
Notes on the speech of the Afro-Baloch of the southern coast of Iran*



AGNES KORN AND MARYAM NOURZAEI

Abstract

The aim of the present article is to describe the morphosyntactic properties of Iranian Coastal Balochi as spoken by the Afro-Balochi community. The Afro-Baloch have completely switched to Balochi and there are no traces of African languages in their speech. In comparison with other Balochi dialects of Iran on the one hand and Coastal Balochi dialects of Pakistan on the other, Coastal Balochi as spoken in Iran shows archaic characteristics, particularly in its case system, in the demonstrative pronouns and in the alignment features. This particularly applies to the speech of the Afro-Baloch, who due to persisting social segregation have limited access to education and media.

1. Introduction

The present article is a contribution to the description of Balochi (Bal.) dialects.¹ We will present results of our research about Balochi varieties spoken by the population of African origin on the coast of Iranian Balochistan, a variety that we will call “Coastal Afro-Balochi” (CAB). The emphasis of this article will be on discussing the position of Iranian Coastal Balochi as spoken by the Afro-Baloch in comparison with other Balochi dialects; and we will specifically discuss morphosyntactic properties which distinguish CAB from other Balochi dialects of Iran on the one hand and Coastal dialects of Pakistan on the other.

Our material consists of folktales, life stories and procedural texts (e.g. how to produce various milk products) recorded from male and female informants of different ages and different social backgrounds and from different towns and villages on the coast of Iranian Balochistan (see [Map 2](#)) in 2010 and 2014.

*This article is a revised version of Korn and Nourzai (2018) [<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1356186318000238>], correcting errors that occurred during the editing process, and taking into account some details that have come to our attention in the meantime.

¹The recordings on which this article is based, a preliminary transcription of these and double-checking with the informants were made by Maryam Nourzai; the work on the transcription and the analysis of the texts is by both authors; the article text is mostly by Agnes Korn.

We wish to thank all our informants for providing the data for this article, and Siddiq Āzāt, Mohammad Salim Pasand, Ahmad Yaqoub Al Maazmi, Erik Anonby, Murad Suleymanov and Nicholas Sims-Williams for double-checking of data or English.



Map 1. Approximate location of Balochi dialects

1.1 *Baloch in Africa and Africans in Balochistan*

While it may seem surprising to find people of African descent in Balochistan, contacts between the coast of the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa date back a long time. The presence of Baloch communities in the Gulf States is particularly well known, and since the nineteenth century,² some Baloch have also gone to East Africa and settled there. These migration patterns will not be discussed in this article.

Conversely, people from East Africa have come (or rather: been brought) to Iran and other regions along the coast of the Indian Ocean for many centuries,³ and the African origin of some Balochi speakers is obvious. They will henceforth be referred to as “Afro-Baloch”.⁴

In Iran, slavery was abolished in the early twentieth century, but people of African descent still constitute a marginalised group of Iranian society and in the more remote regions, they have continued to live in very poor conditions. In Iranian Balochistan, people of African descent are sometimes described as “Black” by others, though they do not see themselves

²Nicolini (2008), p. 327.

³See e.g. Nicolini (2008). For a collection of articles about Blacks in other regions of Asia, see Prasad and Angenot (2008).

⁴We follow the common practice of writing Black with capital B to indicate that it refers to a social construct rather than to a measurable feature. The term “Afro-Baloch” was kindly suggested to us by Östen Dahl.



Map 2. Region where Afro-Baloch communities are living in Iran (underlined: CAB data)

as such. Also, they are often referred to as *golām* (cf. Persian *golām* ‘slave’) both by others and by themselves (as opposed to *balōč* referring to the non-Black members of society). Since Baloch society continues to place importance on tribal affiliation, terms like *golām* and *nōkar* ‘servant’ are even used as “tribe names” for the Afro-Baloch in light of them not belonging to any traditional Baloch tribe. The Afro-Baloch themselves do not trace their origins to Africa, and from their point of view, they are ethnically no different to the Baloch population of their respective region. However, Balochi speakers of non-African descent see them as a distinct group, do not intermarry with them and place them at the bottom of the social hierarchy; this bitter and at times brutal reality is reflected in some of our recordings.⁵

1.2 Afro-Balochi

To our knowledge, there is as yet no description of the speech of any group of the Afro-Baloch. The first question that arises is whether there might be traces of African (presumably, East African) languages in the speech of the Afro-Baloch. In our data, we have not found any such traces. Farrell (2003), pp. 169, 173, studying influences on the Balochi of Karachi and mentioning the possibility of influence from African languages, was only able to find one item, *na* ‘and’, which according to Farrell (2003), p. 184 is “used to conjoin nouns, especially names” and might be connected to Swahili *na*. The lexemes of possible African origin that Burton⁶ collected from the Afro-Baloch in Karachi, at least some of which are clearly from Swahili (*na* is not on Burton’s list), are no longer in use according to Farrell’s investigations. However, it might perhaps be worthwhile to double-check these findings, as Farrell’s observations may refer to possible African elements in the speech of the non-African Baloch in Karachi.

⁵See also the data in Yadegari (2008), pp. 252f.; Nicolini (2008), pp. 339f.; and Noraeie (2008), p. 351.

⁶Burton (1851), pp. 256f., 372–374.

Conversely, there seem to be traditions that are specific to the Afro-Baloch, particularly healing ceremonies.⁷ We have been told that Swahili is used in such ceremonies, and it is confirmed by Farhat Sultana, who notes that *gwāt* spirit healers on the coast of Pakistani Balochistan “speak a dialect which is a mix of Swahili and Balochi”.⁸ However, we have not witnessed this ourselves yet.

An investigation of the speech of the Afro-Baloch is interesting also for reasons of their status as a distinct social group; moreover, owing to their marginalisation and limited access to education etc., their speech might present features that are less seen in other sectors of Baloch society. In Bahukalat and Pishin, some Baloch who are not of African origin told us that the Afro-Baloch “talk differently” (concerning the pronunciation). Given that our data does not show such differences, it seems to us that the impression conveyed to us may reflect the social reality of the Afro-Baloch, who are seen as a distinct group by others, rather than a linguistic reality.

The term “Afro-Balochi” is thus neither meant to presuppose the existence of a set of dialectal features common to all Afro-Baloch, nor of differences between the dialects spoken by them and those spoken by the Baloch of non-African descent living in the same regions. The term “Coastal Afro-Balochi”, chosen for this article for the reasons of brevity, should thus be understood in the sense “Coastal Balochi as spoken by the Afro-Baloch”, reflecting the social background of the speakers consulted for this project.

This said, we think that Afro-Balochi might be slightly more conservative linguistically, owing to marginalisation and limited access to education etc. Also, we made it a point to record chiefly (but not only) female informants. Given the traditional nature of Baloch society, male linguists have not had access to women, and to our knowledge, Balochi data and published texts have so far nearly exclusively been from male informants.⁹ It is thus possible that some of the archaic features noted below may also be due to Afro-Baloch women’s particularly low exposure to other dialects and languages.

1.3 Iranian Coastal Balochi

The dialects spoken on the coast of Iranian Balochistan have not been very well documented yet, although a number of works have mentioned various specific features.¹⁰ It is generally assumed¹¹ that they correspond by and large to those spoken on the Pakistani coast and belong to the “Coastal Balochi” group of Southern Balochi (cf. [Map 1](#)).¹² On the other hand, studies on Balochi dialects spoken in Iran¹³ published in recent decades have

⁷This issue will be the topic of a future article.

⁸Farhat (1996), pp. 34/50 note 4, cf. also p. 45. *Gwāt* (a Balochi word meaning ‘wind’) is a type of evil spirit similar to *jims* and can produce illnesses etc., and people seek the help of healers to counter these effects. The tradition is likely to contain African elements, see Farhat (1996), pp. 28, 34.

⁹Exceptions include the sample text in Baranzehi (2003), one text in Axenov (2006) and texts in Nourzaei et al. (2015) and Nourzaei (2017).

¹⁰See Nourzaei (2017) for a recent work on Coastal Balochi data from Iran.

¹¹See e.g. Efenbein (1989), p. 637.

¹²The available works on Coastal Balochi, Mockler (1877), Pierce (1874), Farrell (1990, 2003), describe varieties spoken on the Pakistani coast or, in the case of Omani Balochi described by Collett (1983), derived from there.

¹³Spooner (1967), Yusefian (1992), Baranzehi (2003), Ahangar (2007), and cf. the bibliography in Jahani and Korn (2009).

highlighted marked influence from standard Persian, particularly in the nominal system and the case marking and types of alignment that follow from it, rendering these dialects quite different from Pakistani Coastal Balochi. But most studies of Iranian Balochi focus on dialects spoken in the northern and central parts of the province Sistan-va-Baluchestan, so what kind of pattern an Iranian variety of Coastal Balochi (or: a coastal variety of Iranian Balochi) would show is not quite well known.

It needs to be stressed that Coastal Balochi of Iran is not a uniform dialect, and the same is true for its varieties spoken by the Afro-Baloch. As is the case for other parts of Balochi society, there are notable dialectal differences; these will be noted below where appropriate.

1.4 Transcription and other technicals

As is common for Balochi dialects in Iran independent of their belonging to the Western or Southern group, the pronunciation of the vowels is adapted to that of Persian, so that the short vowels (/a/, /i/, /u/ in other dialects) are pronounced as /a/, /e/, /o/ in CAB, and thus noted here. Nasal vowels are noted as such where we hear them; this does not imply that nasal vowels are phonemic in CAB (they probably do not contrast with vowel + *n*).

Examples from our recordings and from published sources are slightly phonemicised, and examples quoted from other sources have been adapted to the system used here, some glosses are added. The CAB examples specify the place where the recording was made with the initials of the informant, the text number of this informant and the sentence number.

2. Nominal system

2.1 General points

Historically, Balochi shows a split-alignment system with nominative-accusative alignment in clauses whose verb forms are based on the present (PRS) stem (intransitive subject and transitive agent in the direct case, objects in the oblique case), and ergative-absolutive alignment for those based on the past (PST) stem (agent in the oblique, subject and direct object in the direct case). The pronominal clitics (enclitic pronouns, PC) are used in the historical functions of the oblique case (i.e. for direct and indirect objects, for the agent in the PST domain and for possession). Many Balochi dialects have diverged from this system, though, and all types of alignment (nominative, ergative, neutral, tripartite) are found in some dialect or the other.¹⁴ Balochi also shows differential object marking (DOM), which means that only definite direct objects are marked as such in the PRS domain while indefinite ones are unmarked (thus appear in the direct case).

2.2 Nouns

2.2.1 Case system¹⁵

One point in which Balochi dialects diverge considerably is the nominal system. The nominal system of Pakistani Coastal Balochi comprises a direct (DIR), oblique (OBL), object

¹⁴Korn (2008c).

