PRES-3SG-ENC.3SG and from house-OBL

dar-a kan-t u gallēn-īt-ī.
PREV-IMPF do.PRES-3SG and banish.CAUS.PRES-3SG-ENC.3SG

'He beats him violently and drives him out of the house and banishes him.'

(222) *tī lunka-ay tā mūd-ē, āyrā dūr*
you.SG.GEN handful-GEN inside hair-IND DEM.OBJ far

b-kan u guḍā bōr-ī.
SUBJ-do.PRES and afterwards SUBJ.eat.PRES-ENC.3SG

'There is a hair in your handful, take it out and after that eat it (i.e. the food).'

3. as an indirect object:

(223) *ar say-ēn-ān-ā man-a da-īn-ī.*
every three-ATTR-PL-OBJ I-IMPF give.PRES-1SG-ENC.3SG

'I will give him all the three (daughters).'

(224) *by-ā ki yakk qarān-ē*
SUBJ-come.PRES SUB one kran-IND

b-da-īn-ī.
SUBJ-give.PRES-1SG-ENC.3SG

'Let me give him one kran (a monetary unit).'

4. as a subject of a sentence:

(225) *wat-ī čalla-ā bēōš kurt-ag-ī u*
REFL-GEN ring-OBJ unconscious do.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG and

šut-a-ī.
go.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG

'He has forgotten his ring and gone away.'

The use of the 3SG enclitic pronoun in BT in the syntactic function of the subject of a sentence is the only indication of the ergative construction (cf. e.g. Frolova 1960: 48–49), which still exists in other Balochi dialects, but has disappeared in BT. It has spread from the ergative domain to intransitive verbs (225). In BT, where the direct object is not supposed to be in the direct case, the enclitic pronoun *-ī* seems not to have either objective or subjective

meaning being rather a pleonastic marker of person, and therefore can be attached to both transitive and intransitive verbs.

The enclitic pronoun *-ī* can also be attached to the verb *būtin* 'to be, to become' and to the present and preterite forms of the copula:

(226) *pādišā-ay zāg šašš apt   sālag   būt-ī.*
       king-GEN son six   seven years old be.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
       'The son of the king became six or seven years old.'

(227) *am-ē   gwanḍ-u-gwanḍ-ēn zāg   int-ī.*
       EMPH-DEM little-and-little-ATTR child COP.PRES.3SG-ENC.3SG
       'It is just a very young child.'

It is difficult to distinguish between the use of the enclitic pronoun of the 3SG as subject and as object (both direct and indirect). Below are some examples, where the 3SG enclitic pronoun can be understood as indicating either the subject or the indirect object:

(228) *āyrā   āp-u-nān   dāt-ī.*
       DEM.OBJ water-and-bread give.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
       'He gave her food.'

(229) *pānzda tilā-ā   dar kurt   u pīrazāl-ā*
       15   golden coin-OBJ PREV do.PAST.3SG and old woman-OBJ
       dāt-ī.
       give.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
       'He took out the 15 golden coins and gave (them) to the old woman.'

The same ambiguity applies to the 3SG enclitic pronoun used as the subject or as the direct object:

(230) *sawdāgir wat-ī   ǰinēn-ā bēxī dōst dāšt-ī*
       merchant REFL-GEN wife-OBJ very friend have.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
       u   zabr-a   dīst-ī.
       and good-IMPF see.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
       'The merchant loved his wife very much and was fond of her.'

Generally, the syntactic function of the 3SG enclitic pronoun can be established only by the context.

The 3PL enclitic pronoun performs almost[5] the same syntactic functions as the 3SG enclitic pronoun, and is used:

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[5]The 3PL enclitic pronoun cannot be used as the subject of a sentence.

1. In attributive function with possessive meaning:

   (231) *man pa zōr-ē   ša   dast-ā-iš*
   I   for strength-IND from hand-OBL-ENC.3PL
   rakkit-un.
   escape.PAST-1SG
   'I escaped from them (lit. 'from their hand') with great difficulty.'

   (232) *sarā-iš   purr-a   rēč-ant.*
   on-ENC.3PL ash-IMPF pour.PRES-3PL
   'They will pour ashes on their heads.'

2. As a direct object:

   (233) *dar-iš   kan-an,   soǰ kan,*
   PREV-ENC.3PL SUBJ.do.PRES-1PL query SUBJ.do.PRES
   guḍān   kuš-an-iš.
   afterwards SUBJ.kill.PRES-1PL-ENC.3PL
   'Let us take them out, interrogate (them), then let us kill them.'

   (234) *duzz-ān-ā pāl   kan   u paydā-iš*
   thief-PL-OBJ divination SUBJ.do.PRES and evident-ENC.3PL
   kan.
   SUBJ.do.PRES
   'Divine (the whereabouts of) the thieves and find them.'

   (235) *ā-ī   gis ōrk at-ant   u awr um*
   DEM-GEN house empty COP.PAST-3PL and rain also
   ḍalēnt-at-iš.
   destroy.CAUS.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG-ENC.3PL
   'His houses were empty and the rain had also ruined them.'

3. As an indirect object:

   (236) *šā abbās zām-ā   poš-ay   tahā kurt   u*
   NP   sword-OBJ sheath-GEN inside do.PAST.3SG and
   ā-w-ān-ī   dast-ā   dāt   u
   DEM-HI-PL-GEN hand-OBJ give.PAST.3SG and
   gušt-iš
   say.PAST.3SG-ENC.3PL
   'Shah Abbas put the sword into the sheath and gave (it) to them
   and said to them: . . . '

   (237) *čār bazgar bēl bi dast-ā   int-iš   u*
   four farmer spade in hand-OBL COP.PRES.3SG-ENC.3PL and
   ḍigār-ā pa-bēl-a   kan-ant.
   earth-OBJ for-spade-IMPF do.PRES-3PL
   'There are four farmers with spades in their hands, and they dig
   the soil.'

6.4 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two demonstrative pronouns in BT: *(y)ē, (y)ēš* 'this' and *ā* 'that'.[6] These pronouns are opposed to each other as substitutes for a close object *(y)ē, (y)ēš*, and a distant object *ā*. This opposition can be either locational, as shown in example (238), or temporal: *ē gaštī - ā gaštī* 'this time' - 'that time'.

(238) *yakk mazan-ēn šār-e   jŏṛ būt-a   ki ē   sar u*
      one   big-ATTR   town-IND built be.PAST-PP SUB DEM head and
      ā   sar   na-dār-īt.
      DEM head NEG-have.PRES-3SG
      'A big city was built which does not have limits.'

The demonstrative pronouns can be used either as an adjective or as a noun. Used as adjectives, the demonstrative pronouns can refer either to one or to several objects. They do not undergo any morphological changes and are placed either before a noun, or, if a noun has attributes, before these attributes.

(239) *ē   say kōr ša yakk jā-ē   say tūpakk dīst-ant.*
      DEM three blind from one place-IND three rifle   see.PAST-3PL
      'These three blind men saw three rifles in a place.'

(240) *y-ē   dēb-ay   napas ā   šīšag-ay   tā   yakk*
      HI-DEM demon-GEN soul   DEM bottle-GEN inside one
      kapōt-ē.
      dove-IND
      'The soul of this demon is a dove in that bottle.'

The demonstrative pronouns *(y)ē* and *(y)ēš*, which express the deixis of a close object, are differentiated by the following: *(y)ēš* is used only as a noun (241) and (242), while *(y)ē* can be used either as a noun (243) or as an adjective (239) and (240):

(241) *ēš   čill darwāzag-ī-ēn gis-ē.*
      DEM forty door-REL-ATTR house-IND
      'This is a house with forty doors.'

(242) *ēš   int   ki du būt-ant.*
      DEM COP.PRES.3SG SUB two be.PAST-3PL
      'This is how they became two.'

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[6]The declension paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns is shown in Table 6.3 on p. 113.

(243) ē   gujā-a   rawt?
       DEM where-IMPF go.PRES.3SG
       'Where is he going?'

The pronoun *(y)ēš* can often be emphasized by the word *(h)am / um* 'also, and', which follows after the pronoun. However, the adverb *(h)am / um*, in addition to its main lexical meaning, intensifies the deictic function of the pronoun:

(244) *janakk ki   āt   u   wat-ī   mard-ā   tawār*
       woman SUB come.PAST.3SG and REFL-GEN husband-OBJ voice
       kurt,   dīst   ta   mard-ī   wāb
       do.PAST.3SG see.PAST.3SG that husband-ENC.3SG sleep
       int,   ēš   um wat-rā   wāb prēnt.
       COP.PRES.3SG DEM also REFL-OBJ sleep throw.PAST.3SG
       'When the woman came and saw that her husband was asleep, she also went to sleep.'

(245) *ēš   um prēnt   wat-ī   kār-ā   u   rādag*
       DEM also throw.PAST.3SG REFL-GEN work-OBJ and en route
       būt.
       be.PAST.3SG
       'He also left his work and set out.'

In general, the pronouns *ē* and *ēš* are semantically equal, because the form with the final *-š* of the pronoun is used whenever it is necessary to eliminate the hiatus, although the deictic strength of *ēš* seems to be greater than that of *ē* and *ā*.

Buddruss (1989: 51) states, "die beiden Pronomina (*ē* and *ā* - SA) haben geringe deiktische Kraft. *ē* wird ähnlich dem deutschen bestimmten Artikel gebraucht, steht aber auch bei Eigennamen." However, the deictic function of the demonstrative pronouns *ē* and *ā* before a noun seems to be the primary one. The demonstrative pronouns thus, even being used before a proper noun, perform their main function, viz. the deictic one.

When used as nouns, the demonstrative pronouns can be declined and perform the function of the personal pronouns of the 3SG and 3PL. The oblique case of the demonstrative pronouns has the ending *-ī* for the singular, and the ending *-ān* for the plural. The genitive and the objective cases are constructed with the help of the endings *-ī* and *-ā / -rā*. The oblique singular form of the demonstrative pronouns functions also as the possessive pronoun. The possessive plural forms are: *(y)ēšānī, āwānī*. The objective singular forms are: *(y)ēšā, (y)ēširā, āyrā ← āīrā*, and the objective plural forms are: *(y)ēšānā, āwānā*.

Table 6.3: *Demonstrative pronouns*

Case	Singular	Plural
Direct	*(y)ē, (y)ēš, ā*	*(y)ē, (y)ēš, ā*
Oblique	*(y)ēšī, āī*	*(y)ēšān, āwān*
Genitive	*(y)ēšī, āī*	*(y)ēšānī, āwānī*
Objective	*(y)ēšā, (y)ēširā, āyrā*	*(y)ēšānā, āwānā*
Locative	*(y)ēšīā, āīā*	*(y)ēšānīā, āwānīā*

The deictic function of the demonstrative pronouns can be emphasized by the prefixal emphatic particle *(h)am*: *(h)amē* 'this very', *(h)amā* 'that very', which can be added to the demonstrative pronouns used in both attributive and substantival functions:

(246) *ham-ē   duā-ā   inka   gašt b-wān.*
EMPH-DEM prayer-OBJ so much time SUBJ-read.PRES

'Read this very prayer this many times.'

(247) *ham-ā   parī um āt-a.*
EMPH-DEM fairy also come.PAST-PP

'That very fairy has also come.'

The demonstrative pronoun *ēš* with the preceding emphatic particle *(ham)* - *(h)amēš* is used only before the copula:

(248) *mnī   nasyatt am-ēš   int.*
I.GEN advice   EMPH-DEM COP.PRES.3SG

'This is my advice.'

(249) *mnī andag-ay   sabab ham-ēš   int   ki*
I.GEN laughter-GEN reason EMPH-DEM COP.PRES.3SG SUB
iškārī ša   šēr-ā   na-trussit.
hunter from lion-OBL NEG-fear.PAST.3SG

'The reason for my laughter is that the hunter was not scared by the lion.'

The emphasized form of the demonstrative pronouns *(h)amē* and *(h)amā* in combination with the marker of general subordination *ki* is used to introduce temporal clauses (see p. 254). The combination *(h)amē ki* is used more often that *(h)amā ki*:

(250)   *ham-ē*   *ki*   *wat-ī*   *piss-ay*   *paday*   *kučakk-ā*
         EMPH-DEM SUB REFL-GEN father-GEN after.ENC.3SG dog-OBJ
         dīst,   *gušt*   …
         see.PAST.3SG say.PAST.3SG …
         'As soon as he saw the dog following his father, he said …'

(251)   *am-ē*   *ki*   *pādišā* *ustāt,*   *ta*   *um* *zūt-ē*
         EMPH-DEM SUB king   rise.PAST.3SG, you.SG also quick-IND
         by-ā.
         SUBJ-come.PRES
         'As soon as the king stands up, you come quickly too.'

The semantic characteristics of the demonstrative pronouns used in the function of the 3SG and 3PL personal pronouns differ from those of the personal pronouns of the first and second person. Benveniste (1966: 255) called the 3SG personal pronoun "le membre non marqué de la corrélation de personne". In the structure of the act of communication the 3SG and 3PL personal pronouns mark the position of non-participation in the communication. The main function of the 3SG and 3PL pronouns is anaphoric substitution. In BT, the semantics of personal pronouns of the third person can be both animate and inanimate, i.e. they can be used as substitutes either for persons or things. Moreover, they have the morphological category of number.

The syntactic functions of demonstrative pronouns used as nouns do not differ from the syntactic functions of the personal pronouns, which were described above on p. 105. Below are some examples of how the demonstrative pronouns are used in non–direct cases:

1. the oblique case:

  (252)   *piss-ī*   *ša* *ēš-ān-a*   *sōǰ*   *ku.*
             father-ENC.3SG from DEM-PL-IMPF question do.PAST.3SG
             'His father started asking them.'

2. the genitive case:

  (253)   *ša*   *y-ēš-ān-ī*   *šart-u-ǰadal-ā*   *čunt* *aptag*
             from HI-DEM-PL-GEN dispute-and-quarrel several week
             gwast.
             pass.PAST.3SG
             'Several weeks passed after their quarrel.'

  (254)   *ā-ī*   *ǰinēn* *nān-a*   *pač-īt.*
             DEM-GEN wife   bread-IMPF bake.PRES-3SG
             'His wife is baking bread.'

3. the objective case:

(255) *dēqān   āyrā   drust kurt.*
    peasant DEM.OBJ known do.PAST.3SG
    'The peasant recognized him.'

(256) *ta   pa čambāzī-y-ē y-ē-š-ān-ā   āwurt-ag-ay.*
    you.SG for trick-HI-IND HI-DEM-PL-OBJ bring.PAST-PP-2SG
    'You have brought them by trickery.'

4. the locative case:

(257) *ēš-a   rawt   am-ā-w-ān-ī-ā.*
    DEM-IMPF go.PAST.3SG EMPH-DEM-HI-PL-OBJ
    'He goes to them.'

(258) *wat-ī   xizmatkār-ē-rā   dēm dāt   ki*
    REFL-GEN servant-IND-OBJ face give.PAST.3SG SUB
    sawdāgir-ay   ǰinēn-ā ā-ī-ā   by-ār-īt.
    merchant-GEN wife-OBJ DEM-GEN-OBJ SUBJ-bring.PRES-3SG
    'He sent one of his servants to bring the merchant's wife to him.'

6.5   Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns of BT, *kay* 'who', *čē* 'what' and *guǰām* 'which',
are shown in Table 6.4. Dashes in this table indicate that the corresponding
form of the interrogative pronouns either does not exist or has not occurred
in the analysed texts.

Table 6.4: *Interrogative pronouns*

Case	Singular	Plural
Direct	*kay, čē, guǰām*	*kay, čē, guǰām*
Oblique	*kay, čē(w)ā, guǰām*	—, *čē(w)ān*, —
Genitive	*kī, čēway*, —	—, —, —
Objective	*kay(r)ā, čē*, —	—, —, —
Locative	*kīā, čēwayā*, —	—, —, —

The interrogative pronoun *kay* has one and the same form for the singu-
lar and for the plural. The oblique form of this pronoun does not have any

ending and formally coincides with the direct case.[7] The interrogative pronoun *kay* can take the endings *-ī* and *-ā*, thus making possessive: *kī ← kay + -ī*, and objective forms: *kayā* and *kayrā*. The function of all the forms of the pronoun *kay*, which can be used in a sentence only as a noun, is shown in the following examples:

(259) šumay   nām u nišānī kay int   ki man
      you.PL.GEN name and address who COP.PRES.3SG SUB I

      b-zān-īn   u šumayā   by-ā-īn?
      SUBJ-know.PRES-1SG and you.PL.LOC SUBJ-come.PRES-1SG

      'What is your name and your address, so that I would know and would come to you?'

(260) ē   bāz-ēn   māl-u-dunyā-ā   pa kay
      DEM many-ATTR cattle-and-wealth-OBJ for who

      b-sāt-īn?
      SUBJ-keep.PRES-1SG

      'For whom shall I keep this amount of wealth?'

(261) šumā kī   zāg it   u šumay   gis gujă
      you.PL who.GEN son COP.PRES.2PL and you.PL.GEN house where

      int?
      COP.PRES.3SG

      'Whose sons are you and where is your house?'

(262) ta   mnī pōšānk-ān-ā kay-rā   dāt-ay?
      you.SG I.GEN cloth-PL-OBJ who-OBJ give.PAST-2SG

      'To whom did you give my clothes?'

The interrogative pronoun *čē* can be used either attributively or as a noun. As an attribute, the pronoun *čē* does not change and is placed before a noun (or before an attribute of this noun). As a noun, the pronoun *čē* can be used together with prepositions. The pronoun *čē*, unlike the pronoun *kay*, has the form of the oblique case in the singular and in the plural: *čē(w)ā* and *čē(w)ān*.[8] The possessive ending *-ī* is attached to the form of the oblique case in the singular: *čē(w)ay ← čē(w)ā +-ī*. The possessive form in plural, which can be reconstructed as **čē(w)ānī*, has not been found in the analyzed material. The direct case of the interrogative pronoun *čē* is used only after one preposition *pa* 'for', making the interrogative adverb *pačē* 'why, what for'. All other prepositions require the oblique case of *čē*. At the same

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[7]The interrogative pronoun *kay* does not have any special form for the oblique case, because it can be derived from the OIr genitive singular **kahya*, formed from the pronominal stem **ka*. Thus, the form *kay* behaves in the declension paradigm like a personal pronoun.

[8]The form of the interrogative pronoun *čē* can be reconstructed from the OIr genitive singular **čahya*, and thus, parallel to *kay*, ought not have the oblique form.

time, the pronoun *čē* does not take the objective ending *-ā / -rā*, and the form of this pronoun used as the direct object coincides with its direct case form:

(263) *guḍā man āyrā   čē   b-guš-īn?*
      then I   DEM.OBJ what SUBJ-say.PRES-1SG
      'What shall I tell him then?'

(264) *mard-ay   ǰawāb-ā   čē   b-day-īn?*
      husband-GEN answer-OBJ what SUBJ-give.PRES-1SG
      'What answer shall I give my husband?'

All other forms of the interrogative pronoun *čē*, used as an attribute (265) and (266), predicate (267) or as a noun (268), (269), (270), (271) are shown below. As a noun it seems to be used only as a filling word.

(265) *pa abdullaxān čē   sawγāt dēm b-day-an?*
      for PN   what present face SUBJ-give.PRES-1PL
      'Which present shall we send for Abdullakhan?'

(266) *ta   čē   unar dār-ay?*
      you.SG what skill have.PRES-2SG
      'What skill do you have?'

(267) *y-ēš-ī   sabab čē   y-int?*
      HI-DEM-GEN reason what HI-COP.PRES.3SG
      'What is the reason for it?'

(268) *am-ē   wat-ī   zāg-ā gō čē-w-ā   nikē*
      EMPH-DEM REFL-GEN son-OBJ with what-HI-OBL marriage
      ku,   gō zām-ay.
      do.PAST.3SG with sword.OBL.ENC.3SG
      'For this son of his he made the marriage ceremony with what, with his sword.'

(269) *guḍān ham-ē   jinikk-ān-ā   gō-m-ē   čē-ān*
      then   EMPH-DEM daughter-OBL-OBJ with-EMPH-DEM what-PL
      . . .
      . . .
      'Then he married off these daughters with these, what do you call them . . . ?'

(270) *ē   čē-w-ay   ōn   at-ant?*
      DEM what-HI-GEN blood COP.PAST-3PL
      'This was the blood of what?' (Zarubin 1949: 120)

(271)   *āt-ī*   *čē-w-ayā*   *āxtī-ēn*
      come.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG what-HI-LOC of that time-ATTR
      wat-ī   *ǰā*   *u*   *mukām-ā.*
      REFL-GEN place and position-OBJ
      'He came to his "what", to his previous place.'

The interrogative pronoun *guǰām* can be used either predicatively (272) or attributively (273):

(272)   *fārūq-ī*   *γasr*   *guǰām int?*
      PN-GEN palace which COP.PRES.3SG
      'Which is the palace of Farruq?'

(273)   *ta*   *b-guš*   *ki*   *annūn ǰinēn guǰām brās-ay-a*
      you.SG SUBJ-say.PRES SUB now   girl   which brother-GEN-IMPF
      bīt?
      be.PRES.3SG
      'Say, to which brother will the girl now belong?'

6.6 Reflexive pronouns

The flection of the BT reflexive pronoun *wat* 'oneself' is shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: *Reflexive pronoun*

Case	Singular/Plural
Direct/Oblique	*wat*
Genitive	*watī*
Objective	*watrā*
Locative	*watīā*

The form of the oblique case of this pronoun coincides with the direct case. The pronoun *wat* can take the genitive ending *-ī* and the objective ending *-rā*, thus making the genitive case *watī* and the objective case *watrā*.[9]

Kroeger (2004: 88) defines reflexive pronouns by reference to a certain "grammatical relationship between a pronoun and its antecedent", and counts them as belonging to "a special type" of pronouns. He points

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[9]The objective form *watā* is not used in BT.

out three major issues to be considered in describing this grammatical relationship: "agreement, domain (the degree of "distance" which is permitted between pronoun and antecedent), and relative prominence, which means that "the antecedent must have a more prominent position in the clause than the reflexive" (Kroeger 2004: 94). The first issue, i.e. agreement, is irrelevant for BT, since the same form is used for all persons both for the singular and for the plural. As for the distance, in BT both the reflexive pronoun and its antecedent must be located within a minimal clause. The third principle, relative prominence, is realised in BT in that the antecedent precedes the reflexive pronoun.

The reflexive pronoun *wat* performs the following four functions in BT:

1. Of an emphatic pronoun of identity. In this case the pronoun *wat* is used in its direct form, either independently replacing a person known from the context (274), (275) and (276), or is placed immediately after the personal pronoun it refers to, (277) and (278):

    (274) *wat um bi pādišāī-ay   taxt-ā   ništ.*
        REFL too in kingdom-GEN throne-OBL sit.PAST.3SG
        'As for him, he sat down on the royal throne.'

    (275) *yakk anār-ē-rā   wat-a   wārt,   wat um*
        one pomegranate-IND-OBJ REFL-IMPF eat.PRES.3SG REFL too
        mard-ēn-zāg-ē   bīt.
        man-ATTR-boy-IND be.PRES.3SG
        'She eats one pomegranate herself, and she, in turn, also becomes a man.'

    (276) *wat-a   gind-ay   ki ā bēgunā-ēn*
        REFL-IMPF see.PRES-2SG SUB DEM sinless-ATTR
        ǰan-u-zāg   at-ant.
        woman-and-boy COP.PAST-3PL
        'You see yourself, that they were sinless women and children.'

    (277) *man wat-a   ra-īn,   tānā.*
        I   REFL-IMPF go.PRES-1SG alone
        'I will go myself, alone.'

    (278) *šumā wat-a   zān-it   ki man pīr*
        you.PL REFL-IMPF know.PRES-2PL SUB I   old
        būt-ag-un.
        be.PAST-PP-1SG
        'You know yourselves that I have become old.'

2. of a possessive pronoun. In this case the pronoun is used attributively either before or after a noun it determines and has the genitive form. If

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the reflexive pronoun is placed after a noun, it always agrees in case and number with that noun, as shown in the examples (281) and (282).

(279) *wat-ī   ar-ā   bast   u šap-ēn-ā*
REFL-GEN donkey-OBJ tie.PAST.3SG and night-ATTR-OBJ
am-idā   wapt.
EMPH-here sleep.PAST.3SG
'He tied his donkey and slept right here that night.'

(280) *man wat-ī   gwār-ay gis-ā   šut-un.*
I   REFL-GEN sister-GEN house-OBJ go.PAST-1SG
'I went to the house of my sister.'

(281) *māl-ān-ā   wat-ī-ān-ā   āp dāt-ant.*
cattle-PL-OBJ REFL-GEN-PL-OBJ water give.PAST-3PL
'They watered their cattle.'

(282) *warnā š-am-ā   kār-ān wat-ī-ān   tark*
youth from-EMPH-DEM work-PL REFL-GEN-PL leaving
kurt.
do.PAST.3SG
'The youth gave up all these affairs of his.'

3. of a proper reflexive pronoun. As postulated by Kroeger (2004: 89), the semantic role and grammatical relation of the reflexive pronoun and antecedent are different. On account of this, the reflexive pronoun in Balochi is used either with prepositions or with the ending *-rā*. The objective form *watrā* is used as the direct object, while the indirect object is expressed by the combination of the pronoun *wat* with prepositions:

(283) *š-am-ē   burzag-ā wat-rā-a   prēn-īn.*
from-EMPH-DEM height-OBJ REFL-OBJ-IMPF throw.PRES-1SG
'I will throw myself from this very height.'

(284) *xōškabān wat-rā   zabr pōšit.*
PN   REFL-OBJ well dress.PAST.3SG
'Khoshkaban dressed himself well.'

(285) *b-ra-it,   pa wat ša ar šār-ē   gis joṛ*
SUBJ-go.PRES-2SG for REFL from every town-IND house ready
kan-it.
SUBJ.do.PRES-2SG
'Go and make a house for yourselves in every town.'

(286) *y-ēš   gō wat yakk nān-ē   dāšt-ant.*
HI-DEM with REFL one bread-IND have.PAST-3PL
'They had one loaf with them.'

4. of a reciprocal pronoun. The pronoun *wat* can be used in this function after the preposition *gō* 'with':

(287)   *ā-ī   ĭinēn-ay syād gō wat muslaatt kurt-ant.*
        DEM-GEN wife-GEN relative with REFL advice   do.PAST-3PL

        'Relatives of his wife consulted with each other.'

(288)   *ē   gō wat xayrwāī kurt-ant.*
        DEM with REFL farewell do.PAST-3PL

        'They said good-bye to each other.'

(289)   *ē   am-idā   gō wat gwāzī-a   kurt-ant.*
        DEM EMPH-here with REFL game-IMPF do.PAST-3PL

        'They played here with each other.'

The reflexive pronoun *wat* in combination with the prepositions *pa* 'for' and *ša* 'from' can be used in idiomatic expressions:

(290)   *ā   pa wat šut.*
        DEM for REFL go.PAST.3SG

        'He just went.'

(291)   *waxt-ē   ki wat-ī   ĭinēn-ā zabr ša-wat*
        time-IND SUB REFL-GEN wife-OBJ good from-REFL

        na-kurt-ay,   gō ā-ī   dil-u-rāz
        NEG-do.PAST-2SG with DEM-GEN heart-and-secret

        ma-kan.
        PROH-do.PRES

        'Don't be openhearted with your wife until you have tested her thoroughly.'

(292)   *by-ā   ki man am-ē   wat-ī   piss-ay*
        SUBJ-come.PRES SUB I   EMPH-DEM REFL-GEN father-GEN

        nasyatt-ān-ā   ša-wat   kan-īn.
        admonition-PL-OBJ from-REFL SUBJ.do.PRES-1SG

        'Let me test my father's admonitions.'

The combination of the preposition *ša* 'from' with the reflexive pronoun *wat* forms an idiomatic verb compound *ša-wat kurtin* with the meaning 'to test, to tempt'.

The pronoun *wat* after the preposition *pa* can be used either in an idiomatic expression (290)[10], or as an indirect object (285).

The word *ǰind* 'self' also can be used as a reflexive pronoun in BT. It is declined as a common noun and is preceded by a noun, a personal, a demonstrative or a reflexive pronoun in the genitive case: *pādišāay ǰind* 'the king himself', *mnī ǰind* 'I myself', *āī ǰind* 'he himself / she herself', *watī ǰinday* 'his / her own':

(293) gwanḍakkī-ā   man wat-ī   ǰind-ay gis-ay   māl-ān-ā
     childhood-OBJ I   REFL-GEN self-GEN house-GEN cattle-PL-OBJ
     čārēnt-un.
     graze.CAUS.PAST-1SG
     'In childhood I grazed the cattle of my own house (i.e. family).'

(294) ā   tī   ǰind-ay   mēmān int.
     DEM youSG.GEN self-GEN guest   COP.PRES.3SG
     'He is your own guest.'

(295) balōč pa šār-ay   ǰind-ā   dāwā dār-īt.
     Baloch for town-GEN self-OBL claim have.PRES-3SG
     'The Baloch has claims even for the town.'

After the reflexive pronoun, as shown in (293) only non-direct cases of *ǰind* are possible.

The word *ǰind* can also be used either independently or take the enclitic pronouns of the 3SG and 3PL:

(296) nōkar mašk-ā   ša kawšdōč-ay   dast-ā
     servant water skin-OBJ from shoemaker-GEN hand-OBL
     zīt-ant   u ǰind-ā um bāz-ēn   laṭṭ-ē
     take.PAST-3PL and self-OBJ too many-ATTR stick-IND
     ǰat-ant.
     beat.PAST-3PL
     'The servants took the water skin from the shoemaker and beat him a lot with a stick.'

---

[10]For the meaning of the idiomatic expression *pa wat* compare the Russian translation of example (290):

    On po-šël   sebe.
    he PREV-go.PAST.3SG REFL.DAT
    'He just went.'

(297) ǰanakk-ay ǰāga-ā bālišt ēr int u
woman-GEN place-OBJ pillow down COP.PRES.3SG and

ǰind-ī na-int.
self-ENC.3SG NEG-COP.PRES.3SG

'On the woman's place there is a pillow, but she herself is not there.'

(298) ǰind-iš dikk-ay sarā bālā būt-ant.
self-ENC.3PL hill-GEN upon high be.PAST-3PL

'They themselves ascended the mountain.'

6.7 Reciprocal pronouns

In BT the combination of the numeral *yakk* 'one' and the adjective *digar* 'other, another' is used as a reciprocal pronoun in the the oblique, genitive and objective cases, making the following compounds: *yakk digaray* 'each other's, *yakk digarā* 'each other', *yakkē ād(i)garay* 'each other's (of that one)', *yakkē ād(i)garā* 'each other (that one)':

(299) yakk-ē a-dgar-ay čakkuš-ay tawār-ā
one-IND DEM-other-GEN hammer-GEN sound-OBJ

na-uškit-ant.
NEG-hear.PAST-3PL

'They did not hear the sound of each other's hammers.'

(300) mardum yakk-ē by-ā-dgar-ā sayl kurt-ant.
man one-IND to-DEM-other-OBL sight do.PAST-3PL

'People looked at each other.'

(301) yakk-ē ā-digar-ā sad ǰān u sad dil āšix
one-IND DEM-other-OBJ hundred soul and hundred heart in love

būt-ant u ša yakk-ē digar-ā sēr-a
be.PAST-3PL and from one-IND other-OBL satisfied-IMPF

na-kurt-ant.
NEG-do.PAST-3PL

'They fell immensely in love with each other and could not get enough of each other.'

The reciprocal pronoun can be used together with the reflexive pronoun *wat* 'self':

(302) har du-k-ēn   gō wat-ī   yakk digar-ā   abar
     every two-HI-ATTR with REFL-GEN one another-OBL word
     kurt-ant.
     do.PAST-3PL
     'The two of them talked to each other.'

As it was stated above on p. 121, the reflexive pronoun *wat* preceded by the preposition *gō* can also be used as a reciprocal pronoun. This use of the reflexive pronoun can be compared with the Persian reciprocal construction *bā ham* 'together', where the particle *ham* "has the properties of pronoun", (Lazard 1992: 118).

6.8 Indefinite pronouns

According to Haspelmath (1997: 21), "indefinite pronouns normally occur in series which have one member for each of the major ontological categories such as person, thing, property, place, time, manner, amount, plus a few others". Further he notes: "In the most common case, indefinite pronouns consist of (i) a stem indicating the ontological category, plus (ii) a formal element shared by all members of an indefinite pronoun series" (Haspelmath 1997: 22). All the indefinite pronouns of BT in accordance with their morphological inventory can be grouped into the following three series: the *-ē*-series, the *(h)ar*-series (*(h)ar* 'every') and the negative *(h)ičč*-series (*(h)ičč* 'nothing'), as shown in Table 6.6. The ontological categories include the following nouns: *kass* 'person', *čīz* 'thing', *ĵā* 'place', *waxt* 'time', and *ḍawl* 'manner, method'.

Table 6.6: *Indefinite pronouns*

	Interrogative	-ē-series	(h)ar-series	(h)ičč-series
Person	*kay*	*kass-ē*	*(h)arkass*	*(h)iččkass*
Thing	*čē*	*čīz-ē*	*(h)arčī(z)*	*(h)iččī(z)*
Place	*guĵā*	*ĵā-ē*	*(h)arĵā*	*(h)ičĵā*
Time	*kadēn*	*waxt-ē*	*(h)arwaxt*	*(h)ičwaxt*
Manner	*čōn*	*ḍawl-ē*	*(h)arḍawl*	*(h)ičḍawl*
Determiner	*guĵām*	—	*(h)arguĵām*	*(h)ičguĵām*

Normally, the indefinite pronouns of the *-ē*-series can also be preceded by the numeral *yakk* 'one': *yakk kassē*, *yakk čīzē*, etc. Moreover, the numeral

yakk can be used as a stem for the separate ontological category of person: *yakkē, (h)ar yakk*, etc. And finally, the numeral *yakk* can be used in *(h)ar* and *(h)ičč*-series, and is placed between the "indefiniteness marker" and the stem: *(h)ar yakk kass, (h)ar yakk čī(z)*, etc.

In addition to the indefinite pronouns shown in Table 6.6, the following words can be regarded as indefinite pronouns in BT: *plān(a), plānī* 'such and such' and *bāzē* 'someone, some people'. Words belonging to the ontological categories of time, place and manner are excluded in the present work from the class of indefinite pronouns, and the words *(h)ar* 'every' and *(h)ičč* are treated as definite quantifiers (p. 138).

The compounds containing in their structure the pronouns *(h)ičč, (h)ar* plus the nouns *kass, čīz*, the interrogative pronoun *gujǎm* or the numeral *yakk* have a common stress either on the last syllable, or, when emphasized, on the first syllable. This fact makes it possible to treat them as separate pronominal formations:

(303)   *jǐnēnzāg-ā pīrazāl   sōga kurt-at   ki*
          woman-OBJ old woman advice do.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG SUB
          arčī   pālgir   b-kant,   ā   rāzī
          whatever fortune-teller SUBJ-do.PRES.3SG DEM content
          bīt.
          SUBJ.be.PRES.3SG
          'The old woman had advised the woman to agree with whatever the fortune-teller would do.'

(304)   *pādišā-ay piss ša-ttī   piss-ā   iččī   pa wām*
          king-GEN father from-you.SG father-OBL nothing for debt
          na-zīt-a.
          NEG-take.PAST-PP
          'The king's father has not borrowed anything from your father.'

(305)   *hičgujǎm ša   mašmā sēr-a   na-kant.*
          none   from we.INCL sated-IMPF NEG-do.PRES.3SG
          'None of us will be sated.'

(306)   *ša   y-ēš-ān   argujǎm ki pādišā-ā dīst,*
          from HI-DEM-PL whoever SUB king-OBJ see.PAST.3SG
          am-ā   abar-ā   dāt.
          EMPH-DEM word-OBJ give.PAST.3SG
          'Whoever of them saw the king, said that word.'

(307) *arkass   ki   mnī   jinikk-ay   mūd-ā   ša   rōd-ā   paydā*
everyone SUB I.GEN daughter-GEN hair-OBJ from river-OBL found

kurt,   man wat-ī   jinikk-ā
do.PAST.3SG I   REFL-GEN daughter-OBJ

bi-m-ā-ī-a   da-īn.
to-EMPH-DEM-GEN-IMPF give.PRES-1SG

'Whoever finds my daughter's hair in the river, to him I will give my daughter.'

(308) *haryakk gurānḍ-ay bā   sad   tuman int.*
everyone ram-GEN   price hundred tuman COP.PRES.3SG

'The price of every ram is one hundred tumans.'

(309) *ammā   by-ā-ī   lāik-ēn   iččyakk čīz-ē*
we.EXCL in-DEM-GEN honourable-ATTR none   thing-IND

na-gind-an.
NEG-see.PRES-1PL

'We do not see any honour in him.'

The nouns *kass* 'person, somebody' and *čīz* 'thing, something' in these combinations grammatically function as nouns. The former can be used in the objective case: *kassā* and in the genitive case: *kassī* , while the latter, being indefinite, takes the objective case ending to the indefiniteness marker *-ē*: *čīzērā*:

(310) *xudā arkass-ā   insāp-ē   dant.*
god   everyone-OBJ justice-IND give.PRES.3SG

'God does justice for everyone.'

(311) *ukm-ī   kurt   ki ša   marōčī dwārag bi šār-ay*
order-ENC.3SG do.PAST.3SG SUB from today   again   in town-GEN

tā   iččkass-ī   dast-ā   jāwrū ma-bīt.
inside nobody-GEN hand-OBJ broom PROH-be.PRES.3SG

'He (the king) ordered that from today no one would have a broom in his hand in the town.'

The indefinite pronouns *(h)ičkass* and *(h)arkass* can take the indefiniteness marker *-ē*:

(312) *hiččkass-ē   ša-mman ma-ranj-īt!*
nobody-IND from-I   PROH-suffer.PRES-3SG

'May no one be hurt by me!'

The adjective *diga(r), gida* 'other' is often described as a pronoun, although its pronominal features can be better explained by the ability of this adjective to be used as a noun. It can be emphasized by the preceding demonstrative pronouns *ē* 'this' and *ā* 'that': *ēgda, ēdga* 'this other', *ādga, ādiga* 'that other'.

The adjective *diga(r), gida* 'other' can be used as a noun, as an attributive adjective or as an adverb. Being used as a substantivized adjective, it can be declined and can occur in the plural:

(313) *man-a zān-īn   ki ta   digar-ān-ī*
       I-IMPF know.PRES-1SG SUB you.SG other-PL-GEN
       māl-ā-a   na-war-ay.
       cattle-OBJ-IMPF NEG-eat.PRES-2SG
       'I know that you don't eat the cattle of others.'

(314) *digar-ē-rā   um dēm dāt-ag   na-kurt.*
       other-IND-OBJ too face give.PAST-PP NEG-do.PAST.3SG
       'He could not send any other one either.'

As an attributive adjective, it can either precede the noun or follow the noun with *izafa*. When the adjective *diga(r), gida* is placed before a noun, it is unchangeable. If the adjective *diga(r), gida* is connected with a noun through the *izafa*, it can be declined:

(315) *ta   digar unar dār-ay   yā na?*
       you.SG other skill have.PRES-2SG or not
       'Do you have another skill or not?'

(316) *aklī-ēn   mard dasag-ay ē-diga   sar-ā   gipt*
       clever-ATTR man   rope-GEN DEM-other end-OBJ take.PAST.3SG
       u   du mardum-i digar-ā   um guš-īt
       and two man-IZ   other-OBJ too say.PRES-3SG
       'The clever man took the other end of the rope and says[11] to two other men.'

(317) *yakk rōč-i   digar mīrzā zakkī gunākārī-ē mazan-ēn-ā-a*
       one   day-IZ other PN   sin-IND   big-ATTR-OBJ-IMPF
       kant.
       do.PRES.3SG
       'Another day Mirza Zakki commits a big sin.'

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[11]The present tense in this example is the narrative (or historical) present, see p. 183.

Being used as an adverb, the adjective *diga(r), gida* has the meaning 'again, else':

(318) *man digar čōn kan-īn?*
       I   other how SUBJ.do.PRES-1SG
       'What else shall I do?'

The indefinite pronoun *bāzē* has to be distinguished from the quantifier *bāzēn* 'many'. The pronoun *bāzē* can be used as a noun and can refer to one or several persons:

(319) *bāz-ē   gušt   ki kašš-an.*
       someone-IND say.PAST.3SG SUB SUBJ.pull.PRES-1PL
       'Someone said: "Let us take (them) out".'

(320) *ša ham-ā   šayr-ān bāz-ē   tāngatā mnī*
       from EMPH-DEM poem-PL some-IND until now I.GEN
       ōš-ā   ant.
       memory-OBJ COP.PRES.3PL
       'Some of those poems are in my memory until now.'

The indefinite pronoun *plān(a), plānī* can be used either as a noun (321), predicate of a sentence (322), or as an adjective (323) and (324):

(321) *plāna   āt-a.*
       such and such come.PAST-PP
       'So and so has come.'

(322) *mnī nām plānī   int.*
       I.GEN name such and such COP.PRES.3SG
       'My name is such and such.'

(323) *man dēɣān-ē   un,   ša plān   alk-ā*
       I   peasant-IND COP.PRES.1SG from such and such village-OBL
       un.
       COP.PRES.1SG
       'I am a peasant from such and such village.'

(324) *plān   šār-ay   pādišā am-ē   bīst swār-ā*
       such and such town-GEN king   EMPH-DEM twenty rider-OBJ
       pa-ttī   padā dēm dāt.
       for-you.SG.GEN after face give.PAST.3SG
       'The king of such and such town sent these twenty riders to fetch you.'

7. Numerals and quantifiers

7.1 Introduction

The category of numerals and quantifiers in BT includes words with quantitative, numerical and counting semantics, which can denote a number: *say* 'three', *čār* 'four'; a quantity of something or somebody: *apt kitāb* 'seven books', *šašš mardum* 'six men', *bāz mardum* 'many people', *činka murg* 'how many (so many) hens'; a counting order: *duwumīēn rōč* 'the second day', *pančumīēn gis* 'the fifth house'. Numerals in BT include classes of cardinals and ordinals, and quantifiers can be either indefinite or definite in accordance with their semantic and morphological structure.

Cardinal and ordinal numerals from 1 to 1000 are presented in Table 7.1 on p. 142.

7.2 Numerals

7.2.1 Cardinals

Cardinal numerals denote an abstract quantity or a definite quantity of objects. The cardinal numerals also include collectives, distributives, fractions and percentages.[1]

BT employs the decimal counting system. The vigesimal system of numerals, which has been reported for eastern Balochi dialects (cf. e.g. Moškalo 1991: 52), has not been encountered in BT.

Cardinal numerals from one to ten are as follows: *yakk* 'one', *du* 'two', *say* 'three', *čār* 'four', *panč* 'five', *šašš* 'six', *(h)apt* 'seven', *(h)ašt* 'eight', *nu(h)* 'nine', *da(h)* 'ten'.[2]

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[1]Fractions and percentages do not occur in the analysed texts.

[2]The numeral *sifr* 'zero' can also be included into the class of cardinal numerals in BT, although, according to the argumentation of Greenberg (1978: 255), "zero is never expressed as part of the numeral system", because "instances in which reference is made to a class with zero members are normally dealt with by negative constructions in natural languages".

The cardinal numeral *yakk* used before a noun with the indefiniteness marker -*ē*, performs the function of the indefinite determiner:

(325) bi yakk šār-ē   yakk drōgburr-ēn mardum-ē at.
      in one town-IND one lying-ATTR   man-IND   COP.PAST.3SG
      'In a town there was a liar.'

(326) ā   yakk lōhī-y-ē   ǰōṛ   kurt.
      DEM one   cauldron-HI-IND ready do.PAST.3SG
      'He made a cauldron.'

When the numeral *yakk* is used before a noun without the indefiniteness marker -*ē*, it merely signifies the quantity. Compare the following two examples:

(327) šwānag y-ē   mardum-ā pa nān-ay   wārt-in-ā
      shepherd HI-DEM man-OBJ   for bread-GEN eat.PAST-INF-OBL
      yakk gašt salā   ǰat.
      one   time invitation beat.PAST.3SG
      'The shepherd invited this man to eat dinner once.'

(328) yakk gašt-ē   pādišā pa iškār   dar būt.
      one   time-IND king   for hunting PREV be.PAST.3SG
      'Once the king went out hunting.'

Cardinal numerals of the second decade (from 11 to 19) are formed with the help of the numeral *da(h)* 'ten' added to the cardinal numerals of the first decade, which in all cases but *čārda(h)* 'fourteen' undergo certain phonetic changes: *yā(n)zda(h)* 'eleven', *dwā(n)zda(h)* 'twelve', *sē(n)zda(h)* 'thirteen', *čārda(h)* 'fourteen', *pā(n)zda(h)* 'fifteen', *šā(n)zda(h)* 'sixteen', *(h)abda(h)* 'seventeen', *(h)ažda(h)* 'eighteen', *nōzda(h)* 'nineteen'. The first syllable in the numerals 11, 12, 13, 15 and 16 can be pronounced either with the nasalized vowel or with an oral vowel followed by the nasal consonant /n/.

The whole decades are as follows: *bīst / gīst* 'twenty', *sī* 'thirty', *čill* 'forty', *panǰā(h)* 'fifty', *šast* 'sixty', *(h)aptād* 'seventy', *(h)aštād* 'eighty', *nawad* 'ninety'. The cardinal numerals of the first decade are connected to the whole decades with the help of the conjunction *u* 'and', which can here be defined as the comitative link (Greenberg 1978: 264), for example: *sī u panč* 'thirty five', *šast u say* 'sixty three'. The main stress in these compounds falls on the last syllable of the final numeral, while the secondary stress falls on the last syllable of the preceding numeral: *(h)apt₌ād-u-čꞌār* 'seventy four'.

Cardinal numerals from 100 to 900 are formed by a combination of the numerals of the first decade with the word *sad* 'hundred': *yakksad* 'one hundred', *dusad* 'two hundred', *saysad* 'three hundred', *čārsad* 'four hundred', *pančsad* 'five hundred', *šaššsad* 'six hundred', *(h)aptsad* 'seven hundred', *(h)aštsad* 'eight hundred', *nu(h)sad* 'nine hundred'.

Thousands are formed in the same way as hundreds, i.e. the numerals of the first decade are combined immediately with the word *(h)azār* 'thousand', for example: *yakk (h)azār* 'one thousand', *panč (h)azār* 'five thousand', etc. Hundreds are connected to thousands, as well as whole decades to hundreds, by means of the conjunction *u*: *panč (h)azār u šaššsad u čill u (h)apt* 'five thousand six hundred and forty seven'.

Other cardinal numerals of BT are *lakk* 'a hundred thousand', *milyūn* 'a million', *k(u)rōṛ* 'ten million'.

Cardinal numerals before a noun can be used either without any formants (unsuffixed form) or with the attributive suffix *-ēn* (suffixed form). The suffixed form of the numeral *du* can include the epenthetic consonant /k/ before the attributive suffix: *dukēn*. Cardinal numerals used before a noun without the attributive suffix express a number of indefinite objects, while those used with the attributive suffix before a noun express a number of definite objects (cf. Barker & Mengal 1969: I : 99), for example: *say murg* 'three hens', *sayēn murg* 'the three hens'. The numeral *yakkēn* means 'the only one':

(329)　*gulšād fāūq-ī　yakk-ēn　parzind at-ī.*
　　　　PN　　PN-GEN one-ATTR child　　COP.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
　　　　'Gulshad was the only child of Faruq.'

Nouns after a cardinal numeral employed without the attributive suffix are used in the unmarked form as generic nouns. In the objective case an animate object after the unsuffixed form of cardinal numerals takes the singular ending, as shown in examples (330) and (331), while an inanimate object does not take any case ending at all, examples (332) and (333):

(330)　*šā abbās du　māsil-ā　　tawār-a　　kan-t.*
　　　　NP　　　two envoy-OBJ voice-IMPF do.PRES-3SG
　　　　'Shah Abbas calls two envoys.'

(331)　*panč brās-ā　　dēm b-day-it　　　　ki　āyrā*
　　　　five　brother-OBJ face SUBJ-give.PRES-2PL SUB DEM.OBJ
　　　　b-gallēn-ant.
　　　　SUBJ-chase out.CAUS.PRES-3PL
　　　　'Send five brothers for them to chase him out.'

(332) *man čār cīz ša-tta   sōǰ-a   kan-īn.*
I   four thing from-you.SG question-IMPF do.PRES-1SG
'I will ask you four questions.'

(333) *ē   ša yakk ǰā-ē   say tūpakk dīst-ant.*
DEM from one place-IND three rifle   see.PAST-3PL
'They saw three rifles somewhere.'

An animate noun in non-direct cases after the attributive form of a cardinal numeral is always in the plural, since it is definite:

(334) *nūn abar-ā   š-ā-ī   čār-ēn   brās-ān*
now word-OBJ from-DEM-GEN four-ATTR brother-PL
b-day-an.
SUBJ-give.PRES-1PL
'Now let us talk about his four brothers.'

The number of a subject of a sentence employed after a cardinal numeral depends on whether it is an animate or inanimate noun, as well as whether the cardinal numeral is employed in the suffixed or unsuffixed form (i.e. whether it is definite or indefinite). An animate subject with a cardinal numeral in both suffixed and unsuffixed forms (except *yakk*) is used in the plural (which is marked on the verb):

(335) *y-ē   say-ēn   gadā mōlid-ay   abar-ān-ā*
HI-DEM three-ATTR beggar maidservant-GEN word-PL-OBJ
uškit-ant.
hear.PAST-3PL
'These three beggars heard the words of the maidservant.'

(336) *yakk waxt-ē say kōr   at-ant.*
one   time   three blind COP.PAST-3PL
'Once there were three blind men.'

(337) *say brās zarr-ān-ā   zurt-ant.*
three brother money-PL-OBJ take.PAST-3PL
'Three brothers took the money.'

An inanimate subject after the suffixed form of cardinal numerals is always used in the plural, example (338), while a preceding unsuffixed form of cardinal numerals makes it possible to employ the noun either in the singular or in the plural (number is marked on the verb), as shown in examples (339) and (340):

(338) *y-ē   du-ēn   zām bēxī pabrā   at-ant.*
HI-DEM two-ATTR sword very beautiful COP.PAST-3PL

'These two swords were very beautiful.'

(339) *dīst-ant   ki say ǰū   ant.*
see.PAST-3PL SUB three brook COP.PRES.3PL

'They saw that there were three brooks.'

(340) *š-am-ēš-ī   panč rōč-a   gwaz-īt.*
from-EMPH-DEM-GEN five   day-IMPF pass.PRES-3SG

'From this (day) five days pass.'

Both suffixed and unsuffixed forms of cardinal numerals can be used in elliptic constructions without a noun. In this case they are declined. The unsuffixed forms take singular endings, while the suffixed forms are declined as nouns in the plural:

(341) *say-ā   idā-a   band-īt.*
three-OBJ here-IMPF bind.PRES-3SG

'He binds the three (of them) here.'

(342) *du-w-ā   š-ēš-ān   pakkit-an.*
two-HI-OBJ from-DEM-PL cook.PAST-1PL

'We cooked two of them.' (Sokolov 1956: 73)

(343) *y-ē   du-k-ēn   sarpad-a   bay-ant   ki*
HI-DEM two-HI-ATTR understanding-IMPF be.PRES-3SG SUB
ā-w-ān-ī   amrā   čambāzī kurt-a.
DEM-HI-PL-GEN friend cheat   do.PAST-PP

'They both understand that their friend has cheated them.'

(344) *ā   say-ēn-ān-ī   čamm ā   gadd-ay čērā-a*
DEM three-ATTR-PL-GEN eye   DEM rag-GEN under-IMPF
zuɣuṛ-ant.
blink.PRES-3PL

'The eyes of those three are blinking under that rag.'

The collective numerals are formed by a combination of the word *(h)ar* 'every' and the suffixed or unsuffixed form of cardinal numerals. The collective numerals can be used either independently (345, 346, 347), where they are treated as plural nouns, or preceding a noun (348, 349):

(345) *har du-k-ēn   amrā būt-ant.*
every two-HI-ATTR friend be.PAST-3PL

'The two of them became friends.'

(346) *har du-k-ēn   bi daryāb-ā γarx   būt-ant.*
     every two-HI-ATTR in river-OBL drowned be.PAST-3PL
     'Both of them drowned in the river.'

(347) *ar say-ēn-ān-ā   gis-ī   dāt.*
     every three-ATTR-PL-OBJ house-ENC.3SG give.PAST.3SG
     'He married off all three of them.'