¹⁵For the analyses to follow, a form used as agent of ergative constructions ("ergative agent") and, as a rule, with prepositions such as *če* / *čā* 'from' or *gōn* 'with' is interpreted as OBL (not OBJ), cf. Jahani and Korn (2009),

(OBJ) and genitive (GEN) case (Table 1), the OBJ case showing an element *-rā* which is affixed to the form already marked by the OBL ending.¹⁶

Conversely, many Iranian Balochi dialects exhibit a major refashioning of the case system (probably under the influence of Persian), viz. a coalescence of the direct and the oblique case to yield what may be called a nominative case (Table 2), and to a certain extent also a substitution of the *ežāfe* construction¹⁷ for the genitive case.¹⁸

The case system shown by our CAB data diverges considerably from both of these systems. The suffix *-rā* does not occur on nouns at all. The plural ending *-ānā* or *-ānrā* is not found either. This means that CAB differs from Pakistani Coastal Balochi in not having a separate object case; instead, it has a system of only three cases (Table 3).¹⁹

2.2.2 A locative case?

There are some instances of an oblique case ending affixed to a genitive (1)–(3).

- 1) *šoṭ-ag-an* *hamo* *hākem-e* *ǰāh-ā* *hōseihān-ty-a* *hā*
 go.PST-PRF-3PL DEM chief-GEN place-OBL PN-GEN-OBL yes
 “They went to that chief’s place, to Hoseinhan’s [place], yes”. Konarak, SE 1.1:72.
- 2) *man* *ta-rā* *ārt-a* *pa* *ōfī* *bādešāh-ē-a*
 I you.SG-OBJ bring.PST-PRF to own king-GEN-OBL
 “I brought you to my king”. Shirgwaz, YN1:267.
- 3) *enčok* *a* *bey-ā* ... *ē* *bačalok-cy-a*
 this_much V.EL become.PRS-1SG DEM boy_little-GEN-OBL
 “I am (i.e. was, at that time) this size, like this little boy”. Konarak, SE 1.2:22.

This looks like the “locative” case of Afghanistan and Turkmenistan Balochi (4).²⁰

- 4) Western Balochi of Turkmenistan, Axenov (2006), p. 80, ex. 124.
dukkāndār *wafī* *dukkān-ayā* *āt*
 shopkeeper own shop-LOC come.PST.3SG
 “the shopkeeper came to his shop”.

In an earlier article, I argued that in Afghanistan Balochi, the locative occurs more or less exclusively on nouns and pronouns with reference to humans,²¹ as in the instructive example

p. 657. Thus *man* ‘I’ is interpreted as being OBL (and DIR at the same time) in those dialects where it is used in the functions just mentioned, cf. Korn (2009a), pp. 61f.; “subject of nominative constructions” includes the subject of intransitives and the agent of transitives in the PRS domain. A form used in the possessive *mihi est* construction is interpreted as OBJ if it is different from the OBL form, and is included in the category of “indirect object”, cf. Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 666. For discussion of the cases in various Balochi dialects and their functions, see Korn (2008a).

¹⁶Korn (2008a), pp. 172f.; Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 652. One might add a vocative case (which has the form of the direct case in the SG and the form of the oblique in the PL).

¹⁷The “*ežāfe*” is a clitic used in Persian (and some other Iranian languages) by which dependent elements (adjectives, possessors etc.) are attached to a head noun.

¹⁸Jahani (2003); Korn (2008a), pp. 180–185; Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 652.

¹⁹Nourzaei (n.d.), p. 117 also notes *-ā* in GEN function for her Coastal Balochi data, but does not note *-rā*.

²⁰The “locative” in Afghanistan and Turkmenistan Balochi is also used in comparisons, although all instances are with prepositions meaning ‘like’, cf. Buddruss (1988), p. 48; Axenov (2006), p. 81.

²¹Korn (2008b), p. 94.

Table 1. Case system of nouns in Pakistani Coastal Balochi

	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN
SG	-∅	-ā	-ārā	-ē
PL		-ān	-ānā, -ānā	-ānī

Table 2. Case system of Iranian Balochi

	NOM	OBJ	GEN	or ežāfē
SG	-∅	-ā, -ārā	-ey, -ī	
PL	-ān	-ānā	-ānī	

Table 3. Case system of nouns in Coastal Afro-Balochi from Iran

	DIR	OBL	GEN
SG	-∅	-ā/a	-ē/e, -ī, -∅
PL		-ān	-ānī

(5), which opposes the oblique *gis-ā* “to the house” to the locative *ājizag-ayā* “to (that) woman”:

5) Western Balochi of Afghanistan, Buddruss (1988), p. 7.

bi ē gis-ā wa bi ā gis-ā
 to DEM house-OBL and to DEM house-OBL
 “they carried me [the baby] to this and that house,
bi ē ājizag-ayā wa bi ā ājizag-ayā mn-ā burt-ant
 to DEM woman-LOC and to DEM woman-LOC I-OBL carry.PST-3PL
 to this and that woman”.

I also argued that the way the “locative” is employed in Afghanistan Balochi shows an earlier situation vs. the more general use seen in Turkmenistan Balochi, and that the motivation for the rise of the locative may be seen in the context of a typological constraint as to the possibility to apply local deixis to persons.²² The locative marker, being the oblique case marker suffixed to that of the genitive, literally means ‘at [the place] of’ and is thus a periphrasis similar to English and French (6).

6) inanimate reference reference to persons

English
at the hotel *at my uncle’s* [place]
French
à l’hôtel *chez mon oncle* (*chez* < Latin *casa* ‘house’)

²²Korn (2008b), p. 96.

The “locative” pattern occurs only in some rare cases in our CAB data; it seems to be limited to humans, and not systematic even there (usually one would say, e.g., $X\text{-}\bar{\imath}$ $\bar{l}\bar{o}g\text{-}\bar{a}$ ‘at X’s house’). From the isolated examples, it is questionable whether the pattern should be called a separate case; the occurrences might be better analysed as free combinations of the adverbial OBL ending on a noun already marked as genitive. If so, the pattern found in CAB could be the protoform of the more regular use seen in Afghanistan and Turkmenistan.

The remaining instances of word-final $\bar{\imath}ya$ appear to be the combination of the clitic marking specificity (often called “indefinite article”) $=\bar{e}$ plus oblique ending,²³ assimilated to $\bar{\imath}ya$, as in (7).

- 7) $\bar{s}\bar{a}d=\bar{\imath}$ $\bar{b}\bar{o}t\bar{k}\text{-}a$ $\bar{b}\bar{a}st\text{-}a\bar{g}=\bar{\imath}$ $\bar{g}\bar{o}$ $\bar{k}\bar{a}h\bar{u}r=\bar{\imath}y\text{-}\bar{a}$
 string=PC3SG open.PST-PRF bind.PST-PRF=PC3SG with PN=SPC-OBL
 “He opened the string [and] bound it to a Kahur tree”. Konarak, SE 1.1:42f.²⁴

2.2.3 The clitic = o

There are (rare) instances in our data of a clitic = o occurring on a definite noun (8), (32).

- 8) $\bar{g}w\bar{a}št=\bar{\imath}$ $\bar{b}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\bar{u}$ $\bar{s}\bar{e}r=o$ $\bar{b}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{a}h\text{-}\bar{e}n$ $\bar{r}\bar{a}st\bar{a}r$ \bar{e}
 say.PST = PC3PL yes now lion=TOP huge-ATTR beast COP.PRS3SG
 “[The animals] said: ‘Now, the lion is a huge animal.
 $\bar{k}\bar{a}y$ $\bar{b}\bar{a}st\text{-}a$ $\bar{k}\bar{a}$
 who bind.PST-PRF do.PRS3SG
 Who would be able to bind him?’” Konarak, GO 1:12.

The status of this element is as yet unclear, but it seems to us that it might be connected to the various markers of definiteness, specificity and referentiality appearing in forms such as $-ak(a)$, $-\bar{u}$ etc. in other Iranian languages.²⁵ For Koroshi, a suffix $-ok$ has been noted, which “contributes to a definite singular interpretation of the word to which it is attached”;²⁶ there is also a suffix $-o$ that “sometimes” attaches to adjectives and seems to retain more of the probably originally diminutive semantics since it is particularly found with $\bar{k}\bar{a}s(s)\bar{a}n$ ‘small’.²⁷

Given that the CAB clitic is rather rare, it is unlikely to be a definite article (unlike parallel elements in some of Kurdish). Just as Dolatkah, Csátó and Karakoç (2016), p. 285, observe for Koroshi $-ok$, the instances we found of the CAB clitic occur on the first noun phrase of the sentence, which renders it a likely candidate for being a topic marker.

²³Note that this combination is not possible in all Balochi dialects; also note that the oblique case marker $\bar{f}\bar{o}l\text{-}l\bar{o}w\bar{s}$ the specificity marker; see Korn (2005), p. 292 for historical implications. The interpretation of this clitic as marking specificity follows the classification suggested by Heine (1997), pp. 72f.

²⁴Kahūr trees (here with $\bar{u} > \bar{\imath}$ as is common in Southern Balochi), *Prosopis spicigera* / *cineraria*, are rather prominent within the very scarce vegetation in Balochistan. They provide edible seedpods, leaves as food for the animals, heating wood, and shade.

²⁵Dolatkah, Csátó and Karakoç (2016). We are grateful to Geoffrey Haig for bringing this article to our attention. To the languages mentioned by Dolatkah, Csátó and Karakoç (2016), one might add Bashkardi, which has a suffix $-ak$ (preceding the PL suffix), see Korn (2017a), pp. 85, 93f.; and the Kumzari “definite suffix” $-o$, see Anonby (2013), p. 57.

²⁶Nourzaei et al. (2015), p. 32.

²⁷Cf. Nourzaei et al. (2015), p. 43.

2.3 Personal pronouns

2.3.1 Full pronouns

Agreeing with the case system of nouns (Table 1 and 2), the personal pronouns show four cases in Pakistani Coastal Balochi (Table 4)²⁸ and a reconfiguring of the case system in many dialects of Iran (Table 5).²⁹

Although nouns do not use the marker *-rā* in CAB (Table 3), it does occur on personal pronouns (9)–(11).

- 9) *man ta-rā bar-ān*
 I you.SG-OBJ carry.PRS-1SG
 “I will take you [with me]”. Shirgwaz YN 1:50.
- 10) *mā-re kabr-a šōn de*
 we-OBJ grave-OBL show give.IMP2SG
 “Show us her grave!” Konarak, SE 1.4:29.
- 11) *šomā-rē da*
 you.PL-OBJ give.PST
 “He gave [it] to you”. Konarak, SE 1.1:16.