(348) *ar čār-ēn brās uštur-ē-rā   sōrpōš-a*
     every four-ATTR brother camel-IND-OBJ dressed up-IMPF
     kan-ant.
     do.PRES-3PL
     'All the four brothers dress up a camel.'

(349) *har du pālunk-ān-ī   dūr-a   kan-ant.*
     every two rib-PL-ENC.3SG far-IMPF do.PRES-3PL
     'They remove both his ribs.'

Distributive numerals are formed by the reduplication of cardinal numerals:

(350) *by-ā-it,   yakk-yakk piyāla-ē gida*
     SUBJ-come.PRES-2PL one-one   cup-IND other
     bōr-it.
     SUBJ.eat.PRES-2PL
     'Come and drink another cup each one of you.'

(351) *ar gujāmī-ay say-say   rōč dōl u surnā-a*
     every which-GEN three-three day drum and pipe-IMPF
     ǰat-ant.
     beat.PAST-3PL
     'For three days (they played) drums and pipes for each of them.'

The distributive numeral *yakk-yakk* can form an adverb *yakk-yakkī* with the meaning 'one after another' with the help of a stressed suffix *-ī*:

(352) *mardum gis-ay   tā   yakk-yakkī-a*
     man   house-GEN inside one after another-IMPF
     putr-ant.
     enter.PRES-3PL
     'People are entering the house one after another.'

Approximate quantity is expressed by using two cardinal numerals following one another with or without *yakk* in front of them. When the approximate quantity is expressed with the numerals *yakk* and *du,* they are always connected with the conjunction *u* 'and':

(353) *bazgar du-say   lunka zurt   u   wārt.*
peasant two-three bite   take.PAST.3SG and eat.PAST.3SG
'The peasant took two or three bites and ate (them).'

(354) *trā   say-čār   tuman zarr-a   day-ant.*
you.SG.OBJ three-four tuman money-IMPF give.PRES-3PL
'They will give you three or four tumans of money.'

(355) *yakk du-say   kal   ki šut,   raxt-ay   sunṭ bi yakk*
one   two-three furrow SUB go.PAST.3SG plough-GEN tip   to one
mazan-ēn kūzag-e mān   āt.
big-ATTR jug-IND inside come.PAST.3SG
'When he had finished a couple of furrows, the plough-tip came into a big jug.'

(356) *yakk u   du rōč tājir   wat-ī   žandī-ān-ā-a*
one   and two day merchant REFL-GEN tiredness-PL-OBJ-IMPF
kaššit.
pull.PAST.3SG
'The merchant took a rest for a couple of days.'

(357) *ša   mānǰīnā yakk u   du mā-y-ē   gwast.*
from between one   and two month-HI-IND pass.PAST.3SG
'Meanwhile a couple of months passed.'

7.2.2   Ordinals

Ordinal numerals denote a counting order or sequence. Ordinal numerals are constructed from cardinal numerals with the help of the suffixe *-um*. Frequently the ordinal numerals take the suffix *-ī* (*ya-yi nisbat*). Ordinal numerals are always used with the attributive suffix *-ēn*: *duwum(ī)ēn* 'second', *sayum(ī)ēn* 'third', *čārum(ī)ēn* 'forth', *pančum(ī)ēn* 'fifth', etc. The ordinal numeral 'first' has the following forms in BT: *awal(ī)ēn* and *yakkum(ī)ēn*.

In a sentence ordinal numerals perform the functions either of attributes, examples (358, 359), or, in the case of ellipsis, of nouns, examples (360, 361). When used in an elliptic construction, ordinal numerals are declined for number and case:

(358) *wārī du-w-umī-ēn   brās-ay   būt.*
turn two-HI-ORD-ATTR brother-GEN be.PAST.3SG
'It was the second brother's turn.'

(359) *š-ēš-ān   pad say-um-ēn   amrā-iš*
from-DEM-PL after three-ORD-ATTR friend-ENC.3PL
b-ayt.
SUBJ-come.PRES.3SG
'After them, let their third friend come.'

(360) *du-w-umī-ēn-ān-ā   b-zūr   u   by-ār.*
two-HI-ORD-ATTR-PL-OBJ SUBJ-take.PRES and SUBJ-bring.PRES
'Take and bring the second ones.'

(361) *say-um-ī-ēn-ā   dēm-ī   dant.*
three-ORD-REL-ATTR-OBJ face-ENC.3SG give.PRES.3SG
'He sends the third one.'

7.3 Indefinite quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers have the meaning of an indefinite quantity (but more than one): *bāz* 'many', *čunt* 'some, several', *činka(s)* 'several, some; so much, so many; how much, how many'. After indefinite quantifiers the singular form of the noun is used:

(362) *šumā bi dunyā-ā bāz čīz uškit-ag-it   u*
you.PL in world-OBL many thing hear.PAST-PP-2PL and
dīst-ag-it.
see.PAST-PP-2PL
'You have heard and seen many things in the world.'

(363) *gō wat čunt swār u xizmatkār-ā burt.*
with REFL several rider and servant-OBJ take away.PAST.3SG
'He took with him several riders and servants.'

(364) *man am-idā   kirm ǰat-a   un,   činka   sāl*
I   EMPH-here worm beat.PAST-PP COP.PRES.1SG so many year
int   kapt-a!
COP.PRES.3SG fall.PAST-PP
'I am eaten by worms, so many years (passed) since I fell here!'

The form without the final /s/ of the indefinite quantifier *činka(s)* can occur only before an initial consonant of the following word, example (364), while the form with the final /s/ is used independently of the initial sound of the following word:

(365) *gulšād-ā gō   činkas kanīz-ā   bi am-ā   γasr-ā*
PN-OBJ   with several maidservant-OBJ to EMPH-DEM palace-OBL
dēm dāt.
face give.PAST.3SG

'He sent Gulshad with several maidservants to that palace.'

(366) *činkas waxt gwast u   pādišā u   wazīr-ay   jinēn hāmiladār*
some   time pass   and king   and minister-GEN wife pregnant
būt-ant.
be.PAST.3PL

'Some time passed and the wives of the king and the minister became pregnant.'

(367) *kay-a   zān-t   ki umr činkas   int?*
who-IMPF know.PRES.3SG SUB life   how much COP.PRES.3SG

'Who knows how long life is?'

The indefinite quantifiers *činka(s)* and *bāz* can be used either with the attributive suffix *-ēn* or without it. The quantifier *bāz* in the suffixed form requires the indefiniteness marker to be added to the following noun, as shown in (369) and (370).

(368) *ta   činkas-ēn   dūr-ēn rā-y-ē   wat-rā   alāk*
you.SG so much-ATTR far-ATTR way-HI-IND REFL-OBJ trouble
kurt-ag-ay   u   āt-ag-ay.
do.PAST-PP-2SG and come.PAST-PP-2SG

'You have taken the trouble to come such a long way.'

(369) *ša   bāzār-ā   bāz-ēn   čīz-ē   zīt.*
from market-OBL many-ATTR thing-IND buy.PAST.3SG

'He bought many things from the market.'

(370) *kawšdōč-ā   bāz-ēn   zarr-ē   dāt-ant.*
shoemaker-OBJ many-ATTR money-IND give.PAST.3PL

'They gave a lot of money to the shoemaker.'

The indefinite quantifier *čunt* never takes the attributive suffix *-ēn*. An indefinite quantity can be emphasized by using the numeral *yakk* before *čunt*:

(371) *pādišā āyrā   yakk čunt   tilā dāt.*
king   DEM.OBJ one several gold give.PAST.3SG

'The king gave him several golden coins.'

7.4   Definite quantifiers

Definite quantifiers in BT modify either all objects or none of the objects belonging to a definite class and include the following words: *(h)ar* 'every', *(h)ičč* 'none', *mučč* 'all', and *kull* 'all'.

The definite quantifier *(h)ar* 'every' can not be used independently. It is indeclinable and is used as a preceding attribute to a noun:

(372) *har zām-ē-rā   pansad tilā-a   dāt-ant.*
       every sword-IND-OBJ 500   gold coin-IMPF give.PAST-3PL
       'For every sword they gave five hundred gold coins.'

(373) *ā   hapt sāl int   ki har šap-a*
       DEM seven year COP.PRES.3SG SUB every night-IMPF
       k-ayt.
       IMPF_k-come.PRES.3SG
       'He has come every night for seven years.'

As noted on p. 133, the definite quantifier *(h)ar*, when used before cardinal numerals, is used to form collective numerals.

The definite quantifier *(h)ičč* 'none' is used only with a negative predicate. It cannot be declined, and it functions either as a pronoun (374), as an attribute (375) or as an adverb (376):

(374) *š-am-ē   tī   laškarī-ān man hičč-a*
       from-EMPH-DEM you.SG.GEN soldier-PL I   none-IMPF
       na-ill-īn.
       NEG-leave.PRES-1SG
       'I will not leave any of these soldiers of yours.'

(375) *hičč ǰā   nādiršā-ī ǰinēn wadī   na-būt.*
       none place PN-GEN wife found NEG-be.PAST.3SG
       'The wife of Nadirsha was not found anywhere.'

(376) *balē rōč-ayā ičč   sar-a   na-būt.*
       but sun-LOC none head-IMPF NEG-be.PAST.3SG
       'But he did not reach the sun at all.'

The definite quantifier *mučč*, used as a noun, occurs in both singular and plural and can be declined and attach the indefiniteness marker *-ē*:

(377) *mučč-ē ǰam   būt-ag-ant.*
       all-IND gathered be.PAST-PP-3PL
       'All have gathered.'

(378) *am-ē   gis-ay   tā ša mučč-ān dēmā   ta*
       EMPH-DEM house-GEN inside from all-PL   in front of you.SG
       wat   putr.
       REFL SUBJ.enter.PRES
       'You enter this house before everyone else.'

(379) *kārwān-ay   mardum mučč-ē wapt-ant.*
       caravan-GEN man   all-IND sleep.PAST-3PL
       'All the people of the caravan went asleep.'

(380) *mučč-ān-ā bi dār-ā   ǰat.*
       all-PL-OBJ in wood-OBL hit.PAST.3SG
       'He hanged all of them.'

In the attributive function the definite quantifier *mučč* takes the attributive
suffix *-ēn* and can be placed either before a noun or, for emphatic purposes,
after it:

(381) *mučč-ēn   wākia-ā gō gwār-ā   nakl kurt.*
       whole-ATTR event-OBJ with sister-OBL story do.PAST.3SG
       'She told the whole event to (her) sister.'

(382) *xalγ mučč-ēn pa-tta   šap-u-rōč   duā-a*
       people all-ATTR for-you.SG night-and-day prayer-IMPF
       kan-ant.
       do.PRES-3PL
       'All the people pray for you day and night.'

The quantifier *mučč* as an attribute in an emphatic utterance can be used
even without the attributive suffix in the same declined form as the noun it
modifies:[3]

(383) *zāg kapōt-ān-ī   abar-ān-ā   mučč-ān-ā uškit.*
       boy dove-PL-GEN word-PL-OBJ all-PL-OBJ hear.PAST.3SG
       'The boy heard all the words of the doves.'

The attributive form of the quantifier *mučč* can also be used independently.
In this case it is employed in the plural, can be declined and can have either
personal or impersonal reference:

(384) *ǰinikk pa zāg-ā   mučč-ēn-ān-ā   nakl kurt.*
       girl   for boy-OBL all-ATTR-PL-OBJ story do.PAST.3SG
       'The girl told the boy everything.'

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[3]The stress on the quantifier *mučč* in emphatic contexts remains on the first syllable.

(385) *mučč-ēn rāzī būt-ant.*
all-ATTR content be.PAST-3PL
'Everyone agreed.'

The definite quantifier *kull* is used in the attributive function, and is connected to the noun it modifies with the help of the *izafa*. The head noun is declined in the singular, as can be seen in example (387), although the verb has the plural form:

(386) *kull-i mardum dārindag at-ant.*
all-IZ people   rich   COP.PAST-3PL
'All the people were rich.'

(387) *kull-i γarīb-ā nazz-ī   āwurt   u mazan-ēn*
all-IZ poor-OBJ gathered-ENC.3SG bring.PAST.3SG and big-ATTR
xayrāt-ē   dāt.
charity-IND give.PAST.3SG
'He brought together all the poor and made a big charitable offering.'

The quantifier *kull* can also be used as a modifier of a demonstrative pronoun. In this case it does not take any suffixes and follows the demonstrative pronoun:

(388) *ā   kull dēb at-ant   diga.*
DEM all   demon COP.PAST-3PL other
'All of them were demons, after all.'

7.5 Classifier

There is only one classifier in BT: *dānag* 'grain', which is optionally used for counting non–humans. The classifier is never declined and is placed between the cardinal numeral and the noun. Nouns after the classifier are used in the unmarked form. Cardinal numerals never take the attributive suffix *-ēn* before the classifier:

(389) *āyrā   čār dānag anār-a   dant.*
DEM.OBJ four CLASS pomegranate-IMPF give.PRES.3SG
'She gives him four pomegranates.'

(390)   *čill dānag sēb zīt   ki gō ā-w-ān   wat-ī*
       forty CLASS apple buy.PAST.3SG SUB with DEM-HI-PL REFL-GEN
       rōč-ān-ā   hisāb p-kan-t.
       day-PL-OBJ count SUBJ-do.PRES-3SG
       'He bought forty apples in order to count his days with them.'

(391)   *ša māīgir-ā   say dānag zindag-ēn māī zīt.*
       from fisherman-OBL three CLASS living-ATTR fish buy.PAST.3SG
       'She bought three live fish from the fisherman.'

Nouns in the direct case following numerals can take the predicate either in the singular or in the plural:

(392)   *yakk waxt-ē   say kōr at-ant.*
       one time-IND three blind COP.PAST-3PL
       'Once there were three blind men.'

(393)   *yakk waxt-ē   du gwār at.*
       one time-IND three sister COP.PAST-3SG
       'Once there were two sisters.'

(394)   *čār mardum āt-ant   u ēš-ī*
       four man   come.PAST-3PL and DEM-GEN
       ēšk-u-āšk-ay   gipt-ant.
       this side-and-that side-OBJ.ENC.3SG take.PAST-3PL
       'Four men came and surrounded him.'

The difference in number of nouns expresses the difference between the meaning of individual v. collective, i.e. nouns referring to individuals are in the plural, while nouns with collective meaning are in the singular.

Table 7.1: *Numerals*

Numeral	Cardinal	Ordinal
1	*yakk*	*yakkum*
2	*du*	*duwum*
3	*say*	*sayum*
4	*čār*	*čārum*
5	*panč*	*pančum*
6	*šašš*	*šaššum*
7	*(h)apt*	*(h)aptum*
8	*(h)ašt*	*(h)aštum*
9	*nu(h)*	*nu(h)um*
10	*da(h)*	*da(h)um*
11	*yā(n)zda(h)*	*yā(n)zda(h)um*
12	*dwā(n)zda(h)*	*dwā(n)zda(h)um*
13	*sē(n)zda(h)*	*sē(n)zda(h)um*
14	*čārda(h)*	*čārda(h)um*
15	*pā(n)zda(h)*	*pā(n)zda(h)um*
16	*šā(n)zda(h)*	*šā(n)zda(h)um*
17	*(h)abda(h)*	*(h)abda(h)um*
18	*(h)ažda(h)*	*(h)ažda(h)um*
19	*nōzda(h)*	*nōzda(h)um*
20	*bīst / gīst*	*bīstum / gīstum*
21	*bīst u yakk / gīst u yakk*	*bīst u yakkum / gīst u yakkum*
30	*sī*	*sīyum*
40	*čill*	*čillum*
50	*panǰā(h)*	*panǰā(h)um*
60	*šast*	*šastum*
70	*(h)aptād*	*(h)aptādum*
80	*(h)aštād*	*(h)aštādum*
90	*nawad*	*nawadum*
100	*sad*	*sadum*
101	*yakksad u yakk*	*yakksad u yakkum*
200	*dusad*	*dusadum*
1000	*(h)azār*	*(h)azārum*

8. Adpositions

8.1 Introduction

According to Payne (1999: 86), "the term **adposition** is a cover term for prepositions and postpositions". Kurzon (2006: 63) notes that

> "... today, following advances in theoretical syntax, adpositions are considered in some treatments as one of the major word classes together with nouns, verbs, and adjectives/adverbs. In X-bar syntax, then, the adposition is the head of a phrase, a PP (which may be read as prepositional or postpositional phrase), followed by its complement (in the case of prepositions) or preceded by its complement (in the case of a postposition)".

In accordance with the typological subdivision into head-first (SVO and VSO) languages and head-last (SOV) languages (see e.g. Kurzon (2006: 63–64)), BT would be expected to use postpositions rather than prepositions. Nevertheless, adpositions in BT can precede the noun phrase (prepositions), follow the noun phrase (postpositions), or both precede and follow the noun phrase (circumpositions).

8.2 Prepositions

All the prepositions in accordance with their semantics can be divided into two groups: locational and abstract. The locational prepositions are : *ša* 'from' and *bi* 'to, in', all others are abstract. Three basic prepositions, *pa* 'for', *ša* 'from' and *bi* 'to, in' are used also in circumpositional constructions.

Nouns after prepositions in BT are used in four forms: in the direct case, in the oblique case, in the locative case, and with the indefiniteness marker *-ē* without any case endings. The oblique case is used after the following simple prepositions:

- *pa* 'for', which is used for beneficiary and purposive meanings:

(395)   *pa zāg-ā*   *yakk ǰwān-ēn*   *kištī-y-ē*   *ǰōṛ*   *kurt.*
      for boy-OBL one good-ATTR boat-HI-IND made do.PAST.3SG
      'He made a good boat for the boy.'

(396)   *gō wat-ī*   *mard-ā*   *dar būt-an*   *pa gardišt-ā.*
      with REFL-GEN husband-OBL PREV be.PAST-1PL for walk-OBL
      'I and my husband went out for a walk.'

(397)   *man-a k-ā-īn*   *pa mēmānī-ā.*
      I-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PRES-1SG for visit-OBL
      'I will come on a visit.'

- *bi* 'to, in, on, at', which indicates location and direction:

(398)   *ar*   *du brās*   *āt-ant*   *bi pādišā-ay ǰinikkō-ayā.*
      every two brother come.PAST-3PL to king-GEN daughter-LOC
      'Both brothers came to the king's daughter.'

(399)   *bi yakk čōl*   *u gyābān-ē y-ēš-ān-ī*
      in one sandy desert and desert-IND HI-DEM-PL-GEN
      dēmā   *bāz-ēn*   *šēr-ē*   *dar-a*   *bīt.*
      in front of many-ATTR lion-IND PREV-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
      'In a desert a great number of lions appeared in front of them.'

- *ša* 'from', which is used both for spatial and abstract meanings:

(400)   *ša*   *uštir-ay*   *pōst-ā*   *ṭukkur-ē burrit.*
      from camel-GEN skin-OBL piece-IND cut.PAST.3SG
      'He cut off a piece from the camel's skin.'

(401)   *man ša*   *ē*   *ṭapp-ān-a*   *na-rakk-īn.*
      I   from DEM wound-PL-IMPF NEG-be saved.PRES-1SG
      'I will not recover from these wounds.'

(402)   *ša*   *wat-ī*   *xalx̌-ā*   *bāz rāzī*   *būt-ant.*
      from REFL-GEN people-OBL very contented be.PAST-3PL
      'They were very content with their people.'

- *gō* 'with', which is used for instrumental and comitative meanings:

(403)   *am-ēš-ān-ā*   *tā*   *tārī gō ašš-ā*
      EMPH-DEM-PL-OBJ until dawn with millstone-OBL
      drušš-iš.
      SUBJ.grind.PRES-ENC.3PL
      'Grind these with the millstone until dawn.'

(404) *ĭinikk um wat-ī   sundūx-ān-ā gō*
      girl   FOC REFL-GEN chest-PL-OBJ with
      pučč-u-mučč-ān-a   zūr-īt.
      clothes-and-all-PL-IMPF take.PRES-3SG
      'As for the girl, she takes her chests with all the clothes.'

(405) *man gō ē   wat-ī   rāz-ā   čōn wat-ī*
      I   with DEM REFL-GEN appearance-OBL how REFL-GEN
      mās-u-piss-ay   dēmā   dar ā-īn?
      mother-and-father-GEN in front of PREV SUBJ.come.PRES-1SG
      'How could I come before my parents appearing like this?'

The preposition *gō*, used with the verbs *guštin* 'to say' and *nakl kurtin* 'to tell', marks the addressee:

(406) *gō tājir-ā   nakl-ī   kurt-ī.*
      with merchant-OBL story-ENC.3SG do.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
      'He related it to the merchant.'

(407) *pīramard āt   u gō mār-ā*
      old man   come.PAST.3SG and with snake-OBL
      gušt-ī.
      say.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
      'The old man came and said it to the snake.'

There are two complex prepositions in BT, which are constructed with the help of the *izafa*. These prepositions are used with the oblique case of a noun:

- *dēm-i* 'towards', which has a spatial meaning:

  (408) *rāstām dēm-i zāg-ay   ĭunṭ-ā-a   raw-t.*
        forward towards child-OBL.GEN cradle-OBL-IMPF go.PRES-3SG
        'He goes straight towards the child's cradle.'

  (409) *dukkāndār dēm-ā dēm-i pīrazāl-ā*
        shopkeeper face-OBJ towards old woman-OBL
        gardēnt.
        turn.CAUS.PAST.3SG
        'The shopkeeper turned his face towards the old woman.'

- *bād-i* 'after', which has a temporal meaning:

  (410) *bād-i činka waxt-ā   pādišā u wazīr pa iškār-ā   dar*
        after-IZ some time-OBL king   and vizier for hunting-OBL PREV
        būt-ant.
        be.PAST-3PL
        'After some time the king and the vizier went out for hunting.'

(411)   *bād-i čunt   sāl-ā   bi yakk čā-ē   sarā āt.*
           after several year-OBL to one   well-IND upon come.PAST.3SG
           'After several years he came to a well.'

The use of the locative case after prepositions has been described above (see p. 81).

After the preposition *ta/tā* 'till, until', which has both temporal and spatial meaning, either the direct case or the oblique case is used:

(412)   *ta say rōč gis-ay   tā   b-wasp-īt.*
           till three day house-OBL.GEN inside SUBJ-sleep.PRES-3SG
           'He has to lie at home for three days.'

(413)   *šap-ēn-ā   tā tārī gašt-ant.*
           night-ATTR-OBJ till dawn walk.PAST-3PL
           'They walked the whole night until dawn.'

(414)   *gō wat š-ingur   u   š-āngur   tā   digar-ā*
           with REFL from-here and from-there until afternoon-OBL
           abar-a   day-ant.
           word-IMPF give.PRES-3PL
           'They are talking with each other about this and that until the afternoon.'

(415)   *š-am-ēš-ī   guḍ balōč-ān-ī   tā*
           from-EMPH-DEM-GEN after Baloch-PL-GEN inside
           t-am-ē   āxir-ā   ā   nakl mant.
           until-EMPH-DEM end-OBL DEM story remain.PAST.3SG
           'From this time onwards that story remained among the Baloch.'

(416)   *b-ra-it   tā misr-ī   šār-ā.*
           SUBJ-go.PRES-2PL till Egypt-GEN town-OBL
           'Go to the town of Egypt.'

Indefinite nouns with the indefiniteness marker *-ē* do not change after prepositions:

(417)   *ta   awalī-y-ēn   sarā čō yakk ganōk-ē at-ay.*
           you.SG first-HI-ATTR on   like one fool-IND COP.PAST-2SG
           'At first you were like a fool.'

(418)   *bi rā-ā   gō   yakk warnā-y-ē   dričč-a*
           to road-OBL with one young man-HI-IND collision-IMPF
           kan-t.
           do.PRES-3SG
           'On the road he came across a young man.'

(419) *kawšdōč   pa yakk balā-ē   wat-ī   gis-ā*
       shoemaker for one   calamity-IND REFL-GEN house-OBJ
       na-šut.
       NEG-go.PAST.3SG
       'The shoemaker for some reason or other did not go home.'

(420) *ta   ša   yakk piššik-ē trussit-ay.*
       you.SG from one   cat-IND be frightened.PAST-2SG
       'You were frightened by a cat.'

8.3   Postpositions

All the postpositions in BT are nouns ending in *-ā*,[1] which follow a noun in
the genitive case in case it is definite. If a noun is indefinite (i.e. used with
the indefiniteness marker *-ē*), it does not take any case ending:

(421) *yakk nōk-ēn   kabr-ē   kinikkā ōštāt-ant.*
       one   new-ATTR tomb-IND beside   stand.PAST-3PL
       'They stood beside a new tomb.'

(422) *yakk gis-ē   tā   du asp-ā-a*
       one   house-IND inside two horse-OBJ-IMPF
       k-ill-īn.
       IMPF$_k$-leave.PRES-1SG
       'I will leave two horses in a house.'

As Filippone (1996: 60) noted, a Balochi speaker "cognitively regards any
object as if it were composed of different parts which are singled out mainly
through a process of metaphoric transposition. Models of all forms are the
human (or animal) body and the landmark". Thus, in BT the following body-
part terms are used as postpositions: *dēm* 'face' - *dēmā* 'in front of, be-
fore', *sar* 'head' - *sarā* 'on, upon', *pušt* 'back' - *puštā* 'behind',[2] *gwar* 'breast'
- *gwarā* 'on (clothes)', *pad* 'footprint' - *padā* 'after, behind':

(423) *pādišā kāsid-ay   dēmā šart-ē   išt-a.*
       king   messenger-GEN before condition-IND put.PAST-PP
       'The king laid down a condition before the messenger.'

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[1]The ending *-ā* can be either the ending of the oblique case (in circumpositional constuc-
tions), or the ending of the objective case (in postpositional constructions).

[2]The postposition *puštā* 'behind' is not used independently in the analysed material, but
together with the preposition *ša* 'from' it forms the circumpositional construction *ša … puštā*
'from behind'.

(424) *man um kōh-ay   sarā bālā   būt-ag*
       I   FOC mountain-GEN on   upwards be.PAST-PP
       na-kurt-un.
       NEG-do.PAST-1SG
       'I could not ascend the mountain.'

(425) *wat-ī   brās-ān-ī   gwarā zabr-ēn   pōšāk*
       REFL-GEN brother-PL-GEN on   good-ATTR clothes
       dāt.
       give.PAST.3SG
       'He put good clothes on his brothers.'

(426) *ā   u zāg-ī   tājir-ay   padā būt-ant.*
       DEM and son-ENC.3SG merchant-GEN after be.PAST-3PL
       'He and his son went after the merchant.'

The following landmark terms are used as postpositions: *ta(h)* 'inner part' - *ta(h)ā/tā* 'in, inside', *sarbir* 'upper part' - *sarbirā* 'on, upon', *čēr* 'hidden (covered) place' - *čērā* 'under', *burzag* 'higher part' - *burzagā* 'upwards, upon', *ǰālag* 'lower part' - *ǰālagā* 'downwards', *mānǰīn* 'middle' - *mānǰīnā* 'between', *kinikk* 'side' - *kinikkā* 'beside, near', *pānād* 'side' - *pānādā* 'near':

(427) *man gis-ay   tā   čēr   kapt-un.*
       I   house-GEN inside hidden fall.PAST-1SG
       'I hid myself in the house.'

(428) *wat um sarbir-ay   swār būt-un.*
       REFL also on.ENC.3SG rider be.PAST-1SG
       'I also mounted it.'

(429) *bāz-ēn   mardum-ē ǰam   būt-ant   urmāg-ay draxt-ay*
       many-ATTR people-IND gathered be.PAST-3PL date-GEN tree-GEN
       čērā.
       under
       'A lot of people gathered under the date tree.'

(430) *māī gō raxt-ay   sunṭ-ā bāl āt-ant   u bi*
       fish with plough-GEN edge-OBL high come.PAST-3PL and to
       ḍigar-ay   burzagā kapt-ant.
       earth-GEN upon   fall.PAST-3PL
       'Fish rose up with the edge of the plough and fell on the earth.'

(431) *kōh-ay   ǰālagā   y-ēr   kapt-inī   būt-ant.*
       mountain-GEN downwards HI-down fall.PAST-VA be.PAST-3PL
       'They were about to fall down from the mountain.'

(432) *bāz zēn-ay u ā-ī zām-ay mānǰīnā*
falcon saddle-GEN and DEM-GEN sword-GEN between
prinčit-ag-a bīt.
squeeze.PAST-PP-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
'The falcon will get squeezed between the saddle and his sword.'

(433) *ǰinēnzāg-ay kinikkā isn-u-ǰisn-ē na-w-at.*
woman-GEN near spirit-and-soul-IND NEG-HI-COP.PAST.3SG
'There was nobody near the woman.'

(434) *šēr iškārī u ǰinēnzāg-ay pānādā kapt.*
lion hunter and woman-GEN near fall.PAST.3SG
'The lion fell near the hunter and the woman.'

Other postpositions are formed from the following nouns: *bābatt, bāraw* 'matter, case' - *bābattā, bārawā* 'about':

(435) *am-ēš-ī bābattā čīz-ē gušt-ag-a*
EMPF-DEM-GEN about thing-IND say.PAST-PP-IMPF
na-kan-īn.
NEG-do.PRES-1SG
'I cannot say anything about it.'

All the postpositions can take the 3SG enclitic pronoun thus making forms ending in *-ay*:

(436) *wat-ī piss-ay paday kučakk-ā dīst.*
REFL-GEN father-GEN behind.ENC.3SG dog-OBJ see.PAST.3SG
'He saw the dog behind his father.'

(437) *zarrī-ēn libās um gwaray būt-ant.*
golden-ATTR clothing also on.ENC.3SG be.PAST-3PL
'She was also wearing the golden clothes.'

8.4 Circumpositions

In BT only three prepositions can combine with postpositions to make circumpositional constructions: *pa* 'for', *bi* 'to, in', and *ša* 'from'. The most frequent circumpositions are the following: *pa …xātirā* 'because of', *pa …wāsitā* 'for the sake of', *pa …padā* 'after', *bi …čērā* 'under', *bi …ta(h)ā/tā* 'in, inside', *bi …sarā* 'on, upon', *bi …dēmā* 'in front of', *bi …padā* 'after, on the track of', *bi …sarbirā* 'on top of', *ša …padā* 'from behind', *ša …dēmā*

'from the front of', *ša …čērā* 'from beneath', *ša …bābattā* 'about', *ša …bārawā* 'about', *ša …sarbirā* 'from top of', etc.:

(438) *dukkāndār-ay   ǰinēn pa yakk kār-ē   bi diga gis-ē*
shopkeeper-GEN wife   for one   business-IND to other house-IND
tā   raw-t.
inside go.PRES-3SG
'The shopkeeper's wife goes on some business to another house.'

(439) *pādišā am-ē   bīst   swār-ā   pa-ttī   padā dēm*
king   ENPH-DEM twenty rider-OBJ for-you.SG.GEN after face
dāt.
give.PAST.3SG
'The king sent these twenty riders to fetch you.'

(440) *bi bālišt-ay   čērā pādišā-ay mōr-ay   čalla int.*
in pillow-GEN under king-GEN signet-GEN ring COP.PRES.3SG
'The king's signet-ring is under the pillow.'

(441) *ta   am-āyrā   bi kāgad-ē   dēmā b-nimis-ay.*
you.SG EMPH-DEM.OBJ in paper-IND on   SUBJ-write.PRES-2SG
'You should write it down on a piece of paper.'

(442) *ša   dēmā-iš   um kass-ē   dar na-būt.*
from in front of-ENC.3PL also person-IND PREV NEG-be.PAST.3SG
'Nobody went out in front of them.'

The nouns *xātir* 'mind, sake', *wāsita* 'sake' are used only in the circumpositional constructions with the preposition *pa* 'for': *pa …xātirā* 'because of', *pa …wāsitā ← wāsita + ā* 'for the sake of'.

(443) *mnī   piss pa wānt-in-ay   xātirā   mnā gipt*
I.GEN father for learn.PAST-INF-GEN because I.OBJ take.PAST.3SG
u   ǰat.
and beat.PAST.3SG
'My father took me and beat me because I did not learn (lit. 'because of learning').'

(444) *ē   pālawānī-ān-ā   man pa xānbādurr-ī wāsitā-a*
DEM feat of strength-PL-OBJ I   for PN-GEN   sake-IMPF
kan-īn.
do.PRES-1SG
'I am doing these feats of strength for the sake of Khanbadur.'

A noun in the circumpositional construction *ša …dēmā* used in temporal meaning, stands in the oblique case:

(445)   *ša   kušt-in-ā   dēmā mnā b-ill   ki   man*
       from kill.PAST-INF-OBL before I.OBJ SUBJ-leave.PRES SUB I
       čurrō-ē   kan-īn.
       urine-IND SUBJ.do.PRES-1SG

       'Let me urinate before you kill me.'

(446)   *by-ā   ki ša marg-ā   dēmā trā   say*
       SUBJ-come.PRES SUB from death-OBL before you.OBJ three
       nasyatt b-kan-īn.
       advice   SUBJ-do.PRES-1SG

       'Let me give you three pieces of advice before I die.'

9. Verbs

9.1 Introduction

In order to represent a whole and simple reference of the verb morphology in BT, Table 9.1 shows all the finite forms of the verb *kurtin* 'to do' in the 1SG:

Table 9.1: *Finite verb forms*

	Indicative
Present	*man-a kan-īn*
Preterite	*man kurt-un*
Imperfect	*man-a kurt-un*
Perfect	*man kurt-ag-un*
Pluperfect	*man kurt-at-un*
	Subjunctive
Present	*man b-kan-īn*
Past	*man b-kurt-ēn-un*

The main syntactic function of the verb is the realisation of predicativity. Predicativity in BT is realized through the special verb grammatical categories of tense-aspect-mood (TAM), voice, person and number.

Dahl (2006: 577) identifies the TAM category as dependence of the grammatical differentiation of form of sentences on "parameters such as the character of the event, state, or process that is related in the sentence, how it relates temporally to the speech act and to other temporal entities, the epistemological and pragmatic character of the speech act and the speaker's degree of commitment". Chung and Timberlake (1985: 202) point out that "tense, aspect, and mood are categories that further specify or characterize the basic predication, which can be referred to as the event. Tense locates the event in time. Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of the event. Mood describes the actuality of the event in terms such as possibility, necessity or desirability".

Dahl (1980: 18) notes that "the semantic factors underlying the TAM categories are notoriously difficult to get at. A considerable part of the difficulties depends on the fact that one has to deal with a large number of closely related distinctions which tend to merge with each other in complex combinations". In the tense, aspect and mood systems of BT the interaction is so close, that it is possible to talk about an inseparable temporal–aspectual–modal system. Nevertheless, in order to understand the functionality of the TAM categories in BT, it is indispensable to delimit components of the TAM semantic field from each other and from other grammatical categories and non–grammatical factors closely related to them. This delimitation, according to Maslov (1978: 6), has to be based on semantic principles and not on the morphological ones, i.e. distinction between aspect, tense and mood must be provided as a distinction between meanings.

9.2 Structural types of verbs in BT

BT distinguishes between simple, compound and preverbal verbs. Some authors dealing with the NP morphology include the preverbal verbs (or prefixal verbs) into one group with the compound verbs and distinguish between 1) verbs with morphologically inseparable prefixes, 2) combinations of prepositions and adverbs with verbs and 3) combinations of verbs with preceding nominal parts (nouns and adjectives) (cf. e.g. Berthels 1926). Windfuhr (1979: 113) also states that "these verbs [i.e. compound verbs - S.A.] are constructs of preverbs and simplex verbs. The preverbs may be prefixes, adverbials, nominals (nouns, adjectives, or nominalized forms of verbs) or noun-phrases of varying complexity".[1] Verbs with morphologically inseparable prefixes are in this study regarded as simple verbs.

9.2.1 Simple verbs

The lexical meaning of simple verbs is expressed by the past or present stem. As Barjasteh (2003: 21) notes, "A stem is a morpheme which contains no inflectional affixes. . . . In Balochi . . . stem is either the bare, suffixless root, or a suffix is added to the root in order to form the stem." The past stem together with the ending *-in* forms the infinive of active voice: *dīstin* 'to see', *grētin* 'to weep', *guštin* 'to say'.

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[1]However, a synchronic analysis of the structure of these types of compounds both in NP (Rubinčik 2001: 214) and in BT results in the following division: 1) verbs with morphologically inseparable prefixes, for example *ātin ← *ā- + *ay-* 'to come', *āwurtin ← *ā- + *bar-* 'to bring', *ustātin ← *ava- + *stā-* 'to stand up' (Moškalo 1991: 63); 2) verbs with morphologically separable prefixes (preverbs), for example *dar ātin* 'to come out', *bir gaštin* 'to return'; 3) compound verbs, which consist of a nominal part and a simple verb (p. 155).

Number of simple verbs is restricted in BT with the total amount of about two hundred. The full list of simple verbs in BT encountered in the analysed material is given in Appendix C, p. 323.

9.2.2 Compound verbs

Compound verbs consist of two components: non-verbal (or nominal) and verbal, the first of which is autosemantic and the other is syntactic. The role of the non-verbal autosemantic component, which renders the lexical meaning of the compound verb, is played by a nominal part of speech - noun, adjective or adverb. The second component is a conjugated verb, which expresses various grammatical meanings of compound verbs, for example: *ǰawāb dātin* 'to answer', *zabr dīstin* 'to like', where *ǰawāb* is 'answer' and *dātin* 'to give', *zabr* is 'good' and *dīstin* is 'to see'. Other examples: *sarpad kurtin* 'to explain', *sarpad būtin* 'to understand'.

In addition to the light verbs *kurtin* and *būtin*[2] there are other simple verbs that function as the light verb. Below are given all these verbs and the most usual compounds, where they can be encountered:

1. *ātin : ā-* 'to come': *bāl ātin* 'to stand up, to rise', *nazz ātin* 'to gather (vi.)';
2. *āwurtin : ār-* 'to bring': *bāl āwurtin* 'to raise', *nazz āwurtin* 'to gather (vt.)', *bi ǰā āwurtin* 'to accomplish';
3. *burtin : bar-* 'to take away, to carry away': *bad burtin* 'to hate', *dam burtin* 'to be tired', *(y)er burtin* 'to swallow', *bi rāh burtin* 'to fulfill';
4. *dātin : day-* 'to give': *abar dātin* 'to talk', *āp dātin* 'to give to drink, to water', *bāl dātin* 'to free (bird), to fly (kite)', *čer dātin* 'to hide', *dēm dātin* 'to send', *gis dātin* 'to marry off', *gōn dātin* 'to drive, to pursue', *gwāzī dātin* 'to cheat, to deceive', *irr dātin* 'to throw away', *ǰawāb dātin* 'to answer', *ǰōš dātin* 'to boil (vt.)', *nišān dātin* 'to show', *salām dātin* 'to greet';
5. *dāštin : dār-* 'to have': *bāwar dāštin* 'to trust, to believe', *dil dāštin* 'to be in love', *dōst dāštin* 'to like, to love', *wašš dāštin* 'to like';
6. *dīstin : gind-* 'to see': *ǰwān dīstin* 'to approve, to like', *gandag dīstin* 'to dislike', *(watī) guzarānā dīstin* 'to survive', *zabr dīstin* 'to like', *zāg dīstin* 'to give birth';
7. *giptin : gir-* 'to take': *bō giptin* 'to smell out, to discover', *dam giptin* 'to have rest', *dēmā giptin* 'to turn one's steps', *gardin giptin* 'to confess';
8. *ištin : ill-* 'to leave, to let': *nām ištin* 'to name', *padā ištin* 'to put aside';
9. *kaptin : kap-* 'to fall': *čēr kaptin* 'to hide (vi.), to conceal oneself', *(y)ēr kaptin* 'to descend', *kassī padā kaptin* 'to follow', *kassī ōšā kaptin* 'to recall someone', *tār kaptin* 'to fall behind';

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[2]It is possible to build a compound verb from practically any word in BT with the help of these two light verbs.

10. *kašš(i)tin : kašš-* 'to pull': *ā(h) kašš(i)tin* 'to sigh', *(bi) dārā kaššitin* 'to execute, to put to death', *dil kašš(i)tin* 'to want', *dast kašš(i)tin* 'to touch', *kassī dastā ša ... kašš(i)tin* 'to stop (someone from doing something)', *gōš kašš(i)tin* 'to listen; to obey', *pašōmānī kašš(i)tin* 'to regret', *sizāī kašš(i)tin* 'to suffer', *tačk kašš(i)tin* 'to sprawl';
11. *kaṭṭitin : kaṭṭ-* 'to win, to gain': *nām kaṭṭitin* 'to become famous';
12. *mantin : mān-* 'to remain, to stay': *ayrān mantin* 'to be surprised';
13. *sistin : sind-* 'to split, to break': *pāč sistin* 'to tear off';
14. *sātitin : sāt-* 'to keep': *rā(h) sātitin* 'to be on the watch for smb.';
15. *šāntin : šān-* 'to throw, to vomit': *āp šāntin* 'to sprinkle';
16. *wārtin : war-* 'to eat': *gwāzī wārtin* 'to be cheated', *ġussa wārtin* 'to grieve', *sadrikk wārtin* 'to stumble', *sōgind wārtin* 'to swear, to vow', *šōr wārtin* 'to stir (vi.)'.

Compound verbs in BT are not homogeneous from the point of view of grammatical relations between their components. Compound verbs have features of analytical constructions and are at the same time similar to unbound word combinations. Nominal and verbal components of a compound verb preserve an independent stress and are separated from each other with a pause. In positive sentences the main stress falls on the nominal part and the secondary stress is on the verbal part; in negative sentences the main stress falls on the negation particle and in interrogative sentences the main stress can fall either on the nominal or on the verbal part of the compound verb depending on type of question.[3] Thus, both parts of a compound verb are phonetically independent from one another.

Compound verbs in BT have several common features with compound verbs in NP. In both languages a noun, which forms the nominal part of compound verbs, can be used without any morphological elements expressing the whole class of similar objects or phenomena, i.e. it can lose its paradigmatic features. Nevertheless, under certain syntactic conditions the nominal part in both languages can reveal its grammatical properties and take on the indefiniteness marker, the plural ending, the object marker and can be modified by adjectives. In BT the range of morphological activity of the nominal part is wider than in NP, because the nominal part in BT can be declined. Moreover, the declension of the nominal part can change the whole syntactic structure of a sentence. For example, the compound verb *ǰawāb dātin* 'to answer', depending on whether the nominal part is definite or indefinite, can be met in two different syntactic constructions:

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[3]Normally the stress falls on the nominal part of the compound verb also in questions, but in yes-no questions the stress can be shifted onto the verbal part, i.e. the last syllable of the verb stem for topicalisation purposes.

(447) *man āyrā   ǰawāb dāt-un.*
       I   DEM.OBJ answer give.PAST-1SG
       'I answered him'.

(448) *man ā-ī   ǰawāb-ā   dāt-un.*
       I   DEM-GEN answer-OBJ give.PAST-1SG
       'I answered him'.

The use of the nominal part in the objective case in example (448) presumes that the following sentence most probably contains direct speech. Thus, the nominal component of compound verbs in BT never remains out of syntactic connections with other words in a sentence.

Among the compound verbs in BT it is reasonable to distinguish between proper BT verbal compounds (where belong also borrowings from AR and NP) and recent borrowings from Turkmen and Russian. The nominal component of proper BT compound verbs can be presented:

1. With a generic noun in the direct case:

   (449) *tāǰir   arkatt   kurt.*
          merchant movement do.PAST.3SG
          'The merchant stood up.'

   (450) *m-nind   u gōš b-kašš.*
          SUBJ-sit.PRES and ear SUBJ-pull.PRES
          'Sit down and listen'.

   (451) *ta   pače nān-a   na-war-ay?*
          you.SG why bread-IMPF NEG-eat.PRES-2SG
          'Why don't you eat?'

2. With a noun with the indefiniteness marker *-ē*. In this case the indefiniteness marker eliminates genericity, (cf. Windfuhr 1989: 533):

   (452) *dukkāndār nālatt-ē   kurt.*
          shop-keeper curse-IND do.PAST.3SG
          'The shop-keeper cursed (lit. 'made a curse').'

   (453) *pa wat āp-u-taām-ē   kurt-a   u šut-a.*
          for REFL water-and-food-IND do.PAST-PP and go.PAST-PP
          'He has made some food for himself and gone'.

3. With a noun in the objective case:

(454) *ā-ī*　　*salām-ay*　*ǰawāb-ā*
　　　DEM-GEN greeting-GEN answer-OBJ
　　　na-dāt-ī.
　　　NEG-give.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
　　　'He did not answer his greeting.'

All the verbs borrowed from Turkmen are adopted by BT as compound verbs (see also Axenov 2003). There are two types of verbal borrowings in BT. If the Turkmen verb has a stem which can be used separately as an adjective or a noun, then the verbal compound is constructed in BT in the following way: the detached nominal part (stem of the Turkmen verb) is accompanied by the light verbs *kurtin* 'to do' or *būtin* 'to be': *ballī kurtin* 'to appoint' (TURKM. *bellemek*), where the nominal part *belli* 'well-known, obvious' has been borrowed in the form of *ballī* with the same meaning. The nominal part can be used separately in Balochi as an adjective in attributive and predicative functions:

(455) *mahammad ballī-ēn*　　*mardum-ē.*
　　　NP　　　　　　well-known-ATTR man-IND
　　　'Mahammad is a well-known man.'

On the other hand, if a Turkmen verb is simple or if its nominal part can be built in Turkmen by adding supplemental suffixes, then the verbal compound is constructed as follows in BT: as a nominal part the infinite form of the Turkmen verb in *-ǰak* plus the verbs *kurtin* or *būtin* is used. In Turkmen the form in *-ǰak/-ǰek* is not conjugated and is used to express a definite future action, but in BT this meaning has been lost and the form has acquired nominal morphological attributes, which can be revealed only in verbal compounds. This form is not used in BT in other contexts. Moreover, the BT borrowings do not preserve the vocalic harmony of the Turkmen source words, thus only forms in *-ǰak* are possible. For example: *γaraššakk kurtin* 'to wait' (TURKM. *γarašmak*). In Turkmen the definite future tense of this verb would be *γarašǰak* (pronounced *γaraššakk*), so in the BT form, as well as in the Turkmen form, the initial consonant of the suffix is assimilated to the last consonant of the stem. In the analysed texts, among others, the following compound verbs have been found: *γāplaǰakk kurtin* 'to pack' (TURKM. *γāplamak*); *bašarǰakk kurtin* 'to be able, to know' (TURKM. *bašarmak*); *tabširǰakk kurtin* 'to charge, to instruct' (TURKM. *tabšɪrmak*); *sūšurǰakk kurtin* 'to move, to push' (TURKM. *sȳšɣrmøk*). Examples:

(456) *agar ta   ē   kār-ā   bašarǰakk-a na-kan-ay,   waylā*
       if   you.SG DEM work-OBJ skill-IMPF   NEG-do.PRES-2SG in vain
       mnā um guṭṭ-ušk   ma-kan,   wat-rā   um.
       I.OBJ also throat-dry PROH-do.PRES REFL-OBJ also

       'If you can't do this work, don't make both my and your throat sore
       in vain.'

(457) *stōlā   kamm-ē āngurī sūšurǰakk kan.*
       table-OBJ little-IND aside   movement do.IMPV

       'Move aside the table a little.'

It seems that this method of borrowing is active, and depending on the dis-
course situation it is possible to build such a verbal compound in BT from
almost every Turkmen simple verb.

Russian verbs, if borrowed, are taken in their infinitive form to which the
light verbs *kurtin* or *būtin* are attached:

(458) *gō dap-ā   am-ē   rang am-ēš-ā*
       with mouth-OBL EMPH-DEM way EMPH-DEM-OBJ
       tačīt-a   kan-t.
       sharpen-IMPF do.PRES-3SG

       'With his mouth he sharpens it (i.e. sword) in this way.'

In the example (458) the compound verb *tačīt kurtin* has the Russian infini-
tive *točit'* 'to sharpen' as a nominal unchangeable part.

The verbal part of compound verbs preserves its paradigmatic features and
can take the prefixes *k-* and *bi-*. As a verbal component of compound verbs
most frequently the light verbs *kurtin* 'to do' and *būtin* 'to be, to become' are
used. The former generally builds transitive verbs and the latter intransitive:
ǰam kurtin 'to gather (vt.)' - *ǰam būtin* 'to gather (vi.)', *sī kurtin* 'to inform' -
sī būtin 'to be informed', *pāč kurtin* 'to open (vt.)' - *pāč būtin* 'to open (vi.)'.
However, a number of verbs with intransitive meaning can be built with the
help of the verb *kurtin*, for example: *zindagī kurtin* 'to live', *ābāzī kurtin* 'to
swim, to bathe' etc. The verbal part in a number of compound verbs can
be replaced with another verb without changing its meaning, for example:
xayrāt dātin - xayrāt kurtin 'to offer, to sacrifice'.

It is impossible to establish the exact number of compound verbs in BT,
because compounds can freely be created with new nominal parts in the
process of speech.

9.2.3 Preverbal verbs

Preverbal verbs in BT are represented as a combination of a simple verb with one of the two lexical preverbs: *bir* and *dar*. These preverbs, in contradistinction to the morphological prefixes *k-* and *bi-*, are derivational, and either expand the lexical meaning of the verb or change it completely. The preverb *bir* is used only as a part of preverbal verbs and as a part of the complex postposition *sarbir* 'on top of', while *dar* has an independant lexical meaning in BT and can be declined. When it is used in the genitive, it functions as an adjective with the meaning 'strange, foreign': *daray mulk* 'foreign country'. In the oblique case it is used as an adverb with the meaning 'outside' and is partly synonymous to the adverb *ḍannā*, for example:

(459) *yakk mēmān-ē ast   ki ša   dar-ā-a*
       one   guest-IND FCOP.PRES.3SG SUB from PREV-OBL-IMPF
       k-ayt.
       IMPF$_k$-come.PRES.3SG
       'There is a guest who comes from outside.'

As a part of preverbal verbs these preverbs have the following meanings. The preverb *bir* in combination with verbs *kurtin* 'to do' and *dātin* 'to give' denotes an upward movement, for example:

(460) *āhū-ay gōšt-ān-ā   bir kurt-ant   u ǰōš*
       deer-GEN meat-PL-OBJ PREV do.PAST-3PL and boiling
       dāt-ant.
       give.PAST-3PL
       'They put the deer's meat on the fire and boiled (it).'

(461) *guḍān   ā   zaytūn-ī čārgad-ā zurt-ant   u wat-rā*
       afterwards DEM PN-GEN shawl-OBJ take.PAST-3PL and REFL-OBJ
       bir   dāt-ant.
       PREV give.PAST-3PL
       'Then they took Zaytun's shawl and covered themselves (with it).'

In combination with the verb *gaštin* 'to walk, to search' the preverb *bir* forms a verb with the meaning 'to come back, to return', for example:

(462) *nādiršā žand u halāk   padā bi šār-ā   bir*
       NP   weary and exhausted back to town-OBL PREV
       gašt.
       walk.PAST.3SG
       'Nadirshah weary and exhausted returned back to the town.'

The preverb *dar* in combination with verbs *būtin* 'to be', *kurtin* 'to do', *ātin* 'to come', *kaptin* 'to fall', *mantin* 'to stay' denotes an outward movement: *dar būtin* 'to come out', example (463); *dar kurtin* 'to take out, to draw, to drive out', examples (464) and (465); *dar ātin* 'to appear, to rise', examples (466), (467) and (468); *dar kaptin* 'to go out', examples (469) and (470); *dar mantin* 'to be in need, to starve', example (471).

(463) *zāg ša   čēr-kapt-ag-ēn   ǰā-ā   dar*
       boy from hidden part-fall.PAST-PP-ATTR place-OBL PREV
       būt.
       be.PAST.3SG
       'The boy came out from his hideout.'

(464) *ta   zām-ā   dar kan!*
       you.SG sword-OBJ PREV SUBJ.do.PRES
       'Draw your sword!'

(465) *b-ill-ī   pādišā mnā ša šār-ā   dar*
       SUBJ-leave.PRES-ENC.3SG king   I.OBJ from town-OBL PREV
       p-kan-t.
       SUBJ-do.PRES-3SG
       'Let the king drive me out from the city.'

(466) *tārī   mālā ki rōč dar na-y-āt-at*
       morning early SUB sun PREV NEG-HI-come.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG
       wat-ī   uštur-ān-ā   laḍḍit.
       REFL-GEN camel-PL-OBJ load.PAST.3SG
       'Early in the morning, when the sun had not yet risen, he loaded up his camels.'

(467) *pīramard am-ē   ki āt   rādag bīt,*
       old man   EMPH-DEM SUB come.PAST.3SG en route be.PRES-3SG
       dīst   ta mār dar āt.
       see.PAST.3SG that snake PREV come.PAST.3SG
       'When the old man was going to set out, he saw that the snake appeared.'