The corresponding form of the 1SG is *mana/ā* (12)–(13):

- 12) *taw man-a bar-ē*
 you.SG I-OBJ carry.PRS-2SG
 “If you carry me off,
man bannām bō
 I of bad reputation become.PRS1SG
 I will have a bad reputation”. Shirgwaz, YN 1:54.
- 13) *āga manī band-ōk be-bī mollā rōbā*
 if I.GEN bind.PRS-AGN SBJV-become.PRS3SG Molla fox
 “If the one who binds me is Molla Fox
o manī bōj-ōk be-bī mošk
 and I.GEN release.PRS-AGN SBJV-become.PRS3SG mouse
 and the one who releases me is Mouse,
man-ā ta-rā ē molk o hokūmat=ī na-zīb-ī
 I-OBJ you.SG-OBJ DEM country and government=PC3SG NEG-fit.PRS-3SG
 then this country and its government is not fitting for you and me”. Konarak, GO 1:101ff.

The forms marking core arguments and their functions occurring in our data are summarised in Table 6, where “PRS” and “PST” refer to the nominative and ergative domains, respectively, and “nominative subject” includes subjects in the PRS domain and intransitive subjects in both domains. Particularly noteworthy forms are in bold.

²⁸Cf. Korn (2008a), pp. 173–175; Jahani and Korn (2009), pp. 653f.

²⁹Cf. Korn (2008a), pp. 182f., 186; Jahani and Korn (2009), pp. 653f.

Table 4. Case system of personal pronouns in Pakistani Coastal Balochi

	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN
1SG	<i>man</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>manārā</i>	<i>manī</i>
2SG	<i>taw, tō</i>	<i>t(a)rā</i>	<i>tarārā</i>	<i>tāī, tay</i>
1PL	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>		<i>māē, mē</i>
2PL	<i>šumā</i>	<i>šumarā</i>		<i>šumē</i>

Table 5. Case system of personal pronouns in Iranian Balochi

	NOM	OBJ	GEN	
1SG	<i>ma(n), mon</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>m(a)nī</i>	
2SG	<i>ta, taw</i>	<i>tarā, teya</i>	<i>tāī, tī, tey</i>	
1PL	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>may</i>	
2PL	<i>š(o)mā</i>	<i>š(o)mārā</i>	<i>š(o)mey</i>	

or ežāfē

Table 6. Functions of pronominal forms in Coastal Afro-Balochi from Iran

	nom. subj.	erg. agent	obj. of prep.	dir. obj. PST	indir. obj. PST	dir. obj. PRS	indir. obj. PRS
1SG	<i>ma(n), mā</i>	<i>ma(n), mā, mon</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>ma</i>		<i>m(a)nā</i>	<i>m(a)nā, ma</i>
2SG	<i>taw / to / ta</i>		<i>to</i>	<i>tarā</i>			<i>tarā, tawa</i>
1PL	<i>mā</i>			<i>mārā/a, māre</i>	<i>mārā/a, māre, mā</i>	<i>mārā/a</i>	<i>mārā/a, māre, mā</i>
2PL	<i>š(o)mā</i>				<i>šomārā/a, šomārē</i>		

The general picture here is that the inherited forms *man* (dialectally also *ma*), *taw* (also *to* and *ta*) as well as *mā* and *š(o)mā*³⁰ have the functions of the DIR and OBL cases insofar as the encoding of subject and agent and the use of these forms with prepositions is concerned. Object marking is twofold, however: CAB largely agrees with Pakistani Southern Balochi in showing the clearly innovated forms *manā*, *tarā* etc. for direct and indirect objects in the PRS and PST domains, thus producing a split in the PST domain in that pronominal direct objects show a dedicated object case while nouns are consistently found in the DIR case (thus unmarked).³¹

³⁰These are the oblique case forms of Middle Iranian, going back to the Old Iranian genitives, see Korn (2005).

³¹For more discussion of this split, see Farrell (1995), pp. 221f.; Korn (2008c), pp. 263ff.; (2009a), pp. 71f.

Table 7. Case system of personal pronouns in Coastal Afro-Balochi from Iran

	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN
1SG 2SG	<i>man, ma/ā</i> <i>taṽ, ta, tō</i>		<i>m(a)nā, mna</i> <i>taṽ</i>	<i>m(a)nī</i> <i>ṽ, tā</i>
1PL 2PL	<i>mā</i> <i>š(o)mā</i>		<i>māṽā/a, māre</i> <i>šomāṽā/a, šomāṽē</i>	<i>mē</i> <i>šomē</i>

Table 8. Pronominal clitics in Coastal Afro-Balochi from Iran

	SG	PL
1 st	= <i>on</i>	= <i>ēn</i>
3 rd	= <i>ī, =ē, =eγ</i>	= <i>ē, =ī</i>

Interestingly, some of the older function of the inherited forms survives in the (rare) use of *man* and *mā* for objects in the PST domain, as in (14), where *ma* is in a pragmatically emphasised position. This is a marked difference from contemporary Southern Balochi of Pakistan, where the 1st and 2nd person pronouns in object function need to be in the innovated oblique or object case, and yields the system in Table 7.

- 14) *čest=ē ko hamē ās-e koṽēnag o jāt=ē ma*
 lift=PC3SG do.PST DEM fire-GEN firewood and hit.PST=PC3SG I.DIR
 ‘‘She took up a piece of firewood from this fire and hit me’’. Konarak, SE 1.2:41f.

2.3.2 Pronominal clitics

The pronominal clitics found in our texts are those listed in Table 8 (arranging variants by frequency). Second person pronominal clitics are not found in our data for lack of sufficient context in which they might occur.³²

The pronominal clitics again indicate an intermediate position between Pakistani Southern Balochi (which uses only 3rd person pronominal clitics) and Iranian Balochi dialects, which make large use of them, particularly in those dialects that have lost the distinction of the inherited direct and oblique case (cf. Table 2).

2.4 Demonstratives

Like the personal pronouns, the inflexion of demonstratives in Pakistani Coastal Balochi shows four cases (Table 9).³³

³²The Persian 1PL clitic =*mān* we thought to have found in one text-final sentence (Korn and Nourzaei 2018, p. 670) is probably rather an instance of *mān* ‘in, into, inside’.

³³Korn (2008a), p. 174. For the proximal pronoun, the system in the first line is that given by Mockler (1877), p. 39 and Farrell (1990), pp. 66f., and the one in the second line is the one given by Collett (1983), p. 9, who does not note a plural.

Table 9. Case system of demonstratives in Pakistani Coastal Balochi

	SG				PL			
	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN
DISTAL	<i>ā</i>	<i>āy, āyā</i>	<i>āy(ā)rā</i>	<i>āē, āy(t)</i>	<i>ā, ān</i>	<i>āyā, āyānān</i>	<i>āyān(ā)rā</i>	<i>āyānī</i>
PROXIMAL	<i>ē</i> <i>ē(š)</i>	<i>ištā</i> <i>ēšā</i>	<i>ištārā</i> <i>ēšārā</i>	<i>ištī, ištē</i> <i>ēštī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>išan</i>	<i>išanā(n)</i>	<i>išanī</i>

Table 10. Case system of demonstratives in Iranian Balochi

	SG			PL		
	NOM	OBJ	GEN (or ezafe)	NOM	OBJ	GEN (or ezafe)
DISTAL	<i>ā(t)</i>	<i>āā, ārā</i>	<i>ā(e)</i>	<i>āwān, āyān</i>	<i>āwānā, āyānā</i>	<i>āwānī</i>
	<i>hamā, hamāāē</i>					
PROXIMAL	<i>ē, (i)štī, ēštī</i>	<i>(t)štīya,</i> <i>šera</i>		<i>(e)šan</i>	<i>(e)šāna</i>	
	<i>hanū, hamē,</i> <i>hamēš, hamēši</i>					

The demonstratives are not always treated in detail in the published sources of Iranian Balochi (this applies to the actual forms as well as to the distribution of the various stems); the available data yield the system in Table 10.³⁴

The various forms of the CAB demonstrative pronouns occur in the functions shown in Table 11. Isolated instances that seem questionable are marked with †.

As in other dialects, the demonstratives are frequently found with (originally emphasizing) *ham-* ‘this/that very...’ (also shortened to *m-*), but this element has become so common that it can hardly be said to still have emphasizing function.

No instance of a (substantival) demonstrative after a preposition is found in our data, nor is the oblique plural. Indeed, demonstratives are particularly frequent in attributive position (preceding the noun), where they are uninflected (just as they would be in other Balochi dialects).

However, two remarkable phenomena not noted for other Balochi dialects (yet) are found. One is the position of a demonstrative after the noun (15).

15) (The animals’ assembly is discussing their situation. The fox says:)

balē šmā by-āy-e
 now you.PL SBJV-COME.PRS-2PL
 ‘Now you should come’

³⁴Cf. Korn (2008a), pp. 182f., 186f.; Yūsefiyān (1992), pp. 42f.; (2005), p. 91.

Table 11. Functions of demonstrative forms in Coastal Afro-Balochi from Iran

	attributive	nom. subj.	erg. agent	obj. PST	obj. PRS	other
PROX	\bar{e} , (ha)m \bar{e}	\bar{e} , m \bar{e} PL \bar{e}		dO: \bar{e} , ham \bar{e} idO: ham \bar{e}	dO: \bar{e} †	POSTP $\bar{e}\bar{e}$
	$\bar{e}\bar{s}$, $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$, (ha)m $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$	$\bar{e}\bar{s}$, $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$ PL $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{n}$	(ha)m $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$, $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{a}$		dO: $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$ idO: $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{a}$	GEN (ha)m $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$
DIST	\bar{a} , ham \bar{a}	\bar{a} , (ha)m \bar{a} PL \bar{a}	\bar{a} † $\bar{a}\bar{i}$, $\bar{a}\bar{a}$	dO: \bar{a} idO: $\bar{a}\bar{a}$	dO: $\bar{a}\bar{i}$, $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ idO: $\bar{a}\bar{i}$	GEN $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ GEN.PL $\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{i}$
other	ham \bar{o}	$\bar{s}\bar{o}$, \bar{i}				

Table 12. Case system of demonstratives in Coastal Afro-Balochi from Iran

	SG			PL	
	DIR	OBL	GEN	DIR	GEN
stem \bar{a}	\bar{a} , (ha)m \bar{a}	$\bar{a}\bar{i}$, $\bar{a}\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}\bar{i}$	\bar{a}	$\bar{a}\bar{y}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{i}$
stem \bar{e}	\bar{e} , (ha)m \bar{e}		$\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{e}$	\bar{e}	
stem $\bar{e}\bar{s}$	$\bar{e}\bar{s}$, $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$, (ha)m $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$	$\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$, (ha)m $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$, $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{a}$	$\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$, (ha)m $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{t}$	$\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{n}$	

ke $\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{r}$ - \bar{a} \bar{e} $\bar{g}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{t}$ = \bar{e} kan- \bar{e}
SUB lion-OBL DEM killing=PC3SG do.SBJV-I PL
so that we kill the lion
o m \bar{a} - $\bar{s}\bar{m}\bar{a}$ $\bar{y}\bar{a}$ hok \bar{u} mat= \bar{e} pa wat hok \bar{u} mat a b- \bar{e}
and we-you.PL one government=SPC to self government V.EL become.
PRS-I PL

and become a government for ourselves". Konarak, GO 1:8ff.