(468) *brās-ī   tunnag būt,   dem-ā-iš*
       brother-ENC.3SG thirsty be.PAST.3SG face-OBJ-ENC.3PL
       ōn-ē   dar āt.
       blood-IND PREV come.PAST.3SG
       'Her brother became thirsty, (and suddenly) in front of them appeared blood.'

(469) *šā abbās wat-rā   γarīb pōš kurt   u   dar*
NP   REFL-OBJ poor cover do.PAST.3SG and PREV

kapt   bi šahr-ā.
fall.PAST.3SG to town-OBL

'Shah Abbas dressed himself as a poor man and came out into the town.'

(470) *mōlid   dar kapt   u gadā-ān-ā   gušt.*
maidservant PREV fall.PAST.3SG and beggar-PL-OBJ say.PAST.3SG

'Maidservant went out and told the beggars.'

(471) *y-ē   tājir   am-ē   rang xwār būt   ki pa*
HI-DEM merchant EMPH-DEM way poor be.PAST.3SG SUB for

wat-ī   nān-ā   dar mant.
REFL-GEN bread-OBL PREV stay.PAST.3SG

'This merchant was so poor that he starved (was short of his bread).'

The preverbs *bir* and *dar* as parts of preverbal verbs cannot take case endings. The morphological elements which can appear between preverbs and verbs are the aspectual particle *-a*, the negation particle *na-*, the prohibitive particle *ma-*, and the enclitic pronouns.

9.3   Verb morphological elements

All verb forms are built with the help of the following morphological elements: stems, personal endings, morphological prefixes, the causative suffix, an aspectual particle, negation and prohibitive particles and the copula.

9.3.1   Verb stems

All verbs have two stems: a present stem and a past stem (Barjasteh Delforooz 2003: see also). The former is used in finite forms of the non-past temporal level and to form the present participle. The latter is used in finite forms of the past temporal level, and to form the past participle and infinitive.

The past stem always ends in *-t* and can be obtained by detaching the ending *-in* from the infinitive, for example: *guštin – gušt* 'to say', *burtin - burt* 'to take away'.

Morphological differences between present and past stems of simple verbs in the synchronic perspective result in a distinction between regular and irregular formations of past stems from present stems. As Barjasteh (2003:

26) states, "Synchronically speaking, we might call Balochi and NP verbs regular when their past stem is formed by adding one of the suffixes *-t, -it* or *-āt* (*-t, -d, īd, -ād* for NP) to the present stem without any further changes". Thus, the regular formations in BT include the following three groups:

1. Verbs which derive the present stem by detaching the suffix *-it* from the past stem:[4] *andit- : and-* from *anditin* 'to laugh', *buḍḍit- : buḍḍ-* from *buḍḍitin* 'to sink', *burrit- : burr-* from *burritin* 'to cut', *čaššit- : čašš-* from *čaššitin* 'to taste', *ǰakkit- : ǰakk-* from *ǰakkitin* 'to cough', *kašš(i)t- : kašš-* from *kašš(i)tin* 'to drag', *lōṭit- : lōṭ-* from *lōṭitin* 'to want', etc.;
2. Verbs which derive the present stem by detaching the suffix *-t* from the past stem: *gušt- : guš-* from *guštin* 'to say', *kapt- : kap-* from *kaptin* 'to fall', *kušt- : kuš-* from *kuštin* 'to kill', *rast- : ras-* from *rastin* 'to arrive', etc. This group includes also all the causative verbs (see p. 170), for example: *gardēnt- : gardēn:-* from *gardēntin* 'to turn', *trussēnt- : trussēn-* from *trussēntin* 'to scare', *rakkēnt- : rakkēn:-* from *rakkēntin* 'to rescue', etc. The verb *gwast- : gwaz-* from *gwastin* 'to pass' also belongs to this group, because the voiceless *-s-* before the suffix of the past stem appears as a result of devoicing of the consonant *-z-*: **gwazt → gwast*.
3. Verbs which derive the present stem by detaching the suffix *-āt* from the past stem: *ustāt- : ust-* from *ustātin* 'to rise, to get up', *ōštāt- : ōšt-* from *ōštātin* 'to stop, to wait'.

The irregular stem formations in BT include the following alternations:

1. Present stems in *-č*, which changes to *-t* in past stems: *dōč- : dōt-* from *dōtin* 'to sew', *mič- : mit(k)-* from *mitin (mičitin)* 'to suck', *rēč- : rēt-* from *rētin* 'to pour', *sōč- : sōt-* from *sōtin* 'to burn', etc.;
2. Present stems in *-rd*, *-r* and *-ll*, which change to *-št* in past stems: *gard- : gašt-* from *gaštin* 'to wander, to seek', *dār- : dāšt-* from *dāštin* 'to have', *ill- : išt-* from *ištin* 'to put';
3. Present and past stems with vowel alternation: *rōp- : rupt-* from *ruptin* 'to sweep', *šōd- : šušt-* from *šuštin* 'to wash', *dōš- : dušt-* from *duštin* 'to milk', *bar- : burt-* from *burtin* 'to carry away', *ār- : ā(w)urt-* from *ā(w)urtin* 'to bring', *ba(y)- : būt-* from *būtin* 'to be';
4. Present stems with a final nasal: *čin- : čit-* from *čitin* 'to pluck', *zin- : zīt-* from *zītin* 'to take, to buy', *kan- : kurt-* from *kurtin* 'to do', *uškin- : uškit-* from *uškitin* 'to hear';
5. Present stems with the nasal infix: *band- : bast-* from *bastin* 'to close', *sind- : sist-* from *sistin* 'to tear', *nind- :ništ-* from *ništin* 'to sit';
6. Stems in *-s*: *wasp- : wapt-* from *waptin* 'to sleep' (with the metathesis *ps → sp*);

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[4]This group includes several denominative verbs: *duzzitin : duzz-* 'to steal' from *duzz* 'thief', *larzitin : larz-* 'to tremble' from *larz* 'tremble'.

7. Stems with the historical *-ya-* (cf. e.g. Sokolov 1956: 82): *da(y)- : dāt-* from *dātin* 'to give', *mir- : murt-* from *murtin* 'to die', *gir- : gipt-* from *giptin* 'to take';

8. Suppletive stems: *gind- : dīst-* from *dīstin* 'to see', *ra(w)- : šut-* from *šutin* 'to go'. The verb *ā(y)- : āt-* from *ātin* 'to come' can belong either to this group or to the second group of verbs with regular stem formations.

9.3.2 Personal endings

Finite verb forms are built with the help of personal endings which are unique for every person, except for the 1PL where inclusive and exclusive forms have the same personal ending. Inflection of finite verb forms is presented in BT with two types of personal markers: present personal endings, which are attached to the present stem, and past personal endings, which are attached to the forms containing the past stem. Personal endings are presented in the Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: *Personal endings*

Person	Present	Past
1SG	*-īn*	*-un*
2SG	*-ay*	
3SG	*-īt/-t*	*-Ø*
1PL	*-an*	
2PL	*-it*	
3PL	*-ant*	

The present ending *-t* in 3SG is often used after present stems ending in the following consonants: *-r, -y, -n* and *-w*. Verbs with the ending *-t* are further distinguished as a separate conjugational class for the verb forms of the non-past verb finite forms (see p. 176).

Present and past personal endings differ only in the first and third person singular. In the third person singular the past personal ending is zero.

9.3.3 Morphological prefixes

There are two morphological prefixes in BT: *bi-* and *k-*.[5] The prefix *bi-* is used in three forms: imperative, present subjunctive and past subjunctive. The prefix has four phonetical variants: *bi-/b-/p-/m-*. The full form of the prefix (*bi-*) is used with monosyllabic stems for emphatic purposes. The use of the other variants depends on the first sound of the verbal stem. The morphophonemic variant *b-* is used before voiced consonants, for example: *bǰan* 'hit!' from *ǰatin* 'to hit', *blōṭ* 'request!' from *loṭitin* 'to request, to want', *brōp* 'sweep!' from *ruptin* 'to sweep'. The voiceless *p-* is used before an initial voiceless consonant in the verb stem: *pkašš* 'pull!' from *kašš(i)tin* 'to pull'. The *m-* form of the prefix was registered only in the verb *ništin* 'to sit down' - *mnind* 'sit down!' and in its causative counterpart *nādēntin* 'to seat' - *mnādēn* 'seat! help to sit down!'.[6]

Use of this prefix with simple verbs beginning with a consonant is optional. There are two simple verbs in BT, which never drop the suffix *bi-*, although they begin with a consonant. These verbs are: *šutin* 'to go' - *bra* 'go!', *braīn* 'if I go' and *wārtin* 'to eat' - *bōr* 'eat!', *bōrīn* 'if I eat'.

The prefix *bi-* is always stressed, but when it is omitted, the stress shifts onto the first syllable of the verb.

Use of the prefix *bi-* is obligatory if the present stem of a simple verb begins with a vowel. Before initial *a-/ā-* the vowel of the prefix *bi-* turns into glide, for example: *byār* 'bring!' from *āwurtin* 'to bring', *byand* 'laugh!' from *anditin* 'to laugh', *byā* 'come! from *ātin* 'to come'. Before other initial vowels the phonetical variant *b-* is used, for example: *bill* 'leave!' from *ištin* 'to leave', *bōšt* 'stand!' or 'wait!' from *ōštātin* 'to stand, to wait', *bust* 'get up!' from *ustātin* 'to get up'.

The *bi-* prefix is never used before a present stem of a simple verb with the initial *b-*: *bar* 'take away!' from *burtin* 'to take away', *band* 'close!' from *bastin* 'to close', *baxšā* 'forgive!' from *bāxšātin* 'to forgive', *bay* 'be!' from *būtin* 'to be'. It can never be attached to the verbs containing a preverb either, for example: *bir gard* 'come back!' from *bir gaštin* 'to come back', *bir day* 'cover!' from *bir dātin* 'to cover', *dar ā* 'come out!' from *dar ātin* 'to come out', *dar ār* 'take out!' from *dar āwurtin* 'to take out'. It is not often used with compound verbs: *bāl ār* 'raise!' from *bāl āwurtin* 'to raise', *sōǰ ka(n)* 'ask!' from *soǰ kurtin* 'to ask', although here forms with the prefix *bi-* are also possible, for example: *dūr pkanit* 'remove!' from *dūr kurtin* 'to remove'. Likewise, this prefix is never used in the negative forms.

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[5]The prefix *k-* is described below on p. 166.
[6]The verb *nimistin* 'to write', which also has the initial *n-*, can be used either with *bi-*: *binmis* 'write!' (with dropping of the first syllable of the stem) or with *b-*: *bnimis*.

9.3.4 Aspectual grammatical morphemes

BT has the following grammatical morphemes to express aspectual semantics: the enclitic particle -*a* and the morphological prefix *k*-. The aspectual particle -*a* and the prefix *k*- in BT are used to build the TAM forms of the present indicative and the imperfect indicative. In the present indicative the particle -*a* and the prefix *k*- are also the morphological markers of the indicative mood. In other moods the particle -*a* and the prefix *k*- are not used.[7]

The idea of the "meaningless" (cf. e.g. Barker & Mengal 1969: 149). vowel in Rakhshani dialects was rejected by Elfenbein in his article "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Helmand and Nimruz", where he notes: "There is no doubt, however, that the *a*- has a function in Af, as in other Ra (including Ma)... Its strength of function appears to diminish towards the south; it also lives in EHB, though only sporadically..." (Elfenbein 1979: 43).[8] In the rest of the Balochi dialects, according to Elfenbein, this morpheme does not have any semantic value (Elfenbein 1990: ix–xvii).

Sokolov considers "the prefix (or prefixes) -*a k*-" as an equivalent of the Persian prefix *mi*- in the present indicative and in the imperfect indicative (Sokolov 1956: 84, 87). In the same way, Buddruss identifies the aspectual particle -*a* for the Balochi dialect spoken in Afghanistan as a meaningful affix and not as an anaptyctic vowel, which has "den funktionellen Wert des persischen Präfixes *me/mi*" (Buddruss 1989: 62). Buddruss also states, that with a present stem the -*a* builds the present tense and with a past stem it builds the imperfect (1989: 62).

In his description of the Sarawani dialect of Balochi, Baranzehi (2003: 89) states, that in the present-future indicative and in the past tense imperfective aspect the element -*a* is added either to the nominal part of the compound or "is also often added to the previous word in the case of non-compound verbs. It is never added to the verb itself, rather, it is enclitic to the previous word". He also notes, that in the present-future indicative this element "is not common in Pakistani Balochi" Baranzehi (2003: 89). The prefix *k*- is not mentioned at all for the Sarawani dialect.

Thus, the particle -*a* has been registered for different dialects of the Balochi language. Nevertheless, its degree of grammaticalisation is still unestablished for other dialects than western Balochi.

There is no single opinion among the researchers on whether the affix -*a* should be characterized as a prefix or as a suffix. Elfenbein notes, that we

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[7] In imperative and subjunctive *k*- is replaced with the morphological prefix *bi*-.
[8] Elfenbein's abbreviations for the dialects of the Balochi language: Af - the dialect spoken in Afghanistan; Ra - Rakhshani; Ma - Makrani; EHB - Eastern Hill Balochi.

can deal either "with a prefixed *a-* (as Europeans have tended to describe it) or with a suffixed *-a* on the preceding word (as the Baloč themselves write it)" (Elfenbein 1979: 43). According to Buddruss (1989: 62), the particle *-a* is attached not as a verb prefix, but as an affix to the preceding word. He states: "Das Morpheme *a* ist innerhalb der Verbalphrase gleichsam nicht "frei", sondern an ein Pronomen, Nomen oder Adverb "gebunden" ... Auch schreibende Mutterschprachler des Baloci geben dies *a*, wenn überhaupt, durch Zusatz von *alif* oder *faṭha* an dem Wort, das dem Verb vorangeht, wieder" (Buddruss 1989: 62). In the same way, the Baloch of Turkmenistan when trying to write their own language in Cyrillic script never add the *-a* to the verb.

Taking into consideration all the above, it seems to be reasonable to regard the particle *-a* in BT as an affix, which is attached enclitically to the word immediately preceding the verb. The affix *-a* and the prefix *k-* in the present and imperfect indicative, cannot be considered as a prefix *ak-*, because they do not make up a single morpheme and can be used separately. In negative forms the consonant *k-* is replaced with the *y-*: *man-a kāīn — man-a na-yāīn* 'I will come' - 'I will not come'. Moreover, the prefix *k-* in comparison with the affix *-a* seems to be less grammaticalised, although in a number of cases when the particle *-a* can not be used, the prefix *k-* is the only morphological element to express a definite TAM category (see below).

Sokolov (1956: 84) distinguishes between four combinations of "prefixes" *-a k-* depending on the phonetic environment:

1. C-a k-V: *laškar-a k-ayt* 'the troop will come';
2. C-a C: *guǰāngur-a raway?* 'where are you going?';
3. V k-V: *man tī myāntāīēn gwārā kārīn* 'I will bring your middle sister';
4. V C: *rōbā bi watī dilā gušīt* 'the fox tells to itself'.

However, the combinations V k-V and V C are impossible for BT, because in both of them the last vowel of the first word always takes the particle *-a*, thus forming the combinations V-a k-V and V-a C. As Sokolov states further (1956: 84), the particle *-a* "sometimes can be heard also after a vowel: *bā-a kanīn* 'I will sell". The combination V k-V is admissable only if the first word of the combination ends with the indefiniteness marker *-ē*.

Buddruss also states, that the use of the particle *-a* is subject to restrictions of the phonetic neighbourhood, and the particle appears "nur dann, wenn ein auf Konsonant endendes Nomen, Pronomen oder Adverb dem Verbum vorangeht" (1989: 63). In BT, as is seen in the analysed material, the phonetic neighbourhood is irrelevant for the particle *-a*. After vowels the particle *-a* can be met in conjunctions even of three vowels, for example: *trā ē tilāā-a dant* 'he will give you this gold coin', which under a normal speech tempo results in a fusion consisting only of one long *ā*, and can be written

by the Baloch of Turkmenistan, who never indicate long vowels, as *tra e tila dant*. Nevertheless, in a more moderate tempo the pronunciation of the two grammatical morphemes (*ā* of the objective case and the enclitic particle -*a*) can clearly be heard with a pause made between them, thus connecting the particle -*a* with the following verb.

The particle -*a* can not be used in the following cases:[9]

1. Before the verb *dāštin* 'to have':

   (472)   *man gō   pādišā-ā kār   dār-īn.*
           I   with king-OBL work have.PRES-1SG
           'I have buisiness with the king.'

2. After the indefiniteness marker -*ē*:

   (473)   *čōrīka u   ǰinikkō dīst-ant   ta ā-w-ān-ī   padā*
           boy   and girl   see.PAST-3PL that DEM-HI-PL-GEN after
           bāz-ēn   dēb-ē   k-ā-w-ant.
           many-ATTR demon-IND IMPF$_k$-come.PRES-HI-3PL
           'The boy and the girl saw that many demons are after them.'

   (474)   *ē   ša yakk watan-ē   k-āt-ant.*
           DEM from one country-IND IMPF$_k$-come.PAST-3PL
           'They were coming from one (and the same) land.'

3. The particle -*a* cannot be used after the formant -*rā*, added to the indefiniteness marker -*ē*:

   (475)   *zāg bēsabrī-a   kan-t   u yakk anār-ē-rā*
           boy anxiety-IMPF do.PRES-3SG and one pomegranate-IND-OBJ
           wār-t   u ǰinēnzāg-ē   bīt.
           eat.PRES.3SG and woman-IND be.PRES.3SG
           'The boy becomes impatient and eats one pomegranate and becomes a woman.'

   Nevertheless, the particle -*a* is commonly used after pronouns in the objective case, which include the formant -*rā* as a case marker:

   (476)   *man trā-a   guš-īn.*
           I   you.OBJ-IMPF tell.PRES-1SG
           'I am telling you.'

4. Before the word *am/um* 'also, even, and':

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[9]The absence of the particle -*a* does not influence the use of the prefix *k*-.

(477) *māsil-ē   raw-t   u zāg-ay piss-ā   um*
envoy-IND go.PRES-3SG and boy-GEN father-OBJ also
k-ārī-t.
IMPF$_k$-bring.PRES-3SG
'An envoy goes and brings also the boy's father.'

(478) *šēr dwārag bi-ttī   ḍigār-ā   sayl kurt-in-ā*
lion again   to-you.SG.GEN field-OBL view do.PAST-INF-OBJ
hič waxt pikr   um na-kan-t.
none time thought also NEG-do.PRES-3SG
'The lion will never again even think to take a look at your field.'

It is important to note, that the dropping of the conjunction *am/um* restores here the aspectual particle *-a*: *māsilē rawt u zāgay pissā-a kārīt* and *šēr dwārag bittī ḍigārā sayl kurtinā hič waxt pikr-a na-kant*. The conjunction *am/um* eliminates the particle *-a* only if it is used immediately before the verb. In other cases the presence in a sentence of this conjunction does not influence the use of the particle *-a*, for example:

(479) *ǰinikk um wat-ī   sundūx-ān-ā gō pučč-u-mučč-ān-a*
girl   also REFL-GEN chest-PL-OBJ with garment-PL-IMPF
zūr-īt.
take.PRES-3SG
'And the girl takes her chests with various garments.'

5. At the beginning of a sentence or a clause. Thus, the aspectual particle *-a* is never used before the conjunction of general subordination *ki*:

(480) *bāz-ā   ki k-ār-īt,   wat-rā   ša*
falcon-OBJ SUB IMPF$_k$-bring.PRES-3SG REFL-OBJ from
asp-ay   sarā-a   prēn-īt   u bāz ā-ī
horse-GEN above-IMPF throw.PRES-3SG and falcon DEM-GEN
čērā-a   kap-īt.
under-IMPF fall.PRES-3SG
'When he brings the falcon, he throws himself from the horse and the falcon falls under him.'

(481) *warnā   u ǰinikk ki k-āy-ant,   zāg ǰinikk-ay*
young man and girl   SUB IMPF$_k$-come.PRES-3PL boy girl-GEN
dasmāl-ā   by-ā-ī-a   dan-t.
handkerchief-OBJ to-DEM-GEN-IMPF give.PRES-3SG
'When the young man and the girl come, the boy gives the girl's handkerchief to her.'

(482)   *am-ā*   *int,*   *k-āw-ant*   *u* *uštur-ay*
EMPH-DEM COP.3SG IMPF$_k$-come.PRES-3SG and camel-GEN
awsār-ā-a   *gir-ant.*
bridle-OBJ-IMPF take.PRES-3PL
'And so, they come and take the camel's bridle.'

(483)   *k-ār-īt*   *u* *dant*   *bi pādišā-ay*
IMPF$_k$-bring.PRES-3SG and give.PRES.3SG to king-GEN
dast-ā.
hand-OBL
'He brings and gives (it) to the king.'

6. If there is a pause before the verb, the aspectual particle *-a* is never used:

(484)   *mašmā* …*raw-an*   *pa ā-w-ān-ī*   *sayl-ā.*
we.INCL …go.PRES-1PL for DEM-HI-PL-GEN view-OBL
'We …will go happily and look at them.'

(485)   *xānbādurr-a k-ayt,*   *š-amidinā*
PN-IMPF   IMPF$_k$-come.PRES.3SG from-here
…*gwaz-īt.*
…pass.PRES-3SG
'Khanbadur will come and …pass along this road.'

In one verb in BT, *kāzmūtin : kāzmā-* 'to test, to tempt', the prefix *k-* has become a part of the stem and any forms of this verb without *k-* are impossible.

9.3.5 Causative

> present stem + *-ēn* + personal endings

The suffix *-ēn*, being attached to the present stem,[10] builds the forms of the morphological causative. In BT the suffix produces verb derivations either from the verb present stem or from nouns. When the suffix is used after the present stem, it produces:

1. Transitive verbs from intransitive verbs: *rastin : ras-* 'to arrive' - *rasēntin* 'to deliver', *gaštin : gard-* 'to walk, to wander' - *gardēntin* 'to turn (vt.)', *ǰukkitin : ǰukk-* 'to kneel (of camels)' - *ǰukkēntin* 'to cause to kneel (a camel)', *trakkitin : trakk-* 'to burst (vi.)' - *trākēntin* 'to burst (vt.)', *laččitin : lačč-* 'to stick, to attach' - *laččēntin* 'to stick (vt.)', *mitin : mič-*

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[10]A homophonic morpheme *-ēn* appears also after past stems, thus constructing the forms of the past subjunctive together with the prefix *bi-* (p. 197).

'to suck' - *mēčēntin* 'to breast-feed', *rakkitin : rakk-* 'to save oneself, to escape' - *rakkēntin* 'to save, to rescue'.

2. Causative verbs from transitive verbs: *wāntin : wān-* 'to read' - *wānēntin* 'to cause to read, to teach'.

By adding the causative suffix to a noun it is possible to create transitive verbs, which semantically are similar to compound verbs with the verb *kurtin*, for example: *tawārēntin = tawār kurtin* 'to call', *badalēntin = badal kurtin* 'to change', *ǰōṛēntin = ǰōṛ kurtin* 'to build; to make ready'. Intransitive verbs from such formations can be built only analytically, i.e. with the help of the verb *būtin*, for example: *badal būtin* 'to be changed', *ǰōṛ būtin* 'to be prepared, to be built'.

Several verbs change the quantity of the vowel in the present stem when taking the causative suffix, for example: *gwāzēntin* 'to spend' from *gwastin : gwaz-* 'to pass', *čārēntin* 'to graze (vt.)' from *čaritin : čar-* 'to graze (vi.)'. The last geminated consonant of the stem is pronounced as a simple consonant after a long vowel before the causative suffix: *trākēntin* 'to burst (vt.)' from *trakkitin : trakk-* 'to burst (vt.)'. The verb *wāpēntin* 'to lay, to put to bed' from *waptin : wasp-* 'to sleep' not only changes the quantity of the vowel, but also loses the consonant *-s-* of the present stem. The causative form of the verb *ništin : nind-* 'to sit' is formed irregularly: *nādēntin* 'to seat'.

The causative suffix occurs in all structural types of verbs, i.e. not only in simple verbs, but also in preverbal and compound verbs. For example: *bir gardēntin* 'to return (vt.)' from *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back', *bāwar dārēntin* 'to assure, to convince' from *bāwar dāštin : bāwar dār-* 'to believe'.

Several transitive verbs with the suffix *-ēn* do not have morphological intransitive counterparts. For example, as the intransitive form of the verb *gallēntin* 'to chase out' functions another lexical unit, i.e. the verb *ǰistin : ǰī-* 'to flee', while the verb *gallitin : gall-* 'to flee', which is usual for other Balochi dialects (cf. e.g. Elfenbein 1990: 51), is not used in BT. Another example: *rēpēntin* 'to cheat' - *gwāzī wārtin* 'to be cheated', while the verb *rēpitin : rēp-* 'to be cheated', common in other Balochi dialects (Elfenbein 1990: 127) is not used in BT.

The double causative suffix *-āēn-* seems to be unproductive in BT. It was found in only one verb: *rakkāēntin* 'to cause to save' from *rakkēntin* 'to save, to rescue'.

In BT there is also the periphrastic (or analytic) causative, which consist of the prohibitive or imperative,[11] plus inflected forms of the verb *kurtin* 'to do':

(486)   *mās-ī   arčī   ki ma-rra   kurt,*
            mother-ENC.3SG as much as SUB PROH-go.PRES do.PAST.3SG
            ǰinikkō rāzī   na-būt.
            girl   content NEG-be.PAST.3SG
            'As much as her mother tried to stop her, the girl did not agree'.

(487)   *āp-ay   bā   kurt-in-ā   ma-kan*
            water-GEN price do.PAST-INF-OBJ PROH-do.PRES
            kurt-ī.
            do.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
            'He (the king) forbade to sell water'.

9.3.6   Negation and prohibitive particles

The negation particle in BT is *na-* and the prohibitive particle is *ma-*. The former is used with verb forms of indicative mood and the latter with verb forms of imperative and subjunctive mood.

In all structural types of verbs both particles are placed immediately before the verb (or the verbal part in compound verbs) and the main stress shifts onto these particles:

(488)   *ammā   na-zānt-ag-an.*
            we.EXCL NEG-know.PAST-PP-2PL
            'We did not know.'

(489)   *tī   gis-ay   bast-inā   wašš*
            you.SG.GEN house-GEN bind.PAST-INF-OBJ sweet
            na-kurt-un.
            NEG-do.PAST-1SG
            'I did not like your marriage.'

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[11]The analysed material does not contains forms of imperative used in periphrastic causative constructions, although forms like *bra kurtin* can often be heard in common speech of the Baloch of Turkmenistan.

Table 9.3: *Present forms of the predicative copula*

Person	Positive	Negative
1SG	*un*	*na-(w)un*
2SG	*ay*	*na-(w)ay*
3SG	*int*	*na-(y)int*
1PL	*an*	*na-(w)an*
2PL	*it*	*na-(y)it*
3PL	*ant*	*na-(w)ant*

In the present and imperfect indicative the negation particle *na-* replaces the aspectual prefix *k-*:

(490) *trā-a   na-ill-īn.*
       you.SG.OBJ-IMPF NEG-leave.PRES-1SG
       'I will not leave you.'

If the stem following after the negation and prohibitive particles begins with the long vowel *ā-*, then between the particles and the verb appears the epenthesis *-y-*:

(491) *nasrō dēr kurt   u   na-y-āt.*
       NP   late do.PAST.3SG and NEG-H-come.PAST.3SG
       'Nasro was late and did not come.'

(492) *wat-ī   tawār-ā bāl na-y-āwurt.*
       REFL-GEN voice-OBJ flight NEG-H-bring.PAST.3SG
       'He did not raise his voice.'

9.3.7   Predicative copula

The predicative copula in BT has two forms: present indicative and preterite indicative. In negative forms the epentheses *-w-* usually occurs in 1SG, 1PL, 2SG and 3PL, and the epenthesis *-y-* in 3SG and 2PL, although forms with hiatus are also possible (see p. 46). The present indicative form of the predicative copula are shown in Table 9.3.

After the final vowel of a preceding word the hiatus can be eliminated in the same way:

(493) ta   duzz-ē   na-w-ay,   b-ra.
      you.SG thief-IND NEG-HI-COP.PRES.2SG SUBJ-go.PRES
      'Go, you are not a thief.'

(494) tī   ǰind zarr-ē   w-ay   grānbā-ēn.
      you.SG.GEN self money-IND HI-COP.PRES.2SG heavy.price-ATTR
      'You yourself are a precious treasure'.

The 3SG of the predicative copula in present indicative can take the aspectual particle -*a*. The aspectual particle here seems to have the semantics of either habituality or futurity:

(495) mnī   kār kawšdōčī   int-a.
      I.GEN work shoemaking COP.PRES.3SG-IMPF
      'My business is shoe-making'.

(496) ar   mā-ē   azār   tilā tī   akk
      every month-IND thousand gold you.SG.GEN salary
      int-a.
      COP.PRES.3SG-IMPF
      'Your salary is (or 'will be') one thousand gold coins monthly'.

There is also a negative contracted form of the predicative copula, which is equal for 3SG and for the 3PL: *nē ← na-int, na-(w)ant*.

The conjugation of the predicative copula in the preterite indicative is shown in Table 9.4. In negative forms and after the final vowel of a preceding word the epenthetic -*w*- can appear in all forms of the predicative copula in the preterite indicative.

Table 9.4: *Preterite forms of the predicative copula*

Person	Positive	Negative
1SG	*atun*	*na-(w)atun*
2SG	*atay*	*na-(w)atay*
3SG	*at*	*na-(w)at*
1PL	*atan*	*na-(w)atan*
2PL	*atit*	*na-(w)atit*
3PL	*atant*	*na-(w)atant*

The full form of the predicative copula was registered only for the present indicative. The full form is characteristic for the folkloric texts, while in

common speech it is usually replaced with enclitic forms of the predicative copula. The stress both in positive and negative forms falls on the stem. The full forms of the predicative are presented in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5: *Full forms of the predicative copula in the present indicative*

Person	Positive	Negative
1SG	*astun*	*nēstun*
2SG	*astay*	*nēstay*
3SG	*ast*	*nēst*
1PL	*astan*	*nēstan*
2PL	*astit*	*nēstit*
3PL	*astant*	*nēstant*

Only short forms of the predicative copula in the present indicative are used enclitically.

9.4 Finite forms

The relation of the event to reality in BT is expressed by opposition of three moods: indicative, imperative and subjunctive. The category of mood is closely related to the category of tense, which expresses the relation of the event to the moment of speech (absolute tenses) or to another moment selected by a speaker as a basis for temporal relations (relative tenses). Inside the opposition of temporality vs. modality the latter seems to be more important, because modality creates conditions for any possible realisation of temporal relations. The category of tense in BT is presented by two temporal levels: past and non–past, which are marked on the verb stem.

In BT, unlike in some other languages where the aspectuality can be distinguished as a morphological category, verbs have special morphological markers for the imperfective aspect, whereas the perfective aspect remains unmarked. As Edelman states (1975: 383), the aspectual oppositions appear only on the past temporal level, where the aspectually neutral form of preterite is opposed to another verb form, which has progressive and iterative aspectual meanings. Further she notes, that since there is also the perfect, which has the resultative meaning, the aspectual system of the Balochi language can be presented as a triple opposition of the past verb forms: unmarked - durative/iterative - resultative. In addition, the aspectual system

in BT includes a number of syntactic constructions with different aspectual semantics.

Since the ergative construction does not exist in BT, both transitive and intransitive verbs are conjugated according to one and the same conjugational type and relations between subject and object in a sentence can be expressed only with the nominative-accusative construction.

9.4.1 Non-past

The non-past temporal level is presented in BT with the verb forms of present indicative, present subjunctive and imperative. All these forms are built from the present stem.

Present indicative

> *-a* + present stem + present personal endings

Formation

The present indicative is formed from the present stem with the help of the present personal endings and the aspectual enclitic particle *-a* (see p. 166). In BT it seems to be impossible to make a distinction between the present-future and the present continous, because the enclitic particle *-a* appears in both cases (cf. e.g. Nawata 1981: 19–20). Depending on the ending of the 3SG all the verbs in BT belong to two conjugational classes. Verbs of the first class have the ending *-īt* in the 3SG, while verbs of the second class end with *-t*.

Verbs beginning with a vowel (except *anditin : and-* 'to laugh', see p. 177) always add the prefix *k-* (see p. 165) in positive forms. Stress distribution in all verb forms was explained in the section Stress on p. 48.

Verbs of the first class

Table 9.6 shows the conjugation in present indicative of the following verbs of the first class: *dīstin : gind-* 'to see', *āwurtin : ār-* 'to bring', *anditin : and-* 'to laugh', *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back' and *dāštin : dār-* 'to have':

If the present stem of a verb ends with a vowel, then in the intervocalic position between the last syllable of the present stem and personal endings the epenthesis *-y-* or *-w-* can occur to eliminate the hiatus.[12] However, very often the hiatus is preserved, i.e. personal endings are attached to the present

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[12]The epenthesis *-w-* in this position can occur in only one verb - *ātin : ā-* 'to come'.

Table 9.6: *Present indicative (verbs of the first class)*

	'see'	'bring'	'laugh'	'come back'	'have'
1SG	-a gindīn	-a k-ārīn	-a andīn	bir-a gardīn	dārīn
2SG	-a ginday	-a k-āray	-a anday	bir-a garday	dāray
3SG	-a gindīt	-a k-ārīt	-a andīt	bir-a gardīt	dārīt
1PL	-a gindan	-a k-āran	-a andan	bir-a gardan	dāran
2PL	-a gindit	-a k-ārit	-a andit	bir-a gardit	dārit
3PL	-a gindant	-a k-ārant	-a andant	bir-a gardant	dārant

stem without any connecting sound. In Table 9.7 the conjugation in the present indicative is given of the verbs *patāptin : patā-* 'to wrap', *baxšātin : baxšā-* 'to forgive', *ǰistin : ǰī-* 'to flee' and *grētin : grē-* 'to weep'.

Table 9.7: *Present indicative (verbs of the first class with epentheses)*

	'wrap'	'forgive'	'flee'	'weep'
1SG	-a patā(y)īn	-a baxšā(y)īn	-a ǰī(y)īn	-a grē(y)īn
2SG	-a patā(y)ay	-a baxšā(y)ay	-a ǰī(y)ay	-a grēway
3SG	-a patā(y)īt	-a baxšā(y)īt	-a ǰī(y)īt	-a grē(y)īt
1PL	-a patā(y)an	-a baxšā(y)an	-a ǰī(y)an	-a grēwan
2PL	-a patā(y)it	-a baxšā(y)it	-a ǰī(y)it	-a grē(y)it
3PL	-a patā(y)ant	-a baxšā(y)ant	-a ǰī(y)ant	-a grēwant

Negative forms of simple verbs are built by adding the negation particle *na-* to the positive forms. Verbs with an initial vowel lose the prefix *k-* after the negation particle and in its place appears the epenthesis *-y-*. In negative forms of all types of verbs the main stress shifts onto the negation particle.

The verb *anditin : and-* 'to laugh' does not take the prefix *k-* in positive forms and does not have the epenthesis *-y-* in negative forms because of the initial glottal fricative *h-*. Although this sound generally is not pronounced, its full pronunciation can be restored in a slow speech.[13]

Verbs of the first class in a fast pronunciation sometimes lose the last consonant of the personal ending of 3SG: *kapīt - kapī* 'he/she falls' from *kaptin : kap-* 'to fall', *rasīt - rasī* 'he/she arrives' from *rastin : ras-* 'to arrive', *guḍḍīt*

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[13]This phenomenon can be compared with the abscence of liaison in French before the so called "h aspiré", for example: *très haut* 'very high' is pronounced as [trɛ o].

- *guḍḍī* 'she/he chops' from *guḍḍitin : guḍḍ-* 'to chop'. The 3SG of the verb *guštin : guš-* 'to say' can undergo considerable changes and together with its full pronunciation *gušīt* 'he/she says' is found in the following forms: *gušī*, *šīt* and *šī*.

Causative and all other verbs with the present stem in *-n* have the ending *-īt* in 3SG, for example: *prēnīt* 'he/she throws' from *prēntin : prēnt-* 'to throw', *mānīt* 'he/she stays' from *mantin : mān-* 'to stay', *wānīt* 'he/she reads' from *wantin : wān-* 'to read', *trakkēnīt* 'he/she bursts' from *trakkēntin : trakkēn-* 'to burst', *rēpēnīt* 'he/she cheats' from *rēpēntin : rēpēn-* 'to cheat', *rasēnīt* 'he/she delivers' from *rasēntin : rasēn-* 'to deliver', etc.

Verbs of the second class

In BT there are several verbs which have a special form for 3SG with or without modification of the present stem. All these verbs have a monosyllabic present stem and end with *-t* in 3SG. They can be divided into the following groups:

1. Two verbs with the present stem ending in *-r*, which lengthen the stem vowel in 3SG: *wārt* 'he/she eats' from *wārtin : war-* 'to eat'[14] and *bārt* 'he/she takes away' from *burtin : bar-* 'to take away'. Here also belongs the verb *giptin : gir-* 'to take', which in 3SG together with the lengthening of the stem vowel looses the last consonant of the stem: *gīt* 'he/she takes'. These verbs are conjugated as shown in Table 9.8:

Table 9.8: *Present indicative (verbs of the second class, first group)*

	'eat'	'take away'	'take'
1SG	*-a warīn*	*-a barīn*	*-a girīn*
2SG	*-a waray*	*-a baray*	*-a giray*
3SG	*-a wārt*	*-a bārt*	*-a gīt*
1PL	*-a waran*	*-a baran*	*-a giran*
2PL	*-a warit*	*-a barit*	*-a girit*
3PL	*-a warant*	*-a barant*	*-a girant*

All other verbs with the final consonant *-r* of the present stem belong to the first conjugational class and have the personal ending of the 3SG *-īt*: *mirīt* 'he/she dies' from *murtin : mir-* 'to die', *zūrīt* 'he/she takes' from *zurtin : zūr-* 'to take, to pick up', *dārīt* 'he/she has' from *dāštin : dār-* 'to have', *kārīt* 'he/she brings' from *ā(w)urtin : ār-* 'to bring' etc.

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[14]The 3SG of the verb *wārtin* coincides with the past stem, thus the form *wārt* is common for the 3SG in both present and preterite indicative.

2. Six verbs with the present stem ending in *-n*: *zītin : zin-* 'to buy, to take', *uškitin : uškin-* 'to hear'[15], *ǰatin : ǰan-* 'to strike, to hit', *kurtin : kan-* 'to do, to make', *čītin : čin-* 'to gather, to pick', *zāntin : zān-* 'to know'[16]. These verbs are conjugated as shown in Table 9.9.

Table 9.9: *Present indicative (verbs of the second class, second group)*

	'buy, take'	'hear'	'stike, hit'	'do, make'	'know'
1SG	*-a zinīn*	*-a kuškinīn*	*-a ǰanīn*	*-a kanīn*	*-a zānīn*
2SG	*-a zinay*	*-a kuškinay*	*-a ǰanay*	*-a kanay*	*-a zānay*
3SG	*-a zint*	*-a kuškint*	*-a ǰant*	*-a kant*	*-a zānt*
1PL	*-a zinan*	*-a kuškinan*	*-a ǰanan*	*-a kanan*	*-a zānan*
2PL	*-a zinit*	*-a kuškinit*	*-a ǰanit*	*-a kanit*	*-a zānit*
3PL	*-a zinant*	*-a kuškinant*	*-a ǰanant*	*-a kanant*	*-a zānant*

3. Four verbs with individual stem modifications in the conjugational paradigm: *ātin : ā-* 'to come', *šutin : raw-* 'to go', *dātin : day-* 'to give' and *būtin : bay-* 'to become'.

The verb *ātin* has three variants of pronunciation in 2SG, 1PL and 3PL, where the personal endings can be attached to the present stem either through the epentheses *-y-* and *-w-* or without them. Here the choice between the pronunciation with the approximants *-y-* or *-w-* and hiatus is not limited by any kind of boundaries and one speaker can use all the three forms in one story. In 1SG and in 2PL, as in case of all other verbs with the present stem ending with a vowel, two variants are possible: with hiatus or with the epenthesis *-y-*. In 3SG the stem vowel becomes short and the present stem looks like *ay-*. In negative form of 3SG the vowel of the negation particle *na-* and the first vowel of the stem build a contracted vowel: *n-ayt* 'he/she does not come', but full pronunciation is also possible: *na-yayt*. In other negative forms after the negative particle the epenthesis *-y-* occurs. The full paradigm of the verb *ātin* in the present indicative is given in Table 9.10.
The verb *šutin* 'to go' demonstrates three forms of the present stem: *ra-*, *ray-* and *raw-*. But in contrast to the verb *ātin*, here the stem in *-w* is not a phonetical variant of the stem in *-y*, i.e. these two forms of the stem are not interchangeable and forms like **rayay*, **rayan* and **rayant* are impossible in BT. The present paradigm of the verb *šutin* is presented in Table 9.11.

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[15]Other Balochi dialects have form of the 3SG in *-īt*, i.e. *uškinīt* (cf. e.g. Barker & Mengal 1969: I : 134), which is not used in BT.

[16]The form of the 3SG of present indicative of the verb *zāntin* coincides with the 3SG of preterite indicative: *zānt*.

Table 9.10: *Present indicative (verb ātin 'to come')*

	Positive	Negative
1SG	*-a kāīn (kāyīn)*	*-a na-yāīn (na-yāyīn)*
2SG	*-a kāyay (kāway, kāay)*	*-a na-yāyay (na-yāway, na-yāay)*
3SG	*-a kayt*	*-a nayt (na-yayt)*
1PL	*-a kāyan (kāwan, kāan)*	*-a na-yāyan (na-yāwan, na-yāan)*
2PL	*-a kāit (kāyit)*	*-a na-yāit (na-yāyit)*
3PL	*-a kāyant (kāwant, kāant)*	*-a na-yāyant (na-yāwant, na-yāant)*

Table 9.11: *Present indicative (verb šutin 'to go')*

1SG	*-a raīn (rayīn)*
2SG	*-a raway*
3SG	*-a rawt*
1PL	*-a rawan*
2PL	*-a rait (rayit)*
3PL	*-a rawant*

Although the form of the imperative, as in case of the verb *ātin*, is built without the final approximant: *bra* 'go!', the present stem can not be fixed as *ra-*, because forms like **raay* etc. are also inadmissable in BT. Most obviously, the stem *raw-* drops its final sound in the imperative and before the front vowels of personal endings, where the epenthesis *-y-* is also possible.

Similarly, two other verbs of this group, *dātin : day-* 'to give' and *būtin : bay-* 'to be, to become', can drop the final *-y* of the stem before personal endings beginning with front vowels. These two verbs have special forms for 3SG: *dant* and *bīt* respectively and are conjugated in the present indicative as shown in Table 9.12.

Thus, the approximant *-y-* here is not an epenthesis, but a part of the present stem, since this sound is preserved in forms of the imperative: *day* 'give!' and *bay* 'be!'.

Function

The aspectual and temporal correlation of the present indicative was characterized by Comrie (1976: 66) as follows: "Since the present tense is essentially used to describe, rather than to narrate, it is essentially imperfec-

Table 9.12: *Present indicative (verbs dātin 'to give' and būtin 'to be')*

1SG	*-a daīn (dayīn)*	*-a baīn (bayīn)*
2SG	*-a dayay*	*-a bayay (baay)*
3SG	*-a dant*	*-a bīt*
1PL	*-a dayan*	*-a bayan*
2PL	*-a dait (dayit)*	*-a bait (bayit)*
3PL	*-a dayant*	*-a bayant*

tive, either continuous or habitual, and not perfective". The core meaning of the present indicative in BT is an aspectual one, which defines an action or a sequence of actions as unaccomplished before a definite time point. Usually this time point is the moment of speech, although in some cases the time point can be represented with other temporal locations (the relative present). This aspectual core meaning of the present tense can be concretized by a context or a speech situation thus giving several modifications, which express:

1. A process which is going on at the moment of speech (progressive present):

(497) *ta   ša   guǰā-a   k-āy-ay   wa*
you.SG from where-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PRES-2SG and
guǰā-a   raw-ay?
where-IMPF go.PRES-2SG
'Where are you coming from and where are you going?'

2. An action or event, which takes place constantly, habitually or traditionally (habitual present):

(498) *ta   p-ē   kār-ān ki   man-a kan-īn,   baxt*
you.SG for-DEM work-PL SUB I-IMPF do.PRES-1SG luck
na-dār-ay.
NEG-have.PRES-2SG
'You do not have luck in the affairs that I do.'

3. An action without any time reference, usually in sentences containig universal statements (generic present):

(499) *pa aḍḍdardī-ā   pas-ay   pōst-ā   gwar-ā-a*
for radiculitis-OBL sheep-GEN skin-OBJ breast-OBJ-IMPF
kan-ant.
do.PRES-3SG
'For radiculitis they put on sheep's skin.'

4. A future action:

(500) *guḍā ā   mnā duzz-a   gīt   u mnī sāl-ay*
      then DEM I.OBJ thief-IMPF take.PRES.3SG and I.GEN year-GEN
      akk-ā-a   na-dant.
      salary-OBJ-IMPF NEG-give.PRES.3SG
      'Then he will take me for a thief and will not give my year's salary.'

(501) *b-guš,   trā   iččī-a   na-kan-īn.*
      SUBJ-tell.PRES you.OBJ nothing-IMPF NEG-do.PRES-1SG
      'Tell (me), I will not do anything to you.'

The habitual-future polysemy of verbal forms, which can have a temporal reference both to the present and to the future, has been pointed out by different authors for a number of languages belonging to various groups (cf. e.g. Haspelmath & König 1998: 48).[17]

5. In conditional constructions the present indicative always refers to a future action:

(502) *ta   wat-ī   grēwag-ay sabab-ā   ma-guš-ay,*
      you.SG REFL-GEN cry-GEN   cause-OBJ PROH-tell.PRES-2SG
      trā-a   na-ill-īn.
      you.OBJ-IMPF NEG-let.PRES-1SG
      'If you do not tell me the reason of your crying, I will not leave you (in peace).'

6. In object clauses after verbs of perception the present indicative retains its aspectual meaning with regard to the time point expressed by the verb in the matrix clause. The present indicative in the examples below is used in its relative function (cf. e.g. Mahmoodi Bakhtiari 2003: 138) to express simultaneity.

(503) *yakk waxt-ē dīst-ant   ki darwāzag-ay dap-ā*
      one time-IND see.PAST-3SG SUB door-GEN   mouth-OBJ
      sawdāgīr-a   ṭukk-īt.
      merchant-IMPF knock.PRES-3SG
      'Once they saw that there were a merchant knocking the door.'

---

[17]Tatevosov (2004: 226-227), for example, indicates, that the problem of a similar grammatical polysemy can be solved by using a diachronic approach. On the material of Dagestanian languages of the Andic group he explains the distribution of grammatical morphemes, which are equal for the present habitual and for the future actions, by the diachronic development of the meaning of the verbal form from the present habitual to the future through the intermediary stage of modal possibility.

(504)   *abdullā dīst   ki bi ā-ī   dād-ā*
           NP   see.PAST.3SG SUB to DEM-GEN complaint-OBL
           ičˇckass-a   na-ras-īt.
           nobody-IMPF NEG-arrive.PRES-3SG
           'Abdulla saw that nobody paid attention to his complaint.'

(505)   *zāg dīst   ki dar būt-ag-a   na-kan-īn.*
           boy see.PAST.3SG SUB PREV be-PP-IMPF NEG-do.PRES-1SG
           'The boy saw that he could not get out (of the water).'

7. The present indicative is often used to express an action which took place in the past (narrative or historical present):

(506)   *gwast-ag-ēn dawr u zamān-ān yakk warnā-ē   pa*
           pass-PP-ATTR period and time-PL   one young man-IND for
           dukkāndār-ay ĭinēn-ā āšiɣ-a   bīt.
           shopkeeper-GEN wife-OBL enamoured-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
           'In ancient (lit. passed by) times a young man fell in love with the shopkeeper's wife.'

(507)   *bi-m-ē   daryāb-ē ki čō mast-ēn   lēṛa-ē*
           to-EMPH-DEM sea-IND SUB as aroused-ATTR camel-IND
           ĭōš-a   kurt,   watrā-a   prēn-īt.
           rage-IMPF do.PRET.3SG REFL.OBJ-IMPF throw.PRES-3SG
           'He threw himself into this river, which raged like a sexually aroused male camel.'

(508)   *yakk pādišā-ē wat-ī   xizmatkār-ay rašīd-ēn*
           one king   REFL-GEN servant-GEN slender-ATTR
           ĭinēn-ā-a   gind-īt   u by-ā-ī
           wife-OBJ-IMPF see.PRES-3SG and to-DEM-GEN
           āšiq-a   bīt.
           enamoured-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
           'A king saw his servant's wife and fell in love with her.'

The historical present in these contexts represents the situation as a sequence of close up pictures. As the examples above show, the historical present differs from the general use of the present tense not only in shifting its temporal meaning, but also aspectual meaning, because here this verb form refers to a single completed action in the past. The historical present is characteristic of different kinds of narrative style, and in folkloric texts in BT it can be encountered more frequently than the preterite indicative.

Present subjunctive

> *bi-* + present stem + present personal endings

Formation

The present subjunctive is built from the present stem with the help of present personal endings and the prefix *bi-* (see p. 165). In negative forms the prefix *bi-* is replaced with the stressed prohibitive particle *ma-*. In positive forms the stress falls either on the prefix *bi-* (if it is used in full form), or on the first syllable of the stem (if the prefix *bi-* is used in other phonetic variant or is dropped). As an example of conjugation in the present subjunctive paradigms are given in Table 9.13 of the following vebs: *dīstin : gind-* 'to see', *ātin : ā-* 'to come', *šutin : raw-* 'to go', *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back' and *kār kurtin : kār kan-* 'to work, to dig'.

Table 9.13: *Present subjunctive*

1SG	*bgindīn*	*bdayīn*	*braīn*	*bir gardīn*	*kār kanīn*
2SG	*bginday*	*byāway (byāyay)*	*braway*	*bir garday*	*kār kanay*
3SG	*bgindīt*	*bayt*	*brawt*	*bir gardīt*	*kār kant*
1PL	*bgindan*	*byāwan (byāyan)*	*brawan*	*bir gardan*	*kār kanan*
2PL	*bgindit*	*byāit (byāyit)*	*brait*	*bir gardit*	*kār kanit*
3PL	*bgindant*	*byāwant (byāyant)*	*brawant*	*bir gardant*	*kār kanant*

Negative forms: *ma-gindīn, ma-yā(y)īn, ma-(r)raīn, bir ma-gardīn, kār ma-kanīn*, etc.

The distribution of verbal stems between the first and the second conjugational classes is the same as in the present indicative. Only one verb, *wārtin : war-* 'to eat', has an individual conjugational paradigm in the present subjunctive, which is shown in Table 9.14.

Function

The present subjunctive has temporal and modal semantics. The temporal semantics includes either present or future reference. The modal semantics includes meanings of both epistemic and deontic modalities. The present subjunctive is used in various modal contexts in simple sentences to express possibility (p. 222), desiderativity (p. 224), timitivity (p. 225), obligation (p. 226), permission (p. 227), and prohibition (p. 227).

Table 9.14: *Present subjunctive (verb wārtin) 'to eat'*

	Positive	Negative
1SG	*bōrīn*	*ma-warīn*
2SG	*bōray*	*ma-waray*
3SG	*bwārt*	*ma-wārt*
1PL	*bōran*	*ma-waran*
2PL	*bōrit*	*ma-warit*
3PL	*bōrant*	*ma-warant*

The present subjunctive is also used in the following subordinate clauses: temporal clauses (p. 256), purposive clauses (p. 261), conditional clauses (p. 263), and concessive clauses (p. 265).

Imperatives

> *bi-* + present stem

The imperative is used only in the second person singular and plural. The singular imperative is built from the present stem of the verb with or without the prefix *bi-* (see also p. 165). The plural imperative differs from the singular imperative form by the presence of the personal ending of second person plural *-it.* Thus, forms of the imperative coincide with forms of the present subjunctive (see p. 184). Simple verbs in the imperative stress either the prefix *bi-* (if it is employed in full form) or the first syllable of the stem. Preverbal and compound verbs build the positive forms of imperative by shifting the stress on the non-verbal component, i.e. on the lexical prefixes *bir* and *dar* or the last syllable of the nominal part of the verb. As an example of verbal inflection in the imperative paradigms are given in Table 9.15 of the following verbs: *guštin : guš-* 'to say'; *kašš(i)tin : kašš-* 'to pull'; *ātin : ā-* 'to come'; *rēpēntin : rēpēn-* 'to cheat'; *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back' and *sōǰ kurtin : sōǰ kan-* 'to ask'.

Forms of imperative with the full phonetic variant of the prefix *bi-* are used extremely rarely. The initial consonant of the present stem of the verb *šutin : raw-* 'to go' is pronounced as geminated in negative imperative: *ma-rra, ma-rrait* 'don't go'.

Negative forms of imperative, i.e. prohibitive, are built by replacing the prefix *bi-* with the prohibitive particle *ma-*. The main stress always falls on the prohibitive particle.

Table 9.15: *Imperative*

Singular	Plural
biguš/bguš/guš	*bigušit/bgušit/gušit*
bikašš/pkašš/kašš	*bikaššit/pkaššit/kaššit*
byā	*byāit*
brēpēn/rēpēn	*brēpēnit/rēpēnit*
bir gard	*bir gardit*
sōǰ kan	*sōǰ kanit*

The use of imperative and jussive is described in Section 10.3.3.

9.4.2   Past

The past temporal level includes the verb forms of preterite, imperfect, perfect and pluperfect indicative, as well as forms of the past subjunctive. All the forms of the past temporal level are built from the past verb stem. BT verbs in the past tense belong to one conjugational class, i.e. the past stem, unlike the present stem, does not undergo any changes in the conjugational paradigm.

Preterite indicative

> past stem + past personal endings

Formation

The preterite consists of the past stem and past personal endings. Since the past personal ending of the 3SG is zero, the preterite indicative form in the 3SG coincides with the past stem.

As an example of conjugation in the preterite indicative paradigms are given in Table 9.16 of the verbs: *dīstin : gind-* 'to see', *ātin : ā-* 'to come', *šutin : raw-* 'to go', *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back' and *kār kurtin : kār kan-* 'to work, to dig'.

In negative forms of all verbs the main stress shifts onto the negation particle: *na-dīstun, na-yātun,* etc.

The verbs *kurtin : kan-* 'to do' and *guštin : guš-* 'to say' in 3SG often are used in the preterite indicative in a short form: *ku* 'he did', *gu* 'he said'.

1SG	*dīstun*	*ātun*	*šutun*	*bir gaštun*	*kār kurtun*
2SG	*dīstay*	*ātay*	*šutay*	*bir gaštay*	*kār kurtay*
3SG	*dīst*	*āt*	*šut*	*bir gašt*	*kār kurt*
1PL	*dīstan*	*ātan*	*šutan*	*bir gaštan*	*kār kurtan*
2PL	*dīstit*	*ātit*	*šutit*	*bir gaštit*	*kār kurtit*
3PL	*dīstant*	*ātant*	*šutant*	*bir gaštant*	*kār kurtant*

Functions

The preterite indicative is generally irrelevant to aspectual semantics, and the main meaning of the preterite indicative is the temporal one. The use of the preterite indicative is not confined to past contexts, it can also be used in future contexts as a relative tense. Forms of the preterite indicative are used:

- in past contexts to express a single action or series of actions or events:

  (509) *mnī kōṭ-ā   čōn kurt-ay?*
         I.GEN coat-OBJ how do.PAST-2SG
         'What did you do to my coat?'

  (510) *dukkāndār wat-ī   jinēn-ā zurt   u   padā bi*
         shopkeeper REFL-GEN wife   take.PAST.3SG and back to
         gis-ā   āwurt.
         house-OBL bring.PAST.3SG
         'The shopkeeper took his wife and brought (her) back home.'

- in future contexts to express an immediate action, or with the meaning of the 1PL jussive:

  (511) *šarr, man šut-un   diga.*
         good I   go.PAST-1SG other
         'OK, then I'll go.'

  (512) *šut-an!*
         go.PAST-1PL
         'Let us go!'

- in future contexts in conditional and temporal subordinate clauses to express a high degree of certainty that the action will be accomplished. Here the preterite is the relative past tense with the temporal focus in the matrix clause:

(513) *agar am-ē   čalla-w-ay nigēnag ōn-ē   būt,*
if   EMPH-DEM ring-HI-GEN gem   blood-IND be.PAST.3SG

am-ā   waxtā-a zān-it   ki   man yā
EMPH-DEM time-OBJ know.PRES-2PL SUB I   or

ast-un,   yā nēst-un.
COP.PRES-1SG or NEG.COP.PRES-1SG

'If the gem of this ring turns into blood, then you will know whether I exist or not.'

(514) *tā   waxt-ē   ki   wat-ī   ǰinēn-ā zabr ša-wat*
until time-IND SUB REFL-GEN wife-OBJ good from-REFL

na-kurt-ay,   gō   ā-ī   dil-u-rāz
NEG-do.PAST-2SG with DEM-GEN heart-and-secret

ma-kan.
PROH-do.PRES

'Do not reveal your secrets to your wife until you test her thoroughly.'

Imperfect indicative

$$-a + (k\text{-}) + \text{past stem} + \text{past personal endings}$$

Formation

The imperfect indicative is built from the forms of the preterite indicative with the help of the aspectual particle *-a*. As in the case of the present indicative, verbs beginning with a vowel, except *anditin : and-* 'to laugh', add the prefix *k-* in positive forms. Here the stress falls on the last syllable of the stem in positive forms and on the negation particle in negative forms. Conjugational forms of the imperfect of the following verbs: *dīstin : gind-* 'to see', *ātin : ā-* 'to come', *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back', *kār kurtin : kār kan-* 'to work, to dig' are given in Table 9.17.

Table 9.17: *Imperfect indicative*

1SG	*-a dīstun*	*-a k-ātun*	*bir-a gaštun*	*kār-a kurtun*
2SG	*-a dīstay*	*-a k-ātay*	*bir-a gaštay*	*kār-a kurtay*
3SG	*-a dīst*	*-a k-āt*	*bir-a gašt*	*kār-a kurt*
1PL	*-a dīstan*	*-a k-ātan*	*bir-a gaštan*	*kār-a kurtan*
2PL	*-a dīstit*	*-a k-ātit*	*bir-a gaštit*	*kār-a kurtit*
3PL	*-a dīstant*	*-a k-ātant*	*bir-a gaštant*	*kār-a kurtant*

Negative forms are conjugated as follows: *-a na-dīstun, -a na-yātun, bir-a na-gaštun, kār-a na-kurtun*, etc.

In the imperfect, in the same way as in the present, the verb *dāštin : dār-* 'to have' is not used together with the aspectual particle *-a*. Thus, forms of the preterite of this verb are aspectually imperfective.

Functions

The main meaning of the imperfect indicative is the aspectual one, and its semantic range is similar to that of the present indicative. Differences between the imperfect and the present are of a temporal origin: the meanings of the imperfect are mostly restricted to the past.

Imperfect is used in the following contexts to express:

- a series of similar actions, which took place constantly or during a definite period of time in the past:

    (515) *ā   ša   pādišā-ay truss-ā čunt gašt-a   murt*
          DEM from king-GEN fear-OBJ several time-IMPF die.PAST.3SG
          u   zindag-a   būt.
          and alive-IMPF be.PAST.3SG
          'Several times he died and became alive because of fear of the king.'

- a repeated habitual action, which took place over a definite period in the past (habitual imperfect):

    (516) *bi-m-ā   waxt-ā   tī   mās   mnī piss-ay*
          in-EMPH-DEM time-OBJ you.SG.GEN mother I.GEN father-GEN
          gis-ā   gāwaxt-a   k-āt.
          house-OBJ sometimes-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PAST.3SG
          'At that time your mother sometimes used to come to my father's house.'

    (517) *y-ē   warnā   ar šap-a   k-āt.*
          HI-DEM young man each night-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PAST.3SG
          'This young man used to come every night.'

- a continuous action in the past (durative imperfect):

    (518) *iškārī pa wat-ī   kār-ā   bāz-bāz pašōmānī-a*
          hunter for REFL-GEN deed-OBL very-very regret-IMPF
          kaššit.
          pull.PAST.3SG
          'The hunter was regretful of his deed.'

(519) *γarīb pa šēx-šādī-ī akk-ā   bāz duā-a   kurt.*
       poor for NP-GEN   right-OBL much prayer-IMPF do.PAST.3SG
       'The poor man was praying a long time for Sheykh-Shadi.'

- a background for another action or series of actions, which took place in the past and are usually expressed by the preterite indicative (521) or the present indicative, i.e. the historical present (520):

(520) *bi-mē daryāb-ē ki čō mast-ēn   lēṛa-ē*
       to-DEM sea-INDEF SUB as aroused-ATTR camel-INDEF
       jōš-a   kurt,   watrā-a   prēn-īt.
       rage-IMPF do.PRET.3SG REF.OBJ-IMPF throw.PRES-3SG
       'He threw himself into this river, which raged like a sexually aroused male camel.'

(521) *xoškabān giyābān-ā ki dār-a   čit,   du zāg*
       NP   desert-OBJ SUB wood-IMPF pluck.PRET.3SG two boy
       dīst.
       see.PRET.3SG
       'When Khoshkaban plucked brushwood in the desert, he saw two boys.'

- a beginning of an action in the past (inchoative imperfect):

(522) *zāg padwārag-a grēt   u ars u limpū-a*
       boy again-IMPF cry.PAST.3SG and tear and nasal mucus-IMPF
       rēt-ant.
       flow.PAST-3PL
       'The boy began to cry again and his tears and mucus began to flow.'

The inchoative function of the imperfect does not contradict the general idea of the imperfectivity, which was defined by Comrie (1976: 26) as expressing "either a habitual situation or a situation viewed in its duration". In the example above the imperfect indicative in its common aspectual meaning is characterized by an Aktionsart, namely by inchoativity.

- a counterfactual or a hypothetic event in the matrix clause of a conditional subordinate clause:

(523) *agar ma-jat-ēn,   man-a na-wānt-un.*
       if   PROH-beat.PAST-PSUBJ I-IMPF NEG-read.PAST-1SG
       'If he had not beat (me), I would have not studied.'

It is noteworthy, that the past subjunctive is used in BT in the conditional clause with a counterfactual event (525), whereas in NP (524) in this position we have the imperfect indicative. Thus, the imperfect in BT can be used either in factual or counterfactual (523), (525) contexts.

(524) *agar mi-dānest-am   be šomā   mi-goft-am.*
     if   IMPF-know.PAST-1SG to you.PL IMPF-tell.PAST-1SG
     'If I had known, I would have told you.' [Rubinčik 2001: 245]

(525) *aga zānt-ēn-un,   šmā-rā-a   gušt-un.*
     if   know.PAST-PSUBJ-1SG you.PL-OBJ-IMPF tell.PAST-1SG
     'If I had known, I would have told you.'

The imperfect indicative can also be used to denote an action which is localized as a future action with respect to a reference point in the past:

(526) *guḍān man yakk gis-ē   ǰōṛ kurt-un,   pačē ki*
     then   I   one house-IND built do.PRET-1SG why SUB
     āyōk-ēn sāl-ā   mnī zāg ša γōšun-ā bir-a
     next-ATTR year-OBJ I.GEN son from army-OBJ PREV-IMPF
     gašt.
     turn.PRET.3SG
     'Then I built a house, because my son was coming back from the army next year.'

This use of the imperfect indicative requires a definite context, which would indicate that the action refers to the future. In example (526) the function of localizition of the action in the future is performed by the deictic adverbial phrase *āyōkēn sālā* 'next year'. The similar use of the imperfect indicative was registered by such authors as Rubinčik, Lazard and Panova (2004: 338–339) for the Persian language. Rubinčik points out that the imperfect, which locates an action in the future, is used mostly in the causal adjunct clauses in order to "explain the cause of a preceding action" (Rubinčik 2001: 245). Lazard (1998: 241) supposes, that this very function of the imperfect makes it possible to use this form in irreal contexts.

Perfect indicative

past participle + present forms of the copula

Formation

The perfect indicative consists of the past participle (see p. 205) and present forms of the predicative copula. The form of the perfect in 3SG is represented by the past participle without the predicative copula: *dīsta* 'he has seen'. Very often this form is accompanied by the enclitic pronoun of 3SG, which, as in case of the 3SG in preterite, in a synchronic perspective can be explained as a pleonastic marker of person, although historically it is a remnant of the ergative construction. Sokolov (1956: 88) holds that the *-g* in the 1SG is seldom restored, although in the analysed material forms with the final *-g* in the 1SG can be met rather often:

(527)   *man pa-tta   jwān-ēn   sawγāt āurt-ag-un.*
        I   for-you.SG good-ATTR present bring.PAST-PP-COP.1SG
        'I have brought a good present for you.'

(528)   *man āyrā   na-dīst-ag-un.*
        I   DEM.OBJ NEG-see.PAST-PP-COP.1SG
        'I have not seen him.'

Thus, the past participle can be used either with the final *-g* or without it in all forms of the perfect indicative but 3SG, which is used without the final *-g* when it is not followed by the enclitic pronoun of 3SG: *šuta — šuta(g)-ī* 'he has gone'.

In positive forms the stress falls on the last syllable of the past participle and in negative forms on the negation particle, which is placed before the participle. Table 9.18 shows the conjugation in the perfect indicative of the following verbs: *dīstin : gind-* 'to see', *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back' and *kār kurtin* 'to work, to dig'.

Table 9.18: *Perfect indicative*

1SG	*dīsta(g)un*	*bir gašta(g)un*	*kār kurta(g)un*
2SG	*dīsta(g)ay*	*bir gašta(g)ay*	*kār kurta(g)ay*
3SG	*dīsta/dīsta(g)-ī*	*bir gašta/bir gašta(g)-ī*	*kār kurta/kār kurta(g)-ī*
1PL	*dīsta(g)an*	*bir gašta(g)an*	*kār kurta(g)an*
2PL	*dīsta(g)it*	*bir gašta(g)it*	*kār kurta(g)it*
3PL	*dīsta(g)ant*	*bir gašta(g)ant*	*kār kurta(g)ant*

Negative forms are conjugated as follows: *na-dīsta(g)un, bir na-gašta(g)un, kār na-kurta(g)un*, etc.

Functions

According to Windfuhr (1979: 88), the perfect indicative (which he calls "present perfective") belongs to the present subsystem of the tense system. Comrie defines the perfect as an aspect, but distingushes it from other aspects, "since it tells us nothing directly about a situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation." Further he states: "One way in which the perfect differs from the other aspects ... is that it expresses a relation between two time–points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation" (Comrie 1976: 52). Maslov (2003: 195) points out, that the relation between these two time-points is one of cause and effect. According to Givón (2001: 293),

> "the perfect aspect bears a strong but not absolute similarity to the past tense. In both, the event's or state's initiation precedes the temporal reference point. The association is not absolute, however. While the past has only one ('absolute') reference point, the time of speech, the perfect can assume all three main temporal reference points: time of speech ('present perfect'); prior to time of speech ('past perfect'); following time of speech ('future perfect')".

In BT the forms of the perfect indicative convey both aspectual and temporal meanings. The deictic temporality in both perfect and pluperfect indicative is reflected in a prior situation, which has a definite temporal orientation. This temporal orientation either includes the time of speech, as in case with the perfect indicative in BT, or can be based on a different reference point, as is the case with the pluperfect and in special contexts with the perfect in BT, as in examples (532), (533) and (534).

Comrie (1976: 56) defines the perfect as "the continuing relevance of a previous situation" and distinguishes between several types of perfect: the perfect of result, the experiential perfect, the perfect of persistent situation, and the perfect of recent past. The perfect indicative in BT can express:

- an action, which is connected through its result with the present moment (the perfect of result):

(529) *man-a zān-īn   ki ta   pa čambāzī-ē*
      I   know.PRES-1SG SUB you.SG for trickery-IND
      y-ēš-ān-ā   āwurt-ag-ay.
      HI-DEM-PL-OBJ bring.PAST-PP-2SG
      'I know that you have brought them with a trick.'

(530)   yakk sandūx-ē γimmatbā-ēn čīz u zarr ǰam
        one   chest-IND expensive-ATTR thing and money whole

        kurt-ag-un.
        do.PAST-PP-1SG

        'I have collected a chest of expensive things and money.'

The perfect of result is also obvious in all static verbs (*ništin* 'to sit', *ōštātin* 'to stand', etc.), which in the perfect express a present state:

(531)   ā   w-ant   ki   bi ḍannā ōštāt-ag-ant.
        DEM HI-COP.PRES.3PL SUB in outside stand.PAST-PP-3PL

        'It is they who are standing outside.'

- in a complement clause after verbs of saying and perception the perfect indicative has the meaning of the perfect of result, but has the temporal reference of the verb in the subordinate clause, i.e. the perfect is used here as a relative tense with verbs of saying or perception being the deictic center:

(532)   pīrazāl   wat-ī   mēmān-ān-ā gind-īt   ki
        old woman REFL-GEN guest-PL-OBJ see.PRES-3SG SUB

        ništ-ag-ant.
        sit.PAST-PP-3PL

        'The old woman saw that her guests were sitting.'

(533)   ǰanakk ki āp   āwurt,   dīst   ta   ǰādūgir
        woman SUB water bring.PAST.3SG see.PAST.3SG that sorcerer

        murt-ag-ī.
        die.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG

        'When the woman brought water, she saw that the sorcerer was dead.'

(534)   ē   zān-t   ki   āyrā   mard-ī
        DEM know.PAST-3SG SUB DEM.OBJ husband-ENC.3SG

        kušt-a.
        kill.PAST-PP

        'She knew that her husband had killed him.'

In the example (532) the form *ništagant* means a result of an action performed prior to the verb *gindīt*, while the whole situation refers to the past because of the narrative meaning (p. 183) of the present tense of the verb in the matrix clause. In the examples (533) and (534) the perfect of the verbs *murtag-ī* and *kušta* expresses a result of an action performed prior to the temporal reference of the verbs *dīst* and *zānt*.

- an event that started in the past and continues into the present (the perfect of persistent situation):

(535) *man bi wat-ī umr-ā zāg-ā gušnag u tunnag*
   I in REFL-GEN life-OBL son-OBJ hungry and thirsty
   na-išt-ag-un.
   NEG-leave.PAST-PP-1SG
   'I have never in my life left (my) son hungry and thirsty.'

Thus, the perfect indicative in BT can be used either in absolute contexts, as in examples (529), (530), (531) and (535), or in relative contexts, as in examples (532), (533) and (534).

Pluperfect indicative

> past stem + preterite forms of the copula

Formation

The pluperfect indicative is built from the past stem and preterite forms of the predicative copula. In positive forms the first syllable of the predicative copula, i.e. the past stem of the predicative copula is stressed, and in negative forms the stress is shifted onto the negation particle. The verbs *dīstin : gind-* 'to see', *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back' and *kār kurtin : kār kan-* 'to work, to dig' are conjugated in the pluperfect as shown in Table 9.19.

Table 9.19: *Pluperfect indicative*

1SG	*dīstatun*	*bir gaštatun*	*kār kurtatun*
2SG	*dīstatay*	*bir gaštatay*	*kār kurtatay*
3SG	*dīstat*	*bir gaštat*	*kār kurtat*
1PL	*dīstatan*	*bir gaštatan*	*kār kurtatan*
2PL	*dīstatit*	*bir gaštatit*	*kār kurtatit*
3PL	*dīstatant*	*bir gaštatant*	*kār kurtatant*

Negative forms of pluperfect are as follows: *na-dīstatun, bir na-gaštatun, kār na-kurtatun*, etc.

Functions

The main aspectual meaning of the pluperfect indicative in BT comprises such features as anteriority and perfectivity, and is similar to the aspectual

meaning of the perfect indicative. The main difference between the perfect and pluperfect is that the pluperfect expresses a state as a result of an action, which was accomplished prior to another moment in the past and not before the moment of speech, as is the case with the perfect indicative. Thus, the pluperfect in BT has two deictic centers and is used in the following relative context to express an action which was accomplished prior to another action in the past, which is usually presented in the preterite (536), (538), or the imperfect indicative (537):

(536) *ā am-ē rang bēōš būt-at ki*
DEM EMPH-DEM way unconscious be.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG SUB
ša-mman hič čīz-ē sōĵ-u-purs-ē na-kurt.
from-me none thing-IND inquiry-IND NEG-do.PAST.3SG

'He had been so unconscious that he did not ask me about anything.'

(537) *gwāt u dūlāxt uštur-ay pad-ān-ā zyān*
wind and sand-storm camel-GEN track-PL-OBJ ruin
kurt-at u hičč pad-u-sar-ē wadī-a
do.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG and nothing track-IND found-IMPF
na-būt.
NEG-be.PAST.3SG

'The wind and the sand-storm had destroyed the tracks of the camel and it was impossible to find any kind of tracks.'

(538) *zāg āt u arčī ki dīst-at,*
boy come.PAST.3SG and everything SUB see.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG
gō tāĵir-ā nakl-ī kurt-ī.
with merchant-OBJ story-ENC.3SG do.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG

'The boy came and told to the merchant about everything he had seen.'

In this context the pluperfect is often used in combination with such temporal conjunctions *tāngatā* 'still', *waxtē ki* 'when' and the conjunction of general subordination *ki*, which here also means 'when'. These conjunctions can be characterised as "instances of relative time reference" (Comrie 1985: 56).

(539) *zāg tāngatā wāb na-šut-at ki du kapōt*
boy still sleep NEG-go.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG SUB two dove
āt-ant.
come.PAST-3SG

'The boy had not yet fallen asleep when two doves appeared.'

(540) *tārī   mālā ki   rōč dar   na-yāt-at,*
morning early SUB sun PREV NEG-come.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG

wat-ī   uštur-ān-ā   laḍḍit   u rādag būt.
REFL-GEN camel-PL-OBJ load.PAST.3SG and en route be.PAST.3SG

'Early in the morning, when the sun still had not risen, he loaded his camels and set off.'

Static verbs in the pluperfect can be used to express the result of a past action with another past action as the deictic center:

(541) *yak rōč-ē   sardār bi wat-ī   gis-ā*
one day-IND chief   in REFL-GEN house-OBL

ništ-at   u gwarag-ay kabāb-a
sit.PAST-COP.PAST-3SG and lamb-GEN roast meat-IMPF

wārt-ī.
eat.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG

'Once the chief was sitting in his house and ate roast lamb.'

Only once in the analysed texts the verb form consisting of the past participle and preterite forms of the predicative copula was found: *būtagat-ī*. It seems, that this form can not be defined as a separate morphological unit, because it has the same semantics as the forms of the pluperfect:

(542) *am-ā   du-w-umī-ēn   gašt-ā   ki ammā-rā   šarāb*
EMPH-DEM two-HI-ORD-ATTR time-OBJ SUB we.EXCL-OBJ wine

dāt-ay,   bēōšī-ēn   dārū
give.PAST-2SG unconsciousness-ATTR medicine

būt-ag-at-ī.
be.PAST-PP-COP.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG

'That second time, when you gave us wine, it was a medicine that makes you unconscious.'

Past subjunctive

bi- + past stem + *-ēn* + past personal endings

Formation

Forms of the past subjunctive in BT are built according to the following scheme: the prefix *bi-* + the past stem + the suffix *-en* + past personal endings. In positive forms the stress falls either on the prefix *bi-*, or, if the prefix is dropped, on the first syllable of the stem. In negative forms the stress falls

on the prohibitive particle *ma-*. The conjugation in the past subjunctive of the verbs *dīstin : gind-* 'to see', *šutin : raw-* 'to go', *bir gaštin : bir gard-* 'to come back' and *kār kurtin : kār kan-* 'to work, to dig' is shown in Table 9.20.

Table 9.20: *Past subjunctive*

1SG	*bdīstēnun*	*(p)šutēnun*	*bir gaštēnun*	*kār (p)kurtēnun*
2SG	*bdīstēnay*	*(p)šutēnay*	*bir gaštēnay*	*kār (p)kurtēnay*
3SG	*bdīstēn*	*(p)šutēn*	*bir gaštēn*	*kār (p)kurtēn*
1PL	*bdīstēnan*	*(p)šutēnan*	*bir gaštēnan*	*kār (p)kurtēnan*
2PL	*bdīstēnit*	*(p)šutēnit*	*bir gaštēnit*	*kār (p)kurtēnit*
3PL	*bdīstēnant*	*(p)šutēnant*	*bir gaštēnant*	*kār (p)kurtēnant*

The negative forms are conjugated as follows: *ma-dīstēnun, ma-šutēnun, bir ma-gaštēnun, kār ma-kurtēnun*, etc.

Functions

The past subjunctive has both modal and temporal meanings, and is used to express both factual (545) and counterfactual (543), (544) events in the past temporal orientation. The past subjunctive is used in conditional clauses with a counterfactual condition (p. 263), in concessive clauses (p. 265), and in temporal clauses with concessive meaning, example (731) on p. 256:

(543) *tawār kurt-ēn-ay,*   *man awal-ī-ēn*
       voice SUBJ.do.PAST-PSUBJ-2SG I   first-REL-ATTR
       tawārā-a   *k-āt-un.*
       voice-OBJ-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PAST-1SG
       'If you had called me, I would have come at (your) first call.'

(544) *agar bēgunā ma-būt-ēn-ant,*   *mnī tēz-ēn zām*
if   sinless PROH-be.PAST-PSUBJ-3PL I.GEN sharp-ATTR sword
laṭṭ-ē na-būt.
stick-IND NEG-be.PAST.3SG

'If they had not been sinless, my sword would have not turned into stick.'

(545) *mnī piss mnā ar čōn dōst dāšt-ēn,*   *ham pa*
I.GEN father I.OBJ every how firend have.PAST-PSUBJ.3SG also for
wānt-in-ay xātir-ā mnā-a gipt u
learn.PAST-INF-GEN reason-OBL I.OBJ-IMPF take.PAST.3SG and
ǰat.
beat.PAST.3SG

'Even though my father loved me very much, he took and beat me because of the study.'

In contradistinction to NP (546), the imperfect indicative in BT (547) is not used to express a counterfactual action or state. In this context, instead of using the imperfect indicative, as in Persian, BT uses the past subjunctive:

(546) *bāyad zudtar mi-raft-am va amu-rā xabar*
must quicker IMPF-go.PRET-1SG and uncle-OBJ news
mi-kard-am.
IMPF-do.PRET-1SG

'I should have gone quicker and informed (my) uncle.' [Panova 2004: 339]

(547) *bāid zūt-tir b-šut-ēn-un u nākō-ā sī*
must quick-CMP SUBJ-go-PSUBJ-1SG and uncle-OBJ informed
b-kurt-ēn-un.
SUBJ-do-PSUBJ-1SG

'I should have gone quicker and inform (my) uncle.'

9.4.3 Passive voice

According to Payne (1999: 204), the prototypical passive clause is characterized both morphosyntactically and in terms of its discourse function. Morphosyntactically a passive is a semantically transitive (two-participant) clause, and in terms of discourse function a prototypical passive is used in contexts where the agent is relatively low in topicality with respect to the patient (Payne 1999: 204).

The morphological passive in BT is built with the help of the past participle of a transitive verb plus the inflectional forms of the verb *būtin* 'to be'. Ta-

ble 9.21 shows the conjugation of the verb *dīstin* 'to see' in the passive voice of the present indicative.

Table 9.21: *Passive voice*

1SG	*dīstag-a baīn*
2SG	*dīstag-a bayay*
3SG	*dīstag-a bīt*
1PL	*dīstag-a bayan*
2PL	*dīstag-a bait*
3PL	*dīstag-a bayant*

Negative forms of the passive voice are built with the help of the negation particle *na-* which is preposed to the verb *būtin*: *dīstag-a na-baīn, dīstag-a na-bayay*, etc.

Forms of the passive voice are used only occasionally, and in the analysed material the morphological passive is only constructed from simple verbs:

(548) *man ša   šmā   ančō ki sist-ag   būt-un.*
I   from you.PL as if   SUB tear.PAST-PP be.PAST-1SG
'As if I was torn away from you.'

(549) *ar   du-k-ēn-ān-ī   sar burrit-ag   būt.*
every two-HI-ATTR-PL-GEN head cut off.PAST-PP be.   PAST.3SG
'Heads of both of them were cut off.'

The morphological passive voice is never used when the agent is explicitly stated.

The analytical passive can be built from only compound verbs by changing the verbal component of a compound verb into another with the passive meaning, e.g., *čēr dātin* 'to hide (vt.)' - *čēr kaptin* 'to hide (vi.), to conceal oneself', *gwāzī dātin* 'to cheat, to deceive' - *gwāzī wārtin* 'to be cheated', etc.

The light verb *kurtin* has in the structure of a compound verb the active meaning, and the light verb *būtin* has the passive meaning: *trušp kurtin* 'to sour, to leaven' - *trušp būtin* 'to turn sour', *alās kurtin* 'to finish' - *alās būtin* 'to come to the end', etc.

9.5 Non-finite forms

In BT the following non-finite forms have been registered: infinitive, past participle, present participle, modal participle, and verbal adjective. Table 9.22 shows all the non-finite forms of the verb *kurtin* 'to do'.

Table 9.22: *Non-finite verb forms*

Present participle	*kan-ōk*
Past participle	*kurt-a(g)*
Modal participle	*kurt-in-ōk*
Infinitive	*kurt-in*
Verbal adjective	*kurt-in-ī*

9.5.1 Infinitive

$$\boxed{\text{past stem} + \textit{-in}}$$

From the point of view of morphological structure the infinitive in BT consists of the past stem and the suffix *-in*: *ātin* 'to come', *šutin* 'to go', *guštin* 'to say'. Sokolov calls this form 'gerund' and states, that it performs the functions of the infinitive (Sokolov 1956: 89).

In BT a form is also used consisting of the present stem plus *-ag*, which is treated in other Balochi dialects as the infinitive (cf. e.g. Barker & Mengal 1969; Baranzehi 2003). However, this formation in BT by its morphological and syntactic features can be characterized rather as a noun, although it has the meaning of an action noun. Moreover, this form is not productive in BT and its usage is limited to only few occurences: *andag* 'laughter', *larzag* 'trembling', *grēwag* 'crying, weeping', *warag* 'food, eating'.

The nominal features of the infinitive are the following:

1) The infinitive can be declined, although its declension paradigm is restricted to one number: singular, and four cases: direct, oblique, genitive and objective, as shown in Table 9.23.

2) The infinitive usually performs the syntactic functions of a noun in a sentence (cf. p. 59):

- of a subject: (556), (558), (561);
- of a direct object:

Table 9.23: *Infinitive*

Case	Singular
DIR	*giptin*
OBL	*giptinā*
GEN	*giptinay*
OBJ	*giptinā*

(550) *man zām-ay   ĭōṛ   kurt-in-ā   ēl*
I   sword-GEN ready do.PAST-INF-OBJ accustomed
kurt-un.
do.PAST-1SG
'I learned to make swords.'

(551) *man lahadd-ay pāč dāt-in-ā   na-zān-īn.*
I   tomb-GEN open give.PAST-INF-OBJ NEG-know.PRES-1SG
'I do not know how to open tombs.'

- of a nominal predicate:

(552) *tī   ĭizā   kušt-in   int.*
you.GEN pinishment kill.PAST-INF COP.PRES.3SG
'Your punishment is death.'

- of an attribute (see also example (555) below):

(553) *pādišā-ay āt-in-ay   sabab-ā   ĭinēnzāg*
king-GEN come.PAST-INF-GEN reason-OBJ woman
sarpad-a   bīt.
conscious-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
'The woman understands the reason of the king's arrival.'

(554) *šut-in-ay   waxt-ā   kōṭ-ā   bē-ōš*
go.PAST-INF-GEN time-OBJ coat-OBJ unconscious
kurt-ag-ī.
do.PAST-PP-PRON.3SG
'When he left he forgot his coat.'

3) The infinitive can have a modifier expressed by a noun in the genitive case, possessive and demonstrative pronouns, and the definite quantifier *mučč* 'all' which is connected to the infinitive with the help of the *izafa*:

(555) *dēb-ay   āt-in-ay   waxt būt-a.*
      demon-GEN come.PAST-INF-GEN time be.PAST-PP
      'The time for the demon's arrival has come.'

(556) *mnī   zānt-in   āsān int.*
      I.GEN know.PAST-INF easy COP.PRES.3SG
      'It is easy to know about me.'

(557) *bi-m-ā   ǰist-in-ay   tā   mnī   pād*
      to-EMPH-DEM escape.PAST-INF-GEN POSTP I.GEN foot
      lagušt.
      slip.PAST.3SG
      'My foot slipped while I ran away.'

(558) *mnī   mučč-i zānt-in   alās būt.*
      I.GEN all-IZ   know.PAST-INF end be.PAST.3SG
      'All my knowledge ended.'

(559) *mnī   piss mnā qurān-ay   wānt-in-ā   ēl*
      I.GEN father I.OBJ Quran-GEN read.PAST-INF-OBJ habit
      dāt.
      give.PAST.3SG
      'My father taught me to read the Quran.'

It is noteworthy that the formal attribute of the infinitive can be either the subject, direct object, or predicate of the sentence, examples (555), (556), (558) and (559).

Infinitives of compound verbs in oblique cases usually have the nominal part in the genitive case:

(560) *wat-ī   dast-ā   ša nān-ay   wārt-in-ā*
      REFL-GEN hand-OBJ from bread-GEN eat.PAST-INF-OBL
      kaššit.
      drag.PAST.3SG
      'He stopped eating.'

(561) *ā   mardum-ay nān-ay   wārt-in   nāmardī*
      DEM man-GEN   bread-GEN eat.PAST-INF dishonor
      int.
      COP.PRES.3SG
      'It is a dishonor to eat that man's food.'

The infinitive lacks the following morphological features of nouns:

- the infinitive never takes the indefinite marker *-ē* or the compound formant *-ērā*;

- an attribute expressed by an adjective in the attributive form is not used with the infinitive.

The infinitive in BT can be used in different infinitive constructions. Temporal infinitive constructions consist of the preposition *ša* 'from' or circumpositions *ša … dēmā* 'before', *ša … guḍ/guḍā(n)* 'after' and the infinitive in the oblique case:

(562) *ša   mnī   kušt-in-ā   dēm-ā xāyišt–a   kan-īn.*
from I.GEN kill.PAST-INF-OBL before request-IMPF do.PRES-1SG

'Before you kill me I have a request.'

(563) *ša   bazgar-ay   šut-in-ā   sēnzda čārda   rōč*
from peasant-GEN go.PAST-INF-OBL thirteen fourteen day
gwast.
pass.PAST.3SG

'Thirteen - fourteen days passed after the peasant's departure.'

(564) *š-ā-ī   šut-in-ā   guḍ čē-w-a*
from-DEM-GEN go.PAST-INF-OBL after what-HI-IMPF
kan-ay?
do.PRES-2SG

'What will you do when he has left?'

The infinitive in the objective case in combination with the verbs *laggitin* 'to hit, to begin', *ātin* 'to come' and *binā kurtin* 'to begin' creates the inchoative infinitive constructions (see p. 217).

Sometimes the infinitive in BT is used instead of a subordinate clause with the present subjunctive. This probably happens under influence of Turkmen, where subordinate adjunct clauses are built with the infinitive in the directional case in *-a, -e*:

(565) *ǰinikk-ay sōga   kurt-in-ā   bēōš-ī*
girl-GEN advice do.PAST-INF-OBJ unconscious-ENC.3SG
kurt.
do.PAST.3SG

'He forgot to give advice to the girl.'

(566) *ša   šār-ā   dar   būt-in-ā   maǰbūr būt.*
from town-OBL PREV be.PAST-INF-OBJ forced   be.PAST.3SG

'He was forced to leave the town.'

9.5.2 Past participle

> past stem + -*a(g)*

The past participle is built by adding the formant -*a(g)* to the past stem: *kurta(g)*, *ǰata(g)*, *šuta(g)*. Presence or absence of the final -*g* in the ending of the past participle is not restricted phonologically. In an intervocalic position forms both with the final -*g* as in *kurtag-ī* 'he has done', *jatagant* 'they have struck' and without it can occur: *kurtaant* 'they have done', *ǰataun* 'I have struck'. Sometimes these two variants can be found in one and the same sentence:

(567) *pādišā wat-ī   čalla-ā   beōš   kurt-ag-ī   u*
       king   REFL-GEN ring-OBJ unconscious do.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG and
       šut-a-ī.
       go.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG
       'The king has forgotten his ring and gone.'

The phonetic variant of the past participle is predictable only before the aspecual particle -*a*, where it always ends with -*g*: *āwurtag-a bīt* 'will be brought', *šutag-a kanīn* 'I can go'.

The negative form of the past participle is built with the help of the unstressed nominal negation formant *nā-*: *nālōṭitag* 'unwanted'.

The verb semantics of the past participle in BT are expressed through the categories of tense and aspect. At the same time, the past participle lacks semantics of the categories of mood and person. The main aspectual meaning of the past participle is perfective and implies the result of an action. From the temporal point of view the past participle expresses a past action, which is connected with the present through its result. The past temporal semantics are implemented in the verb past stem, which is the main semantic element of the past participle. The past participle can express either an absolute tense or a relative tense:

(568) *gwast-ag-ēn   zamān-ān   yakk pādišā-ē   at.*
       pass-PP-ATTR time-OBJ.PL one   king-IND COP.PAST
       'In ancient (lit. passed by) times there was a king.'

(569) *gwast-ag-ēn   dawr u zamān-ān   yakk warnā-ē   pa*
       pass-PP-ATTR period and time-OBJ.PL one   young man-IND for
       dukkāndār-ay   ǰinēn-ā   āšiɣ-a   bīt.
       shopkeeper-GEN wife-OBL enamored-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
       'In ancient (lit. passed by) times a young man fell in love with the shopkeeper's wife.'

(570)   *pa wat-ī   kurt-ag-ēn kār-ā   bāz pašōmān*
         for REFL-GEN do-PP-ATTR deed-OBJ very sorry
         būt.
         become.PAST.3SG
         'He became very sorry for his previous (lit. done) deeds.'

(571)   *ā-ī   ništ-ag-ēn ǰinikk-ā   bi abdullāxān*
         DEM-GEN sit-PP-ATR daughter-OBJ to PN
         b-day-an.
         SUBJ-give.PRES-1PL
         'Let us give his unmarried (lit. outsat) daughter to Abdullakhan.'

Examples (568) and (569) demonstrate the absolute orientation of the past participles, while examples (570) and (571) deal with relative time orientation. Although the form of the main verb in the example (569) is expressed with the present indicative form, it is clear that the temporal orientation of the whole sentence is absolute, because the present tense here is used in its transpositional historical meaning. The past participles in the examples (570) and (571) express relative time orientation, because they refer to a temporal location, "which does not include as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic center" (Comrie 1985: 36).

The past participle is used in forms of the perfect and pluperfect indicative (pp. 191 and 195) and in forms of the passive voice (p. 199). Features of nominal parts of speech of the past participle are implemented in the ability of the past participle to function either as a noun 572) or as an attribute (573). The nominalised past participle is always used with the attributive ending *-ēn*:

(572)   *man bi-ttī   gušt-ag-ēn-ān-ā   bāwar-a*
         I   to-you.SG.GEN say.PAST-PP-ATTR-PL-OBL belief-IMPF
         na-kan-īn.
         NEG-do.PRES-1SG
         'I do not believe your sayings.'

(573)   *ragǰan y-ē   nimist-ag-ēn   abar-ān-ā*
         barber HI-DEM write.PAST-PP-ATTR word-PL-OBJ
         wānt-ī.
         read.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
         'The barber read these written words.'

In combination with the verbs *kurtin* 'to do' and *būtin* 'to be' the past participle builds modal participial constructions. The participial construction

with the verb *kurtin* in all persons expresses potentiality (p. 223), and with the 3SG of the verb *būtin* prohibition (p. 227), and impossibility (p. 224).[18]

9.5.3   Present participle

> present stem + -*ōk*

The present participle, which consists of the present stem plus -*ān* (*rawān*) and is common in other Balochi dialects (cf. e.g. Baranzehi 2003: 100) does not exist in BT. Nevertheless, in BT there is a form of the present participle, which is built with the help of the stressed suffix -*ōk* attached to the present stem: *warōk* 'biting (of dog)', *ǰalōk* 'burning'. Negative forms of the present participle have not been registered in the analysed material.

In comparison with the past participle, the present participle (or nomen agentis) seems to have the following morphological limitation: whereas the past participle can be built from any structural type of verbs, the present participle is built only from simple and compound verbs, and not from preverbal verbs. When the present participle is formed from a compound verb, the nominal part of the compound verb loses the main stress, which shifts onto the present participle marker -*ōk* thus building a separate lexical unit: *pantda*ˈ*(y)ōk* 'advisor' from *pant dātin* 'to advise', *bāka*ˈ*nōk* 'seller' from *bā kurtin* 'to sell'.

The present participle in BT has features of both nouns and verbs. As a noun, the present participle denotes an entity, often an animate entity:

(574) *mullā   ā-ī   gir-ōk-a   bīt.*
      mullah DEM-GEN take.PRES-PRP-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
      'The mullah will marry her.'

(575) *bi-m-ē   mučč-ēn dast u   dēm šōd-ōk-ēn*
      in-EMPF-DEM all-ATTR hand and face wash.PRES-PRP-ATTR
      aptāwag-ān-ī dēm-ā   am-ē   abar-ā   bi-nmis.
      jug-PL-GEN   face-OBL EMPH-DEM word-OBJ SUBJ-write.PRES
      'Write this word on all the jugs for washing hands and face.'

(576) *man tā   allā-i bēgaī bi ǰal-ōk-ēn   tap-ay   tahā*
      I   until God-IZ dusk in burn.PRES-PRP-ATTR fever-GEN inside
      gwāzēnt-un.
      spend.CAUS.PAST-1SG
      'I spent (the whole day) until dusk in a burning fever.'

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[18]The participial construction with the verb *būtin* 'to be' morphologically coincides with the negative forms of the passive voice (see p. 199).

Example (574) demonstrates the use of the present participle with the semantics of the proper agent noun (nomen agentis), while examples (575) and (576) show the ability of the present participle to transform the semantics of the agent noun to the semantics of a modifier.

Thus, the main qualitative characteristic of an agent expressed with the present participle is the information about an action performed by this agent, which is implemented into the semantics of the present verb stem. Predicativity of the present participle is revealed in its ability to have a direct object, which in combination with the present participle is always used in an invariable form, i.e. in the singular of the direct case, thus building such constituents as *gurānḍ bā-kanōk* 'the seller of rams':

(577) *du say māsil-ā   dēm dāt   ki am-ā   gurānḍ*
       two three courier-OBJ face give.PAST.3SG SUB EMPH-DEM ram
       bā-kan-ōk-ā   by-ār-ant.
       price-do.PRES-PRP-OBJ SUBJ-bring.PRES-3PL
       'He sent two–three couriers in order to bring that seller of rams.'

Like the past participle, the present participle does not express semantics of mood and person. Semantics of tense and aspect in the form of the present participle is rendered by the present stem, although it is not as distinct as in the past participle. The main temporal and aspectual meaning of the present participle is present habitual or present durative, though the temporal–aspectual connection of the present participle to the present stem is not very prominent. Moreover, the present participle sometimes gets additional meanings, which the source verb does not have, for example: *nindōk* 'inhabitant' from *ništin* 'to sit'.

The present participle has syntactic functions of either nouns or adjectives and therefore can take on all the nominal grammatical markers:

(578) *bi rā-ā   yakk war-ōk-ēn   kučakk-ē mnī   pad-ā*
       on road-OBL one   eat.PRES-PRP-ATTR dog-IND I.GEN track-OBJ
       kapt.
       fall.PAST.3SG
       'On the road a biting dog ran after me.'

(579) *man ā-ī   lāp šōd-ōk-ēn   zāg at-un.*
       I   DEM-GEN belly wash.PRES-PRP-ATTR son COP.PAST-1SG
       'I was his last son.'

(580) *pādišā ragǰan-ā   u   pant-da-ōk-ā   bāz-ēn*
      king   barber-OBJ and advice-give.PRES-PRP-OBJ many-ATTR
      xayrgindī-y-ē   dāt.
      gratitude-HI-IND give.PAST.3SG
      'The king thanked the barber and the advisor a lot.'

Examples (578) and (579) demonstrate the use of the present participle as adjectives in the position of an attribute, and example (580) shows the use of the present participle as a noun in the objective case.

9.5.4   Modal participle

> | infinitive + -ōk |

In BT there are forms with the formant *-ōk* attached directly to the infinitive. These forms morphologically combine features of both past and present participles, because they include both the past stem and the formant *-ōk*: *guštinōk* 'words that have to be said', *wārtinōk* 'food that has to be eaten'. The formant *-ōk* attached to the infinitive,[19] seems to be employed as an additional substantivizer for the infinitive forms. Since these formations can have the semantics of epistemic modality and express necessity, they can in some cases be defined as modal participles. The modal participle has only the passive meaning. Semantically and morphologically every modal participle is interchangeable with the verbal adjective.

Syntactic functions of the modal participle totally coincide with syntactic functions of present and past participles, i.e. they can be used either as a noun or as an adjective:

(581) *bguš   ki ammay   wārt-in-ōk-ēn   čīz*
      SUBJ-say.PRES SUB we.EXCL.GEN eat.PAST-INF-PRP-ATTR thing
      alaš būt-ant.
      end be.PAST-3PL
      'Tell (him) that our food has come to an end.'

(582) *idā har ka   wat-ī   zīt-in-ōk-ēn   čīz-ā*
      here every person REFL-GEN buy.PAST-INF-PRP-ATTR thing-OBJ
      nišān dāt-ant.
      mark give.PAST-3PL
      'Here everyone showed what they had bought.'

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[19]Cf. the semantics of the verbal adjective (p. 210), which is also built from the infinitive.

(583) *mōlid um wat-ī bībī-ay gušt-in-ōk-ān-ā*
maidservant also REFL-GEN lady-GEN say.PAST-INF-PRP-PL-OBJ
bi-ǰā-a kant.
to-place-IMPF do.PRES.3SG
'The maidservant fulfils the words of her lady.'

9.5.5 Verbal adjective

> infinitive + -*ī*

The verbal adjective is built from the infinitive with the help of the stressed suffix -*ī* (*yā-yi nisbat*, or relative suffix), for example: *guštinī* 'which has to be said', *wārtinī* 'which has to be eaten'.[20] The verbal adjective can be built from all structural types of verbs: simple, compound and preverbal.

(584) *āyrā awlakkī pādišā-ayā burt-inī*
DEM.OBJ importunately king-LOC take away.PAST-VA
būt.
be.PAST.3SG
'He importunately was going to take him to the king.'

(585) *sawdāgir ki rādag būt-inī-a būt, tūtī-ā*
merchant SUB en route be.PAST-VA-IMPF be.PAST.3SG parrot-OBJ
sōga-a kan-t.
advice-IMPF do.PRES-1SG
'When the merchant was about to leave, he gave advice to the parrot.'

(586) *pādišā ša iškār-ā bir gašt-inī-a būt.*
king from hunting-OBL PREV walk.PAST-VA-IMPF be.PAST.3SG
'The king was about to return from hunting.'

The semantics of this form in BT combines both modality and temporality. The modal meaning includes intention, while the temporal meaning implies reference to the future. The modal characteristics of the verbal adjective are very close to the semantics of the subjunctive mood, which also can express intention. At the same time, the future temporal orientation of the verbal adjective is inseparably connected with the modality due to the nature of the future tense. As Comrie (1985: 44) wrote, "the question of whether future time reference is subsumed under tense or mood …is an

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[20]A similar formation exists also in NP: *kardanī* 'what has to be done', where it is defined also either as "the future participle" (Boyle 1966: 71), or as "the participle of obligation" (Rubinčik 2001: 285).

empirical question that can only be answered on the basis of the investigation of grammatical expressions of future time reference across a number of languages".

The verbal adjective in combination with the verb *būtin* used in various tenses builds a modal construction with the main meaning of intention:

(587) *ar   kadēn ki šut-inī   būt-ay,   yakk u   du roč mnā*
every when   SUB go.PAST-VA be.PAST-2SG one and two day I.OBJ
dēmā sī   b-kan.
before aware SUBJ-do.PRES
'Whenever you are about to depart, let me know one or two days in advance.'

(588) *tī   piss trā   wat bi-mman dāt-inī   būt-a.*
you.GEN father you.OBJ own to-I   give.PAST-VA be.PAST-PP
'Your father himself was going to give you to me.'

(589) *sawdāgir rādag   būt-inī-a   būt.*
merchant en route be.PAST-VA-IMPF be.PAST.3SG
'The merchant was going to depart.'

(590) *ĭinēn pa kār-ē   bi amsāig-ay   gis-ā*
wife for business-IND to neighbour-GEN house-OBL
šut-inī-a   bīt.
go.PAST-VA-IMPF be.PRES.3SG
'The wife is going to go for some business to the neighbour's house.'

The predicative use of the verbal adjective in the modal construction gives an additional aspectual meaning to the whole predicate. The aspectual semantics of this construction is imperfective and according to Comrie's subdivision of imperfectivity (Comrie 1976: 25), it can be defined as continuous.

Beside the predicative use, the verbal adjective, like all the other participles in BT, can syntactically function either as an attributive adjective (591), or as a noun (592):

(591) *guṭṭ-ay   ilāl   kurt-inī-ēn   ĭāga-ay*
throat-GEN permitted (to eat) do.PAST-VA-ATTR place-GEN
pašm-ān-ā pāč-a   k-ār-īt.
hair-PL-OBJ open-IMPF IMPF$_k$-bring.PRES-3SG
'He opens the hair on the place of the throat, where he is going to cut it.'

(592)   *wat-ī*   *gušt-inī-ēn-ān-ā*   *gušt-ag*
       REFL-GEN say.PAST-VA-ATTR-PL-OBJ say.PAST-PP
       na-kurt.
       NEG-do.PAST.3SG
       'He could not say what he was going to say.'

As stated above on p. 209, the verbal adjective and the modal participle
are interchangeable in some contexts, especially in the attributive function.
Thus, it is difficult to find any difference between the meanings expressed
by the modal participle in the example (581) and the gerundive in the ex-
ample (593).

(593)   *zabr-ēn*   *wārt-inī-y-ēn*   *čīz–a*
       good-ATTR eat.PAST-VA-HI-ATTR thing-IMPF
       k-āwurt-ant.
       IMPF$_k$-bring.PAST-3PL
       'They used to bring good food.'

9.6 Temporality and the grammatical category of tense

Tense is defined by Fabricius-Hansen (2006: 566) as

> "…a grammatical category that serves to locate situations in time; it is the
> basic grammatical category that, together with lexical and other indications
> of ordering in time, enables the hearer to reconstruct the temporal relation
> between the speech situation and the situation described in a sentence and
> to reconstruct the relative order of situations described in a text".

The most influential among earlier and recent approaches to the descrip-
tion of tenses are the concept of the trichotomic time structure (a speech
act, an 'event' and a 'reference point'), developed by Reichenbach (1947)
and the expanded theory proposed by Comrie (1985). Comrie defines tense
as the "grammaticalised expression of location in time" (1985: 9) and sug-
gests two time points for representing the three absolute tenses: the time of
speech (S) and the time of the event (E), and three relations: simultaneity,
anteriority and posteriority (1985: 122–123). One or more reference points
are admitted by Comrie only for relative tenses.[21] An attempt to implement

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[21]Both these theories found a critical revision in Declerck's article (1986), where the author
argues that "both theories are deficient in certain respects", and suggests "a theory which
both retains the good points from Reichenbach and Comrie and remedies the defects".

Reichenbach's approach on the tense system in Balochi and Persian was made by Bakhtiari (2003).

Temporal meanings are deictic and orientational by their nature, which is true in the first place for absolute tenses. Relative tenses can establish other deictic centers of temporal orientation, which in various concepts of the time structure are called either reference point (Reichenbach 1947, Comrie 1985, etc.) or tense locus (Chung and Timberlake 1985). Although these notions do not coincide totally[22], in relative tenses they play one and the same role: localization in time of an event other than the speech moment. Bhat (1999: 20) makes a distinction between deictic and non-deictic tenses: non–deictic tenses are different from deictic tenses in that the reference point must necessarily be specified in the sentence itself. Further he notes that the non-deictic tenses "occur in a subordinate clause which is dependent upon the clause that denotes the event which functions as its reference point".

Another important feature of temporality is remoteness or temporal distance. Tense in its basic referential function locates a situation chronologically in relation to a reference point, i.e. "as close to or distant from the deictic center, which in most tense systems is 'now' of the utterance" (Fleischman 1989: 2).