Just like the nouns, but unlike the personal pronouns, the demonstratives do not use $-\bar{r}\bar{a}$. Conversely, the form $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ appears to be used for the genitive and the oblique case, as in *pakat $\bar{s}\bar{m}\bar{a}$ $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ kos \bar{o} k bey* "but you will be his killer" in (32). This wider function of the form $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ has also been noted for other dialects, specifically from the Western Balochi dialect group.³⁵ It might mirror an older situation with a general oblique that also includes the genitive (and the use with postposition), as is the function of the oblique case in Middle Iranian.³⁶ Besides $\bar{a}\bar{i}$, an oblique form $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ occurs, but only for the oblique functions other than the genitive.

³⁵Thus for the Balochi dialects of Turkmenistan and Afghanistan: Sokolov (1956), p. 70; Axenov (2006), p. 113; Buddruss (1988), p. 51. Other sources have $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ for the OBL; Southern Balochi: Mockler (1877), p. 34; Farrell (1990), p. 66; Western Balochi of Pakistan and Afghanistan: Barker and Mengal (1969)/I, p. 72; Grierson (1921), p. 345; Nawata (1981), p. 12. Owing to the case reduction mentioned in Section 2.2, Sarawani uses $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ for nominative functions and $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ for the object case, see Baranzehi (2003), p. 87.

³⁶Korn (2005), pp. 296–298.

Table 13. Case systems of nominals in Coastal Afro-Balochi from Iran

		DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN
noun endings		-∅	-ā	–	-ē, -ī	-∅	-ān	–	-ānī
personal pronouns	1 st	ma(n), mā		manā	manī	mā		mānā/a, mānē/e	mē
	2 nd	tau, ta, tō		tarā	tī, tāī	šomā		šomānā/a, šomānē/e	šomē
demonstratives	PROX	ē, ēš(t)	ēšī, ēšīā	–	ēē, ēšī	ē, ēšān		–	
	DIST	ā	āī, āīā		āī	ā			āyānī

The form of the proximal demonstrative corresponding in function to the form $\bar{a}ī$ is $\bar{e}šī$. It seems to be the oblique of $\bar{e}š$ insofar as simple $\bar{e}š$ is not found in oblique functions such as the ergative agent and direct or indirect objects, but $\bar{e}šī$ is found also in roles where one would expect the direct case (Table 12), so it is used even more widely than $\bar{a}ī$.³⁷

The single occurrence of a genitive $\bar{e}ē$ appears to be based on the oblique $*\bar{e}ī$ to which the genitive ending is affixed.

The pronominal system of CAB is not particularly similar to the demonstrative system in other Iranian Balochi dialects. Instead, the CAB system goes more with Pakistani Coastal Balochi, more specifically with the system presented by Collett 1983, who has $\bar{e} / \bar{e}š$ - for the proximal demonstrative.

2.5 Conclusion

Omitting some minor variations and the prefix (*ha*)*m*-, the nominal forms of CAB can be summarised as in Table 13.

2.5.1 Nouns and personal pronouns

CAB seems to confirm assumptions on the development of the Balochi case system suggested previously. For instance, it substantiates the view advanced by various authors³⁸ of the Balochi case system as being two-layered, with two markers $-ā / -rā$. The first one is the $-ā$ in the OBL of nouns and the OBJ of the 1SG pronoun, and $-rā$ on the other pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons; it is shared by CAB (Tables 3, 7). The second one (presumably a later addition to the system) is the $-ā$ or $-rā$ shown by the object case of nouns (Table 1) and the additional $-rā$ in the object case of the SG pronouns (Table 4) in some dialects, but not in CAB.

This appears to underline the assumption that the object case started out in the personal pronouns, presumably for reasons of the higher position that the pronouns occupy on the animacy scale, favouring more specific marking of participants with high status, notably the discourse participants.

The system found in CAB is more archaic than the nominal system found in other Southern Balochi varieties. This is particularly noteworthy as the system in Table 1 is even shared

³⁷Nourzaei (n.d.) does not note DIR (*ham*) $\bar{e}šī$ for her Coastal Balochi data, but has the additional GEN $\bar{e}šē$ and $\bar{a}ē$.

³⁸Bashir (2008), pp. 50f.; Adamík (1977), pp. 114, 150, 154; Korn (2005), pp. 297–300, with differing views about the origin of the suffixes, and Nourzaei (n.d.), pp. 179f.

by the oldest Balochi manuscript (from around 1820)³⁹ and by other nineteenth century sources such as Mockler (1877). So far as the personal pronouns are concerned, CAB differs again from the other Southern Balochi varieties including the 1820 manuscript, but here, it is rather close to the system shown by other Balochi dialects of Iran (Table 5).

Overall, the comparatively archaic system of the inflection of nouns and personal pronouns corresponds to stages 3–4 which were suggested in Korn (2005), pp. 299f. as hypothetical steps to account for the development of the Balochi case system as a whole.

2.5.2 Demonstratives

The system of demonstrative pronouns, not discussed in Korn (2005), in CAB is noteworthy in not showing *-ā* either. Also, forms with the ending *-ā* occur besides those without (OBL $\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{\tau}(\bar{a}), \bar{a}(\bar{a})$), suggesting that the forms with $\bar{\tau}$ ($\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{\tau}, \bar{a}$) are the general oblique forms including the GEN function (see Section 2.4). Forms with $\bar{\tau}$ thus seem to predate the introduction of the marker *-ā* at least for the demonstratives, and the forms with *-ā* seem to be later formations, presumably modelled on the oblique of nouns.

Another interesting point is the distribution of the stems found for the demonstrative pronouns. The proximal deixis shows a paradigm composed of the stems \bar{e} and $\bar{e}\check{s}$. The former is employed in the direct case and in attributive position (preceding a noun), where nominals are not inflected. One might thus say that the pronoun \bar{e} is generally uninflected, while the inflected forms are provided by the stem $\bar{e}\check{s}$.⁴⁰

Perhaps it was an analogy motivated by the distal pronoun showing the stem \bar{a} throughout the paradigm that motivated the spread of the stem $\bar{e}\check{s}$ into the direct case, including even the original OBL form $\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{\tau}$, thereby changing a previously suppletive paradigm with an uninflected \bar{e} combined with $\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{\tau}$ (cf. \bar{a}) as its general OBL.

The co-occurrence of \bar{e} and $\bar{e}\check{s}$ in what originally seems to have been a suppletive paradigm is reminiscent of suppletive paradigms found in other Iranian languages: it is rather typical for pronominal paradigms to show two unrelated stems (originally one for the nominative and one for the remaining cases). Such suppletivism in the pronouns is inherited from Proto-Indo-European. The main demonstratives in Old Iranian are the stems *i/ay-* vs. *a-* for the proximal and *hau-/hāw-* vs. *awa-* for the distal deixis,⁴¹ plus (in Avestan) *ha/ta-* vs. *aita-* for a neutral one. Sogdian has a three-way system, too, adding to its proximal *i/ai-* and distal *hau-* vs. *awa-* the combination of the stems **aiša-* vs. **ta-*,⁴² and showing that the inherited stems may be recombined in the individual later languages.⁴³

From a phonological point of view, the most straightforward derivation of \bar{e} and $\bar{e}\check{s}$ would be from the stems *ai-* and *aiša-*, respectively.⁴⁴ Potentially likewise relevant is the fact that \bar{e} and $\bar{e}\check{s}$ also occur as personal clitics in some Balochi dialects (though only $=\bar{e}$ in CAB,

³⁹Edited by Elfenbein (1983).

⁴⁰Thus already Geiger (1901), p. 241.

⁴¹See Brandenstein and Mayrhofer (1964), pp. 67f.; Hoffmann and Forsman (1996), pp. 165–169 for details.

⁴²Sims-Williams (1994).

⁴³The choice in demonstrative stems has also been used as an isogloss for the subgrouping of Iranian since Tedesco (1921), pp. 215f., it does not feature in Windfuhr (2009) any more, though.

⁴⁴Thus Geiger (1901), p. 241, who rightly notes that \bar{e} does not have anything to do with Persian *īn*. Conversely, his suggestion (*ibid.*) that the stem \bar{a} would have the same origin as Persian *ān* and go back to *ana-* seems unlikely to me.

Table 8): here, = \bar{e} is the 3SG clitic and = $\bar{e}š$ the 3PL one.⁴⁵ One possible origin would be the Old Ir. independent pronoun GEN.SG *ahya*, GEN.PL *aišām*.⁴⁶ These forms account well for the forms of the Balochi clitics, and also agree with the fact that the personal pronouns are derived from the Old Iranian genitive (this is particularly obvious for the 1SG pronoun *man*, which can only derive from the Old Iranian GEN *mana*).⁴⁷ Obviously the pronominal clitics provide no motivation for the distribution of stems in the suppletive paradigm of the proximal demonstrative, but the presence of matching forms in the demonstrative and the clitic system might have reinforced each other.

3. Alignment

3.1 Ergativity

The changes in the case system shown by other Iranian Balochi dialects (cf. Section 2.2) have important consequences for alignment patterns. Besides the nominative/accusative vs. ergative split historically found in Balochi (cf. Section 2.1), patterning as shown in Table 14a–b, several Iranian Balochi dialects show a system of argument marking known as “neutral”, i.e. intransitive subject, transitive agent and object all marked identically in the PST domain (Table 14c).⁴⁸

Table 14. Case marking patterns in Balochi dialects (selection)

14a: nominative / accusative	14b: ergative	14c: neutral									
<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">A</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">S</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">P</td> </tr> </table>	A	S	P	<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">A</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">S</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">P</td> </tr> </table>	A	S	P	<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">A</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">S</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">P</td> </tr> </table>	A	S	P
A	S	P									
A	S	P									
A	S	P									

Agreeing with the absence of the reduction in the case system seen in Iranian Balochi (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.3), CAB does not follow the neutral pattern in the PST domain found in other Iranian Balochi dialects. Instead, it systematically exhibits split ergativity as does Pakistani Coastal Balochi. This includes the marking of the plurality of an object with the 3rd plural ending *-an(t)* / *-ā* as is the tradition for “canonical” ergativity in Balochi, cf. (48), (50), (51), (65).

However, there are also examples where one might wonder whether the 3PL marker could refer to the indirect object. Our examples include (16)–(20):

- 16) *kār=ē* *kot-ag-an*
 work=PC3PL do.PST-PRF-3PL
 “They (= the Hots) made them (= my sisters) work”. Konarak, SE 1.2:2.