In BT temporality is morphologically implemented in the grammatical category of tense. Nevertheless, temporality has other means of expression, e.g. with the help of lexical elements with a temporal-deictic function, such as *annūn* 'now', *marōčī* 'today', *zī* 'yesterday', *gwastagēn sālā* 'last year', *bāndā* 'tomorrow' etc. According to Comrie (1985: 56), these time adverbials locate a situation relative to the present moment, being thus instances of absolute time reference. In addition, in BT there are adverbials which locate a situation to some reference point given by the context, e.g. *dēmay rōčā* 'on the day before', *čārumīēn rōčay nēmrōčā* 'at noon of the fourth day', etc. Adverbials of this type are called by Comrie "instances of relative time reference" (1985: 56).

9.6.1   Structure of the temporality field in BT

The functional-semantic field means the concentration of the basic semantic functions. Inside the field of temporality these basic semantic functions are the deictic functions of the grammatical forms of tense. However, in-

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[22]E.g. the term "tense locus" is used by Chung and Timberlake (1985: 203) to designate "a privileged point or interval of time" within "a temporal dimension that is directional". The tense locus thus can be either the speech moment in absolute tenses, or another deictic centre in relative tenses.

side the field of temporality can appear intersections of the verb categories of tense and aspect, tense and mood etc.

The following examples illustrate two possible correlations of primary and secondary semantic functions of the verb *dar būtin* 'to go out'.

(594)   *man du sāatt-ay guḍ ša gis-ay   tā   dar-a*
       I   two hour-GEN after from house-GEN inside PREV-IMPF
       ba-īn.
       be.PRES-1SG
       'I will go out from the house in two hours.'

(595)   *aga man ša   gis-ay   tā   dar ba-īn,*
       if   I   from house-GEN inside PREV be.PRES-1SG
       šār-ā-a   ra-īn.
       town-OBJ-IMPF go.PRES-1SG
       'If I go out from the house, I will go to the town.'

In example (594) the primary function of the verb *dar būtin* is the time reference to the future. In example (595) the primary function of the verb *dar būtin* is the modal condition, meanwhile the action of the verb and the whole situation also refers to the future. Thus, the correlation with the future in (595) is the secondary function of the verb *dar būtin*.

At the same time, if we omit the adverbial modifier *du sāattay guḍ* 'in two hours' from (594), the context will not make it clear whether a future action or a present action is referred to. Thus, the category of tense is not the primary function of this verb form. Potentiality of a future action is less in keeping with the categorial essence of the indicative than the definiteness of a past action, because the realisation of a future action is to a great extent linked with vagueness and ambiguity, which are more characteristic for the category of modality. Ultan (1978: 83) notes: "Semantically, future tenses show a greater tendency to evolve from and develop into modal categories representative of varying degrees of uncertainty which is in conformity with the inherent uncertainty of futurity".

When different language resources performing a definite semantic function are compared, it is essential to distinguish between the following ways of presentation of semantic content:

- semantic content is explicitly expressed with a form which implicates this semantics as the main meaning of the form. For example, the semantics of the past tense is the main meaning of the forms *guštun* 'I said', *giptun* 'I took'.

- semantic content is not the main meaning of the form, but rather implicitly expressed in the form. For example, from point of view of present-future semantics, both forms *man-a gušīn* 'I will say' and *byā ki man bgušīn* 'let me say' are equal, because both of them can imply a reference to the future.

Thus, in BT only preterite indicative forms are marked for temporality. The main function of this form is the expression of the grammatical category of tense with no or neutral modal or aspectual implications. The distinction in tenses is provided by the opposition of two verb stems: present and past. The past stem is the prototypical form for temporal semantics, while the present stem does not imply the category of tense as its main feature.

The temporality field includes also constructions with the temporal conjunctions: *waxtē ki* 'when', *hamā ki* 'as soon as', *tā waxtē ki* 'until' and others. Here belong also such adverbs as *annūn* 'now', *maročī* 'today', *bāndā* 'tomorrow', etc.

9.7 Aspectuality and the grammatical category of aspect

According to Sasse (2006: 535),

> "The notions of 'aspect' (also called 'viewpoint' or 'perspective') and 'aktionsart' (also called 'lexical aspect', 'aspectual class', 'aspectual character', 'actionality', 'situation type' as well as few other terms) are concerned with the temporal semantics of an utterance in terms of time intervals (also termed 'phases') conceptualized in the construal of the situation expressed by that utterance. The fundamental criterion is the inclusion or noninclusion of starting point and/or end-points ('boundaries') in the conceptualization of the situation".

Aspect is thus connected with the notion of time, but in contradistinction to temporality, aspectuality does not represent the deictic temporal localization of an action, but its internal temporal structure, i.e. the way it is presented by the speaker. In aspectual contexts time is revealed as an internal and inherent quality of the event, i.e. aspect reflects the speaker's assessment of the temporal structure of the event. As Comrie states (1976: 5), "aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation".

Chung and Timberlake (1985: 213-214) note, that "aspect characterizes the relationship of a predicate to the time interval over which it occurs" and they define two distinct types of such a relationship. The first type is change, which is a central notion to aspect, because "predicates describe states, situations, properties, and so on, that can either remain constant or else change over time". Secondly, aspect characterizes different relationships of a predicate to the event frame, where the event frame is defined as a time interval selected by the speaker.

Aspectuality covers a large range of meanings and is not confined to the opposition of perfectivity vs. imperfectivity, which is characteristic of Slavonic languages. Moreover, as Maslov (1984: 6–7) notes, the aspectual meanings should not necessarily be binary in all cases. The diversity of aspectual meanings can be represented as a complex system, where aspectual oppositions are often intersected and superposed.

9.7.1   Structure of the aspectuality field in BT

Morphological aspect

Aspect as a morphologically marked category in BT has to be distinguished from other grammatical or non-grammatical elements of aspectuality. The morphological prototypical forms of the aspectuality field are the following three indicative past forms: perfect (*man kurtagun*), pluperfect (*man kurtatun*) and imperfect (*man-a kurtun*). Nevertheless, in the past temporal orientation an aspectual opposition although not binary exists in the pair imperfect vs. preterite, where the imperfect is the marked member of this opposition. The imperfect in BT is thus less polysemantic, while the preterite, being the unmarked member of the opposition, leaves unexpressed the main semantics of aspectuality. The categorial meaning of the BT imperfect is the unlimitedness of the event, where the event is presented in the process of its flow. In contradistinction to the imperfect, the preterite in BT only declares the event as a definite fact that occurred in the past.

The perfect, according to Comrie (1976: 52), is rather different from the aspects that represent the internal temporal constitution of a situation in different ways.[23] The semantics of the perfect combines two temporal layers: the prior and the following. Usually, as Maslov (1984: 32) notes, one of the situations belonging to either the prior or the following temporal perspective, becomes semantically predominant. Therefore, it is possible to distinguish between the perfect of result (or the static perfect) and the experiential perfect (or the actional perfect). Aspectual semantics is more

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[23]The main meanings of the perfect in BT were described below in section 9.4.2.

characteristic of the perfect of result.

(596) *wat-ī   mēmān-ān-ā gind-īt   ki   ništ-ag-ant.*
REFL-GEN guest-PL-OBJ see.PRES-3SG SUB sit.PAST-PP-3PL
'She sees that her guests are sitting.'

(597) *pa čē   ta   bē   mnī-ā   zarr-ān-ā   bi ā*
for what you.SG without I.GEN-OBJ money-PL-OBJ to DEM
du-k-ēn-ān   dāt-ag-ay?
two-HI-ATTR-PL give.PAST-PP-2SG
'Why have you given money to those two without me?'

The example (596) shows the aspectual meaning of the perfect of result, where the result of the event is seen as completed and ongoing. In the example (597) the most important and predominant thing is the event itself, while the result of this event is perceived as its chronological sequence (taxis).

The pluperfect is totally identical to the perfect in regard to aspectual semantics with only one exception: the result of the event is actual for a situation prior to the present moment.[24]

The forms of the present indicative, despite their morphological imperfective characteristics, cannot be regarded as the prototypical aspectual form, because the marker *-a* in the present indicative functions morphologically not as an aspectual marker, but rather as a modal one, thus opposing the indicative forms to the subjunctive forms.

Analytical aspect

Aktionsart, or the analytical aspect, can be expressed by syntactical compounds with aspectual meaning, where belong:

1. **Inchoative**. Combinations of finite and non-finite verb forms with aspectual inchoative meaning. The inchoative meaning can be expressed with the finite forms of two verbs: *ātin* 'to come' (598), *laggitin* 'to begin' (599), (600), (601), and *binā kurtin* 'to begin' (602). The main verb in the construction with the verb *ātin* is represented with the infinitive in the oblique case with the preposition *bi* 'to', and in the construction with the verbs *laggitin* and *binā kurtin* either with the infinitive in the oblique case with the preposition *bi*, or with the infinitive in the objective case without any preposition:

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[24]See examples in the section Pluperfect Indicative on p. 195.

(598) *lāp-iš   bi trakkit-in-ā   āt.*
belly-ENC.3PL to burst.PAST-INF-OBL come.PAST.3SG
'Their bellies were about to burst.'

(599) *ǰinikkō laggit   bi wānt-in-ā.*
girl   begin.PAST.3SG to read.PAST-INF-OBL
'The girl began to read.'

(600) *guḍān   laggit   asmānakk-ay gušt-in-ā.*
afterwards begin.PAST.3SG tale-GEN   say.PAST-INF-OBJ
'Afterwards she began to tell the tale.'

(601) *mnī ar   šut   bi ham-ā   urinǰa-ay tā*
I.GEN donkey go.PAST.3SG to EMPH-DEM clover-GEN inside
u   čarit-in-ā   laggit.
and graze.PAST-INF-OBJ begin.PAST.3SG
'My donkey went to that clover and began to graze.'

(602) *š-am-ē   awalī-y-ēn rōč-ā   binā*
from-EMPH-DEM first-HI-ATTR day-OBL beginning
kurt   bi zulm-ay kurt-in-ā.
do.PAST.3SG to cruelty   do.PAST-INF-OBL
'From that very first day he began doing his cruelties.'

The verb *laggitin* can build compound predicates with inchoative meaning not only in the combination with the infinitive of the main verb of the sentence. As shown in the examples (603) and (604), the infinitive in such constructions can be replaced by a noun with the verb semantics in the oblique case with the preceding preposition *bi*:

(603) *šērzād um tānā laggit   bi zām-ǰangī-ā.*
PN   too alone begin.PAST.3SG to sword-fight-OBL
'Sherzad also began the sword fighting.'

(604) *yakk katra-ē   guḍ laggit   bi grēwag-ā.*
one   drop-IND after begin.PAST.3SG to cry-OBL
'A bit later he began to cry.'

2. **Continuitive**. The combination of finite imperfective verb forms with the continuitive marker *dēdē(n)*:

(605) *mard-ī   dēdēn langār-a   kurt.*
husband-ENC.3SG CONT plough-IMPF
'Her husband kept on ploughing.'

3. **Terminative**. The combination of finite forms of the verb *ištin* 'to leave' with the infinitive in the objective case. This construction has a terminative aspectual meaning:

(606) ā   wat-ī   ǰang kurt-in-ā
     DEM REFL-GEN war do.PAST-INF-OBJ
     išt-ī.
     leave.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
     'He stopped his quarrel.'

4. **Progressive**. The combination of present or past forms of the predica-
tive copula with the possessive form of a noun with verb semantics, used
with the circumposition *bi … sarā* 'on top of'. This construction has the
progressive aspectual meaning:

(607) ā   du-k-ēn   bi-m-ē   abar-ay   sar-ā
     DEM two-HI-ATTR to-EMPH-DEM word-GEN on
     at-ant   ki bāz   āt.
     COP.PAST-3PL SUB falcon come.PAST.3SG
     'Both of them were discussing this problem when the falcon
     came.'

The aspectuality field includes also adverbial modifiers, which characterize
continuity of the event:

(608) ǰinēn-ī   ar   rōč nēmrōč-ā pa wat-ī   mard-ā   bi
     wife-ENC.3SG every day noon-OBJ for REFL-GEN husband-OBL to
     am-ā   langār-ay   sar-ā āp-u-nān-a
     EMPH-DEM ploughed field-GEN on   water-and-bread-IMPF
     burt.
     carry.PAST.3SG
     'Every day at noon his wife brought food for her husband to the
     ploughed field.'

(609) ē   tā bām-ay   dargatt-ā   sayl-a   kan-t.
     DEM until dawn-GEN period-OBL view-IMPF do.PRES-3SG
     'She has been waiting until dawn.'

9.8 Modality and the grammatical category of mood

Modality, as stated by Palmer (2001: 1), "is concerned with the status of
the proposition that describes the event". According to Chung and Timber-
lake (1985: 241), "a predicate is associated with an event world (or set of
worlds) in which the predicate occurs". An event can be either factual and
real (the event world is identical to the actual world), or hypothetically pos-
sible (the event world is not identical to the actual world). As Palmer (2001:

148–149) notes, in recent years the terms "realis" and "irrealis" have been used for this distinction.[25]

In a wider sense the term "irrealis" includes different parameters for establishing the actuality of an event. As Payne (1999: 244) noted,

> "The highest-level distinction in modal operations is between realis and irrealis, though like most conceptual distinctions these terms describe a continuum. A prototypical realis mode strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true. A prototypical irrealis mode makes no such assertion whatsoever".

The distinction between factuality and counterfactuality is an epistemic one. Bhat (1999: 65) compares such a distinction with the past vs. non-past distinction in the category of tense, and the perfective vs. imperfective distinction in the category of aspect. He says:

> "This comparability derives primarily from the fact that there are several languages in which the realis-irrealis distinction functions as the most fundamental distinction, dividing the whole system of verbal forms into two different groups, just as the past/non-past distinction, and also the perfective/imperfective distinction, do in several other languages. There is a correlation between these three types of distinction in the sense that past and perfective events tend to be associated with realis events whereas future and imperfective events tend to be associated with irrealis events."

At the same time, mood has to be distinguished from modality. In BT events evaluated as actual are expressed morphologically by forms of realis mood, which includes all the indicative verb forms, while non-actual events are expressed by forms of irrealis mood, which include not only forms of subjunctive and imperative, but also forms of imperfect and pluperfect employed in irrealis contexts. According to another approach (cf. e.g. Silnickij 1990) moods can be divided into cognitive, which includes indicative and suppositive on the one hand, and volitive which include imperative and optative, on the other hand.

Bhat (1999: 63) distinguishes between three parameters, which establish modal distinctions: 1) a speaker's opinion or *judgement* regarding the actuality of an event; 2) the kind of *evidence* that is available for the speaker to form this judgement; 3) the kind of *need* or requirement which forces the speaker (or someone else) to get involved in an event (or to carry out

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[25] Bybee (1998) rejected the irrealis as a universal category and proposed calling various grammatical categories grouped under the term "irrealis" by more specialized terms, for example, "hypotheticality" or "counterfactuality".

an action). The first two parameters are further characterized by Bhat as establishing epistemic (knowledge-based) moods and the third one - as establishing deontic (action-based) moods. The epistemic mood includes interrogatives as well, and the deontic mood includes imperatives.

Epistemic modality thus represents the actuality of an event in terms of alternative possible situations, or worlds. Such a distinction between judgements and evidentials inside the epistemic modality has made it possible for Bhat (1999: 64–65) to correlate it with the distinction between deictic and non-deictic tenses (see p. 213) in the sense that judgements represent the speaker's own evaluation of a situation and evidentials represent the external evidence (or basis) for an evaluation. That is, Bhat regards judgements as deictic and evidentials as non-deictic.

In order to represent modal syntactic and morphological construction in BT, the following division into sub-modalities will be used:

1. epistemic modality, which is subdivided into hypotheticality with constructions expressing possibility, potentiality, intention, desiderativity and timitivity; and counterfactuality, which includes impossible situations;
2. deontic modality, which includes obligation, permission and imperatives (imperative, jussive, and prohibitive).

9.8.1   Structure of the modality field in BT

The morphological prototypical forms of the modality field in BT are all the verb forms with the prefix *bi-* (see p. 165), i.e. present subjunctive (*man bkanīn*), past subjunctive (*man bkurtēnun*), and imperative (*bkan*). Modal meaning as the main semantics has also the modal predicate *bāid* 'must, should; probably', which is used both in epistemic and deontic contexts.

Other morphological forms which can convey modal semantics are the two forms containing the enclitic particle *-a*, i.e. present indicative (*man-a kanīn*) and imperfect indicative (*man-a kurtun*). Modality is also the main meaning of the verbal adjective (*kurtinī*), and the modal participle (*kurtinōk*).

9.8.2   Epistemic modality

According to Palmer (2001: 8), "with epistemic modality speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition".

Hypotheticality

Factuality in BT is conveyed by forms of the indicative mood. Hypotheticality is conveyed by forms of the present subjunctive mood. Below are described morphological and syntactic ways to express possibility, potentiality, impossibility, desiderativity and timitivity.

Possibility. An event in constructions expressing possibility has present or future reference. Possibility in BT can be expressed with the following language resources:

1. Combination of the modal predicate *bāid* 'probably; must'[26] with the forms of the present subjunctive. The modal particle can be either followed or not by the conjunction of general subordination *ki*:

   (610) *bāid   ki š-am-ē   rōdarāt-ā*
          probably SUB from-EMPH-DEM east-OBL
          b-ayt.
          SUBJ-come.PRES.3SG
          'He will probably come from the east.'

2. Combination of the modal conjunction *balkēn, balki* 'maybe' with the present and preterite forms of indicative, or with the present forms of subjunctive. Constructions with the preterite are formally hypothetical, although semantically they convey a real condition and have a future reference, as shown in the examples (613) and (614), which can be translated as 'If you do not find a job, . . . ?' and 'If you go tomorrow to the king's palace, . . . '.

   (611) *balki mušmā-rā   cīz-ē   b-dant.*
          maybe we.INCL-OBJ thing-IND SUBJ-give.PRES.3SG
          'Maybe he will give us something.'

   (612) *balkēn um man nājŏṛ un.*
          maybe also I   sick   COP.PRES.1SG
          'Maybe also I am sick.'

   (613) *balkēn ta   kār-ē   na-dīst-ay,   guḍān čŏn-a*
          maybe you.SG work-IND NEG-see.PAST-2SG then   how-IMPF
          kan-ay?
          do.PRES-2SG
          'Maybe you won't have found a job, what will you do then?'

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[26]The modal *bāid* 'probably; must' can be used in both epistemic and deontic contexts.

(614)   *balkēn bāndā*   *pādišā-ay darbār-ā*   *šut-ay,*   *ta*
      maybe tomorrow king-GEN palace-OBJ go.PAST-2SG you.SG
      čē-a   *guš-ay?*
      what-IMPF say.PRES-2SG

      'Maybe tomorrow you will go to the king's palace, what will you
      tell (him)?'

3. Combination of the modal construction *mumkin int* 'maybe, apparently'
with forms of the present subjunctive:

(615)   *mumkin int*   *ki y-ē-dga*   *zabr*
      maybe   COP.PRES.3SG SUB HI-DEM-other good
      ma-gind-ant.
      PROH-see.PRES-3PL

      'Maybe the others will not like (it).'

4. Combination of the conjunction *ma(n)šīn* 'probably, maybe, what if'
with indicative forms:

(616)   *ē*   *gō mnī ĭinēn-ā*   *mašīn badkārī-ē*
      DEM with I.GEN wife-OBL maybe adultery-IND
      kurt-ag-i?
      do.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG

      'What if he has committed adultery with my wife?'

(617)   *āyrā*   *dūr p-kan-it*   *ki mnī bāz-ā*   *mašīn*
      DEM.OBJ far   SUBJ-do.PRES-2PL SUB I.GEN falcon-OBJ maybe
      kušt.
      kill.PAST.3SG

      'Throw him out, because he maybe killed my falcon.'

Potentiality in BT is expressed by the combination of the past participle of
the main verb[27] with inflected forms of the verb *kurtin* 'to do':

(618)   *am-ā*   *waxt-ā*   *ta*   *gulšād-ā dīst-ag-a*
      EMPH-DEM time-OBJ you.SG PN-OBJ see.PAST-PP-IMPF
      kan-ay.
      do.PRES-2SG

      'At that time you will be able to see Gulshad.'

(619)   *man bi tī-ā*   *āt-ag*   *na-kurt-un.*
      I   to you.SG.GEN-OBJ come.PAST-PP NEG-do.PAST-1SG

      'I could not come to you.'

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[27] In other Balochi dialects in the construction of potentiality instead of the past participle the
past stem of the main verb is used. See e.g. Jahani (1999: 128).

Impossibility is expressed with the following formation: past participle of the main verb, plus negative inflected forms of the verb *būtin* 'to be':

(620) *rōč-ayā sar būt-ag-a   na-bīt,   ā   bāz dūr*
       sun-LOC head be.PAST-PP-IMPF NEG-be.PRES.3SG DEM very far
       int.
       COP.PRES.3SG
       'One cannot reach the sun, it is very far away.'

(621) *ēš-ī   dast čōṭ   mant,   rāst*
       DEM-GEN hand crooked remain.PAST.3SG straight
       kurt-ag-a   na-bīt.
       do.PAST-PP-IMPF NEG-be.PAST.3SG
       'His hand remained crooked, it cannot be straightened.'

(622) *pa γulp čēr   kurt-in   sātit-ag-a*
       for lock hidden part do.PAST-INF preserve.PAST-PP-IMPF
       na-bīt.
       NEG-be.PRES.3SG
       'One cannot hide (a secret) under lock.'

Intention is expressed with the help of the verbal adjective (see p. 210).

Desiderativity in BT is expressed by:

1. Combination of the inflected forms of the verb *lōṭitin* 'to want' with forms of the present subjunctive of the main verb:

   (623) *tī   piss-a   loṭ-īt   ki mnā wat-ī*
          you.GEN father-IMPF want.PRES-3SG SUB I.OBJ REFL-GEN
          zāmās   b-kant.
          son-in-law SUBJ-do.PRES.3SG
          'Your father wants to make me his son-in-law.'

   (624) *arčī   ki b-lōṭ-ay   b-zūr-ay,*
          whatever SUB SUBJ-want.PRES-2SG SUBJ-buy.PRES-2SG
          bā-ay-a   day-īn.
          price-OBJ.ENC.3SG-IMPF give.PRES-1SG
          'Whatever you might want to buy, I'll pay for it.'

2. As a desiderative construction often the word combination *dil* 'heart' plus the 3SG of the verb *kaššitin* 'to pull, to drag' is often used, or 3SG of the verb *lōṭitin* 'to want' plus the present subjunctive form of the main verb:

(625)   *mnī dil-a   loṭ-īt   ki   b-sarr-īn.*
           I.GEN heart-IMPF want.PRES-3SG SUB SUBJ-bray.PRES-1SG
           'I want to bray.'

(626)   *mnī dil-a   kašš-īt   ki   trā   sad   tuman*
           I.GEN heart-IMPF drag.PRES-3SG SUB you.OBJ hundred tuman
           zarr   b-day-īn.
           money SUBJ-give.PRES-1SG
           'I want to give you one hundred tumans of money.'

3. Desiderativity in simple sentences can also be expressed by the present subjunctive:

(627)   *tī   taxt u baxt   barkarār   bīt!*
           you.GEN throne and happiness continuous SUBJ.be.PRES.3SG
           'May your reign and happiness be everlasting!'

Timitivity in BT can be expressed by combination of the verb *trussitin* 'to fear' with the main verb in the present subjunctive:

(628)   *man-a truss-īn   ki   y-ē   du-k-ēn-ān-ā   zarr*
           I-IMPF fear.PRES-1SG SUB HI-DEM two-HI-ATTR-PL-OBJ money
           b-da-īn.
           SUBJ-give.PRES-1SG
           'I am afraid to give the money to these two.'

(629)   *ammā um truss-an   ki   gw-ā-ī   abar*
           we.EXCL also fear.PRES-1PL SUB with-DEM-GEN word
           b-day-an.
           SUBJ-give.PRES-1PL
           'We are afraid to talk with him.'

Counterfactuality

Counterfactuality is treated here as a situation contradictory to the facts of the real world. In the analysed material counterfactuality in BT can be expressed in the following contexts:

1. In conditional constructions:

(630)   *agar ma-ǰat-ēn,   man-a na-wānt-un.*
           if   PROH-beat.PAST-PSUBJ.3SG I-IMPF NEG-read.PAST-1SG
           'If he had not beaten (me), I would not have studied.'

2. Independently. The situation of counterfactuality in the independent constructions is expressed by the context and has either optative or deontic semantics:

(631) š-am-ā   dānkū-ān   ki ta   wārt-ag-ay,
      from-EMPH-DEM fried wheats-PL SUB you.SG eat.PAST-PP-2SG
      pa man kamm-ē   b-išt-ēn-ay.
      for I   little-IND SUBJ-leave.PAST-PSUBJ-2SG
      'You should have left for me a bit of the fried wheat grain you have
      eaten.'

3. In combination with the modal predicate *bāid* 'probably, must':

(632) man bāid   rōgin būt-ēn-un.
      I   probably oil   be.PAST-PSUBJ-1SG
      'I probably would have been turned into oil.'

Thus, counterfactuality in BT is expressed with the help of two verb forms:
the imperfect indicative and the past subjunctive.

9.8.3 Deontic modality

According to Palmer (2001: 9), "deontic modality relates to obligation
or permission, emanating from an external source …". Ziegler (2006:
261–262) identifies deontic modality in the following way: "the meaning
of the present-day deontic modals usually refers to the permission or
prohibition imposed on an actor to undertake an act …".

Obligation in BT is expressed:

1. with the help of the modal predicate *bāid* which in deontic contexts
   means 'should, must', plus forms of the present subjunctive:

(633) am-ā   mardum-ay sar   bāid guḍḍit-a
      EMPH-DEM man-GEN   head must chop.PAST-PP
      bīt.
      SUBJ.be.PRES.3SG
      'The head of that man must be chopped off.'

(634) nājōṛ bāid say gašt am-ē   ḍawl b-kan-t.
      sick must three time EMPH-DEM way SUBJ-do.PRES-3SG
      'A sick man has to do like that three times.'

2. with the help of the modal participle (see p. 209):

(635) nān-ā   wārt-in-ōk-ēn-ā   pa muzzūrī
      bread-OBJ eat.PAST-INF-PRP-ATTR-OBJ for farm labouring
      gīr-a   k-ār-īn.
      caught-IMPF IMPF$_k$-bring.PRES-1SG
      'I get (my) daily bread (lit. 'the bread which has to be eaten') by
      farm labouring.'

Permission can be expressed with forms of the present subjunctive, which are often followed by the present form of the verb *būtin* 'to be' in the 3SG:

(636) *man trā   nikē   p-kan-īn   u*
      I   you.SG.OBJ matchmaking SUBJ-do.PRES-1SG and
      b-gir-īn,   bīt?
      SUBJ-take.PRES-1SG be.PRES.3SG
      'Is it OK if I marry you?'

Prohibition, in addition to the prohibitive forms, can be expressed with the negation particle *na* plus the conjunction of general subordination *ki* plus the main verb in the present subjunctive:

(637) *ta   š-ēš-ān   yakk dānag-ē na ki bōr-ay,*
      you.SG from-DEM-PL one seed-IND NEG SUB SUBJ.eat.PRES-2SG
      pačē ki zimistān-ā dānag-ay paydā kurt-in   sakk-a
      because winter-OBJ seed-GEN found do.PAST-INF hard-IMPF
      bīt.
      be.PRES.3SG
      'You should not eat a seed from them, because in winter it will be difficult to find seeds.'

Prohibition can also be expressed with the combination of the past participle of the main verb with the negative inflected forms of the verb *būtin* 'to be':

(638) *am-ē   rang gušt-ag-a   na-bīt.*
      EMPH-DEM way say.PAST-PP-IMPF NEG-be.PRES.3SG
      'One should not say it this way.'

Imperative, prohibitive and jussive are described on p. 185, and on p. 237.

Part III:

Clause Structure

10. Syntax

10.1 Introduction

The main form of a discourse expression is a clause. Payne (1999: 71) notes that "a significant portion of cognition and reasoning ... is propositional. That is, people mentally combine and manipulate concepts in chunks involving one or two conceptual entities and a relation, activity, or property concerning them."

According to Matthews (1981: 1), the term 'syntax' traditionally refers to the branch of grammar dealing with the ways in which words are arranged to show connections of meaning within the sentence. These connections can be described either in terms of grammatical roles (Agent, Patient, Predicate) or in terms of grammatical relations (Subject, Object, Verb). Payne (1999: 74) replaces the traditional two-way distinction between subject and object with a three-way distinction, which he calls 'most agent-like argument of a transitive clause, (A)', 'only argument of an intransitive clause, (S)', and 'least agent-like argument of a transitive clause, (P)'. Within this framework, "the subject category consists of the set of A together with S", (Payne 1999: 75).

10.2 Word order

According to Brown and Miller (1991: 263), "all languages use word order to a greater or lesser extent as a marker of various functional relationships". For BT it is possible to distinguish between the unmarked or basic word order, and marked word order which contains definite deviations from the unmarked word order. Reordering, i.e. marked word order, mainly occurs to indicate pragmatic topic or focus (see p. 232). The unmarked word order, as postulated by Kroeger (2004: 141), can be defined according to the following criteria: frequency; mood, polarity, and voice (i.e. the unmarked word order occurs normally in active positive indicative); distribution (i.e. the unmarked word order can occur in the greatest number of different contexts); the unmarked order should be based on the order of a full noun phrase and prepositional phrase (i.e. pronouns have special word order properties).

10.2.1   Noun phrases

The unmarked order for noun phrases in BT is the following: specificator (demonstrative pronoun or quantifier), numeral, adjective, noun, indefiniteness marker.[1] A noun is the head of the noun phrase construction, and all other constituents are dependent on it.

10.2.2   Sentence constituents

In BT the unmarked word order of sentence constituents is Subject - Object - Verb (SOV). BT belongs to the type of languages that place their modifiers and complements before the head noun, which is defined as left-branching, (see e.g. Stilo 2005: 35). The sentence constituents in BT can be reordered for pragmatic purposes in the following way:

- Object-VERB is changed to VERB-Object;
- Adjective-NOUN is changed to NOUN-Adjective;
- Numeral-NOUN is changed to NOUN-Numeral;

10.2.3   Pragmatic functions

Kroeger (2004: 136) points out: "Linguists often refer to two pragmatic functions which elements of a sentence may bear, namely focus and topic". According to Miller (2006: 511),

> "Speakers focus on constituents to highlight the information they carry, to contrast one piece of information with another, to introduce new information, to reintroduce information that has already been mentioned but dropped, to shift the listener's attention to another entity or topic of conversation, or to emphasize a piece of information."

Focus marking is described by Lambrecht (1994: 218) as "the formal mechanism for signalling a focus relation between a pragmatically construed denotatum and a proposition". Further he notes, that "The focus of a proposition may be marked prosodically, morphologically, syntactically, or via a combination of prosodic and morphosyntactic means."

Any constituent can be focused in BT. A focused constituent in a sentence is always marked by the stress prominence (focal stress). Other means of marking focus in BT are the following:

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[1]The indefiniteness marker -$\bar{e}$ in BT due to its position in the noun phrase is excluded from the class of specificators (or determiners).

1. The focus particle *(h)am/(h)um* is placed after a constituent to be fo-
   cused:

   (639) *nōkar am tārī-ēn   sarā bi bāzār-ān u bi kūča-ān*
          servant FOC morning-ATTR upon to market-PL and to street-PL
          dar   būt-ant.
          PREV be.PAST-3PL
          'The servants went out to the markets and streets the next morn-
          ing.'

2. A constituent to be focused is placed in the postverbal position, i.e. at the
   end of a sentence:

   (640) *arakkī   wat-ī   ar-ā   išt   u*
          donkey driver REFL-GEN donkey-OBJ leave.PAST.3SG and
          kapt   šēxšādī-ī padā.
          fall.PAST.3SG PN-GEN after
          'The donkey driver left his donkey and followed Sheikh Shadi.'

   (641) *putr   am-ē   sandūx-ay tā.*
          SUBJ.enter.PRES EMPH-DEM chest-GEN inside
          'Get inside this chest.'

3. A focused constituent is used with the indefiniteness marker *-ē* in nom-
   inal sentences (see p. 239).
4. A focused constituent is used in cleft sentences (see p. 240).

The topic of a sentence is defined by Lambrecht (1994: 118) as "the thing
which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT".

In BT, the topic of a sentence generally does not need special marking. Nev-
ertheless, the topic can be marked when there is a choice among several
topics or when the topic has to be changed. The topic is marked by plac-
ing it closer to the front of a sentence. Topicalization of the subject noun
phrase, however, is achieved by placing it in the preverbal position:

(642) *ar say-ēn-ān-ā   man-a da-īn-ī.*
       every three-ATTR-PL-OBJ I-IMPF give.PRES-1SG-ENC.3SG
       'I will give him all three (daughters).'

The topic of a sentence in BT can also be marked by the topic particle *u*,
which is placed after the constituent to be topicalized:

(643) *ša-ttī   dast-ā   diga kār-ē   u   na-bīt.*
       from-you.GEN hand-OBL other work-ATTR TOP NEG-be.PRES.3SG
       'You are good for nothing (lit. 'There will not be any other work from
       your hand').'

(644) *ta u raw-ay zindān-ā.*
you TOP go.PRES-2SG prison-OBJ
'As for you, you will go to prison.'

10.3   Simple sentences and sentence types

Simple sentences are "those sentences that contain a single main verb", (Brown & Miller 1991: 146). According to Payne (1999: 71), "even as propositions consist of entities and a property, activity or relation, so clauses tend to consist of nouns and a predicating element, either a nominal/adjectival/stative element, or a verb". Allan (2006: 267) noted, that "clause type is formally defined by morphosyntax, lexis and prosody". The following clause types will be described below: declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences, exclamative sentences, nominal sentences, and cleft sentences.

10.3.1   Declarative sentences

Declarative sentences contain a simple statement and consist of two or more syntagmas pronounced with a falling intonation.

A declarative sentence is "the most frequent and least marked clause type" (Allan 2006: 267). The constituent order in declarative sentences can be defined as prototypical in BT, because declarative sentences are pragmatically neutral (cf. e.g. Payne 1999: 76–77). BT can be classified as a verb-final language, i.e. it tends to place the verb at the end of a clause:

(645) *zaytūn wat-ī brāsuk-ā dīst.*
PN REFL-GEN little brother-OBJ see.PAST.3SG
'Zaytun saw her little brother.'

The direct object usually precedes an indirect object:

(646) *wat-ī ǰinikk-ā pādišā-ā dāt.*
REFL-GEN daughter-OBJ king-OBJ give.PAST.3SG
'He gave his daughter to the king.'

10.3.2   Interrogative sentences

Declarative sentences can be transformed into interrogative sentences either by changing the intonation or by introducing interrogative words or modal particles, together with intonational changes.[2]

Since there is no special interrogative marker in BT, basic yes-no questions (general questions) are signalled purely by intonation:

(647)   *šumā bi gyābān-ā sizā   na-būt-it?*
        you.PL in desert-OBL torture NEG-be.PAST-2PL
        'Did you not suffer in the desert?'

Focus can be indicated in interrogative sentences in BT by changing the constituent order, namely by placing the focused element in sentence-initial position:

(648)   *dār-ay   yakk čīz-ē?*
        have.PRES-2SG one thing-IND
        'Do you really have something?'

(649)   *yakk čīz-ē   dār-ay?*
        one   thing-IND have.PRES-2SG
        'Do you have something?'

Tag questions are distinguished as a subtype of yes-no questions. A tag question consist of "a declarative clause plus a "tag" that requests confirmation or disconfirmation of the declarative clause", (Payne 1999: 297). In BT tag questions constructed with the help of the conjunction *yā* 'or' plus the negation particle *na* in sentence final position are defined as alternative questions:

(650)   *ta   digar unar dār-ay   yā na?*
        you.SG other skill have.PRES-2SG or NEG
        'Do you have another skill, or not?'

(651)   *am-ē   abar rāst ant   yā na?*
        EMPH-DEM word true COP.PRES.3PL or NEG
        'Are these words true, or not?'

Biased questions (where a certain answer is expected) in BT can be constructed with the help of the compound conjunction *na-ki* 'really', which consists of the negation particle *na* plus the conjunction of general subordination *ki*:

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[2]The intonation of different types of interrogative sentences was described on p. 50.

(652) man na-ki   trā   say dānag zindag-ēn māī ša
     I   NEG-SUB you.SG.OBJ three CLASS living-ATTR fish from

     ḍigār-ay   tā   gipt-un   u dāt-un?
     earth-GEN inside take.PAST-1SG and give.PAST-1SG

     'Didn't I really take three live fish from out of the earth and give them
     to you?'

(653) na-ki   y-ē   drōg-a   ǰan-t?
     NEG-SUB HI-DEM lie-IMPF beat.PRES-3SG

     'Isn't he lying indeed?'

Biased questions in BT can also be constructed with the help of modal par-
ticles *maga(r)* and *napa*, both meaning 'whether, do ... really':

(654) man maga   brās   na-dār-īn?
     I   whether brother NEG-have.PRES-1SG

     'I do have a brother, don't I?'

(655) napa ē   ta   w-ay?
     whether DEM you.SG HI-COP.PRES.2SG

     'It's you, isn't it?'

In biased questions with *maga(r)* the speaker expects a non-confirmative
answer to the question. Questions with the compound conjunction *na-ki*,
and questions with *napa* generally presuppose a confirmation as an answer.

Another type of interrogative sentence includes question-word questions
(or special questions), i.e. those clauses "for which the requested informa-
tion is a more elaborate locution - a phrase, a proposition, or an entire dis-
course", (Payne 1999: 295). Special questions in BT are constructed with the
help of interrogative words, in which category interrogative pronouns and
interrogative adverbs belong (see p. 50):

(656) pa abdullāxān čē   sawγāt dēm b-day-an?
     for PN   what present face SUBJ-give.PRES-1PL

     'What present shall we send to Abdullakhan?'

(657) ša guǰā tī   sar-u-pad   bi ǰā kapt-a?
     from where you.GEN head-and-track to place fall.PAST-PP

     'How did it happen that you are here (lit. 'Where from did your head
     and track fall onto the place')?'

(658) man čōn b-kan-īn?
     I   how SUBJ-do.PRES-1SG

     'What shall I do?'

(659)　*ta　　kadēn padā-a　　raw-ay?*
　　　you.SG when back-IMPF go.PRES-2SG
　　　'When will you go back?'

(660)　*pa-ttī　　　　kār-ā　　u　kumakk-ā trā　　činkas*
　　　for-you.SG.GEN work-OBL and help-OBL you.OBJ how much
　　　zarr　　b-day-īn?
　　　money SUBJ-give.PRES-1SG
　　　'How much money shall I give you for your work and help?'

(661)　*guḍā pa-čē　　grēt-ay?*
　　　then for-what weep.PAST-2SG
　　　'Why did you weep then?'

The examples above show, that in BT, as in most OV languages, the inter-
rogative word can either remain in the "normal" position, or it can move to
the sentence-initial (657) position (cf. e.g. Payne 1999: 301).

10.3.3   Imperative sentences

According to Payne (1999: 303), "imperatives are verb forms or construction
types that are used to directly command the addressee to perform some
action". Affirmative and negative imperatives (or prohibitives) take special
verb forms which distinguish them from declaratives (see also p. 185). Al-
lan (2006: 269) notes, that many imperative clauses are entreaties which
include supplications, propositives, and instructions. Usually imperatives
refer to the second person subject (the hearer), either in the singular or in
the plural:

(662)　*yakk xayrāt-ē　　b-day　　　　u　guḍā b-gwaz!*
　　　one charity-IND SUBJ-give.PRES and then SUBJ-pass.PRES
　　　'Give a donation and pass!'

(663)　*ay āǰiza,　　ma-grē!*
　　　oh woman PROH-cry.PRES
　　　'Oh woman, do not cry!'

(664)　*hāzir ba-it,　　　　　ma-wasp-it!*
　　　ready SUBJ.be.PRES-2SG PROH-sleep.PRES-2PL
　　　'Be ready, do not sleep!'

As Palmer (2001: 80) noted, imperatives are closely associated with deon-
tic modality. Imperatives referring to the first and third persons are usually
called jussives. Jussives of the 1SG and 1PL are expressed in BT with forms
of the present subjunctive:

(665) *b-raw-an   ābāzī   b-kan-an!*
SUBJ-go.PRES-1PL swimming SUBJ-do.PRES-1PL
'Let us go and swim!'

(666) *man ša   aslanbā sōĭ   b-kan-īn!*
I   from PN   asking SUBJ-do.PRES-1SG
'Let me ask from Aslanba!'

Jussives of the 1SG and 1PL can be constructed with the help of the 2SG imperative form of the verb *ātin* 'to come' plus the present subjunctive of the main verb:

(667) *by-ā   ki šapī-ēn   šap-ā   gō ā-ī*
SUBJ-come.PRES SUB nightly-ATTR night-OBJ with DEM-GEN
b-gwāzēn-īn!
SUBJ-pass.PRES-1SG
'Let me spend this night with her!'

(668) *by-ā   b-raw-an   bi am-ē   alk-ay*
SUBJ-come.PRES SUBJ-go.PRES-1PL to EMPH-DEM village-GEN
dārā-ēn   mardum-ay gis-ā!
rich-ATTR man-GEN   house-OBL
'Let us go to the house of a rich man in this village!'

Jussives of the 3SG and 3PL are usually constructed with the help of the 2SG imperative form of the verb *ištin* 'to leave' followed by the 3SG enclitic pronoun plus the present subjunctive of the main verb:

(669) *b-ill-ī   pādišā mnā ša šār-ā   dar*
SUBJ-leave.PRES-ENC.3SG king   I.OBJ from town-OBL PREV
p-kant!
SUBJ-do.PRES
'Let the king drive me away from the town!'

(670) *b-ill-ī   mučč-ēn wat-ī   murād-ā*
SUBJ-leave.PRES-ENC.3SG all-ATTR REFL-GEN desire-OBJ
b-ras-ant!
SUBJ-reach.PRES-3PL
'Let everyone's desire be fulfilled! (lit. 'Let all reach their own desire!')'

10.3.4 Exclamative sentences

According to Allan (2006: 270), "exclamatives occur within the other clause types and do not count as a distinct clause type in their own right". Exclamatives in BT are marked by exclamative particles pronounced with rising intonation: *čōn* 'how!', and *čunēn* 'what!'. Exclamative particles are always preposed to the clause constituent in focus in the exclamation:

(671) *gis   čōn ǰwān rupt-a!*
house how good sweep.PAST-PP
'How well the house is swept!'

(672) *čun-ēn   ǰwān-ēn   ǰinikkō-ē murt-ag-ī!*
how-ATTR good-ATTR girl-IND die.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG
'What a good girl has died!'

10.3.5 Nominal sentences

Nominal sentences in BT occur only in the 3SG of the present indicative and include a nominal predicate followed by the indefiniteness marker *-ē*. Thus, the 3SG present form of the predicative copula is not used in nominal sentences.

Payne (1999: 114) in classifying the nominal predicate clauses distinguishes between proper inclusion and equation. Proper inclusion, according to Payne, "is when a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate", and equative clauses "are those which assert that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal".

Thus, proper inclusion (or description) is expressed in BT with the help of nominal sentences, as shown in the examples (673) and (674), while equation is expressed with the help of nominal predicates with the predicative copula, example (675):

(673) *pādišā gušt: y-ē   mardum-ē.*
king   say.PAST.3SG HI-DEM man-IND
'The king said: "This is a man".'

(674) *y-ē   tī   xān zōrāk-ēn   čambāz-ē.*
HI-DEM you.SG.GEN khan mighty-ATTR liar-IND
'This khan of yours is a mighty liar.'

(675) *ē   mnī kyāmattī-ēn   gwār int.*
DEM I.GEN resurrection-ATTR sister COP.PRES.3SG
'This is my sister at the day of resurrection.'

Nominal sentences are used in existential constructions (676), while in locational constructions (677) the predicative copula is used:

(676) *dīst-ī*   *ki kawšdoč-ay gis-ayā*
   see.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG SUB shoemaker-GEN house-LOC
   ārōs-ē.
   wedding-IND
   'He saw that there was a wedding in the shoemaker's house.'

(677) *kirm bi-m-ā nēmag-ā int.*
   worm in-EMPH-DEM part-OBL COP.PRES.3SG
   'The worm is in this part.'

The nominal predicate in nominal sentences is always the focus of a sentence.

10.3.6 Cleft sentences

Cleft sentences in BT represent focus marked constructions, where the focus of a sentence is preceded by a dummy subject *ē* 'this' or *ā* 'that' plus the copula and followed by a complement clause:

(678) *y-ē čār-umī-y-ēn rōč int   ki man gušnag*
   HI-DEM four-ORD-HI-ATTR day COP.PRES.3SG SUB I hungry
   u tunnag un.
   and thirsty COP.PRES.1SG
   'I have now been hungry and thirsty for four days (lit. 'It is the fourth day that I am hungry and thirsty').'

Another type of cleft sentences, so-called pseudo-cleft constructions (cf. Kroeger 2004: 138), consists of a presupposition introduced with the help of the demonstrative pronouns *ē* 'this' or *ā* 'that' plus the indefinite pronoun *čīz-ē* 'something', and the focused constituent at the end of the sentence:

(679) *ā čīz-ē ki šmā dīst-ag-it, ā mardum-ē*
   DEM thing-IND SUB you.PL see.PAST-PP-2PL DEM man-IND
   būt-a.
   be.PAST-PP
   'What you have seen turned out to be a man.'

These two types of cleft sentences are defined by Kroeger (2004: 138) as focus-presupposition constructions.

10.4 Complex sentences

Complex sentences are "those sentences that can be analysed as consisting of a number of simple sentences" (Brown & Miller 1991: 146). Constituents of a complex sentence are either syntactically equal or one of them is subordinate to another. The syntactically equal structure consists of two or more clauses which are positioned on the same grammatical level. Such a relationship between clauses is defined as parataxis or coordination. In the subordinate structure, on the other hand, one or more constituent clauses are grammatically dependent upon the main (or the matrix) clause. Such a relationship between clauses is defined as hypotaxis or subordination (cf. e.g. Payne 1999: 336). According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 441), the structure of a complex sentence is derived from the layered structure of the clause. Kroeger (2004: 40) defines both coordination and subordination as types of recursion.[3]

The joining of clauses into a complex sentence, as well as the expression of semantic and syntactic correlations between them is realized in BT with the help of conjunctions, subordination markers and the order of clauses.

10.4.1 Coordination

According to Kroeger (2004: 40), "In a coordinate structure, two constituents belonging to the same category are joined as sisters to form another constituent of that category". The basic coordinate sentence in BT can be presented with the following constituent structure:

S → S (Conj) S

The coordinate sentence in BT is constructed with the help of the conjunctions *u, wa* 'and', *balē, ammā* 'but', *yā* 'or':

(680) *yakk māldār-ē   at   u   ā-ī   nām asan*
       one cattle-breeder-IND COP.PAST.3SG and DEM-GEN name PN
       at.
       COP.PAST.3SG
       'There was a cattle-breeder and his name was Asan.'

_____

[3]According to Kroeger (2004: 39), "recursion ...means that a phrasal constituent can be embedded within (i.e., be dominated by) another constituent having the same category".

(681)   *marōčī trā*   *čīz-ē*   *na-gušīn,*   *balē*
         today   you.SG.OBJ thing-IND NEG-say.PRES-1SG but
         tārī   *mnā ǰawāb-ē*   *day-ay.*
         in the morning I.OBJ answer-IND give.PRES-2SG

         'I will not say anything to you today, but tomorrow morning you will give me an answer.'

(682)   *ta*   *mučč-i γaybatt u*   *drōg-ān-ā laḍḍit-ag-ay*   *yā*
         you.SG all-IZ   slander and lie-PL-OBJ load.PAST-PP-2SG or
         tāngatā čīz-ē   *mant-ag-ī?*
         still   thing-IND remain.PAST-PP-ENC.3SG

         'Have you loaded all the slander and lies or is something still left?'

Coordinate sentences can be linked as well with the help of the reduplicated conjunctions *(h)am … (h)am* 'both … and', *na … na* 'neither … nor', *yā … yā* 'either … or':

(683)   *am dōst dār-ay,*   *am dušman dār-ay.*
         also friend have.PRES-2SG also enemy   have.PRES-2SG

         'You have both friends and enemies.'

(684)   *na nōk-ēn*   *ǰwān-ēn*   *pučč-ē*   *dāšt,*   *na*
         not new-ATTR good-ATTR clothes-IND have.PAST.3SG not
         lāp-ī   *ša yakk čīz-ē*   *sēr*   *at.*
         stomach-ENC.3SG from one   thing-IND replete COP.PAST.3SG

         'He neither had any new good clothes nor was his stomach full with anything.'

(685)   *man yā ast-un*   *yā nēst-un.*
         I   or FCOP.PRES-1SG or NEG.FCOP.PRES-1SG

         'I am either alive or dead (lit. 'Either I exist or I do not exist').'

The conjunction *yā* 'or' can be used together with the conjunction of general subordination *ki* thus building a compound coordinate linker *yā ki* 'or':

(686)   *gōkurt-a*   *rēč-ant*   *yā ki gōkurt-ā*   *gō āp-ā*
         sulphur-IMPF pour.PRES-3PL or SUB sulphur-OBJ with water-OBL
         lōṛ-a   *kan-ant.*
         mixed-IMPF do.PRES-3PL

         'They pour sulphur or mix the sulphur with water.'

In BT coordinate sentences can be constructed by juxtaposing two independent clauses:

(687) *bībī wat-ī   sar u mūd-ān-ā   šakk kurt,*
       Lady REFL-GEN head and hair-PL-OBJ comb do.PAST.3SG

       wat-ī   luṇṭ-ān-ā   muzwāk ǰat.
       REFL-GEN lip-PL-OBJ lipstick   hit.PAST.3SG

       'The lady combed her hair and painted her lips.'

As Payne (1999: 337) notes, "Coordination is sometimes difficult to distinguish from mere juxtaposition of clauses in discourse. In fact, in spoken discourse some kind of morphosyntactic clause linkage, either coordination or subordination, may be evident at nearly all clause junctures". In the case of example (687) the two clauses can not be separated into two independent sentences because they have the common subject *bībī* 'lady'.[4] Also, only the final clause has a falling intonation typical of sentence final position (see p. 50).

The hypotactic conjunction *tā / ta* 'that, in order that' is sometimes used in paratactic constructions:

(688) *šā abbās du-w-umī-ēn   u say-umī-ēn   šap-ā   um*
       PN   two-HI-ORD-ATTR and three-ORD-ATTR night-OBJ also

       kayt   ta gind-īt   ham-ā   parī um
       come.PRES.3SG that see.PRES.3SG EMPH-DEM fairy also

       āt-a.
       come.PAST.3SG

       'Shah Abbas comes on the second and on the third night also and sees that the same fairy also has come.'

(689) *mazan-ēn brās-ay   ǰinēn āt   ta dīst*
       elder-ATTR brother-GEN wife   come.PAST.3SG that see.PAST.3SG

       ki ar du brās-ay   sar ša lāša-ā   ǰitā
       SUB every two brother-GEN head from corpse-OBL separate

       būt-ag-ant.
       be.PAST-PP-3PL

       'The wife of the elder brother came and saw that the heads of both brothers are detached from their corpses.'

10.4.2 Subordination

According to Aarts (2006: 248), "A defining characteristic of subordination ... is that the subordinate element or string is syntactically at a lower

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[4]According to Palmer (1994: 88), in coordination the subject of the second sentence is normally omitted (or 'deleted') if it is coreferential with the subject of the first sentence and identifies the subject as "the pivot for deletion".

level in the overall structure than the element or string it is subordinate to". Kroeger (2004: 41) identifies three types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses, adjunct (or adverbial) clauses and relative clauses. Complement clauses are defined by Kroeger as "clauses which occur as arguments of a verb; …they are required or licensed by the subcategorization features of the verb".[5] Adjunct clauses "are clauses which function as an adjunct or adverbial element of another clause", and relative clauses "are clauses which function as modifiers within a noun phrase" (Kroeger 2004: 41).

According to another classification, subordinate clauses are subdivided into content clauses, comparative clauses, relative clauses and adjunct clauses, (Aarts 2006: 252). Content clauses "designate a type of clause that assumes a typical clause function, such as subject, direct object, and complement of a preposition", and comparative clauses "express a comparison between two terms".

In terms of degrees of subordination two features are determined as prominent: dependency and embedding (cf. e.g. Aarts 2006: 252).

The order of clauses is of great importance especially in asyndetic subordinate sentences. Some types of subordinate sentences require a fixed positioning of clauses. In particular, the fixed order of clauses is used in subordinates of purpose or cause, in consecutive subordinates and some others. In all these sentences subordinate clauses follow the matrix clause.