⁴⁵ \bar{e} and $\bar{e}š$ are the only pronominal clitics found in the Southern Balochi varieties studied by Mockler (1877) and Collett (1983).

⁴⁶ Korn (2009b), p. 164, following Lecoq (1989), p. 257.

⁴⁷ Cf. fn. 30.

⁴⁸ Cf. Baranzehi (2003), p. 82; Jahani (2003), pp. 121–125; Korn (2008c); (2009a).

- 17) *ešīy-a ... ešīy-a ke wanag dāt-ag-an gept-a*
 DEM-OBL DEM-OBL CL food give.PST-PRF-3PL take.PT-PP
 “When he gave food to them (= the tradesmen), they took him”. Konarak, SE 1.1:32f.
- 18) *manjal=ē āp=ē dāt-ag-ā*
 “They (= the children) gave them (= the Hots) a pot of water,
 pot=SPC water=PC3PL give.PST-PRF-3PL
nagan-e čonđok=ē dāt-ag-ā
 bread-GEN slice=SPC give.PST-PRF-3PL
 [and then] they (= the Hots) gave them (= the children) a slice of bread”. Bahukalat, SB 2:16.

In some instances, the direct objects could be seen as plural, thus the verbal ending could refer to the work in (16) and the food in (17). However, (18) hardly permits such an interpretation, and (16) could also be seen as parallel to the complex predicates in examples (19)–(20). In (20), it appears that the reference must be to the relatives, who in this episode asked to be shown the grave of a woman whom the Hots had carried off (cf. example 10 above).

- 19) *mē gaz-ānī o mē rēk-ānī lāpā bār=ē dāt-ag-an*
 DEM tamarisk-GEN.PL and DEM sand-GEN.PL in load=PC3PL give.PST-PRF-3PL
 “They gave them a load (= they buried them) in the sand, [under] the tamarisk trees (since so man people died, they did not make individual graves)”. Konarak, SE 1.3:13.
- 20) *šot-a šōn=ē dāt-ag-ā*
 go.PST-PRF show=PC3PL give.PST-PRF-3PL
 “They went [and] he showed them (the direction to the grave)”. Konarak, SE 1.4:30.

Agreement of a verb in the PST (ergative) domain with an indirect object has not been noted for Balochi so far, but it has been observed for several other Iranian languages: This construction, which philologists have called ‘indirect affectee’ construction, is found occasionally in Middle Persian⁴⁹ (21) and Sogdian⁵⁰ as well as in some New Iranian languages, cf. (22)–(23), which incidentally also use ‘give’ and ‘show’.

For Bactrian, agreement of the verb with the indirect object is regular for sentences such as (24), where the direct object is inanimate and the indirect object a 1st or 2nd person, i.e. “to give / send / ... something (an object) to someone”.

- 21) Middle Persian, Tafazzoli (1986), p. 485.
ēg=im rāh ī rāst nimūd hēnd
 then=PC1SG way EZ right show.PST COP.PRS3PL
 “then I showed them the right way”.
- 22) Bidheni, Kashan, Tafazzoli (1986), p. 486.
bi=m vāt-i
 to=PC1SG say.PST-2SG
 “I said to you”.

⁴⁹MacKenzie (1964); Tafazzoli (1986), pp. 483–486.

⁵⁰Yoshida (2009), pp. 284–285; Sims-Williams (2011), p. 34.

- 23) Zoroastrian Yazdi, Tafazzoli (1986), p. 487.

šmoš=oš om=dud-*i*
 shoe=PC3SG PC1SG=give.PST-2SG
 “I gave his shoes to you”.

- 24) Bactrian, Sims-Williams (2011), p. 34, example (41).⁵¹

οδο μαχο λαδδηδο ειο χοησυαοο
 ud māx lād-ēd ei xuēciyāu
 and we give.PST-2PL this undertaking
 “and we gave you this undertaking” (S 12).

This pattern is quite parallel to the Balochi examples in (16)–(20). As noted by Sims-Williams (2011), the Bactrian construction is an instance of differential object marking: the indirect object is marked on the verb if it is a person while such marking does not occur if the entity that something is given to is inanimate.

Indeed, in all examples of the “indirect affectee construction” that we have seen, the indirect affectee is animate, and in most cases either human or at least quasi-human as in the mythological figures in some Middle Persian examples. So the construction would be an example of differential object marking not only in Bactrian, but also in the other Iranian languages including Balochi, marking as it does the animate indirect object while the direct object (typically inanimate in constructions with verbs such as ‘give’) is marked neither by case nor on the verb.

4. Mood, tense and aspect

While the overall system of TAM forms in CAB agrees with patterns known from other Balochi dialects, our data show some forms not noted from other dialects so far.

4.1 Progressives and ingressesives

Progressives are widely used in Balochi, but the forms actually found vary considerably between the dialects, and even within our data. Ingressives are not particularly frequent.

Verbal nouns used in these patterns include the present participle (PRS-*ān*), the agent noun (PRS-*ōk*), the infinitive, which in CAB is formed by suffixing *-ag* to the present stem (as in other Southern Balochi dialects, but different from Bal. dialects that have an infinitive PST-*in*) and the gerundive, which is derived from the infinitive by the suffix *-7*.⁵²

4.1.1 The infinitive

Many Balochi dialects show the infinitive in the OBL combined with the copula in a pattern that can be interpreted as a locational construction “be in [the position / situation of] doing something”, thus not unlike the English “continuous form”⁵³ *I am going*, at the same time agreeing with the typologically common pattern of locational constructions yielding progressives.⁵⁴

⁵¹Bold and italics from the original, Greek script added.

⁵²For more details on the use of infinite forms and verbal nouns in Balochi in general, see Korn (2017b).

⁵³Thus the term used by Farrell (1990).

⁵⁴For locative expressions as progressives, see Heine and Kuteva (2002), pp. 97–99, 178f., 202f., and Vafaeian (2018), who discusses Iranian languages of the Caspian and Caucasian region.

While this system has been grammaticalised in Balochi dialects of Pakistan, and is used in several tenses, only a few instances occur in our CAB data. They are all in the present, and may even be limited to a certain number of common verbs. In (25), the implication clearly is ‘to be in the process of doing X just now, coming from a person witnessing the scene.

- 25) *zōr-ēn* *peywast=ē* *kan-ag-ā* *yant=ī*
 force-ATTR union=SPC do.PRS-INF-OBL COP.PRS3PL=PC3SG
 ‘they are (just now) making a forced union for her
 (they are marrying the girl without her consent)’. Shirgwaz, YN 1:148.

In addition to this pattern, the bare infinitive is also found (28)–(29). This pattern has not been reported for Southern Balochi dialects yet, but has been noted in Eastern Balochi.⁵⁵ In (27), the contrast between ‘now as the sun is rising’ (progressive) and ‘[and] yet Hawrok is not at work’ (simple present) is interesting.

- 26) *gwašt-ag=ī* *na* *āy-ag* *ne*
 say.PST-PRF=PC3SG NEG come.PRS-INF NEG.COP.PRS3SG
 ‘He said: ‘No, nobody is coming’.’ Konarak, SE 1.1:50.
- 27) *marā* *rōč* *dar* *āh-eg* *ē*
 today sun out come.PRS-INF COP.PRS3SG
 ‘Today the sun is rising [already],
hawrok-ī jānter *tauwār* *na* *kā*
 PN-GEN handmill sound NEG do.PRS3SG
 [but] Hawrok’s handmill does not make a sound’. Bahukalat, RB 2:61.
- 28) *ē* *nōjwān* *lāye* *jan-ag* *ā*
 DEM young possible hit.PRS-INF COP.PRS1SG
 ‘This young man, is it possible [that] I hit [him]?’ Shirgwaz, YN 1:88.

Our data also show infinitives in habitual function (29), indicating a further step of grammaticalisation of this construction.

- 29) *čē* *kambol-ān* *a* *kan-ag* *ant=ī*
 under blanket-OBL.PL V.EL do.PRS-INF COP=PC3SG
 ‘they used to put (lit: they are putting) it under a cloth’. Karewan, GH 1:10.

The ingressive construction with *lagg-* ‘start’ and the infinitive in the oblique case ‘begin to do something’ found in dialects as different and far from each other as Karachi and Turkmenistan Balochi is also attested in our data.

4.1.2 The present participle

The present participle, occurring quite infrequently in CAB, is found in (30), which is noteworthy because, unlike the patterns discussed until here, it is not a combination with the copula, but with the verb ‘do’. This construction has to our knowledge not been noted for Balochi yet.

⁵⁵Bashir (2008), p. 73.

- 30) *hamē bayt-a gwaš-ān kot*
 DEM verse-OBL say.PRS-PRP do.PST
 “They said the verse
o dēm pa zīyārat-a raw-ān
 and forward to shrine-OBL go.PRS-PRP
 and [went off] in the direction to the shrine”. Shirgwaz, YN 1:255.

4.1.3 The agent noun

In descriptions of other dialects, the agent noun in *-ōk* (formed from the PRS stem), even called “present participle” by some authors, is noted as being combined with the copula to express habitual action / event, but also for one going on right now.⁵⁶

In our data, instances that come close to a progressive include (31) while other examples seem closer to agent nouns such as the two instances in (13'). (31) is also noteworthy in combining the agent noun with the verb ‘do’ instead of ‘be, become’.

- 31) *nē lōtet by-ān*
 now want.PST SBJV-come.PRS3PL
 “Now they wanted to come [and]
gend-ōk=ī kan-an māt o pet-met=e
 see.PRS-AGN=PC3PL do.PRS-3PL mother and father-etc.=PC3SG
 see them; her mother, father, etc”. Shirgwaz, YN 1:251f.
- 13') *aga manī band-ōk be-bī mollā rōbā*
 if I.GEN bind.PRS-AGN SBJV-become.PRS3SG Molla fox
 “If the one who binds me is Molla Fox
o manī bōj-ōk be-bī mošk
 and I.GEN release.PRS-AGN SBJV-become.PRS3SG mouse
 and the one who releases me is Mouse,
man-ā ta-rā ē molk o hokūmat=ī na-zīb-ī
 I-OBJ you.SG-OBJ DEM country and government=PC3SG NEG-fit.PRS-3SG
 then this country and its government is not fitting for you and me”. Konarak, GO 1:101ff.

It seems that the use of the agent noun is less regularised in CAB than in some other Balochi dialects.

4.1.4 The gerundive

The gerundive conveys necessity: when referring to a person, it usually means “someone who should do something”, and with an object “something that needs to be done”. Like the agent noun, the gerundive is rare in our data.⁵⁷

⁵⁶See Heine and Kuteva (2002), pp. 93f. for the connection of continuous and habitual.

⁵⁷See Jahani (2017), p. 266 for discussion of the gerundive, and Vydrin (2017), pp. 149f. for parallels from other Iranian languages.