Subordination markers

The most usual word used in BT for connecting a matrix clause with a subordinate clause is the conjunction of general subordination *ki*. It seems to have lost any special meaning and thanks to its universality, it is used as a formal marker of hypotaxis.

Other subordinate markers are: *agar (ki)* 'if', *agar čē* 'although', *tā / ta* 'that', *ančō ki* 'as soon as', *čōn ki* 'as', *ša basē ki* 'since, inasmuch as', *pa xātirē ki, pa sababē ki, pačē ki* 'because', *pa-māī* 'therefore', *š-amā ki* 'because of', *arčī ki, arčī* 'no matter how much', *waxtē (ki)* 'when', *tā waxtē (ki)* 'until', *ar gāē (ki)* 'if'.

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[5]The subcategorization features (or morphosyntactic properties) can be either strict (distributional) or inherent (structural). According to Brown and Miller (1991: 72–73), "strict subcategorization primarily concerns co-occurence restrictions between a lexical head and its sisters within the corresponding phrasal category …Inherent subcategorization typically involves restrictions on particularly grammatical processes".

Complement clauses

Payne (1999: 314–315) distinguishes between the following subtypes of complement clauses: finite complements, non–finite complements, and indirect questions. Prototypical finite complements, according to Payne, are like independent clauses, as evident by the following characteristics:

1. "They carry their own tense and aspect".
2. "They express their subjects directly; subject reference is not restricted to that of the matrix clause".

In BT verbs of the matrix clauses for finite complements are usually verbs of saying, e.g., *guštin* 'to say', and perception, e.g., *dīstin* 'to see', *zāntin* 'to know':

(690) *ā   dīst   ki ā-ī   amrā padā   mant-ant.*
       DEM see.PAST.3SG SUB DEM-GEN friend behind remain.PAST-3PL

       'He saw that his friends had fallen behind.'

The structure of a finite object complement in example (690) can be illustrated with the following tree diagram:[6]
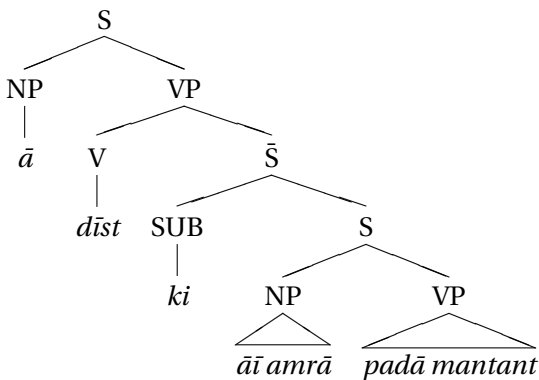
Non-finite complements, according to Payne (1999: 315), are less independent than finite complements.

The complement verb in BT non-finite complements is expressed with the infinitive. In the following examples a non-finite object complement (691) and a non-finite subject complement (692) are presented:

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[6]The complementizer together with the clause it introduces form a separate constituent, which is labeled S̄.

(691) *wat-ī   daryāb-ay āškā   mant-in-ā   u*
REFL-GEN sea-GEN   on the other side remain.PAST-INF-OBJ and
paday   āt-in-ā   nakl-ī   kurt.
back.ENC.3SG come.PAST-INF-OBJ story-ENC.3SG do.PAST.3SG
'He told how he remained on the other side of the sea and how he
came back.'

(692) *mēmān-ay xizmatt kurt-in   čō–m-ē   asal-ayā   wašš*
guest-GEN service do.PAST-INF as-EMPH-DEM honey-LOC sweet
int.
COP.PRES.3SG
'To pay honour to a guest is sweet like this honey.'

Phrases which are headed by infinitives in non-finite complements func-
tion as noun phrases.

Complement clauses with indirect questions in BT can include interroga-
tive pronouns and structurally do not differ from simple interrogative sen-
tences (693) and (694), or they can also be of the yes-no type:

(693) *pādišā um na-zān-t   ki   ĭinikk-ā gujām zāg-ā*
king   FOC NEG-know.PRES-3SG SUB girl-OBJ which son-OBJ
b-dant.
SUBJ-give.PRES.3SG
'As for the king, he does not know to which son he should give the
girl.'

(694) *sī   bay   ā-w-ān-ā   čē*
informed SUBJ.be.PRES DEM-HI-PL-OBJ what
būt-ī.
be.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
'Find out what happened to them.'

Complement clauses in BT perform the same functions as constituents of a
simple sentence and thus can be subdivided into subject complements, ob-
ject complements, and predicate complements. The element which intro-
duces the complement clause can be characterized as a complementizer,
(Kroeger 2004: 41). The two conjunctions, *ki* and *tā / ta*, are used as com-
plementizers in BT.

Subject complements

Subject complement clauses usually follow the main clause and are con-
nected to it with the help of the conjunction *ki*. Subject clauses perform the
function of the subject of the matrix clause, for example:

(695) *bīt*   *ki*   *sawdāgir-ay*   *āt-in-ay*   *rōč*
be.PRES.3SG SUB merchant-GEN come.PAST-INF-GEN day
nazzīk-a   *k-ayt.*
near-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PRES.3SG
'It so happens that the day of the merchant's arrival approaches.'

(696) *tārīk at*   *u*   *zabr mālūm-a*   *na-būt*   *ki*
dark COP.PAST.3SG and good clear-IMPF NEG-be.PAST.3SG SUB
mardum-ē yā diga   *čīz-ē.*
man-IND   or other thing-IND
'It was dark and it was not quite clear whether it was a man or something else.'

(697) *rāst-ē*   *ki*   *hunar γayr az*   *māl-i*   *pidar.*
truth-IND SUB skill   beside from wealth-IZ father
'It is true that beside one's father's wealth one must have a profession.'

The subject complement in (696) consists of two nominal clauses connected with the conjunction *yā* 'or' (see p. 239). The subject complement in (697) is represented by the citation of a Persian proverb.

Hypotactic constructions beginning with the phrase *čōn būt ki* 'somehow it happened that' can also be treated as subject complements, for example:

(698) *čōn būt*   *ki*   *ēš-ān-ī*   *zām*   *bi yakk wār-ā*   *rāst*
how be.PAST.3SG SUB DEM-PL-GEN sword to one   turn-OBL true
būt.
be.PAST.3SG
'Somehow it happened that their swords hit the target at the same time.'

(699) *čōn būt*   *ki*   *bi sardār-ay barōt-ān*   *nān-ay*
how be.PAST.3SG SUB to chief-GEN moustache-PL bread-GEN
ṭukkurukk-ē   *laččit.*
little piece-IND stick.PAST.3SG
'Somehow it happened that a little piece of bread got stuck in the chief's moustache.'

Subject clauses are also found in complex sentences, where the predicate of the main clause is represented with modal words *bāid* 'it is necessary', and *mumkin* 'probably', for example:

(700) *bāid   ki ammā am-idā   ā-ī   gis-ay*
      it is necessary SUB we.EXCL EMPH-here DEM-GEN house-GEN
      dēm-ā m-nind-an.
      front   SUBJ-sit.PRES-1PL

      'It is necessary that we sit here in front of his house.'

(701) *ammā mumkin int   ki y-ē-dga   zabr*
      but   possible COP.PRES.3SG SUB HI-DEM-other good
      ma-gind-ant.
      PROHIB-see.PRES-3PL

      'But it is possible that others would not like it.'

Object complements

There are two types of object complements in BT:

- An object complement clause functions as an object of the predicate in
  the matrix clause. Object complements of this type usually follow the
  matrix clause and are connected to it either with the help of the comple-
  mentizers *ki* and *tā / ta* or asyndetically:

  (702) *dīst   ki bi bālišt-ay   čērā pādišā-ay čalla*
        see.PAST.3SG SUB in pillow-GEN under king-GEN ring
        int.
        COP.PRES.3SG

        'He saw that the king's ring was under the pillow.'

  (703) *ǰinēnzāg-ay mard   sayl kurt   ta ǰinēn-ī   dēr*
        woman-GEN husband view do.PAST.3SG that wife-ENC.3SG late
        kurt,   āt   bi paday.
        do.PAST.3SG come.PAST.3SG to after.ENC.3SG

        'The woman's husband saw that his wife was late and came after
        her.'

  (704) *na-zān-ant   čōn zāg-ā ša draxt-ay sarā*
        NEG-know.PRES-3PL how boy-OBJ from tree-GEN upon
        y-ēr   b-kan-ant.
        HI-down SUBJ-do.PRES-3PL

        'They do not know how to get the boy down from the tree.'

  The tense used in object complement clauses can be either relative, as
  shown in the example (702) or absolute, example (703). Relative tense is
  used more frequently than absolute tense after verbs of perception in the
  matrix clause.
- Relative clauses (see p. 250) are used in a special type of object com-
  plement clause. The head of the relative clause which is embedded into

the complement clause is the indefinite pronoun *(h)arčī(z)* 'everything, whatever'. Subordinate clauses of this type usually precede the matrix clause and link to it asyndetically:

(705) *arčī   ki pīramard ša wat-ī   mās-ā*
       everything SUB old man   from REFL-GEN mother-OBL
       uškit-at,   nakl kurt.
       hear.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG story tell.PAST.3SG
       'The old man related everything he had heard from his mother.'

(706) *arčīz-ē-rā   ki mnī dil b-kašš-īt,*
       everything-IND-OBJ SUB I.GEN heart SUBJ-drag.PRES-3SG
       wadī-a   kan-īn.
       found-IMPF do.PRES-1SG
       'I will find whatever I want.'

- Direct speech can also be considered as a subtype of object complements because indirect speech does not exist in BT:

(707) *ta   wat nakl-a   kan-ay   ki wat-ī   rōč-ā*
       you.SG REFL story-IMPF do.PRES-2SG SUB REFL-GEN day-OBJ
       pa šādī u   šādkāmī gwāzēnt-un.
       for joy   and gladness spend.CAUS.PAST-1SG
       'You yourself are telling that you spend your days in joy and gladness.'

Predicate complements

Predicate clauses contain a modifier of the nominal predicate of the matrix clause, which is represented by emphatic forms of the demonstrative pronouns *ēš* 'this', *(h)amēš* 'this very', *(h)amā* 'that very', etc. A predicate clause is connected to the main clause with the help of the conjunction *ki* and follows after the main clause.

(708) *andag-ay   sabab ham-ēš   int   ki iškārī ša*
       laughter-GEN reason EMPH-DEM COP.PRES.3SG that hunter from
       šēr-ā   na-trussit.
       lion-OBL NEG-fear.PAST.3SG
       'The reason for the laughter is that the hunter was not scared by the lion.'

Main clauses of the type *(h)amā int* 'and now, and then' do not have any formal markers of hypotaxis, but they can be considered as belonging to

the predicate clause structure, inside which the predicate clause is connected to the main clause asyndetically. In the following examples the predicate clauses perform the function of modifier of the nominal predicate, expressed by the emphatic form of the demonstrative pronoun *hamā* 'that very':

(709) *ham-ā   int,   ǰanakk zūt-ē   mašk-ā*
EMPH-DEM COP.PRES.3SG woman quick-IND water skin-OBJ
zurt   u šut   pa āp-ay
take.PAST.3SG and go.PAST.3SG for water-GEN
āwurt-in-ā.
bring.PAST-INF-OBL
'And now (the situation is that) the woman quickly took the water skin and went for water.'

(710) *ham-ā   int,   ē kassāb-ay   padā šut.*
EMPH-DEM COP.PRES.3SG DEM butcher-GEN after go.PAST.3SG
'And now (the situation is that) he followed the butcher.'

Relative clauses

As Kroeger (2004: 41) puts it, "relative clauses are clauses which function as modifiers within a noun phrase". Givón (2001: II : 9) identifies relative clauses, together with noun complements and prepositional phrases, as post-nominal modifiers. Relative clauses are subdivided into restrictive and non-restrictive ones. Comrie (1989: 138) defines restrictive relative clauses as serving "to delimit the potential referents" of the head noun, and non-restrictive relative clauses as serving "merely to give the hearer an added piece of information about an already identified entity, but not to identify that entity." According to Kroeger(2004: 175):

> "In a restrictive clause … the head noun is generally a common noun which could refer to a large number of different individuals. … A non-restrictive clause … is one in which the referent of the head noun is already known, or can be identified independently; the clausal modifier simply presents additional information about that participant. Thus proper names frequently occur as the head noun of a non-restrictive relative clause, but never as the head of a restrictive relative clause".

There are three types of restrictive relative clauses in BT which are structured in the following way: 1) head noun (antecedent), the indefiniteness marker -*ē* attached to the head noun, the conjunction *ki* which in the relative clause constructions performs the function of a relativizer, and a modifying clause; 2) a demonstrative adjective,

antecedent, *ki*, and 3) a demonstrative adjective, antecedent, the indefiniteness marker *-ē*, *ki*. All three structures of the restrictive relative clauses are presented in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: *Restrictive relative clauses*

	ANT	*-ē*	*ki*	S
DEM	ANT		*ki*	S
DEM	ANT	*-ē*	*ki*	S

The restrictive relative clause of the first type is presented in (711), of the second type in (712), and of the third type in (713):

(711) *gis-ē   ki   mnī   balluk   bi ā-ī   tahā   zindagī-a*
     house-IND SUB I.GEN grandmother in DEM-GEN inside life-IMPF
     kurt,   annūn bēxī   wayrān int.
     do.PAST.3SG now   totally ruined COP.PRES.3SG
     'The house where my grandmother lived is now totally ruined.'

(712) *š-am-ā   dānkū-ān   ki   ta   wārt-ag-ay,*
     from-EMPH-DEM fried wheats-PL SUB you.SG eat.PAST-PP-2SG
     pa man kamm-ē   b-išt-ēn-ay.
     for I   little-IND SUBJ-leave.PAST-PSUBJ-2SG
     'You should have left for me a bit of the fried wheat grain you have eaten.'

(713) *guḍān šā abbās ham-ā   duā-ē   ki   ǰinikkō*
     then   PN   EMPH-DEM prayer-IND SUB girl
     nimist-at   laggit   bi wānt-in-ā.
     write.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG begin.PAST.3SG to read.PAST-INF-OBL
     'Then Shah Abbas began to read the prayer that the girl had written.'

The demonstrative pronouns *ē* 'this' or *ā* 'that' can also be employed as an antecedent. In this case the indefiniteness marker *-ē* is not attached to the antecedent:

(714) *bēakl ā   w-ant   ki   y-ē   dunyā-ā u   ā*
     stupid DEM HI-COP.PRES.3SG SUB HI-DEM world-OBJ and DEM
     dunyā-ā   wat-ī-ā   xarāb-a   kan-ant.
     world-OBJ REFL-GEN-OBJ wrecked-IMPF do.PRES-3PL
     'Imprudent are those who destroy this world and that world for themselves.'

The function of the indefiniteness marker *-ē* in restrictive relative clauses in BT, in the same way as in Modern Persian, is the specification or identification of the head noun. At the same time, its semantic range does not include indefiniteness and singularity, which are usual for nouns marked for indefiniteness with *-ē* not followed by a restrictive relative clause. Rather, "the head noun of a restrictive clause is . . . defined, or selected, by means of the relative clause" (Jahani 2000: 34).

The indefiniteness marker *-ē* also occasionally performs the function of an emphasizer in a non-restrictive relative clause, and gives to the antecedents in examples (715) and (716) the following meanings: 'the way I know Abdullakhan', and 'the way I know you'.

(715)   *abdullāxān-ē ki*   *ē-rang-ēn*   *qimmatbā-ēn*   *čīz*
        PN-IND   SUB DEM-way-ATTR expensive-ATTR thing
        dār-īt,   *āyrā*   *čē*   *sawgāt-a*   *day-ay?*
        have.PRES-3SG DEM.OBJ what present-IMPF give.PRES-2SG
        'Which present will you give to Abdullakhan who has such expensive things?'

(716)   *ta-ē*   *ki*   *ganōk-ē*   *w-ay,*   *čē*
        you.SG-IND SUB fool-IND HI-COP.PRES.2SG what
        gušt-ag-a   *kan-ay?*
        say.PAST-PP-IMPF do.PRES-2SG
        'You who are a fool, what can you say?'

Thus, in BT the suffix *-ē* attached to an antecedent of a restrictive relative clause and the indefiniteness marker *-ē* used with nouns not followed by a restrictive relative clause, represent one single morpheme performing one and the same main function (see p. 62).

Kroeger (2004: 175) notes, that "the head noun bears two grammatical relations at the same time". These two grammatical relations can be shown in the examples (717) and (718), where the nouns *mardum* 'man' and *jinikk* 'girl' are the subjects of the matrix predicates *rakkit* 'escaped' and *atīm int* 'is an orphan'. But at the same time, they are direct objects of predicates in the relative clauses *bandī kurtatant* 'they had imprisoned' and *dīstant* 'they saw'.

(717)   *am-ā*   *mardum-ē ki*   *bandī*   *kurt-at-ant,*
        EMPH-DEM man-IND   SUB imprisoned do.PAST-COP.PAST-3PL
        š-ā-w-ān-ī   *dast-ā*   *rakkit.*
        from-DEM-HI-PL-GEN hand-OBL escape.PAST.3SG
        'The man they had imprisoned escaped from them.'

(718) *jinikk-ē ki   ā   bi bāzār-ā   dīst-ant,   atīm*
       girl-IND SUB DEM in market-OBL see.PAST-3PL orphan
       int.
       COP.PRES.3SG
       'The girl they saw in the market, is an orphan.'

The grammatical relation which the head noun has in the relative clause is, according to Kroeger (2004: 175), characterized as the relativized function. The relativized function in BT can be marked either by a gap, as shown in the examples (717) and (718), or by a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause or in the matrix clause, as in (719) and (720). With the use of the resumptive pronoun "the relativized function is assigned to a pronominal copy of the head noun", (Kroeger 2004: 177). In BT demonstrative pronouns can be used as resumptive pronouns, as shown in the following example:

(719) *apōk-ē   ki   āyrā   čā-ay   tā   prēnt,   ā*
       cowife-IND SUB DEM.OBJ well-GEN inside throw.PAST.3SG DEM
       pa salāmatt čā-ay   tā   kapt.
       for health   well-GEN inside fall.PAST.3SG
       'The cowife whom she threw into the well, fell into the well without hurting herself.'

(720) *pačē am-ā   lunka-ē   ki   āt-ay   ki*
       why EMPH-DEM mouthful-IND SUB come.PAST-2SG SUB
       bōr-ay,   am-āyrā   um padā išt-ay.
       SUBJ.eat.PRES-2SG EMPH-DEM.OBJ FOC back put.PAST-2SG
       'Why did you put aside the mouthful you were going to eat.'

Haig (1998: 13) notes, that "the head noun of a RC [relative clause - SA] fulfills a syntactic function within the main clause in which it is a constituent. But it is also coreferent with some participant of the relative clause". Syntactic functions of the antecedent in relative clauses are limited either to subject or direct object in the analysed material. As shown in example (721), the antecedent can take the suffix *-rā*.

(721) *wall-ē-rā   yā draxt-ē-rā   ki   šīrag   gipt,*
       vine-IND-OBJ or tree-IND-OBJ SUB plant disease take.PAST.3SG
       sarā-iš   purr-a   rēč-ant.
       upon-ENC.3PL ashes-IMPF pour.PRES-3PL
       'They pour ashes on a vine or a tree afflicted by *shirag*.'

Non-restrictive relative clauses in BT contain only the antecedent (without the indefiniteness marker *-ē*) plus *ki*. Thus, in BT there is a formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses:

(722) *nādiršā-ī ǰinēn-ay uštur ki ā swār at,*
PN-GEN wife-GEN camel SUB DEM riding COP.PAST.3SG
parrit.
bolt.PAST.3SG

'Nadirsha's wife's camel, which she was riding, bolted.'

Adjunct clauses

Adjunct (or adverbial) clauses "modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. They are not an argument of the clause", (Payne 1999: 316–317). Adjunct clauses express the same semantic information as adverbs: time, place, cause, purpose, etc. Thus, adjunct clauses in BT are subdivided into clauses of manner, temporal, locational, causal, purposive, conditional, resultative, and concessive clauses.

Temporal clauses

The most typical way of connecting a temporal clause to the matrix clause in BT is the conjunction *ki,* which is used here as a temporal subordinate linker. The subordinate clause precedes the matrix clause, and the conjunction *ki* is placed after the first word of the subordinate clause:

(723) *š-āškā ki āt-un, by-ā ḍigār-ay tā*
from-there SUB come.PAST.1SG in-DEM field-GEN inside
šēr-ay pad-ē dīst-un.
lion-GEN footprint-IND see.PAST.1SG

'When I came from there, I saw a lion's footprint in that field.'

(724) *ǰinēn-ī ki bi gis-ay tā putr-īt,*
wife-ENC.3SG SUB in house-GEN inside enter.PRES.3SG
mard-ī-a k-ust-īt u
husband-ENC.3SG-IMPF IMPF$_k$-stand.PRES.3SG and
xurāk-a ǰan-t-ī.
severely-IMPF beat.PRES.3SG-ENC.3SG

'When his wife enters the house, her husband gets up and beats her severely.'

(725) *ǰinēnzāg ki ša ḍannā-a k-ayt, pādišā*
woman SUB from outside-IMPF IMPF$_k$-come.PRES.3SG king
kitāb-ā by-ā-ī-a dant.
book-OBJ to-DEM-GEN-IMPF give.PRES.3SG

'When the woman comes from outside, the king gives her the book.'

Temporal clauses can also be linked to the matrix clause with the help of the following conjunctions: *ančō ki, hamē ki* 'as soon as', *(h)ar kadēn ki* 'when, as soon as':

(726) *ā   ša šār-ā   ančō ki   dar kapt,   mīrzā zakkī*
DEM from town-OBL as soon as PREV fall.PAST.3SG PN

ā-ī   dēmā   laggit.
DEM-GEN in front of meet.PAST.3SG

'As soon as he went out of the town, Mirza Zakki appeared in front of him.'

(727) *hamē ki   ǰanakk šut   pa āp-ā,   šā abbās zām-ā*
as soon as woman go.PAST.3SG for water-OBL PN   sword-OBJ

kaššit   u   ǰat.
drag.PAST.3SG and strike.PAST.3SG

'As soon as the woman went for water, Shah Abbas drew his sword and struck.'

(728) *ar kadēn ki wat-ī   čīz-ān-ā   bā   b-kan-īn,   pa*
as soon as REFL-GEN thing-PL-OBJ price SUBJ-do.PRES-1SG for

wat   čīz   b-zin-īn,   ra-īn.
REFL thing SUBJ-buy.PRES-1SG go.PRES-1SG

'As soon as I sell my things and buy something for myself, I will go.'

Temporal clauses can be linked to the matrix clause with the help of the compound conjunctions *waxtē ki* 'when', *tā / ta waxtē ki* 'while, until', and *(h)ar gaštē ki* 'whenever'. In fact, temporal clauses with these conjunctions can be characterized as such only semantically, because structurally they represent restrictive relative clauses with the following head nouns: *waxt* 'time' and *gašt* 'time, occasion':

(729) *waxt-ē   ki   ta   mardum āwurt-ay,   am-ē*
time-IND SUB you.SG people   bring.PAST-2SG EMPH-DEM

gis-ay   tā   ša   mučč-ān dēmā ta   wat
house-GEN inside from all-PL   before you.SG REFL

putr.
SUBJ.enter.PRES

'When you bring people, go into this house before everyone else.'

(730) *dēγān ta waxt-ē   ki bi šār-ā   sar būt,   rōč*
peasant until time-IND SUB to town-OBL head be.PAST.3SG sun

ništ   u   tārīk būt.
sit.PAST.3SG and dark be.PAST.3SG

'By the time that the peasant reached the town, the sun had gone down and it had got dark.'

(731) *har gašt-ē ki pa iškār u tamāšā dar*
every time-IND SUB for hunting and enjoyment PREV

būt-ēn,   *gō wat čunt swār u xizmatkār-ā-a*
be.PAST-PSUBJ.3SG with REFL several rider and servant-OBJ-IMPF

burt.
take away.PAST.3SG

'Whenever he went out for hunting and enjoyment, he took several riders and servants with himself.'

Example (731) shows that in temporal clauses with an open and past time reference the past subjunctive is used. In temporal clauses with the future reference the present subjunctive is used:

(732) *piss waxt-ē ki b-ust-īt,*   *āyrā*
father time-IND SUB SUBJ-stand up.PRES-3SG DEM.OBJ

paydā-a   kant.
found-IMPF do.PRES.3SG

'When the father stands up, he will find it.'

Temporal clauses can be introduced with a combination of the preposition *ša* 'from', plus the demonstrative pronoun *ē* 'this', plus the conjunction *ki*, i.e. *ša ē ki* 'since':

(733) *man bi wat-ī   umr-ā ša y-ē   ki zāg-ay   wāund*
I   in REFL-GEN life-OBL from HI-DEM SUB child-GEN owner

būt-ag-un,   zāg-ā gušnag u tunnag
be.PAST-PP-1SG son-OBJ hungry and thirsty

na-išt-ag-un.
NEG-leave.PAST-PP-1SG

'Ever since I got a child, I have never in my life left him hungry or thirsty.'

Temporal clauses can be connected to the matrix clause asyndetically. In example (734) the rising intonation of the subordinate clause shows that the two clauses are joined in one sentence, although such a connection can be regarded as coordination as well.

(734) *tārī   rōč būt,   pādišā yakk nōkar-ē-rā*
early morning day be.PAST.3SG king   one servant-IND-OBJ

lōṭit.
call.PAST.3SG

'When day came (lit. 'when the morning became day'), the king called a servant.'

A temporal clause can be linked to the matrix clause with the help of the combination of the adverb *angat / tāngatā* 'still, yet' with the conjunction *ki*: *angat / tāngatā … ki*. The predicate of the main clause is then expressed with the negative pluperfect indicative:

(735) *kawšdōč   kār-ā   angattā na-laggit-at   ki*
        shoemaker work-OBJ still   NEG-begin.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG SUB

        āyrā   nōkar   pādišā-ay ukm-ā   gušt-ant.
        DEM.OBJ servant king-GEN order-OBJ tell.PAST-3PL

        'The shoemaker had not yet started his work when the servants told him about the king's order.'

Locational clauses

Locational clauses, which perform the function of an expanded adverbial modifier of place or direction, are linked to the matrix clause with the help of the conjunction *ki*, which is used together with the adverbs of place *id(in)ā(n)* 'here', *ōd(in)ā(n)* 'over there', *ād(in)ā(n)* 'there':

(736) *am-ādā   ki   tūtī-ay   kapas lakatāb int,   yakk*
        EMPH-there SUB parrot-GEN cage   hung up COP.PRES.3SG one

        kamm-ē   kaṛakk b-kan.
        little-IND hole   SUBJ-do.PRES

        'Make a little hole right there, where the parrot's cage hangs.'

(737) *ēš-ān-ā   āwurt   am-ōdā   ki   wazīr-ay*
        DEM-PL-OBJ bring.PAST.3SG EMPH-there SUB vizier-GEN

        ǰinikk-ā-a   šōd-ant.
        daughter-OBJ-IMPF wash.PRES-3SG

        'He brought them to the place where they were washing (the body of) the vizier's daughter.'

This type of subordinate clauses is semantically and structurally related to restrictive relative clauses, which becomes more obvious when a subordinate clause is linked to the matrix clause with the help of the compound conjunction *ǰāē ki* 'where'. This conjunction consists of the noun *ǰā* 'place' with the indefiniteness marker *-ē* plus the conjunction *ki*:

(738) *ā   ham-ā   ǰā-ē   ki   parī gušt-at*
        DEM EMPH-DEM place-IND SUB fairy tell.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG

        bāz-ēn   māl-ē   burt.
        many-ATTR property-IND carry.PAST.3SG

        'He carried a lot of things to the place the fairy had told him.'

(739) *čammbāz-ēn mullā š-am-ā   ǰā-ē   ki pādišā*
       cunning-ATTR mullah from-EMPH-DEM place-IND SUB king

       šut-at,   āt   bi γarāwul-ān-ī-ā.
       go.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG come.PAST.3SG to warder-PL-GEN-OBJ

       'The cunning mullah came to the warders from the place where the
       king had gone away.'

Locational clauses can either precede, examples (736) and (738), or follow
the matrix clause, example (737). Locational clauses can even be embedded
in the matrix clause, as shown in example (739).

Causal clauses

Causal clauses (or reason clauses) are usually linked to the matrix clause
with the help of the following compound conjunctions: *pačē ki, pa sababē
ki, pa xātirē ki, pa wāsitaē ki* 'because', *ša bas(ē) ki* 'since, inasmuch as':

(740) *ta   š-ēš-ān   yakk dānag-ē na ki bōr-ay,*
       you.SG from-DEM-PL one seed-IND NEG SUB SUBJ.eat.PRES-2SG

       pa-čē ki zimistān-ā dānag-ay paydā kurt-in   sakk-a
       for-what SUB winter-OBJ seed-GEN found do.PAST-INF hard-IMPF

       bīt.
       be.PRES.3SG

       'You should not eat a single seed from them, because in winter it will
       be difficult to find seeds.'

(741) *pa xātir-ē   ki tī   ḍigār pa-rāstī pākīzag-ēn*
       for reason-IND SUB you.SG.GEN land for-truth clean-ATTR

       gul-ē   ki pāč būt-a,   ā   tī   nasīb
       flower-IND SUB open be.PAST-PP DEM you.SG.GEN share

       bīt.
       SUBJ.be.PRES.3SG

       'This land should be your share, because it has really brought forth
       good fruit (lit. 'because it is really a pure flower which has opened').'

(742) *wastā ǰinikkō-ay piss-ay ǰāga-ā   int   pa*
       master girl-GEN   father-GEN place-OBJ COP.PRES.3SG for

       wāsitā-ē ki ā-ī   aḍḍ-ān-ā   ǰōṛ kurt.
       reason-IND SUB DEM-GEN bone-PL-OBJ ready do.PAST.3SG

       'The master is as if he was the girl's father (lit. 'instead of the girl's
       father'), because he constructed her bones.'

(743) *ša   bas-ē   ki   tī   ḍigār pa wat-ī*
      from enough-IND SUB you.SG.GEN field   for REFL-GEN

      wāund-ā   wapā dār-īt,   šēr by-ā   ḍigār-ā   u
      owner-OBL faith have.PRES-3SG lion to-DEM field-OBL and

      ā-ī   gul-ān hič yakk zalar-ē   rasēnt-ag
      DEM-GEN flower-PL none one harm-ATTR deliver.PAST-PP

      na-kurt-a.
      NEG-do.PAST-PP

      'Since your field is so faithful to its owner, the lion has not been able
      to do any harm to that field and its flowers.'

(744) *ša   bas ki   atukk sōr at-ant   y-ēš-ī   guṭṭ*
      from enough SUB soup hot COP.PAST-3PL HI-DEM-GEN throat

      u   zubān-ī-a   sōč-īt
      and tongue-ENC.3SG-IMPF burn.PRES-3SG

      'Since the soup was so hot, it was burning his throat and tongue.'

The compound conjunction *š-amā ki* 'because of', which consists of the
preposition *ša* 'from' + the emphasized form of the demonstrative pronoun
ā 'that' + the conjunction *ki*, can also be used as a linker of causal clauses:

(745) *ta   š-am-ā   ki   mnī gis-ā-a*
      you.SG from-EMPH-DEM SUB I.GEN house-OBJ-IMPF

      k-āy-ay,   mnī mēmān am bāz-a
      IMPF$_k$-come.PRES-2SG I.GEN guest   FOC many-IMPF

      bay-ant.
      be.PRES-3PL

      'I will have many guests because you come to my house.'

Causal clauses can be connected to the matrix clause with only the con-
junction *ki*:

(746) *mnā yakk rūpī-ay   brinǰ b-day   ki   mnī mard-ay*
      I.OBJ one rupee-GEN rice   SUBJ-give.PRES SUB I.GEN man-GEN

      dil pa palāw-ā   mant-a.
      heart for pilaw-OBL remain.PAST-PP

      'Give me rice for one rupee (lit. 'one rupee's rice') because my hus-
      band (lit. 'husband's heart') is longing for pilaw.'

(747)   *ammay*   *nišānī-ān-ā*   *pādišā-ā* *ma-day*   *ki*
        we.EXCL.GEN token-PL-OBJ king-OBJ PROH-give.PRES SUB
        ammā-rā-a   *kuš-īt.*
        we.EXCL-OBJ-IMPF kill.PRES-3SG

        'Do not give our tokens to the king because he will kill us.'

(748)   *kassāb-ā*   *š-ē*   *kučakk-ā bāz wašš āt*   *ki*
        butcher-OBJ from-DEM dog-OBL very sweet come.PAST.3SG SUB
        ā   *nānwā-ay* *padā na-šut.*
        DEM baker-GEN after NEG-go.PAST.3SG

        'The butcher liked the dog very much because it did not go after the baker.'

As shown in the examples above, causal clauses can not only follow the matrix clause, but also precede it.

Resultative clauses

Resultative (or consecutive) clauses always follow the matrix clause and are usually linked to it with the conjunction *ki*:

(749)   *ē*   *dēb-ā*   *yakk zām-ē*   *ǰan-t*   *ki*
        DEM demon-OBJ one sword-IND beat.PRES-3SG SUB
        sarag-ī   *ādā-a*   *kap-īt.*
        head-ENC.3SG there-IMPF fall.PRES-3SG

        'He strikes the demon with a sword once so that his head falls far away.'

(750)   *ā*   *grēt*   *ki* *š-ā-ī*   *čamm-ay ars-ān*
        DEM weep.PAST.3SG SUB from-DEM-GEN eye-GEN tear-PL
        piṭṭ-ē   *zāg-ay* *dēm-ā* *piṭṭit.*
        drop-IND boy-GEN face-OBJ drop.PAST.3SG

        'She wept so that a teardrop from her eye fell on the face of the boy.'

Resultative clauses can also be connected to the matrix clause with the help of the compound conjunction *pa-māī um* 'so, therefore, that is why', which consists of the preposition *pa* 'for' plus the oblique of the emphatic form of the demonstrative pronoun *ā* 'that' plus the focus particle *um*:

(751) *ē   zāg-ay piss wat-ī   zāg-ā   bēxī dōst*
DEM boy-GEN father REFL-GEN boy-OBJ very friend
dāšt-ī,   pa-m-ā-ī   um zāg-ā
have.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG for-EMPH-DEM-GEN FOC boy-OBJ
hiččī   na-gušt-ī.
nothing NEG-tell.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
'This boy's father loved his son very much, so he did not say anything to the boy.'

(752) *am-ā   tī   nāɣ̌ōṛ-ēn piss ša   dunyā-ā*
EMPH-DEM you.SG.GEN ill-ATTR father from world-OBL
šut,   pa-m-ā-ī   um grē-īn.
go.PAST.3SG for-EMPH-DEM-GEN FOC cry.PRES-1SG
'That father of yours, who was ill, passed away from this world, that is why I am crying.'

Resultative clauses do not refer to any special member of the matrix clause, but rather to the whole matrix clause. Verbs in resultative clauses are always used in the indicative mood.

Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses can be linked to the matrix clause with the help of the conjunction *ki*. Purposive clauses with the conjunction *ki* always follow the matrix clause.

(753) *am-ē   kabr-ā   pāč day   ki*
EMPH-DEM tomb-OBJ open SUBJ.give.PRES SUB
kapan-ay   zūr-an.
shroud-OBJ.ENC.3SG SUBJ.take.PRES-1PL
'Open the tomb in order that we may take his shroud.'

(754) *mard-ī   wat-ī   ǰinēn-ay bālišt-ā   zurt*
husband-ENC.3SG REFL-GEN wife-GEN pillow-OBJ take.PAST.3SG
ki   tikka   b-dant.
SUB leaning SUBJ-give.PRES.3SG
'Her husband took his wife's pillow in order to lean (on it).'

Purposive clauses can also be connected to the matrix clause with the help of the compound conjunctions *pamā xātirā … ki* and *pamāī um … ki* with the meaning 'in order that':

(755) pa-m-ā   xātir-ā   man tī-ā
      for-EMPH-DEM reason-OBL I   you.SG.GEN-OBJ
      āt-un   ki ammā-rā   kumakk u imdād-ē
      come.PAST-1SG SUB we.EXCL-OBJ help   and assistance-IND
      kan-ay.
      SUBJ.do.PRES-2SG

      'I came to you for you to help us.'

(756) pa-m-ā-ī   um am-ā   āk-ān-ā
      for-EMPH-DEM-GEN FOC EMPH-DEM dust-PL-OBJ
      āurt-un   ki gičēn b-kan-īn   u rūpī-ā
      bring.PAST-1SG SUB sieve SUBJ-do.PRES-1SG and rupee-OBJ
      wadī   b-kan-īn.
      found SUBJ-do.PRES-1SG

      'I brought this dust in order to sieve (it) and to find the rupee.'

The conjunction *tā*, unlike in NP (cf. e.g. Rubinčik 2001: 563), is not used in BT as a subordinate linker of purposive clauses. The verb in purposive clauses is always in the subjunctive mood, as demonstrated in the examples above.

Clauses of manner

Clauses of manner are linked to the matrix clause either with the conjunction *ki*, or with the compound conjunctions *čōn ki* 'in the way as', *ančō ki* 'like'. The matrix clause is usually introduced with the adverbs of manner *amārang* 'so, in that way', and *amērang* 'so, in this way':

(757) nōkar um čōn ki   šā abbās gušt-at-ī,
      servant FOC how SUB PN   tell.PAST-COP.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG
      amārang kurt-ī.
      so   do.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG

      'And the servant did it the way Shah Abbas had told him.'

(758) amērang-a k-āt-ant   ki ša kō-ay
      so-IMPF   IMPF$_k$-come.PAST-3PL SUB from mountain-GEN
      burzag-ē bi ǰālag-ā   y-ēr   kapt-inī   būt-ant.
      top-IND to bottom-OBL HI-down fall.PAST-VA be.PAST-3PL

      'They came (up) so (high) that they were about to fall down from the mountain top.'

(759) *ančō ki   ā   wat-ī   maqsad u   murad-ā rast-ant,*
       like   SUB DEM REFL-GEN goal   and desire-OBJ reach.PAST-3PL

       mašmā   um b-ras-an.
       we.INCL also SUBJ-reach.PRES-1PL

       'May we reach our goal and desire in the way they did.'

Clauses of manner can either follow the matrix clause (758), or precede it (757) and (759).

Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses in BT are linked to the matrix clause either asyndetically, (760) and (763), or with the help of the conjunction *aga(r) (ki)* 'if', (761), (762), and (764):

(760) *ta.SG wat-ī   grēwag-ay sabab-ā   ma-guš-ay,*
       you   REFL-GEN cry-GEN   reason-OBJ PROH-tell.PRES-2SG

       trā-a   na-yll-īn.
       you.SG.OBJ-IMPF NEG-leave.PRES-1SG

       'If you do not tell me the reason for your crying, I will not leave you (in peace).'

(761) *agar ta   ilyās-ā bi dār-ā   kašš-ay,   guḍān*
       if   you.SG PN   to wood-OBL SUBJ.pull.PRES-2SG then

       xalγ-u-ālam   čē-a   guš-īt?
       people-and-world what-IMPF tell.PRES-3SG

       'If you execute Ilyas, what will people say?'

(762) *man agar na-y-āt-un,   ta   pa-mman am-ōdā*
       I   if   NEG-HI-come.PAST-1SG you for-I   EMPH-there

       nān-mān-ē   by-ār-ay.
       bread-RED-IND SUBJ-bring.PRES-2SG

       'If I do not come, you should bring me some food there.'

(763) *tī   piss mnī   šār-ā   mardum dēm*
       you.SG.GEN father I.GEN town-OBJ people   face

       b-dāt-ēn,   man gō   γōsun-ā-a
       SUBJ-give.PAST-PSUBJ I   with army-OBL-IMPF

       k-āt-un.
       IMPF$_k$-come.PAST-1SG

       'If your father had sent people to my town, I would have come with (my) troops.'

(764) *agar ki* *ēla-ī* *ma-kan-t,* *mnī dil*
if SUB free-ENC.3SG PROH-do.PRES-3SG I.GEN heart

pa-tta-a *suč-īt.*
for-you-IMPF burn.PRES-3SG

'If he does not set him free, I will feel sorry for you.'

Conditional clauses can also be linked to the matrix clause with the help of the conjunction *(h)argāē (ki)* 'if':

(765) *argāē ki* *y-ērang int,* *ta awlakkī ma-bay.*
if SUB HI-so COP.PRES.3SG you bustling PROH-be.PRES

'If it is so, do not bustle.'

The present subjunctive of the copula does not have any special morphological form and coincides with the forms of the present.

The examples above show that conditional clauses are usually preposed to the matrix clauses. Conditional clauses express three types of conditions: hypothetical, counterfactual, and concessive (see p. 266).

Hypothetical and counterfactual conditions are exhibited in different TAM marking of verb forms in both conditional and matrix clauses. The hypothetical condition has a future reference and is regarded as belonging to the real world, i.e. its realisation is possible. It is marked by either the present subjunctive or preterite indicative in the subordinate clause, and either present indicative, present subjunctive, or imperative in the matrix clause, as shown in examples (760), (761), (762), and (765). The present subjunctive in the subordinate clause "implies actual doubt on the part of the speaker as to whether or not the condition can be fulfilled" (Thackston 1993: 152). The preterite indicative in the subordinate clause "is used when the speaker is less concerned with the doubtfulness of the situation than with the eventuality of the condition" (Thackston 1993: 152-153).

The counterfactual condition has a past reference and is regarded as belonging to the irreal world, i.e. its realisation is impossible. It is marked by the past subjunctive in the subordinate clause and by the imperfect indicative in the matrix clause, example (763). The copula in the matrix clause of the counterfactual condition is used in the past indicative, example (766):

(766) *idā yakk raxs-ē* *kurt-ēn-un* *čōn zabr*
here one dance-IND SUBJ.do.PAST-PSUBJ-1SG how good

at.
COP.PAST.3SG

'How good it would have been if I had done a dance here.'

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Conditional clauses can have in their structure embedded clauses of other subordination types, most usually relative clauses, which modify a noun in the conditional clause:

(767) *gō   am-ē   lagan-ā   murdag-ay sarā am-ā*
      with EMPH-DEM basin-OBL dead-GEN upon EMPH-DEM
      āp-ē   ki   āyrā   šušt-ag-ant,   b-zūr-ay
      water-IND SUB DEM.OBJ wash.PAST-PP-3PL SUBJ-take.PRES-2SG
      u   saray   b-rēč-ay,   ā   zindag-a
      and on.ENC.3SG SUBJ-pour.PRES-2SG DEM alive-IMPF
      bīt.
      be.PRES.3SG
      'If you take with this basin the water with which they have washed a dead man and pour it on her, she will come alive.'

Concessive clauses

According to König (2006: 821), "the situation described by a sentence with a concessive clause is an exception to a general tendency and therefore remarkable". Concessive clauses in BT are connected to the matrix clause with the compound conjunctions *agar ki* 'although, even though', and *(h)arčōn* 'no matter how much'. Concessive clauses usually precede the matrix clause:

(768) *agar ki   mnī abar-ān-ā   bāwar ma-kan-ay,*
      if   SUB I.GEN word-PL-OBJ belief PROH-do.PRES-2SG
      am-ā   mnī zī-y-ēn   abar int,
      EMPH-DEM I.GEN yesterday-HI-ATTR word COP.PRES.3SG
      bīt.
      be.PRES.3SG
      'Even though you do not believe my words, it will be as I said yesterday.'

(769) *mnī piss mnā arčōn   dōst dāšt-ēn   ham pa*
      I.GEN father I.OBJ however friend have.PAST-PSUBJ.3SG FOC for
      wānt-in-ay   xātir-ā   mnā gipt   u
      learn.PAST-INF-GEN reason-OBL I.OBJ take.PAST.3SG and
      ǰat.
      beat.PAST.3SG
      'Even though my father loved me very much, he took and beat me because I did not study (lit. 'because of the study').'

Concessive clauses exhibit a certain similarity with the coordinates on the one hand, and with the conditional subordinates on the other hand. The

verb in concessive clauses is used either in the present or past subjunctive. In example (768) the proposition of both the concessive clause and the matrix clause is hypothetical, although the assertion of one clause is realised as incompatible with the other. In example (770) the proposition of both the concessive clause and the matrix clause is counterfactual, and the assertion of the concessive clause is meant to be incompatible with the assertion of the matrix clause.

(770) *agar ki   man kōr-ē   ma-būt-ēn-un,   tī*
      if   SUB I   blind-IND PROH-be.PAST-PSUBJ-1SG you.SG.GEN
      amrang-ēn mužžuk-ēn-ay   gis-ay   dap-ā-a
      similar-ATTR miserly-ATTR-GEN house-GEN door-OBJ-IMPF
      na-y-āt-un.
      NEG-HI-come.PAST-1SG
      'Even if I had not been blind, I would not have come to the door of the house of such a miser like you.'

Concessive conditional clauses

König (2006: 822) distinguishes between three types of concessive conditional clauses, where "antecedent conditions can be expressed by a quantification (e.g., wh-ever), by a disjunction (e.g., 'p or not-p'), or by a scalar expression that denotes an extreme (e.g., highly unlikely) value on a scale". And further:

> "In each of the three types of concessive conditionals, a conditional relation is asserted for a series of antecedents that includes an unlikely and thus remarkable case and it is this dissonance and conflict that have led to labels such as 'unconditionals', 'irrelevance conditionals', 'hypothetical concessives', just to mention only those most frequently used. In order to draw a clear terminological distinction between the factual concessive clauses introduced in English by *although* or *even though* and the three types of conditionals under discussion, it seems advisable to reserve the term concessive for the former and to use the label 'concessive conditional' for the latter".

The concessive condition with future reference is marked in BT by the same verb forms as the hypothetical condition, but differs from it in the linking conjunction, which in case of concessive conditional clauses has the compound form with the focus particle *(h)am / (h)um*: *agar ... (h)am / (h)um* 'even if'. The focus particle is positioned after the verb of the subordinate clause:

(771) *agar mnī nakl drōg-ē bīt*   *um, pādišā mnā*
        if   I.GEN story lie-IND SUBJ.be.PRES.3SG FOC king   I.OBJ

        azār   *tilā-a*   *dant.*
        thousand gold-IMPF give.PRES.3SG

        'Even if my story is a lie, the king will give me a thousand gold coins.'

Free-choice quantification

According to König (2006: 821), "there is a close relationship between concessivity and free-choice quantification". Free-choice quantification clauses in BT exhibit a structural similarity to relative clauses. Concessive compound linkers can contain a component *(h)ar* 'every', which is also used as a definite quantifier: *(h)arkass* 'whoever', *(h)arčī* 'whatever', *(h)arčinka* 'no matter how much', *(h)arčōn* 'however'. All the compound linkers can be followed by the conjunction *ki*:

(772) *harkass-ē*   *w-ay,*   *by-ā.*
        whoever-IND HI-COP.PRES.2SG SUBJ-come.PRES

        'Come, whoever you are.'

(773) *wat-ī*   *ǰinēn-ā harčī*   *ki*   *guš-ay,*
        REFL-GEN wife-OBJ whatever SUB SUBJ.tell.PRES-2SG

        ham-ā-a   *bīt.*
        EMPH-DEM-IMPF be.PRES.3SG

        'Whatever you tell your wife, it will come true.'

(774) *ādā arčī*   *ki*   *gašt-un,*   *na-dīst-un.*
        there whatever SUB seek.PAST-1SG NEG-see.PAST-1SG

        'No matter how long I searched there, I did not see (him).'

(775) *pa arčinka*   *ki*   *dāt-ī,*
        for no matter how much SUB give.PAST.3SG-ENC.3SG

        b-zin   *u*   *mnīā by-ār.*
        SUBJ-buy.PRES and I.LOC SUBJ-bring.PRES

        'Buy it no matter how high a price he asks for it (lit.'for how much he will give it').'

As shown in the examples above, the verb in the concessive clauses with a quantification can be used either in indicative or in subjunctive.

Concluding remarks

In this work the phonology and morphosyntax of the Balochi dialect spoken in Turkmenistan (BT) is described in accordance with the principles of descriptive linguistics. This method has been chosen in order to present synchronic data on various language levels and to lay the basis for further synchronic, diachronic, and comparative studies of this variety of the Balochi language. The language data are presented in the book in such a way as to make it accessible to non-specialists in Iranian languages, thus making the book also useful for typological studies, etc.

According to the main aim of the book, the language is not treated from a historical-comparative point of view, nor does it treat sociolinguistic issues of the BT community, although the sociolinguistic situation of BT is described briefly in the introductory chapter. The Balochi language in Turkmenistan does not seem to have any notable dialect differences. However, it might be interesting to investigate possible gender- or sociolects, i.e. to study the speech of female informants and that of younger informants, which can be compared to each other with respect to the influence of the Turkmen language.

During the last twenty years the Baloch have started to leave their national settlements and actively migrate within the territory of Turkmenistan because of lack of water and soil salination. In the future this migration is likely to bring about diverging Balochi geolects in the territory of Turkmenistan. The majority of migrants from the Baloch settlements, however, seem to switch from Balochi to Turkmen in all linguistic domains, including the home. In this context the recording of speech samples of the Balochi language in Turkmenistan and linguistic descriptions of the language seem to be of special importance.

A. Appendices

A.1 Text samples with translations

A.1.1 *xānbādurr*

1. yakk pādišāē at, šīt, say zāg dāšt. say zāg dāšt, činka waxt būt u ē zāg ṭū būtant u watī kamālā rastant. 2. watī kamālā rastant u piss-ī ša ēšān-a sōǰ ku ki: ay bābā, man šmārā gis-a daīn. čunēn ǰāē šmārā gis-a daīn? 3. gušt-ī: ay bābā, ammā say, say čē wan, say brās an. say gwār būtēn ša yakk pissā u ša yakk māsā. ma-bīt um, ṭūēn ṭūēnay, gwanḍēn gwanḍēnay, gwanḍtirēn am gwanḍtirēnay? ma-bīt um – na-bīt.

4. xayr, šarr. ē bādišā gašt u gašt u gašt u gašt, amē rūh-i zamīnayā gašt. guǰā int? γīt int diga ā rangēn! kamm int, kamm int ki paydā-a kanay. 5. yakk ǰāē šut u yakk bādišāē amā rang say ǰinikk dāšt, pad-u-dūmē, pad-u-dūmē. šut, kāsidī kurt u amē watī ǰinikkānā ar saynānā dāt bi amē bādišāay say zāgā. 6. guḍā ē gušt-ī ki: ay bādišā sāib, mašmā ta um astay pādišāīē, man um astum pādišāīē, mašmay ar say zāg u ǰinikkānī ārōs yakk rōčā bīt u labbē u muččē u kārē u muččēn yakk gaštā bīt. muččē yakk gaštā bīt. gušt-ī: bāz ǰwān int, ta har čōn kan, kanay.

7. ē bādišā āt u, gisā u gušt-ī: ay bābā, šmārā zāmās kurtun. 8. annūn brawan ki šmārā gis-a daīn. laškar u watī bādišāīā muččā ǰam-ī ku, laškar u xalγā u maxlūkā u muččēnā, u rādag būtant. rādag būtant, watī zāgānā um zurt. 9. amē gwanḍēn zāgay nāmī xānbādurr at. amē xānbādurr gu ki: man-a na-rraīn. man-a na-rraīn, mnī zāmā bar u mnī ǰinēnā gōmē mnī zāmā nikē kan u bzūr u byār.

10. bādišā gušt-ī, bādišā piss-ī sōǰ ku ki: pačē tī zāmā barīn? gušt-ī: ta pādišāē way, am dōst dāray, am dušman dāray. ta gō watī pādišāīā raway, pādišāīā tīā kay-a sātīt ša paday ē ki bayt, xarāba kant u billīt u brawt? 11. gušt-ī: ān, amē zāg mnī aglīēn ǰwānēn zāgē. amē gwanḍ-u-gwanḍēn zāg int-ī. bīt, gušt-ī, braīn.

12. ē š-amidinā rādag būtant, rādag būt u čē ku, šut. šut pādišā, gušt-ī: maga raway ki š-āškā ki bir gaštay u gis dātay u ātay, plāna ǰāā amādinā, bi-mā ḍigāray, bi-mā, mānand-i plāna dikkayā, plāna ǰāgaā, bi-mādā ēr ma-kanay. 13. š-amā ǰāā bgwazay u guḍā ēr kanay. amādā ēr ma-kanay, ma-waspay. š-amādā ki gwastay, guḍinā čē-a kanay, guḍinā . . .

14. [gō watī pissā ā gušt-ī?] ān, watī pissā gu: amādā ēr ma-kanay. gō watī pissā gušt-ī: bi-mādā ki gis dātay u mnī brāsānā gō mnī ǰinēnā u gō laškarā ātay, amādā ēr ma-kanay. š-amā ādā bgwaz u guḍā byā. gušt-ī: bīt.

15. ē šut, ar guǰāmīay say-say rōč, say šap u say rōč ǰitā-ǰitā dōl u surnā u tamāšā u ēšānī gis dāt u ṭūēnā ṭūēnayā u wārīā gwanḍēnā gwanḍēnayā, ā gwanḍtirēnay gwanḍtirēnayā. 16. ar guǰāmīā āwānā gō watī ǰinday nikē dāt. amē watī zāgā gō čēwā nikē ku, gō zāmay u š-amādā zurt u bir gašt u āt.

17. šapē ǰāē, rōčē ā ǰāē, hamā ǰāga ki amā xānbādurr guštat ki ēr ma-kanay, šapī šap gipt u na-zānt u amādā ēr-ī ku. 18. ēr-ī ku, šapī ki sarā ištant u wap-tant, tārī ustātant ta xāna-i xarāb – yakk aždiyāē amēšānī ēšk-u-āškā alxa ǰata!

19. annūn čē, ša guǰā-a gwazay? sapsēm amē laškaray, amē girday ēšk-u-āškā, muččā amē rang gipta-ī diga. ē aždiyā gu ki: pačē ta … amē bādišāā tawār ku ki … bādišāā tawār ku ki: ay bādišā, – gušt-ī, man gō ta kār na-dārīn. 20. xānbādurrī ǰinēnā bill u, bill u bra. bill-ī, watī γōšunā bzūr u bra. magar xānbādurrī ǰinēnā bill u bra. guǰā ki raway tī dil-a kaššīt, bra. 21. š-amidinā maǰbūr būt āxtīēn xānbādurrī ǰinēnā išt u rādag būt u šut. xalγā zurt u išt u šut. amā xānbādurrī ǰinēnā išt.

22. ē billī xānbādurrī ǰinēn amidā gō aždiyāā mānīt, ē āt, āt čēwayā … āxtīēn watī ǰā u mukāmā u watī bādišāīā sar-u-bār-u-mārānī ēr kurt. 23. ā zāg-ī āt ki: ay bābā! guǰ-ī, – gušt-ī, mnī ǰinēn? 24. gušt-ī: tī ǰinēnā aždiyā gardēnt-ī. 25. amā pulāna ǰāā ki ta guštay ēr ma-kan, man ēr kurtun. 26. amādā am aždiyā gušt-ī: xānbādurrī ǰinēnā ma-illay, š-amē tī laškarīān man hičč-a na-illīn, muččānā alās-a kanīn. byā … amē rang, amē rang, amē rang.

27. gušt-ī: napa ē ta way u ē tī pādišāīē. man šutun. 28. gušt-ī: laškar u γōšunā …, gušt-ī: laškar u γōšunā um na-barīn man. 29. laškar um mnā pakār na-int, tī γōšun um mnā pakār na-int. ičč tī mnā pakār na-int, man wat-a raīn, tānā.

30. š-amidā bgwāzēn, nānē pakkit u kulūčaē u watī aspay pastarkā bast u swār būt u šapē ǰāē u rōčē ǰāē, u šapē ǰāē u rōčē ǰāē, āt-ī bi-mā manzilā aždiyāayā. 31. aždiyāayā ki āt, aždiyā b-ēšī dēmā dar būt, b-ēšī dēmā dar būt. dēmay dar būt u, gušt-ī ay … [wāpēntay, na?] āt u bi-mē āxtīēn aždiyāayā sar būt. aždiyāay γārā tawār ǰat, aždiyā dar būt. 32. čē maxsad dāštay ki … čē maxsad dāštay ki ta mnī ǰinēnā gardēntay? pa čē maxsadā, pa čē wāsitā, pa čēā? 33. gušt-ī: man maxsadē dāštun ǰwānēn ki tī ǰinēnā gardēntun. 34. ǰinēnā um tawār ku, gō ā gušt-ī: bguš ki bi-mē tī piss ki pādišāē būta, trā amē xizmattānā kurta? ta sōǰ-ī kan. 35. amē xizmattē ki man kurta un, amē tī ǰinēnay piss-ī kurta-ī? 36. bādišā ē bi watī ǰinēnā … na-kurta, na.

37. xayr, gušt-ī: annūn watī maxsadā bgu. 38. gušt-ī: man bi pulāna ǰāā, aždiyā um gu, bi yakk ǰinikkē āšiγ un ki bi dēb-i aptsarī dastā int. amā dēb apt sar dārīt. 39. gušt-ī ki bi amāī dastā int-a. 40. annūn man, mnī maxsad amā int ki ta amāyrā pamman byāray, amā ǰinikkā, man diga maxsad um … 41. man razm kurta u nuǰūm kurta un, bi-mē mnī nuǰūmā ša-tta-i diga kass nēst.

42. ē amidā watī ǰinēnā išt-ī gōmē aždiyāā, ǰind-ī rādag būt. 43. šapē ǰāē, rōčē ǰāē, yakk ǰāē šut tā šwānagē. 44. šwānagē ē bunḍā-a kaššīt amē rang ša rēšagā irr-a dant ingu, ā bunḍā-a kaššīt, amē … irr-a dant amē … āngu. 45. āt-ī, gušt-ī: aw, xayr-i ta kant, lālāw? ta čē, ē pālawānīānā pačē-a kanay?

46. gušt-ī: ē pālawānīānā man pa xānbādurrī wāsitā-a kanīn. 47. yakk rōčē bīt, ki xānbādurr š-amē rāhā-a kayt u gwazīt. 48. man hamē pālawānīānā pa amāī wāsitā-a kanīn. gušt-ī: xānbādurr u man un, gis sōtag. 49. gušt-ī ki: ta way . . . napa amē . . . yakk brāsē ta um yakkē . . . u duwumīēn um man, byā ki du bayan. 50. yēla ku amē ramagā amidā gallēnt, yēla ku, šut, rādag būt gō xānbādurr, kašš ku u šut.

51. čunt šap u rōč-i diga šutant, yakk ǰāē šutant tā yakkē diga ē kōhā-a zūrīt, ǰant bi ā kōhā, ā kōhā-a zūrīt, ǰant b-ē kōhā. 52. ā ta čē, . . . xāna-i xarāb? 53. gušt-ī ki: ē pālawānīānā pačē-a kanay tā ē kōhānā baḍḍ-a kanay? 54. ē kōhā-a sinday, ǰanay bi ā kōhā, ā kōhā-a sinday, ǰanay b-ē kōhā? ē pālawānīānā pa kī wāsitā? 55. gušt-ī: ay, ē pālawānīānā man-a kanīn ki š-amē rāhā yakk waxtē kayt xānbādurr-a gwazīt. man pa xānbādurrī wāsitā-a kanīn. 56. gušt-ī: xāna-i xarāb, xānbādurr u man un, xānbādurr u man un. 57. gušt-ī: ay ki, du šmā it u sayumīēn brās u man un, brawan.

58. ē watī kōhbaḍḍīā išt amidinā. 59. rādag būtant, čunt šap u čunt rōč-i diga burritant, yakk ǰāē šutant tā digarē yakkē amē rangēn, yakk čīzē. 60. ē kōhā gō ā dastā gipta, ē kōhā gō ā dastā gipta. amē du kōhā gō du dastā amē rang gipta, gō pāday čē . . . ampānē dārīt, kār-a kant. 61. ampān . . . gō watī dapā am sing-a kant, zāmē ǰōṛ-a kant, zāmē ǰōṛ-a kant. gō-mē dapā int u amē rang amēšā tačīt-a kant, amidinā u amidā ēšā-a muššīt, sing-a kant u ṭappīt u ǰōṛ-a kant. 62. gušt-ī: xāna-i xarāb, ta ē pālawānīā pa kī wāsitā-a kanay? gušt-ī: man amidā nuǰūm kurta un u bi-mē nuǰūmā āta ki xānbādurr-a kayt, š-amē rāhā-a gwazīt. 63. ān, man amē pālawānīānā pa xānbādurrī wāsitā-a kanīn. 64. gušt-ī: xānbādurr u man un. 65. gušt-ī: ay, say šmā it u čārumīēn man un. 66. ēš um prēnt watī kārā u rādag būt gō xānbādurr.

67. rādag būtant, šapē ǰāē, rōčē ǰāē. yakk ǰāē šutant, ē yakk ṭaṭūē dāšt, ā kull dēb atant diga, wārtant-ī diga ēšī aspukkā, ēr burtant. 68. yakk ǰāē guš-nag būtant, amidinā u . . . yakkērā zarr dāt-ī xānbādurr š-amēšān u ē mučč pālawān dēb ant diga, ē mardum na-ant, ādamī na-ant diga. 69. ē šut u gušt-ī: bra š-amē šārā, š-amidā, š-amē pi . . . š-amē nān . . . ša nānwāā nān zin. 70. āt, nānay maγazīnā āt, nānwā āt-ī, dukkānā āt. gušt-ī: day nā nānē. 71. ay yē ingu, āngu ku ki bi-mē ǰāē ki nān-a pačant diga. 72. ingu āngu ku, gušt-ī: aw, ta mnā day, nān day. 73. nān na-dāt-ī, yēšā ǰat bāzēnē, harčī ki bi-mē nānwāīay tā nān atant, ēšānā baḍḍ-ī kurt u āwurt-ī u amidinā u . . . čē ku idinā, diga āwurt bi-mē āxtīēn watī amrāānīā.

74. amrāānīā amidā āwurt ki nān bōrant. 75. gušt-ī: yakk ātišē bīt ki yakk čīzē kanan. 76. gušt-ī ki: hamingu dūtē. 77. watī yakk amrāērā dēm-ī dāt ki: ta bra, š-amā dūtayā ātišē byār. 78. ē šut ta amādinā dūtīē. bāzēn katamērā bun dāta yakkē u sarbaray kapta u gadday čērā kirm ǰata, maga badan-ī muččēn kirmē ki γulγul-a kant ša kirmā. 79. ē sōǰ-ī ku ki: ay pīramard, tī āl pačē ē rang int? ē kirm u ē čīz, ē pačē ē rang badāl int? 80. gušt-ī: ay, hičč kassē nē ki amē mnī dastā gīt u mnā bāl ārīt u yakk kumakkē kant ki š-amē nī ǰāā . . . 81.

gušt-ī: man-a girīn tī dastā, bāl-a kārīn. 82. gušt-ī: byā, gir, bāl ār. 83. ē yakk gaddē dārīt ṭūēnē ki amā gadday čērā int ēšī kapp amāngur int, amā gadday čērā int. 84. ē hamē ki gipt dastay ki "man trā bāl-a kārīn", gipt u ēšī saragā um watī gadday čērā šikkē dāt, watī kūnpadā um gadday čērā kapt.

85. āxtīēn amrā-ī sayl-a kanant, xānbādurr gō watī amrāān sayl-a kant ta damē kayt u sāattē kayt u munūtē kayt, ay na-a. na-a, i-i-ičč! 86. ēdga amrāē dēm dāt. āt-ī, tā padā amā kirmukkī kapta, hamidā nāl-nāl int. čē ē? 87. ay, amē rangēnē kapta un u kirm u badāl un u kassē na-int ki mnī bāzulā gīt u mnā š-amē ḍigārā bāl ārīt yā da santī u panč santī ki awā dīt. 88. gušt-ī: man bāl-a kārīn. ē ki ančō putrīt, dastay gīt ki bāl-a kārīn, ēšī saragā um gīt u ēšā um gadday čērā šikk-a dant u killīt amādā.

89. damē, sāattē nišant, tā – na. sayumīēnā dēm-ī dant, ā šwānagā dēm-ī dāt: ta bra, xāna-i xarāb, ēšā čē būt? 90. ē āt, allā, aǰabēn gaddē kapta kirmukkīēn. 91. ēš um hamā rang hamā rāzā gušt-ī. 92. gušt-ī: man bāl-a kārīn. gušt-ī: bāl ār, bass. 93. ēšī saragā am gī(t), šikk-a dant amādā, sayā idā-a bandīt.

94. xānbādurrī ǰind mant. dīst-ī … byā, idā sayl kan. 95. ē šut: ē daūs, - gušt-ī, - mašīn ǰistant. 96. ǰistant, na, amā yakk damē … sāattē ništ, dīst-ī – na-bī(t). 97. amē yakk gadd u madd u γōš u nān u arčī ki ēšānī bār u bunag, ēšā muččānā patāpt u baḍḍ kurt u čō pa aǰāibē āt. 98. āt, bi-mē dūtīayā āt. 99. āt, γōšā yēr ku ta xānaay xarāb, idā sayl kan, ē čōn kirmukkīē! 100. gušt-ī: ay, pīramard, ta čē, xāna-i xarāb? 101. gušt-ī: ay, ša mnī ālā sōǰ ma-kan. man amidā kirm ǰata un, činka sāl int kapta, kassē nē mnī dastā gīt u nā bāl ārīt. 102. čō badgumān ē gušt-ī, … zānt-ī, gušt-ī: harčī ki kurt, nī amrāānā amē ku, amē xāna-i xarāb ku. 103. gušt-ī: man bāl-a kārīn trā. gušt-ī: byā, bāl ār. 104. ē ančō ki gipt dastay ki "bāl-a kārīn trā", na, dastā prēnt bi ēšī čugā, na, ēšā gō-mē gadd-madday šamidā irr-ī dāt, ā-ā-ādā gō-mē watī gaddā kapt. 105. ta wāwaylān, ā nē – ā sayēnānī čamm am amādā zuγuṛant gadday čērā. 106. ar say dar būtant.

107. dar būtant, ša ādā irr-ī dāt ēšā. gušt-ī: ta ē, xāna-i xarāb, ē pālawānī u ē čīzānā pačē-a kanay? 108. gušt-ī: man-a kanīn pālawānīānā ki yakk rōčē bīt ki xānbādurr-a kayt, š-amidinā … gwazīt. man pamāī wāsitā-a kanīn ki amā xānbādurr ki kayt, man gō-m-āī yagwa amrā-a baīn. pa xānbādurrī wāsitā-a kanīn. 109. gušt-ī: xānbādurr u man un. 110. gušt-ī: hō, čār šumā it u pančumīēn man, daway.

111. ē āxtīēn nānānī čē … ā nānukkānā dēm-a dayant, lapāštant, wārtant u rādag būtant. 112. rādag būtant, yakk ǰāē šutant tā yakk pādišāī, yakk pādišāī āpā aždiyāē band kurta ki rōčē na-zānīn činka ǰinikk-a lōṭīt, čē-a lōṭīt … ǰinikkānā amidinā. 113. guḍān ē gušt-ī, šut u gušt-ī ki: ē čēē, ē ǰinikkānā, ē say ǰinikkā, gušt-ī, rōčē, say ǰinikk u say buγšāb u say uštir u say čē u … 114. guḍān amā-a gušīt: guḍān amē ǰinikkānā gō-mē čēān … pādišā

watī ǰinikkānā … marōčīēn ōčur um amē pādišāay ǰinday ǰinikkānī int diga. ǰinday ǰinikk-ī bāid byāant u amēšānā um dant. 115. gušt-ī … , guḍān xānbādurr gušt-ī ki: amēšānā man čē-a kanīn? amē aždiyāay ǰawābkār man. kušīn-ī, šmā ma-yāit. guḍān amē ǰinikkānā agar dait. 116. ay, čē kurtant, guštant: š-āī ki čē bīt, - guštant, - dayan.

117. šut u xānbādurr amā aždiyāā kušt u … kušt-ī-t-ī u š-amēšī sīlumē zurt u āt u pādišāā sī kurtant ki amē rangēn mardumē āt u aždiyāā kušt u amē rangēn pālawānē u pa-mē rangēn ǰinikkē. 118. gušt-ī: bayt ki say ǰinikk man dārīn, ar sayēnānā man-a daīn-ī. 119. āpā-iš ēla ku, diga āp āt, āp bi rawā būt diga, ēla-ī ku.

120. š-idinā ki ē bādišā āt u gušt-ī: šarr, ki ta watī ǰinikkānā ki dayay, man patta say pālawān-a killīn. amē watī say ǰinikkā amē nī say brāsā day. 121. amē say brās na-ant, amē say brāsā-a daīn. 122. yakkē ā ki šwānagā, yakkē kōhbaḍḍā, yakkē ā zāmay ustāā, yakkē ā zāmay ustāā bday. 123. ar sayēnānā gis-ī dāt u amidinā u bi-mē bādišāīā ē say brāsā išt-ī amidā.

124. guḍān ā brās guštant: ay lālā, ay lālā, tī sarā balkēn sakkīē būt, ammā čōn bzānan? tī sarā balkēn sakkīē būt, ammā amē say brās čōn bzānan? 125. gušt-ī: allā, ay lālā, mnī zāntin, ā … āsān int. amē mnī čallawā bzūrit gō wat, ar kadēn ki amē mnī čallaway nigēnag … nigēnag-ī ōnē būt, zānay ki man na-un. yā astun yā nēstun. 126. mudām amē, amē mnī čallaway nigēnagā sayl kanit. agar hamē čallaway nigēnag ōnē būt, amā waxtā-a zānit ki man yā astun, yā nēstun. 127. xayr, xayr. ēšānā bill-ī amidinā, ē say brās amidā gis dāt, ā u xarxašān, āxtīēn pīramarday nām xarxašān int. xarxašānā š-amidā zurt u šut.

128. šapē ǰāē u rōčē ǰāē u šapē ǰāē u rōčē ǰāē šut ki bi dēb-i aptsarī γalaā rast. 129. dēb-i aptsaray γalaā ki rast, amidinā gušt-ī ki: ay, ta činka parsax rā … ḍigār ičč šōr u ǰarr u iččī sabz na-kurtat. ičč xīlīēn ǰarr u iččī na-int. 130. ay, γaraz ki šutant, bi-mā yakk šārē ki hamā dēb-i aptsar xarāb kurta u amā bādišāay γalaā u ǰinikk u muččānā wāundī kurta ki i-i-ičč čīz nē ki ādinā …

131. ē šut u amādinā gō xarxašān u amā zangē dāšt, amā zangā ǰat, ǰinikkō bi gisē tā γulp int diga. 132. amā yakk čīē … zangē, yakk čīē dāšt, amāyrā ǰat-ī, gisay dap kaṛakk u pāč būt u ǰinikkō dīst xānbādurrā. awal andit u guḍān grēt-ī. 133. gušt-ī: ay ǰinikk, pačē grētay u guḍān pačē anditay? 134. gušt-ī: ay warnā, činka sāl at ki man ādamī na-dīsta un! annūn ki trā dīstun, tī sarā āšiγ būtun u ā bēdīnay ōšā kaptun ki annūn bayt u trā bkušīt, magar tā kyāmattay rōčā man pattī γamān xudā bzānt ki čōn baīn. 135. gušt-ī: ay panā gō xudāā, kassē ki … kassē ki ā čē-a kant, ā čē, p-āī parwā-a na-kant.

136. ē amidā gō wat gwāzī-a kurtant, ar du ǰinikkō u čōrīka gō wat gwāzī-a kurtant, warnā atant diga. 137. āxtīēn kay gušt-ī, xarxašān gu ki: ay, šmā amē dēb ša guǰām rā-a kayt? mnā amā rāā nišān bdait. dēb ša guǰām rā-a kayt, mnā amā rāā nišān bdait. āxtīēn xarxašān um buniādamē nē, ā um dēbē

diga. 138. *jinikkō gušt-ī: bāid ki š-amē, š-amē rōdarātā š-amidā bayt. ē šut, amādā rā-a sātit.*

139. *bill ki ē gō watī kayp u ašrattā bayant. gōš kašš ša xarxašān u ša čē-wā . . . ša . . . ša dēb-i aptsar, dēb-i aptsarā.* 140. *yakk wāxtē bēga būt u š-amāngu diga jata bāzēn, xudā-a zānt, čē balāē u . . . ē wārta u gārtīt u kayt.* 141. *xarxašān um dar būt dēmay, gušt-ī: dūr bay ša mnī dēmā.* 142. *gušt-ī: man na-yāta ki ša-ttī dēmā dūr baīn. bass.* 143. *amidā lōṛ būtant. amidā lōṛ būtant, say šap u say rōč jang kurtant dēb-i aptsar u xarxašān. bē xūt u bē čīz.*

144. *ē billī ki xānbādurr hamidinā gō-mē jinikkōā . . . hamē tamāšā, gwāzī u tamāšā u ičč γamā u ōšā na-int. ša dēb-i aptsarī . . . čār saray guḍḍita.*

Khanbadur

1. There was a king, so they say, who had three sons. He had three sons. Time passed by and these sons grew up and matured. 2. They matured and their father started asking them: "Oh sons, I will marry you off. Where can I marry you off?" 3. He (one of the sons) said: "Oh father, we are three . . . three what are we . . . three brothers. If there were three sisters from one father and from one mother. Then couldn't it be that the elder (sister) would be for the elder (brother), the younger (sister) for the younger (brother), the youngest (sister) for the youngest (brother)? If there is not, it won't work".

4. Well, OK. This king searched, searched, searched and searched, searched around the whole world. Where is it? It such a rare thing! There are few, few to be found. 5. He went to a place, (where) a king had three such daughters, one after another, one after another. He went (the former king), arranged a match and this other king gave all his three daughters to the three sons of this king. 6. Then he (the former) said: "Your majesty (lit. oh master the king), we are the same, you are a king (lit. kingdom) and I also am a king (lit. kingdom), let the marriage of our three sons and three daughters be on one day and the paying of the bride-price, all the arrangements and everything let it be at once. Let everything be at once". (The latter king) said: "Very well, do whatever you will do".

7. This king (the former) came (home) and said: "Oh sons, I have made you bridegrooms. Now let us go, I will marry you off". He gathered his army and all his kingdom, the army and people and everything, and they set out. They set out, he took also his sons. 9. The name of his younger son was Khanbadur. This Khanbahadur said: "I will not go. I will not go. You take my sword and marry my wife with this sword of mine, (then) take her and bring her back".

10. The king said, the king, his father, asked: "Why do I have to take your sword?" He said: "You are a king, you have both friends and enemies. When you go out with your kingdom, who will protect your kingdom if someone comes then, destroys it, leaves it (in ruins) and goes away?". 11. (The king) said: "Yes, this son of mine is a clever and a good son". That is the youngest son of him. "OK", - he said, - "Let me go".

12. They set out from there, he set out and what did he do, he went. The king went, (and Khanbadur) said: "If you go and on your way back home from there, when you have arranged the marriage and come back, do not stay for the night in this certain place, there, on the land which looks like a hill, in this very place, do not stay there for the night. 13. You have to get past this place and then spend the night. You must not stay for the night in that place, don't sleep there. When you get past this place, then you will do what, then . . . ".

14. [He said it to his father?] Yes, he said to his father: "Do not stay there". He said to his father: "There, when you have married off my brothers and come with my wife and the army, do not stay there. Get beyond that place and then come". He (the king) said: "OK".

15. He went, for everyone (of his sons) separately for three days, three nights and three days there were (played) drums and flutes and (there was) a festival, and he married them off. The elder to the elder, the younger, in her turn, to the younger, the youngest to the youngest. 16. He (the king) made a marriage ceremony for everyone of them (i.e. brothers) with their counterparts. For his (youngest) son he made the marriage ceremony with what, with his sword, and took everything away from there and returned and came back.

17. (Travelling on) One place by night, another by day (he reached) that very place about which Khanbadur had said: "Do not stay (there)". All of a sudden it got dark, and without knowing he stayed there. 18. He stayed there, at night they laid down their heads and slept. In the morning they stood up, good heavens, a dragon has surrounded them!

19. Now what? How will you escape? He (the dragon) has totally taken this army, all around it, everything in this way, you know. This dragon said: "Why did you . . . ", he cried out to this king . . . he cried out to the king: "Oh king", - he said, - "I do not have any business with you. 20. Leave the wife of Khanbadur and, leave (her) and go. Leave her, take your army and go. But leave the wife of Khanbadur and go. Go wherever you wish, go!". 21. Now as he was forced to, he left the above mentioned wife of Khanbadur and set out and went. He took (his) people and left (her), and went. He left the wife of that Khanbadur.

22. Let the wife of Khanbadur remain with the dragon, but he (the king) came, came where . . . to his aforesaid place and dwelling, and unloaded all

his kingdom and every kind of load. 23. That son of his came: "Oh father, where is", - he said, - "my wife?". 24. He (the king) said: "A dragon has taken away (lit. turned away) your wife. 25. That very place where you said: "Do not stay (there)", I stayed there. 26. Just there the dragon said: "If you do not leave the wife of Khanbadur, I will not leave anyone of these your soldiers, I will finish up all of them". So . . . like that, like that, like that.

27. He (the son) said: "Then it is you and it is your kingdom. I am leaving". 28. He said: "The army and cohort . . . ", - he said, - "I will not even take (with me) the army and cohort. 29. I do not need the army, neither do I need your cohort. I do not need anything of yours, I will go by myself, alone".

30. Put it through, he baked a loaf of bread and a pie and attached (it) to the saddle-bag of his horse and rode the horse, one place by night and another by day, one place by night and another day, he came to this stage (of journey) of the dragon. 31. When he came to the place of the dragon, the dragon came out in front of him, came out in front of him. (He) came out in front of him and said: "oh. . . ", [did you put yourself to sleep, no?]. He came and arrived to this aforesaid dragon. He cried at the dragon's cave, the dragon came out. 32. Which purpose did you have that . . . which purpose did you have that you turned back my wife? For which purpose, for which reason, why? 33. He said: "I had a good purpose to turn back your wife". 34. He called also the wife (of Khanbadur) and said to her: "Tell (me), at the (place) of your father who is a king, did they do you such honour? You ask her. 35. Such honour that I have shown, did the father of your wife ever show to her?" 36. This king to his wife . . . no, he did not.

37. Well, he said: "Now tell me your purpose". 38. He said: "In a certain place I am in love with a girl", - the dragon said, - "who is in the hands of the seven headed demon". This demon has seven heads. 39. He said: "She is in his hands". 40. "Now I, my purpose is that you should bring her for me, that girl, I (do not have) another purpose . . . . 41. I made a fight and I made a divination, and in that divination of mine there is nobody but you."

42. He left his wife there with the dragon and set out. 43. One place by night, and another by day he reached a place (and saw) a shepherd. 44. The shepherd pulls out this tree trunk, like that, from the root, and flings it here, then pulls out that tree trunk, and . . . flings it . . . there. 45. He came and said: "Oh, what are you doing, brother? Why are you doing these feats of strength?" 46. He (the shepherd) said: "I am doing these feats of strength because of Khanbadur. Some day Khanbadur will come and pass along this way. 48. I am doing these feats of strength because of him". He (Khanbadur) said: "Why, I am Khanbadur, damn it!". 49. He (the shepherd) said: "You are . . . then . . . you are . . . the one brother and I am the second (brother), let us be two." 50. He left the herd, drove it away at once, left it and went, and set out with Khanbadur. He joined him and went.

51. They went for some more nights and days, and reached a place where another (man) takes this mountain and throws it against that mountain, takes that mountain and throws it against this mountain. 52. "What are you …, damn it?" 53. He said: "Why are you doing these feats of strength? Why are you lifting up these mountains? 54. Why are you pulling up this mountain and throwing it against that mountain, pulling up that mountain and throwing it against this mountain? For whom (are you doing) these feats of strength?" 55. He said: "Oh, I am doing these feats of strength because some day Khanbadur will come and pass along this road. I am doing (it) because of Khanbadur". 56. He said: "Damn it, I am Khanbadur, I am Khanbadur, after all". 57. He said: "Oh, you are the two and I am the third brother too, let us go".

58. At once he left his mountain-lifting. 59. They set off, went (took short) for several nights and days, and reached a place where were another one like that, something. 60. He took this mountain with one hand and that mountain with another hand, in this way he took these two mountains with both hands, and with his foot what … he has forge bellows and he works. 61. The forge bellows … he is sharpening with his mouth, making a sword, making a sword. It is in his mouth and he is sharpening it in this way, he is rubbing it here, sharpening and pounding it, making (a sword). 62. He (Khanbadur) said: "Damn it, for whom are you doing these feats of strength?" 63. He said: "I have made a divination here, and in this divination it came out that Khanbadur would come and pass along this road. 63. Yes, I am doing these feats of strength because of Khanbadur". 64. He said: "I am Khanbadur, after all". 65. He said: "Oh, you are three and I am the fourth". 66. He also left his business and went with Khanbadur.

67. They set off, one place by night, and another by day. They reached a place, and he (Khanbadur) had a foal. All the others were demons, so they ate up his little horse, swallowed it up. 68. They became hungry in a place, here and … Khanbadur gave money to one of them. All these heroes are demons, they are not men, they are not human beings. 69. He went and said: "Go and buy bread in this town, in here, from this … from this baker". 70. He came, came to the bakery, the baker came out, came to the shop. He said: "Give me some bread". 71. He made it this way, he made it that way in a place where they bake bread. 72. So he said: "Oh, give me, give me bread". 73. He (the baker) did not give him bread, so he (the friend of Khanbadur) beat him a lot, loaded on his back all the bread that was in this bakery and brought it here and … what did he do here, brought it to the place where those friends of his were.

74. He brought it to the place where his friends were (and said:) "Let's eat!" 75. He said: "There should be a fire in order to prepare something". 76. He said: "Over here is some smoke". 77. He sent one of his friends: "Go, bring

fire from that smoke". 78. He went (and saw) that there was a column of smoke. Someone has burnt up a lot of dried manure and fallen upon it, and worms under rags covered him, all his body was full of worms and swarmed with worms. 79. He asked: "Oh old man, why is your condition like that? These worms and these things, why is all this in such a misery?" 80. He said: "Oh, there is nobody who would take my hand and lift me up and help me from this my place …" 81. He said: "I will take your hand and lift you up". 82. He said: "Come on, take (it), lift (me) up". 83. He has big rags that the half (of his body) is like that, under these rags. 84. As soon as he took his hand (and said:) "I will lift you up", he (the old man) seized him and poked his head under his rags and fell on his arse under the rags.

85. Those friends of his are waiting, Khanbadur with his friends is waiting, a moment, an hour and a minute passes by, but there is no (sign of their friend). No, none! 86. He sent another friend. He came (and saw) that that wormy again was lying, there are groans and moans here. What is it? 87. "Oh, I fell like that, and worms, and I am so miserable, and there is nobody who would take my hand (lit. wing) and lift me up from the earth or (at least) for ten or five centimeters (would lift up these rags) in order to ventilate the air. 88. He said: "I will lift up". As soon as he enters and takes his hand in order lift him up (lit. I will lift up), he (the old man) seizes his head too and pokes it under the rags and leaves it there.

89. They sat for a moment, for an hour, and no (sign of their friend). He (Khanbadur) sends the third (friend), he sent this shepherd: "Go, damn it, what happened to him?" 90. He came, oh God, there were strange wormy rags lying there. 91. He (the old man) said the same thing again. 92. He said: "I will lift (you) up". He (the old man) said: "Lift up, and all". 93. He seizes also his head and pokes it there and binds the three of them here.

94. Khanbadur remained alone. He saw … come on, have a look at this. 95. He went: "These scoundrels probably ran away". 96. Ran away, no, he sat a bit, an hour, and saw that nothing happens. 97. He rolled up all rags and goods and food and everything that was in their load, loaded it up on his back and came in astonishment. 98. He came, came to this column of smoke. 99. He came, let the goods down and, damn it, look at that, how wormy he is! 100. He said: "Oh old man, what (happened) to you, damn it?" 101. He said: "Oh, don't ask (me) about my condition. I am here eaten by worms, so many years (passed) since I fell here! There is nobody who would take my hand and lift me up". 102. He (Khanbadur), as if he suspected (something), said … he knew, he said: "Whatever he did to my friends, it was him who did it, damn it". 103. He said: "I will lift you up". He (the old man) said: "Come on, lift (me) up". 104. As soon as he took his hand (and said:) "I will lift you up", no, he caught his neck, no, flung him with these rags from

here, he fell with his rags over there. 105. Woe, aren't those - the eyes of those three (friends) are blinking under the rags. 106. All the three came out.

107. They came out, he flung him from over there. He (Khanbadur) said: "Damn it, why are you doing these feats of strength and these things?" 108. He said: "I am doing feats of strength because there will be a day when Khanbadur will come and . . . pass along this road. I am doing these feats of strength because of him. When Khanbadur comes, I will make firends with him. I am doing it because of Khanbadur". 109. He said: "I am Khanbadur, after all". 110. He said: "Oh, you are four and I am the fifth, come on".

111. What with those aforementioned loaves . . . they are sending these little loaves of bread, gobbled (them) up, ate (them) and set off. 112. They set off, reached a place where a kingdom was. A dragon shut off the water of the kingdom, and I don't know how many girls he wants daily, what does he want . . . girls here. 113. Then he said, he went and said: "What is it?" He (wants) the girls, these three girls, he said, he (wants) daily three girls and three plates and three camels and three what . . . 114. Then he says: "Then these girls with these what . . . " The king to his daughters . . . today's turn is of the king's own daughters. His own daughters have to come and he has to give them. 115. He said . . . then Khanbadur said: "What shall I do with them. I am responsible for this dragon. I will kill him. Don't go. Then, if you give (me) these girls". 116. Oh, what did they do? They said: "What (harm) could come of it", they said: "We will give (you the girls)".

117. He (Khanbadur) went and killed that dragon. He killed . . . he killed him and took a strip of skin from him (i.e. from the skin of the dragon), and came, and they informed the king that such a man came and killed the dragon, and he is such a hero, and he (asks) for such a girl. 118. He (the king) said: "Let him come, I have three daughters and I will marry off all three of them". 119. He released their water, and the water came, the water began to flow, he released it.

120. When the king came from here, he (Khanbadur) said: "Well, if you give your daughters, I will leave three heroes for you. Give your three daughters to my three brothers. 121. Aren't these three brothers, I will give (them) to these three brothers. 122. Give one (daughter) to the shepherd, one (daughter) to the mountain lifter, one (daughter) to the sword master, give one (daughter) to that sword master". 123. He (the king) married off all the three (daughters), and (Khanbadur) left (his) three brothers here in this kingdom.

124. Then those brothers said: "Oh brother, oh brother, if you probably have troubles how we should know (about that)? How we, three brothers, should know if you probably have troubles?" 125. He said: "Oh God, brothers, it is easy to know about me. Take with you this ring of mine, whenever the gem . . . the gem of this ring of mine becomes blood, you will know that I don't

exist (anymore). I am either alive or dead. 126. Always look at the gem of this ring of mine. If the gem of this ring becomes blood, then you will know whether I am alive or dead". 127. Well, well. Leave them in here, he married off three brothers, he and Kharkhashan, the name of the aforesaid old man is Kharkhashan. He took Kharkhashan from here and went.

128. He went on, one place by night, another by day, one place by night, another by day and reached the fortress of the seven-headed demon. 129. When he reached the fortress of the seven-headed demon, he said at once: "Oh, so many parasang of the way . . . the earth (has) no movement and no bush, and nothing had grown (on it). No kind of a bush, there is nothing". 130. In short, when they went (they saw) there a town which the seven-headed demon destroyed, and took possession of the fortress of that king and of (his) daughters and of everything, so that there is nothing there . . .

131. He went there with Kharkhashan, and he had a bell, he rang the bell. The girl is locked in a house, after all. 132. He had something, he had a bell, he rang that (bell). The door of the house half-opened (lit. made a chink) and opened, and the girl saw Khanbadur. At first she laughed and then she cried. 133. He said: "Oh girl, why did you cry and why did you laugh then?" 134. She said: "Oh young man, I have not seen a human being for so many years! Now that I saw you, I fell in love with you and recalled that unbeliever who has to come now and kill you, but God knows how I will be sad about you until the day of resurrection". 135. He said: "God forbid", someone who . . . someone, what does he do, he doesn't worry about him.

136. They kept on playing there with each other, both the girl and the fellow kept on playing with each other, they are young, after all. 137. The aforesaid who said, Kharkhashan said: "Oh, you, which road this demon will go? Show me that road. The road on which the demon will go, show me that road". The aforesaid Kharkhashan is not a human being, he is a demon, after all. 138. The girl said: "He must come here from this, from the east". He went and kept (an eye) outside.

139. Let them continue with their joy and pleasure. Listen about Kharkhashan and about what . . . about . . . about the seven-headed demon. 140. The evening came and from there a battle sound was coming, God knows what a calamity . . . he has eaten, he comes and belches. 141. Kharkhashan went out in front of him and said: "Get out from in front of me". 142. He (the seven-headed demon) said: "I have not come in order to get out from in front of you. That's all". 143. They grappled at once. They grappled at once, the seven-headed demon and Kharkhashan fought for three nights and three days. Without food and without anything.

144. Leave Khanbadur over here with this girl . . . this enjoyment, playing and enjoyment, they are not worried about anything and don't remember

anything. He (Kharkhashan) chopped off four heads of the seven-headed demon.

A.1.2 *bādišāay say zāg*

1. yakk bādišāē dāšt-ī say zāg. yē watī zāgānā tawār-ī ku, gušt-ī: byāit, bābā, ki bād-i sar-i man šmā brait, pa wat dilīēn gis ǰōṛ bkanit, dilīēn gis. 2. yēšānā āwurt, yakk yakkā swār-ī kurt u š-amidā bill ki yakkē xurǰīn zarr am dāt-ī yēšānā. 3. brait, gušt-ī, pa wat dilīēn gis wadī kanit, ǰōṛ kanit. 4. yē š-amidā šutant u yakk rāē at mānand-i say ǰā būt amē rā. say ǰā būt, gwanḍēn yakk rāē šut, myāntāyīēn yakk rāē šut, ṭūēn um yakk rāē. 5. ē amidinā gō wat muslaatt kurtant, amidā yakk čīzē kurm kurtant ki arka ki bayt, amēšā ... [watī nišānīā sayl kant] watī nišānīā sayl kant ki kay mānand-i āt u kay anga amingur int, [manta] manta.

6. guḍān š-amidā bill ki ē ṭūēn brawt u bi yakk bēgānagēn ǰāē ki hi-i-ičč hičč čiṛikkā na-int, tawār na-int, amādinā wastāā lōṭit u pa wat ǰwānēn dilxāīēn gis ǰōṛ kurt. 7. pa wat ǰwānēn gis ǰōṛ ku. tilang-tilang-a kanant. [γasrē.] ān.

8. ādga myāntāyīēn um amā rang šut bi yakk ǰāē, bi yakk ... pa wat gis ǰwānēn ǰōṛ kurt ki a-a-y, čiṛikkā nē ēšk u āškā. 9. gō-mēšī ē bill ki tā waxtēn ǰōṛ kanant ē pa watī ǰānā u ǰōṛ kurtant u ē gwanḍēn š-amidā ki masalan ki swār atat aspā ki dēm-ī gašt, [ǰitā būt] ǰitā būt, šut masalan bi kalīnīn, misāl. bi kalīnīn šut masalan. 10. ōdā lōṭit amē watī amrangēn ǰāhilānā, muččēnānā, xayrātxāna-a dant, dant pa xudāay nāmā. [āxtīēn zarrānā.] ān. 11. šut masalan bi āškay, kay, tōpxānaā, tōpxānaā um amā rang. šut ki bi sundūγačīē, masalan amē rang, š-ādā āt ki misāl tā kuškī, xayrātxāna-a ku. 12. bi-mē čunt waxt u bi-mē čunt rōčā š-āngu dēm-ī gašt [padākāī] padākāī am amā rang. 13. tā waxtēn ki padā bi-mē watī rāayā ātant u ta-mā waxtān watīān ālat-iš kurt u ātant, āt, dīst-ī ki brās tānga na-yātagant, brās na-yātagant. 14. bārēn yēširā amē rā ki amē ki gindant amē warnā-kadag ēšī dēmā dar-a bayant, ēšā bagalkaššī-a kanant, na-zānant ki guǰā mnādēnant. ā āt, amā int.

15. š-amidinā bill ki brawt annūn wadī-ī kurt watī brāsānā. [har dukēnānīā šut-ī?] har dukēnānīā. [yakkē ant.] 16. tā amēš ant ki ā am ǰōṛ kurtagant u tayār kurtagant u diga annūn š-amādā ǰōṛēntant u dēm-iš gašt, ā ātant. 17. šutant, šutant bi watī gisā. [amā pīramardayā šutant?] pīramardayā šutant. 18. pīramardayā ki šutant, amā int, salām dātant u alaykē uškitant u amidā xōšgapī kurtant, gušt-ī: a-a-ay, zāgān, bābā, ātit pa xayrē? 19. ātan. gis ǰōṛ kurtit pa wat? ǰōṛ kurtan. dilīēn gis ǰōṛ kurtit? gušt-ī: ān. gušt-ī: ǰwān int, napa, mašmā ... rawan pa āwānī saylā pa xayrē. 20. ā š-amidā tārīēnā swār būtant asp, har yakke yakk asp swār-ī būt. bādišā-zādag ant diga. [pīramard um gō āwān gōn int?] pīramard gōn int, ān. 21. šutant awal ṭūēn zāgay ǰāānā sayl-ī ku, [imārattānā] imārattānā sayl-ī ku ta xāna-i xarāb ki čunēn gis ant

zabrēn, gušt-ī: bēxī zōrākēn gis ant, ay bābā. zabrēn gis ant ki dilxāīēn gis ant.

22. šut myāntāyīēn zāgay nipādānā sayl-ī ku ta ō-hō-hō . . . ē čī baḍḍita? š-āī badtirēn, ǰwānēn ǰōṛ ku. 23. gušt-ī: ān. š-ādā ātant, gušt-ī: annūn brawan gwanḍēn zāgayā, bārēn ē čōn kurta. 24. gwanḍēn zāgay kaššā ki šutant ki amē xalγ mučč b-ēšānī dēmā dar būt-ī, ō-hō-hō, ki mašmay brās gō watī piss u brāsān-a kayt, ki bagalkaššī ēširā čē pa izzatt . . . , yēšānā nān u āp u . . . ta ǰāē ki rawant, annūn [bi-mā purm] bi-mā purm yēšānā izzatt-a dayant.

25. š-ādā ki bir gaštagant annūn bi-mā purm āwānā rādag-a kanant u . . . pa kayp u . . . kārant. [šānpurr . . .] ān. 26. idā ātant, bi gisā ki sar būtant, gušt-ī: a-a-ay, bābā. man šmārā na-gu ki šmā brait, gilīēn gis ǰōṛ pkanit. man šmārā gu ki šmā brait, dilīēn gis ǰōṛ pkanit, ān. 27. šmā šuta it, ša gilā by-ā bērānagā pa būmukkān gis ǰōṛ kurta it. 28. ōdā kay int-a? ōdā čē, pa čēā ǰōṛ kurta it ādinā? ā gis ant, ta annūn am mantant, dunyāay xarǰ u xarāǰātā kurtit, ā um bē darakkā mantant.

29. gušt-ī: āxiray mnī ǰānišīn amē gwanḍēn zāg int ki mānand-i bād-i sar-i man . . . bād-i sar-i man amē bādišāīā, amē gwanḍēn zāg bi rāh bārt, bīt. 30. pačē ki . . . ta sayl kan ki xalqay dilā gō wat kaššit, gō xalγā watrā wasl ku. 31. na-šut bi bērānagā, gušt-ī, ōdinā ša gilā gisē ǰōṛ-ī na-ku. akl . . . akl amā rangēn čīzē. ē aklay kissaā u kārant. 32. annūn čē, annūn čē bgušīn man pa šmā, diga ziyātīēn, ā diga . . .

The king's three sons

1. A king had three sons. He called his sons and said:"Come on, sons, after me (i.e. after my death) (let's see if) you go and build the house of your heart's desire for yourselves, the house of your heart's desire". 2. He brought them, seated everyone of them on horses, and, let it from this place, gave them also a saddle-bag (full) of money. 3. "Go", he said, -"find for yourselves a house of your heart's desire, and make it steady. 4. They went from there, and there was a road in front of them, this road as if it separated into three roads. The three roads were (in front of them), the younger (son) son took the one road, the middle (son) took another road, and the elder (son) took another road. 5. They made an agreement between themselves there, and burried something so that whoever would come, this one . . . [would see his mark] would see his mark that who had as if returned and who still [stayed] stayed there.

6. Then let the elder brother go from here to a distant place, where there is nobody (lit. not even a rustle), not even a voice (of a man is heard), there he called a master and built for himself a good desired house. 7. He built a good house for himself. They are clanging (building the house). [A palace.] Yes.

8. The other, the middle (son) also went to a place in the same way, in one …a good house he built for himself, (in a place that) there is no even a rustle (of a man) all the way around. 9. Leave him with his building for a while, that they built (houses) for the good of their soul, and this younger (son) who was riding a horse, turned it, [came apart] came apart (from his brothers) and went, for example, from here to Kalinin, an example. He went, for example, to Kalinin. 10. There he called such innocents as himself, he called everyone and gives alms, gives it in the name of God. [The afore-said money.] Yes. 11. He went, for example, to the place over there, what (is its name), to Topkhana and made the same in Topkhana. When he went to Sandughachi, for example, and reached, for example, Kushki, and gave alms. 12. After some time, after several days he returned from there [back] back, in that way. 13. When they returned to this place of theirs on the road, then he checked out if they came, he came and saw that (his) brothers have not come yet, brothers have not come yet. 14. But when they see him on the road, these young men go out in front of him, embrace him, and they don't know where to seat him. He came, here he is.

15. Let him go from here and find his brothers. [He went to the place where the two of them were?] The two of them. [They are together.] 16. (He saw) that here they are, they have also built and prepared a house, and now they prepared themselves and returned, they came. 17. They went, went to their house. [They went to the place where that old man was?] They went to the old man's place. 18. When they went to the old man's place, and then they greeted him and heard the answer, and said the greetings words, and he said: "Oh sons! My children, did you come safely?" 19. "We came (safely)". "Did you build a house for yourselves?" "We built". "Did you built the house of your heart's desire?" He said: "Yes". He said: "Well, then we …will go happily and look at them". 20. Next morning they mounted horses (and went) from here. Everyone of them mounted a horse. They are princes, after all. [The old man is together with them?] The old man is together (with them), yes. 21. First they went to see the places of the elder son, [the buildings] he looked at the buildings, damn it, how good are the houses, and said: "These are very strong houses, oh my son. These are good and desired houses".

22. He went to see the quilts of the middle son, oh, …what did he build (lit. load)? He built it even better (lit. worse), a good (house). 23. He said: "Yes". They came from there, he said: "Now let's go to the younger son's place, it is interesting, what did he do?" 24. When they went to the side of the younger son, all the people went out in front of them, "Oh, our brother with his father and brothers is coming!', embraced him respectfully, (gave) them food and …till the place they go, now [in this way] in this way they treat them with respect.

25. When they returned from there, now in this way they see them off and . . . with pleasure and . . . they carry (them). [Gloriously . . .] Yes. 26. They came here, when they arrived home, he said: "Oh sons. I did not tell you that go and build houses from clay. I told you that you go and build houses of your heart's desire, yes. 27. You went and built houses from clay for little owls in that distant place. 28. Who is over there? What is over there? Why did you build it over there? These are houses, and they stay there until now, you spent the wealth and they stay (there) unknown (to anyone)".

29. He said: "My last successor is this younger son of mine, who, as if, after me . . . after me will inherit (lit. will take away) this kingdom, this younger son, (so) it will be. 30. Because . . . have a look that he drew the people's heart, he connected himself with people. 31. He did not go to the distant place", - he said, - "and did not build there a house from clay". Wisdom . . . wisdom is like that. They used to tell this story of wisdom. 32. Now what, now what should I tell you, another additional, another . . . .

A.1.3   *šīray xurākī*

1. šīr, balōčay xalγ, šīrā, gōkay šīr bīt, pasay šīr bīt ki dōšant, guḍān amāyrā . . . nōkēn šīrānā tāǰag-a gušant. 2. tāǰagay ǰindä, amā šīrānā garm-a kanant u tāǰagā amē rang am warant. balōčay xalγ bi gisā zāgānā . . . , mazanēn mardum am tāǰag-a wārt pa xurākīā. 3. guḍān ša tāǰagā-a killant, āyrā trušp-a kanant, guḍān bastag-a zūrant. 4. ē bastag am pa xurākīā bēxī zabrēn čīzē. 5. amē rang bastagā bi-mā nōkīā amā rang garm . . . ǰwān . . . ta-mā tāǰagā ki šīr garm bīt, bāz . . . bāz, āī grādūs bāz-bāz ma-bīt, amāyrā bādēnant gō trušpīā. 6. guḍä š-ādā bastag-a zūrant. bastag am pa wārtinā bēxī zabr int. guḍān bastagānā bi īzakkānī tā-a mantant.

7. waxtē ki bastagā-a mantay, amā, š-amā wārtinā ziyātīā čī ki na ki bīt, āyrā-a mantant u š-ādā rōgin-a zūrant. 8. rōginānā balōč, ā um māska-a gušīt, amā rōginē ki zūray, māska int-a. 9. māskaānā am ǰitāēn γābē tā-a sātant, ǰitāēn yakk bušqāpē . . . gaṛukkē tā. 10. āī ki ziyātī bīt, guḍān činka waxtay tā amā māskaā garm-a kanant. 11. bi lōīay tā ki garm-a kanant, guḍān š-ādā zardēn rōginā-a zūrant. 12. ē zardēn rōgin am pa xurākīā bēxī zabr int, āyrā amē rang um warant gō nānā. ša zardēn rōginā ar rāzay atukk, āp-u-taām ǰōṛ-a kanant, zardēn rōgin pa xurākīā pakār int.

13. guḍān āngu . . . waxtē ki īzakkay tā bastagānā mantant u rōginay zūrant, ādā dōg-a mānīt. 14. ē dōgā balōčay xalγ . . . mardum ēšā bi xalītaēn, dōtagēn maškay tā-a kanant, dōtagēn maškay tā . . . ki āmāī āp-a čikkīt. 15. āpē ki čikkīt, š-āī čakīdag-a mānīt. ša čakīdagā am bōray bīt amē rang. 16. ā . . . guḍān kammē wād am bi tay rēčant, amā čakīdagānā urūt ǰōṛ-a kanant.

17. urūtā . . . gwanḍēn giliṛīēn urūtā-a kanant, giliṛīēn, u āyrā am bi gisay tā sātant tā zimistānā.

18. ā waxtē ki šīr ma-bīt, š-amā urūtā ar rāzay urūtī ǰōṛ-a kanant, gō zardēn rōginā-a rēčant bi tay u āp u ar rang urūtīā padā sāp-a kanant u guḍān š-āī am amā rangēn balōčīēn xurākī ǰōṛ-a kanant. 19. gō nānā trīt kanay, bōray bīt ā urūtīānā saray am rēčant, amē rang am warant. urūt amā rangēn čīzē.

20. guḍān bastagay ǰindā um . . . ki ma-mantay, ša bastagā am čakīdag ǰōṛ-a kanant. 21. ā čakīdag, rōgin-ī dūr na-int-a, ā čakīdag am bēxī zabr wašš int, patām int. 22. diga har rāzay diga nahārē ki ǰōṛ kanay um, xurākīē ki balōč ǰōṛ pkant, āyrā am bōray u čakīdagā am . . . bēxī zabr ant, wašš ant.

Dairy products

1. When the Baloch people milk either cows or sheep, then they call that . . . fresh milk *tāǰag*. 2. The fresh milk itself . . . this milk they warm and drink the fresh milk as it is. The Baloch people (give the fresh milk) at home to children. An adult person also drinks the fresh milk as a food. 3. Then they leave (a part) of the fresh milk and sour it, and then they get sour milk. 4. This sour milk is also a very good thing as food. 5. Recently they warm the sour milk in that way . . . well . . . until this fresh milk becomes warm, in order for its degree (i.e. alcohol percentage) to not be very much, they curdle it with the ferment. 6. Then they take the sour milk out of there. The sour milk is also very good for eating. Then they churn the sour milk in goatskin bags.

7. When you churn the sour milk, an excessive part which remained from eating, they churn it and get butter from there. 8. A Baloch calls the butter that you get, it is *māska*. 9. They keep the butter in a separate wooden box, on a separate plate . . . in a pannikin. 10. When there is a surplus of it, then they warm that butter for a while. 11. When they warm it in a cauldron, then they get melted butter out of there. 12. This melted butter is also very good for eating, they eat it as it is with bread. They make different soups and (other) dishes from the melted butter, the melted butter is necessary for food.

13. Then, when they churn the sour milk in goatskin bags over there and get its butter, what remains there is the whey. 14. The Baloch people . . . men put this whey into the textile sewn sack, into the sewn sack . . . in order for its water to drip down. 15. When the water drips down, the curds remain. You can eat the curds as they are. 16. They . . . then they pour a little bit of salt into it, and make the dried curds from these curds. 17. They make the dried curds . . . (in the form of) little round balls, round (balls), and keep it in the house until winter.