To a certain extent, the uses of the gerundive border those of the agent noun in that both describe a feature of the agent rather than of the action / event. The proximity of the two formations is illustrated by (32).

- 32) *ē* *kār = o* *manīg* *en*
 DEM work=FOC mine COP.PRS3SG
 “This is my job.
band-agī *manīg* *en* *manī*
 bind.PRS-GRV mine COP.PRS3SG mine
 I am to bind [him].
dast-ān=ī *band-an*
 hand-OBL.PL=PC3SG bind.PRS-1SG
 I will bind his feet (lit. hands).
pakat *šmā* *āī* *koš-ōk* *bey*
 only you.PL DEM.GEN kill.PRS-AGN become.PRS2PL
 But you will kill him”. Konarak, GO 1:17ff.

4.1.5 Action noun with copula

Another progressive construction, not noted for any Balochi dialect so far, involves an action noun in the oblique case with the copula. It seems that action nouns used in this way are such as also enter complex predicates, e.g. *kār* (34), which is otherwise used in *kār kan-* ‘work (lit. work do)’, or *gap* (33) as in *gap kan-* ‘talk (lit. talk do)’, etc., while the nominal element of complex predicates is in the direct case.

- 33) *mā* *hanī* *gap-ā* *ā* *na* *gōš* *dār* *manī* *gap-ā*
 I now word-OBL COP.PRS1SG NEG ear hold.IMP2SG I.GEN word-OBL-PL
 “I am speaking now, right? Listen to my words!” Bahukalat, SB 2:1.
- 34) *hamā* *kār-ān* *a* *kār-ān* *a*
 DEM work-OBL.PL COP.PST3SG work-OBL.PL COP.PST3SG
 “He worked, worked
kār-ān *a* *kār-ān* *a* *kār-ān*
 work-OBL.PL COP.PST3SG work-OBL.PL COP.PST3SG work-OBL.PL
 worked, worked, worked,
dā *yak* *rōč=ē* *bī*
 until one day=SPC become.PST.3SG
 until one day...”. Shirgwaz, YN 1:8f.

Maybe this pattern is based on the progressive pattern employing the infinitive discussed in 4.1.1.

4.2 Mood

4.2.1 The clitic *a*

There is also an interesting modal formation in our CAB data. It concerns the use of a clitic *a*. One might expect that this element is identical to the so-called “verbal element” *a* known

from other dialects. In some Balochi dialects (chiefly Western Bal. from Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan, but also elsewhere), this element is very common and is employed like the Persian prefix *mī-* (35), so that it has been described as marker of imperfective aspect.⁵⁸

35) Sarawani Balochi; Iran, Baranzehi (2003), p. 89.

čand sāl o šomā eda kār a kan-ēt
 how_many year COP.PRS3SG you.PL here work V.EL do.PRS-2PL
 “How many years have you been working here?”

In CAB, *a* is enclitic to the preceding word (as in a number of Western Balochi dialects, not proclitic to the following one as in some other dialects). In a number of instances, it is used in contexts describing habitual action, cf. (29), (64), (69). However, it is rather rare in our data and, unlike in Sarawani or Turkmenistan Balochi, it is clearly not a grammaticalised marker of imperfective aspect.

Moreover, it seems to have modal function in several examples, as in (36) and (38) and the second parts of (39) and (15),⁵⁹ where it occurs in contexts that in Persian would show the subjunctive.

36) *man raw-ā āb dast a kan-ā*
 I go.PRS-1SG water hand V.EL do PRS-1SG

“I am going to the toilet”. lit. ‘I will go; I do the ablution, i.e. I am going to wash’.
 Konarak, SE I.1:38, 40.

37) *janēn ham be-zā tarr-ī šekār a kā na*
 woman also SBJV-know.IMP2SG turn.PRS-3SG hunt V.EL do.PRS3SG NEG

“The woman also goes hunting, you know, right?” Shirgwaz, YN 1:28.

38) *p-ā bahā a kan-ē*
 to-which price V.EL do.PRS-1PL

“Why would we sell him?” Konarak, SE I.1:10.

39) *ta mnā čest a kan-ey*
 you.SG I.OBJ upright V.EL do.PRS-2SG

“You take me off.

deh-ey ke mana bahā a kan-an
 give.PRS-2SG CL I.OBJ price V.EL do.PRS-3PL

You give me [away] so that they sell me”. Konarak, SE I.1:81f.

It is not quite clear whether one should assume that the morpheme *a* as found in CAB is the same element as the imperfective aspect marker found in other Balochi dialects. If it is the same element, a potential semantic bridge might be found in the fact that habitual or durative and modal forms overlap in many languages, as e.g. shown by Vydrin 2011 (with examples from various Iranian languages).⁶⁰ Somewhat similarly, a sentence like

⁵⁸Buddruss (1988), pp. 62–65; Axenov (2006), pp. 166ff.; Jahani and Korn (2009), pp. 661f., 673. Thus also Nourzaei and Jahani (2012), who discuss the status of the verbal element as enclitic to the preceding word vs. proclitic to the verb in various Balochi dialects. In some dialects, there are restrictions as to the possibility of it occurring clause-initially or after vowels.

⁵⁹Cf. also (50b).

⁶⁰Cf. also Lazard (1975).

English *Every night, I would read this book.* allows a modal and a habitual reading as well. The verbal element *a* is found in habitual uses also in other Balochi dialects (40)-(41):

- 40) Balochi from Habd; Iran, Nourzaei and Jahani (2012), p. 181.

šanek-āna jēdā a kan-ēn
 goat-OBJ.PL separate V.EL do.PRS-IPL
 “We separate the goats.
rah-ēn āf a dah-en=e
 go.PRS-IPL water V.EL do.PRS-IPL=PC3SG
 [We go and give them water].”

- 41) Balochi from Jashk; Iran, Nourzaei and Jahani (2012), p. 180.

aga čūpān a bo
 if shepherd V.EL win.PST
 “If the shepherd won
ā fadī xanjar-ā ba āhī a dā
 DEM OWN dagger-OBL to DEM.OBL V.EL give.PST3SG
 then he (Malek Mahmad) would give his dagger to him”.

One might also compare the past subjunctive, which has both iterative and irrealis uses (42)-(43):⁶¹

- 42) Sarawani Balochi; Iran, Baranzehi (2003), p. 99.

na ke ōda be-rapt-ēn-ā
 NEG SUB there SBJV-go.PST-SBJV-1SG
 “I wish I had gone there”.

- 43) Western Balochi of Afghanistan, Buddruss (1988), p. 22.

puč wa nān wa masrap=e
 clothes and bread and consumption=SPC
 “she gave me clothes and food and [other] consumables
ki man bi-dāšt-ēn-un mnā dāt
 CL I SBJV-have.PST-SBJV-1SG I.OBJ give.PST3SG
 that I needed”.

4.2.2 Permissive

Our data show several examples of a construction with *bel-*, i.e. the imperative of *(h)el(l)-* ‘let, leave’ in meanings that seem to border a permissive.⁶² In (44)-(45), the literal meaning is more present, but in (46)-(47), no active ‘letting’ is involved. Other instances suggest a reading of *bel* as permissive, or when combined with a negated verb, prohibitive (48).

- 44) *got=i mnī nām-ā b-el*
 say.PST=PC3SG I.GEN name-OBL SBJV-leave.IMP2SG
 “He said: ‘Leave my name alone.’”. Shirgwaz, YN 1:96.

⁶¹Jahani and Korn (2009), pp. 674f.

⁶²Note that the same verb is used, in combination with the oblique case of the infinitive, as a “terminative” (‘to stop doing something’) in Turkmenistan Balochi and Western Balochi of Pakistan, see Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 676; Barker and Mengal (1969/1), pp. 195-197, respectively.

4.3 Multiple verb constructions

Quite frequently, combinations of several verbs are met with that appear to refer to a single event. While the phenomenon has been noted occasionally,⁶⁵ the position of these patterns within the grammatical system of the language, and the distribution in the various Balochi dialects, is a hitherto unstudied topic.

For the vector verb and the converb patterns mentioned in this section,⁶⁶ influence from Indo-Aryan has been suggested. Such influence may surely play a role in strengthening the position of the patterns in Balochi dialects of Pakistan, but their presence in Balochi of Iran, and in Iranian languages outside the Indo-Aryan sphere, suggests that such an influence is not a necessary condition.

4.3.1 Vector verb constructions

In (50), the sequence of *šoda zedag* referring to fetching goat milk is reminiscent of French *aller chercher* (lit. ‘go look.for’, but lexicalised in the meaning ‘fetch’). Even more similar is German *holen gehen* (‘go fetch’) vs. simple *holen* ‘fetch’, which refer to the same action, but the addition of *gehen* contributes a nuance of ‘setting out now’.

- 50) ... *wa mā pas-ānī šīr=ē šod-a zedag-an*
 and we goat-GEN.PL milk=SPC go.PST-PRF seize.PST-PRF-3PL
 “... and we went and took goat’s milk”. Karewan, GH 2:39.

Such patterns are very common, and occur with and without *o* ‘and’ in our data (51).

- 51) *ārt-ag-ant=ē o zort-ag-ant=ē*
 bring.PST-PRF=PC3PL and seize.PST-PRF=PC3PL
 “They took it (lit. brought and seized them [the grain]),
o rōč-a kod-ag-ant
 and sun-OBL do.PST-PRF-3PL
 and they put it in the sun [to dry]”. Karewan, GH 2:22.

For other Balochi dialects, such patterns have been noted for combinations of two verbs joined by *o* ‘and’ such as (52); in Eastern Balochi, they employ a form called “conjunctive participle” (descriptively the PST stem with suffix *-o* or *-au*),⁶⁷ as in (53), where there is clearly no act of ‘going’ or ‘giving’ involved, thus the reference is to a single event.

- 52) Western Baloch of Pakistan, Bashir (2008), p. 75.

āī mahrk mā-ra gam-ān gētk o išt
 DEM.GEN death we-OBJ grief-OBL.PL bring.PST and leave.PST
 “His death has brought us grief”. lit. ‘His death brought us grief and left’.⁶⁸

⁶⁵See Bashir (2008), pp. 65–75, for Eastern and Western Balochi, and Nourzaei (2017), pp. 147–152, for a related discussion (not entirely employing the same terms).

⁶⁶Studied by Bashir (2008) for Eastern Balochi and Farrell (2003) for Karachi Balochi, respectively.

⁶⁷Bashir (2008), pp. 65–75.

⁶⁸It is possible that this dialect might have lost ergativity, so *mahrk* ‘death’ being in the direct case does not imply anything in terms of agreement with one or the other verb.