18. When there is no milk, they make all kinds of food from these dried curds. They (mix) it with the melted butter, pour water into it and prepare (lit. clean up) every kind of food from the dried curds, and after that they make a sort of Balochi food from it. 19. If you crumble it with bread, you can eat it (with water which) they pour on it, they eat it also as it is. Dried curds are such a thing.

20. The sour milk itself which you did not churn, they make curds also from the sour milk. 21. That curd, its butter is not separated from it, that curd is also very tasty, delicious. 22. Every other kind of food that you would make, the food a Baloch would make, if you eat it, and the curds as well, they are very good, very sweet.

A.1.4 *sikkaay rēstin*

1. pašmānā byār, zalēxukk, mašmā brēsan. man sikkaay yēr-a kanīn. 2. šakkā byār pamman ki man šakk bǰanīn-iš, syāay rang pkanīn, gwanakkīay rang pkanīn, binašpay rang pkanīn, γulpīnay rang pkanīn tā waxtē. 3. yēšānā tayār pkanīn ki tawnē yēr pkanīn, gō man kammē kumakk pkan. 4. bra, laṭṭānā byār, zalēxa, ki man čē-a kanīn …mīān-ī ǰanīn. 5. tabarā am byār ki mīānā ǰanīn. taxtakaššā am byār, zalēyxukk. 6. [gulag am?]

7. tawnā ki yēr kurtan, guḍā gulagē kanan. gulagīā bra byār pamman, zalēxa. pa wat gulagā, gulagīā, tawnā yēr pkanīn. 8. [čē yēr-a kanay?]

9. sikkaay yēr-a kanīn. čunt mitr yēr pkanīn, zalēyxa? say mitr yēr pkanīn, bass int. gēštir am pakār na int-a, amā say mitr bass int. 10. man amā syāay rang kurta un, γulpīnay rang kurta un, gwanakkīay rang kurta un, tayār kurtag un. 11. spētēn kamm-u-kukkē brēsīn, ēšānā tayār pkanīn tā waxtē pa sikkaā.

12. annūn ki yēr kurtan-ī, mašmay yakkēn čīē mantag-ī ki gulagē kanīn-ī. 13. gulagīēn dasagā byār, man gulag pkanīn ki waxt šuta-ī ki ā ta kadēn ēr int. 14. ḍuppā um byār gō wat ki syāē bgwapīn-ī u ḍupp bǰanīn-ī. 15. kārčē am byār. γayčīnā am byār, zalēxukk, ki man āyrā tayār pkanīn, alās pkanīn ki ša mnī guṭṭā pkapīt, ta kadēn mnā ā ēr int?

16. annūn rābandē um laggitun, zalēxa. annūn amā γālīgulā-a prēnīn maga. 17. ā kawšakkā ēškay pānaday prēnīn, āškay, čēwā, γālīgulā-a prēnīn-ī. 18. čōṭakkā am bi pānaday prēnīn. amēš int, tāpōtē um pa-mman īnkurkōēn byār ki na-dārīn tāpōtē. 19. čapgōšā am prēnīn p-āī. du amā, čēwā, mōrukk ant gwanḍakukkēn, āwānā am prēnīn-ī. 20. diga čīzē am na-bīt, amā yakkēn γālīgul bīt, bass int diga.

21. annūn, zalēxa, dasag byār ki man amā pullukānī um pkanīn-ī ki š-amē ǰind-ī alās būt-ī u ša mnī guṭṭā kapt, bra amē dasagānā byār ki tayār pkanīn,

pullukkē pkanīn-ī. 22. lōrikānī um mān ..., lōrikānā um bra byār ki mān bdaīn-ī. 23. rangīēn dasag, γulpīnēn, gwanakkīēn dwārag byār pa-mman ki man amāī pullukkānā pkanīn, ša watī guṭṭā prēnīn. tā kadēn ēr int ā rangā? 24. pullukk ki kurtun, annūn amā šēpgwāp ant, ē šēpgwāpānī um pkanīn. 25. šēpgwāpānī um pkanīn, alās pkanīn-ī. 26. yakk wāragī alās pkanīn u ša mnī guṭṭā pkapīt. ē tā kadēn ēr int ē rangā?

27. alās būt. lōrikanī mān bdaīn u ā kučkānā am mān bdaīn u āwānā um bdōčīn tā waxtēn ki alās bayant. 28. annūn ša mnī guṭṭā kaptant, alās būt.

Carpet weaving

1. Bring wool, dear Zalekha, let us weave. I will set up (on the loom) a carpet. 2. Bring the comb for me, for me to comb them, to make them black, to make them pale-blue, to make them violet, to make them dark-blue for a while. 3. Let me prepare them in order to install a loom, help me a little. 4. Go and bring the sticks, Zalekha, for me to do what … for me to nail up its pegs. 5. Bring also the axe for me to nail up the pegs. Bring also the loom base, dear Zalekha. 6. [Also the warp stick?]

7. When we have set up the loom, then let us arrange the warp stick. Go and bring me the warp, Zalekha. I have to make the warp stick, the warp and the loom. 8. [What are you setting up?] 9. I am setting up the carpet. How many metres do I have to set, Zalekha? If I set three metres, it will be enough. More is not needed, those three metres are enough. 10. I have made it black, made it dark-blue, made it pale-blue, I have prepared it. 11. Let me weave in a little bit of the white (color), let me prepare it for the carpet for a while.

12. Now that we have set it up, the one thing we have remaining is for me to put it down with the warp stick. 13. Bring the warp threads, let me put it down with the warp stick, because a the time has passed by and until when will it (the loom) be set up here? 14. Bring also the weft with you for me to weave the black (color) into it and to weft it. 15. Bring also a knife. Bring also the scissors, dear Zalekha, for me to prepare it and to finish it in order to get rid of it (lit. that it would fall from my throat). How long will it be set up here for me?

16. Now I have got ready the border of the carpet, Zalekha. Now I will maybe add (lit. throw) a flower pattern. 17. This curly pattern I will add beside it from this side of it, and from that side of it I will add the flower pattern. 18. I will also add the curved pattern beside it. Here it is, bring a little stitch hook for me because I don't have a stitch hook. 19. I will also add the left-sided pattern for it. There are two that, what, tiny pearly patterns, I will add them also to it. 20. There won't be a thing, only that flower pattern, it is enough, after all.

21. Now, Zalekha, bring threads for me to make that little flower patterns of it too, because (threads) it has run out and I got rid of it. Go and bring these threads for me to prepare it. I will add a little flower pattern to it. 22. The pendants too …, go and bring the pendants for me to put them through it. 23. Bring coloured threads again, dark-blue, pale-blue (threads) for me make these little flower patterns and get rid of it. Until when will it be set up like that? 24. When I did the little flower patterns, now there are those whips, let me make these whips also. 25. Let me also make the whips for it and finish it. 26. Let me finish it all and let me get rid of it. How long will it be set up like that?

27. It is finished. Let me put through the pendants and these shells and let me sew them so it would be finished. 28. Now I got rid of it, it is finished.

A.1.5 *zāgīgirīay yāt*

1. mnī zāgīgirī gō mnī piss-u-mās u brās-u-gwārān bi ammay ulūpaay tā gwast. 2. mnī ōšā int ki mnī piss gwanḍakkīā mnā bāz dōst dāšt, pačē ki man āī gwanḍēn lāpšōdōkēn zāg atun.

3. man waxtē čār–panč sālag atun, ā pa-mman har rāzay asmānakk u kōnagēn, γadīmīēn šayr-a gušt. 4. ša hamā šayrān bāzē ta angatā mnī ōšā ant. masalan, "tawrū-tawrū", "šēr abdullājān", "kargōšk-i patangōš". 5. man kammē ki ṭū būtun, šašš–apt sālag, mnī piss pamman sindbadī naklā kurt.

6. gwanḍakkīā man watī ǰinday gisay mālānā-a čārēntun. ammā nazzīk-i sad pas dāštan. 7. man u mnī brās usmān u sapar wārī pa bērī mālānā-a čārēntan. 8. ammā pa watī mālān yakk-yakkī nām ištatan, āwānā bāz dōst dāštan u zabr drust-a kurtan. gisay dapā bāγ u pālēz ham kištan. 9. man da-dwāzda sālagīā gō arā alap-a kāwurtun. hamā waxtā yakk spētēn arē dāštan, nāmī ḍabbū at.

10. mnī piss mnā ša panč – šašš sālagīā qurānay wāntinā ēl dāt. man gāwaxt-a na-wāntun, ša āī dēmā-a ǰistun. 11. mnī piss mnā ar čon dōst dāštēn, ham pa wāntinay xātirā mnā-a gipt u ǰat. man zār-a būtun, tā čunt rōč gō ičkass gisay tā abar-a na-dātun. 12. nūn, waxtē ki ṭū būtun, sarpad-a baīn ki mnī piss zabr kurta ki mnā ǰata. agar ma-ǰatēn, man-a na-wāntun.

13. ammay nazzīkēn hamsāig yakkē turkmanē at, yakkē pārsīē at. man ša zāgīgirīā gō āwānī zāgān gwāzī-a kurtun u āwānī zubānā karā-karā yēl kurtun. ammā yakkē ādgaray gisā-a šutan u kātan. 14. man-a dīstun ki mučč millatt am gō mašmayā yakk rāzay mardum ant, mašmā bāid brās bayan.

15. man šašš sālag atun. yakk rōčē mnī piss gō arā alap āwurt. mnī piss alapānā ki ša arā yēr kurt, zūtē gisay tā šut u āp zurt u wārt. 16. ša basē ki ā bāz žand būtat u tunnag at, aray bastinā am bēōš kurtat. ar watī āwurtagēn

alapānā wat-a wārt u xumār at. 17. mnī dil yagwā ōmān kurt ki arā swār baīn. šutun u yakk taštērā pāday čērā ištun u arā swār būtun. 18. man ki swār būtun, ar alapay wārtinā išt u ša kūčaay tā kašš kurt. 19. man arčī awš-awš kurtun ki āyrā sātīn, ā na-ōštāt u šut. man pikr kurtun ki ē bārēn gujā-a rawt?

20. alkay mānjīnā yakk čāē at ki mučč mardum ša hamōdā āp-a kāwurtant. mnī ar rāstām bi hamā čaay sarā šut. 21. ā čaay ēšk-u-āškā rētagēn kōlāpānā wārt-ī. 22. man idā sarpad būtun ki ē har ša mnī pissā am tunnagtir būta. ā zabr watrā sērāp kurt u āšktirā šut. 23. ša čāā yakk ṭukkurē dūrtirā urinǰaay ḍigārē at. mnī ar šut bi-mā urinǰaay tā u čaritinā laggit. 24. urinǰaay wāund dīst ki ar āī urinǰaānā-a wārt, čāršāxē zurt u āt. alaḍū kurt u arā gōn dāt u gō čāršāxā ǰat, ar ǰist. 25. man grētun u guštun: tātī, tātī, mnā yēr bkan. ā ǰinēnzāg ičč parwā na-kurt ki aray sarā mardumē ast yā na. 26. ar alaγīrt kurt u ǰist. man watrā sātitag na-kurtun, mnā ǰat bi ḍigārā. man grētun u kaptun.

27. āwānī amsāig yakk mullāē at, ā mnā bāl āwurt u hāmōš kurt. arā gipt u mnā swār kurt u ammay gisā āwurt. 28. mnī čappēn dast ša say ǰāā pruštat.

29. ša mānjīnā sī sāl gwastat. ša rōčān yakk rōčē man watī dukkānay tā sawdā-a kanīn. 30. yakk pīrazālē grēt u watī nwāsagā bagal kurta u rawt. man guštun ki: pačē-a grēway, tī nwāsagā čē būta? 31. ā gušt: ēšā ar ǰata, dast-ī prōšta, āyrā tabībayā burtun. ēšī dast čōṭ mant, rāst kurtag-a na-bīt.

32. idā mnī ǰān mōrinkčan kurt, ičč na-zāntun ki čōn watī čōṭēn dastā sayl kurtun, watī dilā guštun: parāstī am dunyāay tā bēisābēn čīz na-int. 33. xudāay kitābānī tā nimistag būta ki: malāmatt ma-kanit ki malāmatt-a bait. 34. ē hamā ǰinēnzāg at ki gō čāršāxā mnī arā ǰat.

Childhood's recollections

1. My childhood passed with my parents and my brothers and sisters in our family. 2. I remember that my father loved me very much when I was a child, because I was his youngest and last son.

3. When I was four or five years old, he used to tell me various folk tales and old, ancient poems. 4. I still can remember a lot of those poems. For example, "Slinger-slinger", "Sher Abdullajan", "The lop-eared hare". 5. When I became a little older, six or seven years old, my father told me the story of Sinbad.

6. In childhood I grazed the sheep of our own house. We had about one hundred sheep. 7. I and my brothers Usman and Sapar used to graze the sheep by turns. 8. We had given names to everyone of our sheep, we loved them very much and recognized them with ease. We planted a garden and a melon-plantation in front of our house as well. 9. When I was ten or twelve

years old, I used to fetch grass with the donkey. At that time we had a white donkey, its name was Shorty.

10. My father taught me to read the Quran when I was five or six years old. Sometimes I did not study, I ran away from him. 11. However much my father loved me, he used to take me and beat me because I didn't study. I used to become angry and did not talk with anybody for several days. 12. Now, when I became an adult (lit. big), I understand that my father did a good thing when he beat me. If he had not beaten (me), I would not have studied.

13. Our near neighbours were a Turkmen and a Persian. Since childhood I played with their children and step by step learned their languages. We used to visit each other. 14. I saw that all the nations are similar to us, we have to be brothers.

15. I was six years old. Once my father brought grass with the donkey. When my father had put down the grass off the donkey, he quickly went to the house, took water and began to drink it. 16. Since he was so tired and thirsty, he even forgot to tie up the donkey. The donkey himself began to eat the grass he had brought and became excited. 17. I suddenly thought to myself to mount the donkey. I went and put a basin under my feet and mounted the donkey. 18. When I mounted (it), the donkey stopped eating the grass and rushed along the street. 19. However much I cried: "Whoa!" to stop it, it did not stop and went (on running). I wondered where it would go?

20. There was a well in the middle of the village that all people used to take water from. My donkey went straight to this well. 21. He began to drink (water from) puddles poured out around the well. 22. Here I understood that this donkey had been even more thirsty than my father. He drank until he became fully satisfied and went further to the other side. 23. A bit further away from the well there was a lucerne field. My donkey went to that lucerne and began to graze. 24. The field's owner saw that the donkey was eating her lucerne, took a pitchfork and came. She made a fuss and drove away the donkey and hit it with the pitchfork, the donkey ran. 25. I cried and said: "Aunty, aunty, get me down it". That woman did not worry about if there is someone on the donkey or not. 26. The donkey pranced and ran. I could not keep myself, (the donkey) threw me onto the ground. I cried and fell.

27. Their neighbour was a mullah, he lifted me up and calmed me. He caught the donkey, mounted me upon it and brought me to our house. 28. My left arm had been broken in three places.

29. Since then thirty years have passed. Once (lit. one day from days) I was selling (things) in my shop. 30. An old woman carries her grandson in her hands and goes crying. I said: "Why are you crying? What happened to your

grandson?" 31. She said: "The donkey has kicked him. He has broken his arm and I took him to the doctor. His hand remained crooked and cannot become straight".

32. Here my soul felt shivers, I even don't know how I looked at my crooked arm, and said to myself (lit. to my heart): "Really there is no uncounted thing in this world". 33. In the books of God it has been written: "Don't blame (others) because you'll be blamed". 34. It was the same woman who hit my donkey with the pitchfork.

B. Glossary to the texts

Words in the glossary are arranged according to the following alphabetical order:

a ā b č d ḍ ē f g γ h i ī ǰ k l m n ō p q r ṛ s š t ṭ u ū w x y z ž

The symbol ~ in the glossary substitutes the key word.

<div align="center">

a

</div>

abar *n.*	speech, word; matter; ~ **dātin** to talk
agar *conj.*	if
aglī *adj.* also **aγlī**	clever, smart
aǰab *adj.*	strange, wonderful
aǰāib *n.*	wonder
akk *n.* also **akk-u-akkdād**	right; wages
akl *n.*	wit, intellect
alaḍū *n.*	fuss, ado
alaγīrt *n*	prance, buck; ~ **kurtin** to rear up, to prance
alap *n.*	grass
alayk *n.*	here: response to a greeting
alās *n.*	end
albatta *adv.*	certainly
alk *n.*	village, settlement
allā *n.*	God
alxa *n.*	circle; ~ **ǰatin** to surround, to encircle
am *part.* also **ham, um**	also

amā *emph. pron.* also **hamā**	that very
amādā *emph. adv.* also **(h)amādinā**	over there (by your side)
amāngur *emph. adv.*	right there, in that direction
amē *emph. pron.* also **hamē**	this very
amēš *epmh. pron.* also **hamēš**	he/she/it
amidā *emph. adv.* also **(h)amidinā**	right here
amingur *emph. adv.* also **hamingur**	right here, in this direction
ammā *pron. excl.*	we
ammām *n.*	bath
ampān *n.*	sling; forge bellows
amrang *adj.*	similar
amrā *n.*	friend, comrade
amsāig *n.* also **hamsāig**	neighbour
ančō *conj.*	as if, just as
andag *n.*	laughter
anditin : and- *vi.*	to laugh
anga *adv.* also **angatā**	still
annūn *adv.*	now
apt *num.*	seven
aptsar *adj.*	seven-headed
ar I. *quant.* also **har**	every
ar II. *n.* also **har**	donkey
arčī *pron.*	whatever
arkass *pron.* also **arka**	whoever
asmānakk *n.*	story, fairy tale
asp *n.*	horse
aspukk *n.*	little horse
ašratt *n.*	enjoyment, delight

atukk *n.*	soup
aw *interj.*	oh!
awal *num.*	first
awā *n.*	air
awš-awš *interj.*	whoa! (an exclamation to stop a donkey)
ay *interj.*	oh!
ayrān *adj.*	surprized, amazed; **~ būtin** to be surprised, amazed
azār *num.*	thousand
aždiyā *n.*	dragon

ā

ā *pron.*	that; he/she/it
ābāzī *n.*	bathing; **~ kurtin** to bathe
ādamī *n.*	human being
ādā *adv.* also **ādinā**	there (by your side)
ādga(r) *adj.*	another, that other
ādil *adj.*	righteous
āl *n.* also **hāl, ālat**	situation
ālam *n.*	world, universe
ān *part.*	yes
āngu *adv.*	there, thither
āp *n.*	water
āp-u-taām *n.*	food, meal
ārōs *n.*	wedding, marriage; feast
āsūdag *adj.*	calm, quiet
āšiγ *adj.*	enamoured, in love
āšk *n.*	that side
ātin : ā- *vi.*	to come

ātiš *n.*	fire
āwurtin : ār- *vt.*	to bring
āxir *adj.*	last
āxtī *adj.*	previous, aforesaid

b

bād-i *prep.*	after
baā *n.* also **bā, bahā**	price; **~ kurtin** to sell
badan *n.*	body
badāl *adj.* also **badhāl**	unhealthy; miserable
badgumān *adj.*	suspicious; jealous
bad *adj.*	bad
baḍḍ *n.*	back, shoulders
baḍḍitin : baḍḍ- *vt.*	to load up (usually on one's back)
bagal *n.*	armpit; embrace
bagalkaššī *n.*	embracement
balā *n.*	calamity, disaster
balkēn *adv.*	probably, rather
balōč *n.*	Baloch
band *n.*	dam, bund; **~ kurtin** to dam up
bangōṛ *n.*	singing
barāmad *n.*	appearance
basē *conj.* only in **ša basē ki**	inasmuch as, since
bass *adv.*	enough
bastag *n.*	sour milk
bastin : band- *vt.*	to close
bābā *n. addr.*	father; grandfather; son; friend
bādēntin : bādēn- *vt.*	to curdle
bādišā *n.* also **pādišā**	king

bādišāī *n.* also **pādišāī**	kingdom
bādišāzādag *n.*	prince
bāγ *n.*	garden
bāid *mod. pred.*	must, it is necessary
bāl *n.*	flight; **~ āwurtin** to lift, to raise
bām *n.*	dawn; **~ dātin** to dawn
bāndā *adv.*	tomorrow
bār *n.*	load
bārēn *adv.*	perhaps, whether
bāz *adv.*	many
bāzār *n.*	market
bāzē *pron.*	some (people)
bāzul *n.*	wing
bē *prep.*	without
bēdīn *adj., n.*	unbelieving; unbeliever
bēga *n.*	evening
bēgānag *adj.*	far away, foreign
bēgunā *adj.*	sinless, innocent
bēisāb *adj.*	numerous
bēōš *adj.*	unconscious
bērānag *n.*	wasteland
bērī *adv.*	in **wārī pa bērī** turn by turn
bēxī *adv.*	very
bi *prep.*	in, to, on, at
binašp *n.*	violet
binā *n.*	start, beginning; **~ kurtin** to begin
bir gaštin *vi.*	to return, to come back
birinǰ *n.*	rice
bō *n.*	smell

brās *n.*	brother
buɣšāp *n.* also **bušqāp**	plate
bun *n.*	fire, burning; **~ dātin** to set fire
bunag *n.*	luggage
buṇḍ *n.*	log
bunīādam *n.*	human being
bunlōp *n.*	honorary place
burritin : burr- *vt.*	to cut
burtin : bar- *vt.*	to take away, to carry away
būmukk *n.*	little owl
būtin : bay- *vi*	to be; to become

č

čakīdag *n.*	curds
čalla(w) *n.*	ring
čamm *n.*	eye
čapgōš *n.*	a kind of a weaving pattern
čapp *adj.*	left
čārēntin : čārēn- *vt.*	to graze
čaritin : čar- *vi.*	to graze
čā *n.*	well
čār I. *num.*	four
čār II. *n.*	course, wandering; **~ kurtin** to wander, to ramble
čāršāx *n.*	pitchfork
čē *pron.*	what; which
čēr *n.*	hidden part; as postp.: **čērā** under
čikkitin : čikk- *vi.*	to trickle down
činka *quant.*	how much, how many; several, some

čiṛikkā *n.*	sound, rustle
čīz *n.* also **čī**	thing
čīz-mīzē *pron.*	something
čō *conj.*	like, as
čōn *adv.*	how
čōrī(ka) *n.*	chap, fellow
čōṭ *adj.*	crooked, bent
čōṭakk *n.*	a kind of a weaving pattern
čug *n.*	neck, nape
čunēn *adv.*	which
čunt *quant.*	some, several

d

da(h) *num.*	ten
dabgir *n.*	door-knocker
dam *n.*	instant, moment
dap *n.*	mouth
darā *adv.*	outside
dar ātin *vi.*	to rise (of sun)
dar būtin *vi.*	to go out, to come out
dar kurtin *vt.*	to take out, to draw (the sword)
darakk *n.*	news (about smb.)
darbār *n.*	palace
darbēš *n.*	dervish
dasag *n.*	thread, rope
dast *n.*	hand
dastag *n.*	haft, hilt
daūs *n.*	a husband or wife whose spouse is unfaithful
daway *vi.* RUS. **davay**	come on!

dār *n.*	wood; **bi dārā kašš(i)tin** to execute, to put to death
dāštin : dār- *vt.*	to have
dātin : day- *vt.*	to give
dēb *n.*	demon
dēm *n.*	face; as postp. **dēmā** in front of; before; **~ dātin** to send
dēm-i *prep.*	towards
diga(r) *adj.*	other
dikk *n.*	hillock
dil *n.*	heart
dilī *adj.*	lovely, sweet
dilxāī *adj.*	desired, fond
dīstin : gind- *vt.*	to see
dītin : dī- *vt.*	to beat
dōg *n.*	whey
dōl *n.*	drum
dōst *n.*	friend; **~ dāštin** to love
dōtin : dōč- *vt.*	to sew
drayšī *n.*	rags, worn out clothes
drust *n.*	known, recognized; **~ kurtin** to know, to recognize
drustī *adj.*	familiar, acquainted
du *num.*	two
dukkān *n.*	shop
dukkāndār *n.*	shopkeeper
dunyā *n.*	world
dušman *n.*	enemy
duštin : dōš- *vt.*	to milk
dūr *adj.*	far away
dūt *n.*	smoke

dūtī *n.*	column of smoke
dwārag *adv.*	again
dwāzda(h) *num.*	twelve

ḍ

ḍabbū *n.*	shorty, pudge
ḍawl *n.*	manner, way
ḍigār *n.*	earth; field
ḍupp *n.*	weft

ē

ē *pron.* also **yē**	this; he/she/it
ēdga *adj.*	another, this other
ēl *n.* also **yēl**	learning, habit; **~ dātin** to teach
ēla *adj.* also **yēla**	left, released; **~ kurtin** to leave, to release
ēr *n.* also **yēr**	lower part (only in comp.); **~ kurtin** to lower; to stay; **~ burtin** to swallow
ēš *pron.* also **yēš**	this; he/she/it
ēšk *n.*	this side
ēšk-u-āškā *adv.*	around

g

gadd *n.* also **gadd-madd**	rags
gallēntin : gallēn- *vt.*	to drive away, to chase away
gal-pa-gal *adv.*	merrily, with joy
gandag *adj.*	bad, filthy
gardēntin : gardēn- *vt.*	to turn around, to cause to return
garm *adj.*	warm
gaṛukk *n.*	pan, pannikin

gašt *n.*	time, occasion; **yakk gaštā** at once, simultaneously
gaštin : gard- *vi.*	to ramble; to search
gārtitin : gārt- *vi.*	to belch
gāwaxt *adv.*	sometimes
gēštir *adv.*	more
gētir *adv.*	better
gil *n.*	mud, clay
giliṛī *adj.*	round
gilī *adj.*	muddy, of clay
giptin : gir- *vt.*	to take
gird *n.*	circle, environment
gis *n.*	house, room
gō *prep.*	with
gōk *n.*	cow
gōn *adv.*	together; **~ dātin** to pursue, to strive
gōš *n.*	ear; **~ kašš(i)tin** to listen
grādūs *n.* RUS. **gradus**	degree
grētin : grē- *vi.*	to weep, to cry
guḍā *adv.* also **guḍān, guḍinā**	then, afterwards
guḍḍitin : guḍḍ- *vt.*	to chop
guǰ *adv.* also **guǰā**	where
guǰām *pron.*	which
guǰāmī *n.*	which one
gulag *n.*	warp stick
gulagī *n.*	warp
guštin : guš- *vt.*	to say
gušnag *adj.*	hungry
guṭṭ *n.*	throat; neck

guzarāndārī *n.*	livelihood; life
gwanakkī *adj.*	pale blue
gwanḍakkī *n.*	childhood
gwanḍakukk *adj.*	tiny
gwanḍ *adj.*	little, small
gwaptin : gwap- *vt.*	to weave
gwastin : gwaz- *vi.*	to pass
gwār *n.*	sister
gwāzēntin : gwāzēn- *vt.*	to lead; to spend, to pass
gwāzī *n.*	game, play; deceit; **~ kurtin** to play

γ

γadaγan *adj.*	forbidden
γadīmī *adj.*	ancient
γala *n.*	fortress
γalatnimā *n.*	changed appearance; **watrā ~ kurtin** to change appearance
γam *n.*	grief, sorrow
γaraz *adv.*	in short, to make a long story short
γasr *n.*	palace
γayčīn *n.*	scissors
γāb *n.*	wooden box, case
γālīgul *n.*	a kind of a weaving pattern
γār *n.*	cave
γīt *adv.* TURKM. **γīt**	rare, infrequent
γōš *n.*	load, goods
γōšun *n.*	army
γulγul *n.*	swarm; **~ kurtin** to swarm with
γulp *n.*	lock

ɣulpīn *adj.*	dark blue
ɣussa *n.*	grief, sorrow

h

hāmōš *adj.*	calm, quiet; **~ kurtin** to calm
(h)ičč *quant.*	none

i

iččī *pron.*	nothing
ičkass *pron.*	nobody
idā *adv.* also **idinā**	here
ilāǰ *n.*	remedy
imāratt *n.*	building
ingu *adv.*	here, hither
inkas *quant.*	so many, so much
irr *n.*	fling; **~ dātin** to fling
ištin : ill- *vt.*	to leave
izzatt *n.*	respect; **pa izzatt** respectfully

ī

īnkurkō *adj.*	tiny
īzakk *n.*	a goatskin bag to churn milk for butter

ǰ

ǰam *n.*	gathering, entirety; **~ kurtin** to collect, to gather
ǰang *n.*	battle, war
ǰarr *n.*	shrub
ǰatin : ǰan- *vt.*	to hit, to beat
ǰawāb *n.*	answer

ǰawābkār *n.*	responsible
ǰā *n.* also **ǰāga**	place
ǰāhil *adj.*	ignorant
ǰān *n.*	soul
ǰānišīn *n.*	successor, heir
ǰār *n.*	announcement
ǰārčīn *n.*	messenger, herald
ǰāwrū *n.*	broom
ǰāwrūrōpī *n.*	sweeping
ǰind *n.*	self; in, e.g., **mnī ǰind** myself
ǰinēn *n.*	wife
ǰinēnzāg *n.*	woman
ǰinikk *n.*	girl, daughter
ǰinikkō *n.*	girl
ǰistin : ǰī- *vi.*	to escape, to flee
ǰitā *adj.*	separate; **ǰitā-ǰitā** separately
ǰōṛ *adj.*	ready, prepared, built; healthy
ǰōṛēntin : ǰōṛēn- *vt.*	to build; to make ready
ǰurm *n.*	offence
ǰwān *adj.*	good

k

kadēn *adv.*	when; **(h)ar kadēn** whenever
kamāl *n.*	completion; full age
kamm *adv.*	little
kamm-u-kukkē *adv.*	a little bit
kapp *n.*	half; **~ kurtin** to cut in half
kaptin : kap- *vi.*	to fall
karā-karā *adv.*	slowly, little by little
kargōšk *n.*	hare, rabbit

kaṛakk *n.*	crack, chink
kass *n.*	person
kašš *n.*	side; **~ kurtin** to go, to rush
kašš(i)tin : kašš- *vt.*	to drag, to pull
kašš-u-kašāl *n.*	seizing, snatch; **~ kurtin** to seize, to snatch
katam *n.*	dried manure
kawš *n.*	shoe
kawšakk *n.*	a kind of a weaving pattern
kawšdōč *n.*	shoemaker
kawšdōčī *n.*	shoe-making
kay *pron.*	who
kayp *n.*	pleasure
kār *n.*	work; **~ kurtin** to work; to dig
kārč *n.*	knife
kāsidī *n.*	message
ki *conj.*	that
kirē *n.*	rent
kirm *n.*	worm
kirmukkī *adj.*	wormy
kissa *n.*	story
kištin : kiš- *vt.*	to sow
kitāb *n.*	book
kō(h) *n.*	mountain
kōhbaḍḍ *n.*	hero, hercules (the one who loads mountains on his back)
kōhbaḍḍī *n.*	heroism (mountain lifting)
kōlāp *n.*	puddle
kōnag *adj.*	old
kučk *n.*	shell

kull *adj.*	all, whole
kulūča *n.*	pie
kumakk *n.*	help; **~ kurtin** to help
kurm *n.*	pit; **~ kurtin** to bury, to hide in earth
kurtin : kan- *vt.*	to do
kuštin : kuš- *vt.*	to kill
kūča *n.*	street
kūnpad *n.*	place under arse
kyāmatt *n.*	resurrection

l

labb *n.*	bride-price
laggitin : lagg- *vt.*	to hit (of an arrow or bullet); to meet; to begin
lapāštin : lapāš- *vt.*	to eat greedily, to gobble up
laškar *n.*	army
laṭṭ *n.*	stick
lālā(w) *n. addr.*	brother
lāp *n.*	belly
lāp-šōdōk *adj.*	last (child in family)
lōī *n.*	cauldron
lōrik *n.*	pendant
lōṛ *adj.*	mixed
lōṭitin : lōṭ- *vt.*	to want

m

maga *part.* also **magar**	whether
maɣazīn *n.* RUS. **magazin**	shop
maǰbūr *adj.*	compelled, forced

malāmatt *n.*	rebuke, blame; **~ kurtin** to blame
man *pron.*	I
mantin : mān- *vi.*	to stay; to remain
mantitin : mant- *vt.*	to churn
manzil *n.*	destination; stage (of journey)
mard *n.*	husband
mardum *n.*	person, man
marōčī *adv.* also **murōčī**	today
masalan *adv.*	for example
masxara *n.*	joke; mockery
mašīn *conj.*	probably, maybe
mašk *n.*	sack, bag
mašmā *pron.*	we.INCL
maxlūk *n.*	people
maxsad *n.*	purpose
maydān *n.* also **maydānǰā**	field, open place
mazan *n.*	big, large
mā(h) *n.*	month
māl *n.*	cattle; property
mālā *adv.*	early
mān *n.*	inner side
mānand-i *prep.*	like
mānǰīnā *postp.*	between
mās *n.*	mother
māska *n.*	butter
mēmān *n.*	guest
millatt *n.*	nation
misāl *n.*	example
mitr *n.*	metre

mī(h) *n.*	nail
mōrinkčan *n.*	tremble, shiver
mōrukk *n.*	tiny pearly pattern in weaving
mučč *quant.*	all
mudām *adv.*	always
mukām *n.*	place
mullā *n.*	mullah
munūt *n.*	minute
murād *n.*	desire
muslaat *n.*	agreement
muštin : mušš- *vt.*	to rub, to smear
muzzūr *n.*	day-labourer
myāntā(y)ī *adj.*	middle

n

na *part.*	no, not
nahār *n.*	meal
nakl *n.*	story; **~ kurtin** to tell
napa *part.*	whether, after all
napas *n.*	breath
nazzīk *adj.*	near, close
nādēntin : nādēn- *vt.*	to seat
nāǰōṛ *adj.*	sick, ill
nāl *n.*	groan, moan
nām *n.*	name
nān *n.*	bread
nānwā *n.*	baker
nēmag *n.*	side, direction; half
nigēnag *n.*	gem

nikē *n.*	wedding ceremony; **~ kurtin** to marry
nimistin : nimis- *vt.*	to write
nipād *n.*	bedding, quilt
nišān *n.*	sign, mark; **~ dātin** to show
nišānī *n.*	sign
ništin : nind- *vi.*	to sit
nīwag *n.*	fruit
nōkar *n.*	servant
nōk *adj.*	new
nuǰūm *n.*	divination
nūn *adv.*	now
nwāsag *n.*	grandchild

ō

ōčur *n.* RUS. **očereď**	turn
ōdā *adv.* also **ōdinā**	there
ōmān *n.*	desire
ōn *n.*	blood
ōš *n.*	memory
ōštātin : ōšt- *vi.*	to stand

p

pa *prep.*	for
pačē *adv.*	why
pad *n.*	footprint; track
padā *postp.*	after
padākāī *adv.*	back
pakār *adj.*	necessary
pakkitin : pač- *vt.*	to cook

pamāī *conj.*	so, therefore
panā *n.*	shelter
panč *num.* also **panǰ**	five
parāstī *adv.*	really, truly
pardag *n.*	curtain; cover
parsax *n.*	parasang
parwā *n.*	care, worry
pas *n.*	sheep
pastark *n.*	saddle-bag
pašm *n.*	wool
patangōš *adj.*	lop-eared
patām *adj.*	tasty
patāptin : patā- *vt.*	to wrap, to roll
paydā *adj.*	found, visible; **~ kurtin** to find
pāč *adj.*	open; **~ kurtin** to open
pālawān *n.*	hero
pālawānī *n.*	bravery, feat of strength
pālēz *n.*	melon plantation
pānadā *postp.*	near, by side
pārsī *n.*	Persian
pigr *n.* also **pikr**	thought
piss *n.*	father
piss-u-mās *n.*	parents
pīramard *n.*	old man
pīrazāl *n.*	old woman
pīruk *n.*	grandfather
pīrukī *adj.*	ancient
plāna *pron.* also **pulāna**	such and such, so and so
pōš *n.*	cover; clothes

prēntin : prēn- *vt.*	to throw
prōštin : prōš- *vt.*	to break
pruštin : pruš- *vi.*	to break
pučč *n.*	clothes, cloth
pučč-u-pōš *n.*	clothes
pullukk *n.*	tiny flower pattern in weaving
purm *n.* RUS. **forma**	form
putritin : putr- *vi.*	to enter

q

qurān *n.*	Quran

r

rakkitin : rakk- *vi.*	to save oneself, to escape
ramag *n.*	herd (of sheep, of goats)
rang *n.*	colour; way, manner
rangī *adj.*	coloured
rastin : ras- *vi.*	to arrive
rawā *adj.*	flowing; **~ būtin** to flow
razm *n.*	battle; **~ kurtin** to fight
rā(h) *n.*	road
rāband *n.*	border of a carpet
rādag *adj.*	set off, en route
rāst *adj.*	right
rāstām *adj.*	forward
rāstī *n.*	truth
rāz *n.*	way, manner
rāzī *adj.*	content
rēs(i)tin : rēs- *vt*	to twist, to weave
rēšag *n.*	root

rētin : rēč- *vt.*	to pour, to spill
rōč *n.*	day; sun
rōdarāt *n.*	east
rōgin *n.*	oil, butter
ruptin : rōp- *vt.*	to sweep
rūh *n.*	soul

s

sabz *adj.*	green; **~ kurtin** to grow
sad *num.*	hundred
sakkī *n.*	trouble, difficulty
salām *n.*	peace; greeting
salām-u-waššāmad *n.*	greeting ceremony
santī *n.*	centimetre
sapsēm *adv.* RUS. **sovsem**	at all, entirely
sar *n.* also **sarag**	head
sarā *postp.*	on, upon
sarbār *n.* also **sarbir**	surface
sarbārā *postp.* also **sarbirā**	on the surface of, upon
sarpad *adj.*	understood; **~ būtin** to understand
sar-u-bār-u-mār *n.*	goods
sawdā *n.*	trade; **~ kurtin** to sell
saẏ *num.*	three
sayl *n.*	view; **~ kurtin** to look
sāatt *n.*	hour
sāib *n.*	master
sāl *n.*	year
sālag *adj.*	aged
sālagī *n.*	age

315

sāp *adj.*	clean; **~ kurtin** to clean
sātitin : sāt- *vt.*	to preserve, to keep
sērāp *adj.*	satisfied
sikka *n.*	carpet
sing *n.*	stone; **~ kurtin** to sharpen, to whet
sistin : sind- *vi.*	to tear, to be torn
sī *adj.*	informed; **~ kurtin** to inform; **~ būtin** to get to know
sīlum *n.*	strip
sōga *n.*	advice
sōǰ *n.*	question; **~ kurtin** to ask
sōtin : sōč- *vt.*	tu burn
spēt *adj.*	white
srēn *n.*	loins
surnā *n.*	pipe, flute
swār *adj.*	riding; **~ būtin** to mount (a horse)
syā *adj.*	black

š

ša *prep.*	from
šakk *n.*	comb
šap *n.*	night
šapnēmag *n.*	midnight
šarr *adv.*	well
šašš *num.*	six
šayr *n.*	poem, verse
šādī *n.*	joy
šādmānī *n.*	joy
šānpurr *adj.*	glorious

šār *n.*	city
šēpgwāp *n.*	whip
šēr *n.*	lion
šikk *n.*	prick, tap; **~ dātin** to prick, to thrust; to poke
šīr *n.*	milk
šmā *pron.* also **šumā**	you.PL
šōr *n.*	toss, stir; **~ wārtin** to toss, to stir
šuštin : šōd- *vt.*	to wash, to launder
šutin : ra(w)- *vi.*	to go
šwānag *n.*	shepherd

t

ta *prep.* also **tā**	until, up to; conj. that
taām *n.*	food, meal
tabar *n.*	axe
tabīb *n.*	doctor
tačīt *n.* RUS. **točit'**	sharpening; **~ kurtin** to sharpen
tamāšā *n.*	enjoyment
tašt *n.*	basin
tawār *n.*	voice; sound
tawn *n.*	weft
tawrū *n.*	slinger
taxtakašš *n.*	loom base
taxt *n.*	throne
tayār *adj.*	ready; **~ kurtin** to prepare
tā *postp.*	inside
tājag *n.*	fresh milk
tānā *adv.*	only; adj. alone
tānga *adv.*	still

tāpōt *n.*	stitch hook
tārī *n.*	morning
tātī *n. addr.*	aunty
tēz *adj.*	sharp
tilang *n.*	cling
tilā *n.*	gold
trīt *n.*	pieces of bread (in food); **~ dātin** to crumble bread
truss *n.*	fear
trušp *adj.*	sour
trušpī *n.*	ferment, leaven
tuman *n.*	tuman (a monetary unit)
tunnag *adj.*	thirsty
turkman *n.*	Turkmen

ṭ

ṭappitin : ṭapp- *vt.*	to wound; to pound
ṭaṭū *n.*	foal
ṭukkitin : ṭukk- *vt.*	to knock
ṭukkur *n.*	bit, piece
ṭū *adj.*	big; elder

u

u I. *conj.* also **wa**	and
u II. *part.*	after all, why
ukm *n.*	order
ulūpa *n.*	family
unar *n.*	profession; skill
urinǰa *n.* TURKM. **urinǰa**	lucerne
urūt *n.*	dried curds

urūtī *n.*	any meal containing dried curds
ustātin : ust- *vi.*	to stand up, to get up
uškitin : uškin- *vt.*	to hear
uštur *n.* also **uštir**	camel

w

wadī *adj.*	found
walē *conj.*	but
waptin : wasp- *vi.*	to sleep
warnā *adj.*	young
wasl *n.*	connection; **~ kurtin** to connect
wastā *n.*	craftsman
wašš *adj.*	sweet
waššāmad *n.*	greetings ceremony
wat *pron.*	self
watī *pron.*	own
waxt *n.*	time
wazīr *n.*	vizier
wād *n.*	salt
wām *n.*	loan, debt
wāntin : wān- *vt.*	to read; to study
wāpēntin : wāpēn- *vt.*	to put to sleep; to cause to lie down
wāragī *adj.*	edible, eatable
wārī *n.*	turn
wārtin : war- *vt.*	to eat
wāsitā *postp.*	for, for the sake of
wāund *n.*	owner
wāundī *n.*	ownership; **~ kurtin** to appropriate, to take for one's own

wāwaylān *interj.*   woe

x

xalɣ *n.* also **xalq**   people

xalīta *n.*   cloth, textile

xarāb *adj.*   destroyed, ruined

xarāba *n.*   ruins; **~ kurtin** to destroy, to ruin

xarājāt *n.*   expenses

xarǰ *n.*   expense

xayr *adv.*   OK; **xayr-i ta kant?** what happened to you?

xayrātxāna *n.*   charity house

xāna *n.*   house

xātirā *postp.*   for, because of

xizmatkār *n.*   servant

xizmatt *n.*   service, honour

xīlī *adj.*   such

xōšgapī *n.*   greetings ceremony

xudā *n.*   God

xumār *adj.*   excited

xurākī *n.*   food

xurǰīn *n.*   saddle-bag

xūt *n.*   food

y

yagwa *adv.* also **yagwā**   suddenly

yakk *num.*   one

yā *conj.*   or

yāt *n.*   memory

z

zabr *adj.*   good

zamīn *n.*   earth

zang *n.*   bell; **~ ǰatin** to ring a bell

zard *adj.*   yellow; **zardēn rōgin** melted
 butter

zardikk *n.*   carrot

zarr *n.*   money

zāg *n.*   boy; son

zāgīgirī *n.*   childhood

zām *n.*   sword

zāmās *n.*   son-in-law; bridegroom

zāntin : zān- *vt.*   to know

zār *adj.*   angry

zimistān *n.*   winter

zindagī *n.*   life; **~ kurtin** to live

ziyātī *adj.*   additional, excessive

zī *adv.*   yesterday

zītin : zin- *vt.* 3SG **zint**   to buy; to take

zōrāk *adj.*   steady

zubān *n.*   language; tongue

zuγuṛitin : zuγuṛ- *vi.*   to blink (of eyes)

zurtin : zūr- *vt.*   to take, to pick up

zūt *adv.*   quickly

ž

žand *adj.*   tired

C. List of simple verbs

The list contains all simple verbs found in the analysed material. The alphabetical order follow that of the Glossary (see p. 295).

anditin : and- *vi.*	to laugh
āmurzitin : āmurz- *vt.*	to forgive
āwurtin : ār- *vt.*	to bring
ātin : āy- *vi.* 3SG **kayt**	to come
badalēntin : badalēn- *vt.*	to change
baḍḍitin : baḍḍ- *vt.*	to load up (usually on one's back)
bastin : band- *vt.*	to tie; to close
bastin : bad- *vi.*	to curdle
baxšātin : baxšā- *vt.*	to forgive
bādēntin : bādēn- *vt.*	to curdle
buḍḍitin : buḍḍ- *vi.*	to drown
burritin : burr- *vt.*	to cut
burtin : bar- *vt.* 3SG **bārt**	to take away, to carry away
būtin : bay- *vi.* 3SG **bīt**	to be; to become
čalaptin : čalap- *vt.*	to seize
čanḍēntin : čanḍ- *vt.*	to shake
čaritin : čar- *vi.*	to graze
čaṭṭitin : čaṭṭ- *vt.*	to lick
čārēntin : čārēn- *vt.*	to graze
čikkitin : čikk- *vi.*	to triclke down
čitin : čin- *vt.* 3SG **čint**	to pluck
čōnḍitin : čōnḍ- *vt.*	to nibble

čukkitin : čukk- *vt.* to kiss

čūšitin : čūš- *vt.* to suck

dārēntin : dārēn- *vt.* to make to have (only in causative compounds)

dāštin : dār- *vt.* to have

dātin : day- *vt.* 3SG **dant** to give

dīstin : gind- *vt.* to see

dītin : dī- *vt.* to beat

dōtin : dōč- *vt.* to sew

druššitin : drušš- *vt.* to grind

duštin : dōš- *vt.* to milk

duzzitin : duzz- *vt.* to steal

ḍalitin : ḍal- *vi.* to fall in, to collapse

ḍalēntin : ḍalēn- *vt.* to demolish, to bring down

ḍikkitin : ḍikk- *vi.* to come to oneself, to recover (suddenly)

gallēntin : gallēn- *vt.* to drive away, to chase away

gardēntin : gadēn- *vt.* to turn around, to cause to return

garritin : garr- *vi.* to bellow

gaštin : gard- *vi.* to ramble; to search

gārtitin : gārt- *vi.* to belch, to burp

giptin : gir- *vt.* 3SG **gīt** to take

glummitin : glumm- *vt.* to sip, to swallow

grētin : grē- *vi.* to weep, to cry

guḍḍitin : guḍḍ- *vt.* to chop

guštin : guš- *vt, vi* to say

gwakkitin : gwakk- *vi.* to bark

gwaptin : gwap- *vt.* to weave

gwastin : gwaz- *vi.* to pass

gwāzēntin : gwāzēn- *vt.* to lead; to spend, to pass

ɣrižžitin : ɣrižž- *vt.*	to gnash
inzitin : inz- *vi.*	to coil, to wriggle
ištin : ill- *vt.*	to leave; to let
ǰakkitin : ǰakk- *vi.*	to cough
ǰatin : ǰan- *vt.*	to hit, to beat
ǰaṛēntin : ǰaṛēn- *vt.*	to knead
ǰistin : ǰī- *vi.*	to escape, to flee
ǰōṛēntin : ǰōṛēn- *vt.*	to build; to make ready
ǰukkēntin : ǰukkēn- *vt.*	to cause to kneel (a camel)
ǰukkitin : ǰukk- *vi.*	to kneel (of camels)
kaptin : kap- *vi.*	to fall
karritin : karr- *vt.*	to scratch
kašš(i)tin : kašš- *vt.*	to drag, to pull
kaṭṭitin : kaṭṭ- *vt.*	to gain
kāzmūtin : kāzmā- *vt.*	to test, to try
kištin : kiš- *vt.*	to sow
kurtin : kan- *vt.*	to do
kuštin : kuš- *vt.*	to kill
kuṭṭitin : kuṭṭ- *vt.*	to pound
laččēntin : laččēn- *vt.*	to stick, to paste
laččitin : lačč- *vi.*	to stick, to adhere
laḍḍitin : laḍḍ- *vt.*	to load up
laggēntin : laggēn- *vt.*	to touch
laggitin : lagg- *vt.*	to hit (of an arrow or bullet); to meet; to begin
laguštin : laguš- *vi.*	to slip
lapāštin : lapāš- *vt.*	to eat greedily, to gobble up
larzitin : larz- *vi.*	to tremble
lōṭitin : lōṭ- *vt.*	to want
mantin : mān- *vi.*	to stay; to remain

mantitin : mant- *vt.*	to churn
mānēntin : mānēn- *vt.*	to leave, to cause to stay
mēčēntin : mēčēn- *vt.*	to breast-feed
mit(k)in : mič- *vt.*	to suck (milk)
murtin : mir- *vi.*	to die
muštin : mušš- *vt.*	to rub, to smear
nādēntin : nādēn- *vt.*	to seat
nālitin : nāl- *vi.*	to groan, to moan
nimistin : nimis- *vt.*	to write
ništin : nind- *vi.*	to sit
ōštātin : ōšt- *vi.*	to stand
pakkitin : pač- *vt.*	to cook
parmātin : parmā- *vt.*	to order, to command
parritin : parr- *vi.*	to fly away
patāptin : patā- *vt.*	to wrap, to roll
paṭṭitin : paṭṭ- *vt.*	to search, to seek out
pēčitin : pēč- *vi.*	to twist; to roll
piṭṭēntin : piṭṭēn- *vt.*	to drip
piṭṭitin : piṭṭ- *vi.*	to drip
prēntin : prēn- *vt.*	to throw
prinčitin : prinč- *vt.*	to squeeze, to press
prōštin : prōš- *vt.*	to break
pruštin : pruš- *vi.*	to break
pursitin : purs- *vt.*	to ask
putritin : putr- *vi.*	to enter
pōšitin : pōš- *vt.*	to dress; to cover
rakkāēntin : rakkāēn- *vt.*	to save, to cause to save
rakkēntin : rakkēn- *vt.*	to save, to rescue
rakkitin : rakk- *vi.*	to save oneself, to escape

ranǰitin : ranǰ- *vt.*	to hurt; to offend
rasēntin : rasēn- *vt.*	to deliver, to cause to arrive
rastin : ras- *vi.*	to arrive
rēpēntin : rēpēn- *vt.*	to cheat
rēs(i)tin : rēs- *vt.*	to twist, to weave
rētin : rēč- *vt.*	to pour, to spill
ritin : rič- *vi.*	to spill
ruptin : rōp- *vt.*	to sweep
saggitin : sagg- *vi.*	to suffer, to endure
sanǰitin : sanǰ- *vi.*	to think, to reflect
sarritin : sarr- *vi.*	to bray
sātitin : sāt- *vt.*	to preserve, to keep
sistin : sind- *vi.*	to tear, to be torn
siṭṭitin : siṭṭ- *vi.*	to hop, to skip
sōtin : sōč- *vt.*	tu burn
srappitin : srapp- *vi.*	to hide oneself
sutin : suč- *vi.*	to burn
šāntin : šān- *vt.*	to spray; to throw; to spread out; to vomit
šigētin : šigēǰ- *vt.*	to put, to lay out
šuštin : šōd- *vt.*	to wash, to launder
šutin : ra(w)- *vi.*	to go
tačitin : tač- *vi.*	to run
tawārēntin : tawārēn- *vt.*	to call
trākēntin : trākēn- *vt.*	to burst
trakkitin : trakk- *vi.*	to burst
trāštin : trāš- *vt.*	to shave
trussitin : truss- *vi.*	to fear, to be afraid
ṭappitin : ṭapp- *vt.*	to wound; to pound
ṭukkitin : ṭukk- *vt.*	to knock

ustātin : ust- *vi.*	to stand up, to get up
uškitin : uškin- *vt.* 3SG **uškint**	to hear
wāntin : wān- *vt.*	to read; to study
waptin : wasp- *vi.*	to sleep
wāpēntin : wāpēn- *vt.*	to put to sleep; to cause to lie down
wārtin : war- *vt.* 3SG **wārt**	to eat
zāntin : zān- *vt.* 3SG **zānt**	to know
zātin : zay- *vt.*	to give birth (of animals)
zītin : zin- *vt.* 3SG **zint**	to buy; to take
zuɣuṛitin : zuɣuṛ- *vi.*	to blink (of eyes)
zurtin : zūr- *vt.*	to take, to pick up
žappitin : žapp- *vt.*	to slay
žamitin : žam- *vi.*	to rain heavily

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