53) Eastern Balochi, Bashir (2008), p. 74.

a. *bāz=ē mard murθ-o ŷuθ-a*
 many=SPC man die.PST-CP go.PST-PRF

“Many men died”, Gilbertson (1923), p. 134.

b. *bākī-ya āwār māl išt-o dāθ-a*
 rest-OBL looted goods leave.PST-CP give.PST-PRF

“The rest of them abandoned their booty...”, Gilbertson (1923), p. 261.

It seems that such combinations contain a lexical verb in combination with a verb of movement (‘go’, ‘come’) or physical transfer (‘bring’, ‘seize’). Following Bashir (2008), pp. 65–75, we use the term “vector verbs” for such verbs. As noted by Bashir (2008), p. 74, “the second (vector) verb contributes aktionsart or aspectual meanings”.⁶⁹ In Eastern Balochi the inventory of vector verbs (including ‘throw’ and ‘rise’) is exactly parallel to that found in Indo-Aryan.⁷⁰

Interestingly, the case marking of the subject in (53b) and (54) is the one required by the vector verb and not the one for the main verb. This corresponds to periphrastic constructions such as the continuous form and the potential construction, where the transitivity feature of the auxiliary (‘be’ and ‘do’, respectively) cause the construction to pattern nominatively or ergatively, independent of the transitivity of the main verb.⁷¹

Verbs of movement used as vector verbs appear to contribute nuances referring to the phase of an action, such as ‘go’ (53) and ‘come (out)’ (54) implying the beginning of an action. Verbs of physical transferral could perhaps be seen to imply directionality, thus ‘bring’ in (51) and ‘seize’ in (55).

54) *golāmkader dar ā goš-ī*
 PN out come.PST3SG say.PRS-3SG

“Gholamkader set out to speak (lit. appeared [and] says):

hā taw sār ey ganok ey
 yes you.SG wise COP.PRS2SG crazy COP.PRS2SG

‘Hey, are you in sense [or] are you crazy?’” Bahukalat, SB 2:62.

55) *goš-ī mā harjāgāh be-gend-ā kahīr-ā*
 say.PRS-3SG I everywhere SBJV-see.PRS-1SG PN-OBL

“He said, ‘Wherever I see Kahir,

kahīr-ā koš-ā hawrokān-ā zīr-ō kāy-ō
 PN-OBL kill.PRS-1SG PN-OBL seize.PRS-1SG come.PRS-1SG

I will kill Kahir and bring back (lit. take and bring) Hawrok.”. Bahukalat, SB 2:53.

These patterns may be particularly common with PST or PRF forms but, as already seen in (55), they are not excluded from the PRS system either. Vector verbs also occur in imperative contexts. In (56), ‘let’s sell him’ would seem the most adequate interpretation, and the

⁶⁹Essentially the Eastern Balochi pattern was already seen by Dames (1881), p. 31; (1922), p. 26, who notes: “One verb frequently qualifies another, the two verbs being used in the same person and tense throughout”, citing e.g. *ilay dēay* ‘to let go’ for the phenomenon of interest here, but grouping other patterns under the same heading.

⁷⁰Bashir (2008), p. 75.

⁷¹Korn (2009a), pp. 65–67; (2013), p. 36. Conversely, in compound tenses derived from the perfect participle (PST-*a(g)*) it is the main verb, not the auxiliary (the copula) that determines the alignment.

straightforward reading of (15) would be ‘Now let’s kill the lion and govern ourselves’ (there is no going or coming involved in either context). In (57), an interpretation ‘I’ll have a look’ would seem quite viable. To some extent, this is reminiscent of French *Allez*, which is generalised for commands, e.g. *Allez, viens!* ‘Come here! (lit. go.2PL, come.2SG)’ (used e.g. when addressing a child or a dog), or to English *Come on*, ...

- 56) *gwašt-ag=ī* *be-r-ē* *bahā=ī* *kan-ē*
 say.PST-PRF=PC3PL SBJV-go.PRS-IPL price=PC3SG do.SBJV-IPL
 “They said: ‘Let’s go and sell him.’”. Konarak, SE 1.1:13.

57) Eastern Balochi, Gilbertson (1923), p. 87.

- ma rav-ā* *gind-ā*
 I go.PRS-1SG see.PRS-1SG
 “I shall go [and] see”.

4.3.2 Converb constructions

A related pattern is the combination of two verbs for what likewise appears to be a single action, but without the type of semantic bleaching seen in the case of “vector verbs”. Instead, the meaning contributed by one of the verbs approaches that of an adverb of manner, as *hakalet* ‘moved’ in (58), the lifting of the eyes in (59) (brides are supposed to keep their eyes downcast) and the jumping and running of the schoolchildren in (60).

- 58) *maṛd-ā* *hakalet* *šo* *pada* *ofī* *padešāh-e* *gwaṛā*
 man-OBL set out.PST go.PST3SG back own king-GEN beside
 “The man went quickly back to his king”. Shirgwaz, YN 1:119.

- 59) *bānūr-a* *čam* *čes* *ko* *o* *čāret=ī*
 bride-OBL eye lifting do.PST and look.PST=PC3SG
 “The bride lifted her eyes and looked [and said to herself]
ē *maanā-ēn* *saṛīg* *manīg* *ē*
 DEM silk-ATTR headscarf mine COP.PRS3SG
 ‘This silken headscarf is mine.’”. Shirgwaz, YN 1:164f.

- 60) *jest-en* *tatk-en* *dar* *ātk-en* *če* *dabestān-ā*
 jump.PST-IPL run.PST-IPL out come.PST-IPL from school-OBL
 “we ran away from school / left school running”. Bahukalat, RB 1:8.

This phenomenon has likewise been noted by Bashir (2008), p. 68, for the Eastern Balochi “conjunctive participle” mentioned in Section 4.3.1, which “can function as an adverbial in a monoclausal sentence”, as in (61). This pattern is possible in Eastern Balochi even with different grammatical subjects (62), which is a noteworthy difference from the otherwise quite parallel Indo-Aryan “conjunctive participle”.⁷²

The verb contributing the semantics of manner has the form of the PST or the PRF stem, identical with the 3SG. As noted by Farrell (2003), pp. 200–204, for Karachi Balochi, the non-final verb of a series could be interpreted along the lines of an Indo-Aryan “conjunctive participle” (or a Turkic converb, for that matter), particularly if they show signs of being

⁷²Bashir (2008), pp. 70f.

- 65) *o ē-kad-ēn mālī ārt-a o grāst-ag-an*
 and this-much-ATTR fish bring.PST-PRF and cook.PST-PRF-3PL
 “... and [our mother] brought so many fish and cooked them,
grāst-ag-an mālī o ē-kad-ēn ārt-a o
 cook.PST-PRF-3PL fish and this-much-ATTR bring.PST-PRF and
 she cooked the fish, she brought so many,
grāst-ag-an o šāb grāst-a
 cook.PST-PRF-3PL and this night cook.PST-PRF
 and she cooked them, and this night she cooked”. Karewan, AJ 1:7ff.

A slightly different case is present in instances where a speaker resumes a preceding sentence after having been interrupted, as in (66); this is not a real instance of a repeated verb.⁷⁴

- 66) (Goli:) *o haur rētk-a*
 and rain pour.PST-PRF
 “And [if] the rain came”,
 (Ayesha:) *bo-ro čok-ān bo-goš hēč ma-goš-an*
 SBJV-go.IMP2SG child-OBL.PL SBJV-say.IMP2SG nothing PROH-say.PRS-3PL
 “Go and tell the children not to say anything (= to be quiet!)”
 (Goli:) *alhamdolellāh haur rētk-a*
 thanks_to_God rain pour.PST-PRF
 “[If], thank God, the rain came,
o hamē gandīm rēj bīd-ag-ant
 and DEM wheat ear become.PST-PRF-3PL
 and (then) the seeds became shoots...” Karewan, GH 2:8f.

4.3.4 Additional copula

Quite commonly the 3rd singular copula is suffixed to a finite verb form of the 3rd person present. This is most frequent with *hast* (exist.PRS3SG) and its negated form *nēst* (thus *hast=ē*, *nēst=ē* and, for the PST, *hast-at* exist-COP.PST3SG), and particularly so (but not entirely systematically) at the opening of a tale for ‘There was a...’ (67), but also occurs on other verbs (and not only on forms of the 3SG) and inside a tale (68) or a procedural text (69). The frequency of this phenomenon is subject to dialectal differences within our data.

- 67) *hast a deya ya rōč=e rōzegār=e*
 exist.PRS3SG COP.PST3SG then one day=SPC day=SPC
 “There was, once upon a time,
hast a ya bādesāh=ē a
 exist.PRS3SG COP.PST3SG one king=SPC COP.PST3SG
 there was a king”. Bahukalat, SB 1:1f.

⁷⁴Incidentally, this example shows the importance of noting the intervention of persons external to the narration (often “edited out” in published texts).

- 68) \bar{e} \bar{a} *kan-ant* \bar{e} *raw-ānt* \bar{e} *ēdga*
 DEM what do.PRS-3PL COP.PRS3SG go.PRS-3PL COP.PRS3SG here
 “What do they do? They go there [and]...” Bahukalat, RB 2:59.
- 69) *o* *gōtok=ē* *gōtok=ē* *ōfi* *hamsāheg-ān* *a* *day-ē*
 and little=SPC little=SPC own neighbour-OBL.PL V.EL give.PRS-1PL
 “... and we give a little to our neighbours,
mē *hamsāheg-ā* *šīr* *nēst* \bar{e}
 WE.GEN neighbour-OBL.PL milk NEG.exist.PRS3SG COP.PRS3SG
 [because] our neighbours don’t have [any] milk”. Karewan, GH 1:111f.

The phenomenon has been discussed by Farrell (2003), pp. 190–193, who notes its existence “in Coastal dialects along the Makran” also into Iran. He does not make a decision about the identity of the element “ \bar{e} ” and treats it as a different phenomenon than *ast ē*, which shows inflexion insofar as it has a plural *ast-ā*, while the element “ \bar{e} ” is uninflected and suffixed to SG and PL forms.

Following Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 685, we assume that the element is indeed the 3rd singular copula. One might explain the fact that it inflects only when affixed to (*h*)*ast* and *nēst* by suggesting that the 3SG copula is on its way of becoming a fossilised grammaticalised element.

Farrell (*ibid.*) mentions the interpretation by Sayad Hashmi, who said the form is a “distant future”, but concludes that this does not hold for his data (nor does it for ours, see the examples above). Its being comparatively frequent at the beginning of tales might suggest that it introduces new material, but this does not seem to fit all instances. Nevertheless, the additional copula might perhaps be a discourse related phenomenon.

5. Summary

5.1 In this article, we describe some elements of the grammar of Coastal Afro-Balochi (CAB) of Iran, i.e. the dialects spoken by the Baloch of African origin living in the Coastal area of Iranian Balochistan. In doing so, we are in no way claiming the existence of a difference between the varieties spoken by the Baloch of African and other origins.⁷⁵ In this sense, there is no “Afro-Balochi” as opposed to the varieties spoken by other members of Baloch society in the same region. Nevertheless, we argue that, as the speech of a marginalised faction of the community, and potentially with a lower degree of social and geographic mobility, the speech of the Afro-Baloch might have been less exposed to influences from other dialects and languages and might have preserved archaic characteristics, as it is often the case with geographically or socially isolated communities.

5.2 It has generally been assumed that the Balochi spoken on the coast of Iranian Balochistan corresponds to that spoken in Pakistani Balochistan. This is surely largely correct. However, there are some notable differences, and our data show a number of phenomena that are synchronically and diachronically noteworthy.

⁷⁵The word *taggal* found in our data in the expression *taggal-o-varz* was previously unknown to us, cf. Korn and Nourzaei (2018), p. 689; in the meantime we learnt that it is not specific to Afro-Balochi and that it means ‘moving about, errand’.

These include the CAB case system for nouns and demonstrative pronouns, which is composed of only three cases (direct, oblique, genitive) and does not have the object case attested all throughout Pakistani Balochi (Southern, Western and Eastern dialects). Here, Coastal Afro-Balochi brings new precision to previously suggested lines of development and highlights some steps in the chronology of the case system.

The occasional addition of the oblique marker to a genitive ending, not noted for Southern Balochi so far, is reminiscent of the locative case in some Western Balochi dialects. Our data shows only a few instances, all of which refer to humans. This recalls the situation in Afghanistan Balochi (while Turkmenistan Balochi has extended the use to all categories of nouns), but seems to be even more limited than the latter.

The 1st and 2nd singular personal pronouns, on the other hand, do have an object case, but still reveal a stage which preceded the system of Pakistani Coastal Balochi in not having generalised the distinction of direct vs. oblique case.

Correspondingly, CAB does not show the animacy split noted for other dialects of Southern Balochi, which have nominative alignment also in the past (ergative) domain for pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons. Ergativity is thus more “canonical” in CAB than in Southern Balochi dialects across the border (and than in other Balochi dialects of Iran).

Noted for other Ir. languages, but not for Balochi so far, is the so-called “indirect affectee construction” in the PST domain, i.e. the marking of the indirect object (rather than the direct object) on the verb. In accordance with what is seen in other Ir. languages, the available instances feature verbs such as ‘give’, for which the indirect object is regularly animate while the direct object is inanimate, so that it is the object higher in animacy that is indexed on the verb.

5.3 Phenomena in the verb system not noted yet for Balochi (or at least not for Southern Balochi) include the use of the clitic *a* (“verbal element”) to indicate mood, and durative constructions using the bare infinitive or a verbal noun.

In addition, certain auxiliaries and light verbs occur in our data in patterns not previously noted. The verb ‘do’, which is otherwise employed in complex predicates and in the potential, is found combined with the present participle and with the agent noun to express progressive semantics. A phenomenon hardly described for Balochi (and for Iranian in general) is the combination of several verbs describing a single event (as frequently found in, and noted for, Indo-Aryan languages). The “vector verbs” employed include verbs of motion (which are otherwise employed for forming passives and complex predicates); these appear to contribute nuances referring to the phase of an action. Likewise used are verbs of physical transfer (‘bring’, ‘seize’), which seem to add notions of directionality.

It seems that ‘go’ is also used in a hortative pattern (translatable as ‘Let’s...’), and *(h)el(l)*-‘release, let’ is an auxiliary for a permissive construction. Here as well, the combination with a finite verb form in the subjunctive amounts to two verbs describing a single event or action.

The latter also applies in the rather common instances of repetition of a verb form indicating repetition or duration of an action.

Potentially discourse-related phenomena, which would require further investigation, include a clitic = *o*, to some extent parallel to markers of specificity etc. in other Ir. languages, and a copula added to finite verb forms.

5.4 In conclusion, the study of Coastal Afro-Balochi adds a number of morphosyntactic patterns to those already described for Balochi. It remains to be studied whether these features are also present in any coastal dialect of Pakistan. At the present state of knowledge, CAB appears to be more archaic than both Coastal Balochi of Pakistan and the Balochi dialects of Iran spoken further away from the coast.

Afro-Balochi varieties are no more uniform than those spoken by other sectors of Baloch society. In line with the dialect landscape of Balochi dialects in general, dialectal differences are seen on all levels of grammar; in our case particularly in the pronominal system and in modal and aktionsart patterns. Since important parts of the landscape of Balochi dialects in Iran yet remain to be described, the present study also hopes to contribute to our knowledge in this field.

Abbreviations and glosses:⁷⁶

AGN	agent noun
ATTR	attribute marker
CAB	Coastal Afro-Balochi
CP	conjunctive participle (see 4.3)
DIR	direct case
dO	direct Object
EZ	ezāfe
idO	indirect object
OBJ	object case
OBL	oblique case
PC	pronominal clitic
PN	name
PRS	present stem; PRS (nominative) domain (see 2.1, 3.1)
PST	past stem; PST (ergative) domain (see 2.1, 3.1)
SPC	specificity marker (see 2.2)
SUB	subordinator
V.EL	verbal element (see 4.3)

References

- Adamík, Jozef, 'The Origins and Dialect Differentiation of Balōčī: Chronological Reconstruction of Developments in the Nominal Morphology' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1977).
- Ahangar, Abbas Ali, 'A description of the verbal system in Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin', *Orientalia Suecana* 56 (2007), pp. 5–24.
- Anonby, Erik, 'Stress-induced Vowel Lengthening and Harmonization in Kumzari', *Orientalia Suecana* 61 (2013), pp. 54–58.
- Axenov, Serge, *The Balochi Language of Turkmenistan* (Uppsala, 2006).

⁷⁶Grammatical glosses found in the "Leipzig glossing rules" (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>) are not listed here.

- Baranzehi, Adam Nader, 'The Sarawani dialect of Balochi and Persian influence on it', in Jahani / Korn, 2003, pp. 75–111.
- Barker, Muhammad A. and Aqil Khan Mengal, *A Course in Baluchi* (Montreal, 1969).
- Bashir, Elena, 'Some Transitional Features of Eastern Balochi: An Areal and Diachronic Perspective', in Jahani / Korn / Titus, 2008, pp. 45–82.
- Brandenstein, Wilhelm and Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1964).
- Buddruss, Georg, *Aus dem Leben eines jungen Balutschen, von ihm selbst erzählt* (Stuttgart, 1988).
- Burton, Richard, *Sindh, and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus; with notices of the topography and history of the province* (London, 1851).
- Collett, Nigel A., *A Grammar, Phrase Book and Vocabulary of Baluchi* (Abingdon, 1983)
- Dames, Mansel Longworth, *A Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language, containing a grammar, vocabulary and specimens of the language* (Extra number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* I/1880). (Calcutta, 1881).
- Dames, Mansel Longworth, *A text book of the Balochi language, consisting of miscellaneous stories, legends, poems, and Balochi-English vocabulary* (Lahore, 1922).
- Dolatkhah, Sohrab, Éva Csátó and Birsel Karakoç, 'On the marker *-(y)aki* in Kashkay', in *Turks and Iranians. Interactions in Language and History. The Gunnar Jarring Memorial Program at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study*, (eds.) Éva Csátó, Lars Johanson, András Róna-Tas, Bo Utas (Wiesbaden, 2016), pp. 284–295.
- Elfenbein, Josef, *A Baluchi Miscellany of Erotica and Poetry. Codex Oriental Additional 24048 of the British Library* (Naples, 1983).
- , 'Baluchistan III: Baluchi language and literature', in *Encyclopædia Iranica* III (New York, 1989), pp. 633–644.
- Farhat Sultana, 'Gwat and Gwat-i leb: Spirit Healing and Social Change in Makran', in *Marginality and Modernity: Ethnicity and Change in Post-colonial Balochistan*, (ed.) Paul Titus (Karachi, 1996), pp. 28–50.
- Farrell, Tim, *Basic Balochi. An introductory course* (Naples, 1990).
- , 'Fading Ergativity? A Study of Ergativity in Balochi', in *Subject, Voice and Ergativity, Selected Essays*, (eds.) Theodora Bynon, David C. Bennett, B. George Hewitt (London, 1995) pp. 218–243.
- , 'Linguistic influences on the Balochi Spoken in Karachi', in Jahani / Korn, 2003, pp. 169–210.
- Geiger, Wilhelm, 'Die Sprache der Balütschen', in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* I/2, (eds.) Wilhelm Geiger, Ernst Kuhn (Strassburg, 1901), pp. 231–248.
- Gilbertson, George W., *The Balochi Language. A grammar and manual* (Hertford, 1923).
- Grierson, George A., *Linguistic Survey of India X: Specimens of Languages of the Eranian Family* (Calcutta, 1921).
- Heine, Bernd, *Cognitive foundations of grammar* (New York and Oxford, 1997).
- Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Hoffmann, Karl and Bernhard Forssman, *Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre* (Innsbruck, 1996).
- Jahani, Carina, 'The Case System in Iranian Balochi in a Contact Linguistic Perspective', in Jahani / Korn, 2003, pp. 113–132.
- , 'Prospectivity in Persian and Balochi and the Preterite for Non-Past Events', in Korn / Nevs-kaya, 2017, pp. 259–273.
- Jahani, Carina and Agnes Korn, 'Balochi', in Windfuhr, 2009, pp. 634–692.
- (eds.), *The Baloch and Their Neighbours: Ethnic and Linguistic Contact in Balochistan in Historical and Modern Times* (Wiesbaden, 2003).
- Jahani, Carina, Agnes Korn and Paul Titus (eds.), *The Baloch and Others: Linguistic, historical and socio-political perspectives on pluralism in Balochistan* (Wiesbaden, 2008).
- Korn, Agnes, 'Das Nominalsystem des Balochi, mitteliranisch betrachtet', in *Indogermanica: Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt. Indische, iranische und indogermanische Studien dem verehrten Jubilar dargebracht zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag*, (ed.) Günter Schweiger (Tübingen, 2005). pp. 289–302.

- (2008a) 'The nominal systems of Balochi: How many grammars?', in Jahani / Korn / Titus, 2008, pp. 167–194.
- (2008b) 'A New Locative Case in Turkmenistan Balochi', *Iran and the Caucasus* 12 (2008), pp. 83–99.
- (2008c) 'Marking of arguments in Balochi ergative and mixed constructions', in *Aspects of Iranian Linguistics*, (eds.) Simin Karimi, Vida Samiiian, Donald Stilo (Newcastle, 2008), pp. 249–276. <http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/personal/agnes/mix.pdf>
- (2009b) 'Western Iranian Pronominal Clitics', *Orientalia Suecana* 58 (2009), pp. 159–171.
- (2009a) 'The Ergative System in Balochi from a Typological Perspective', *Iranian Journal of Applied Language Studies* 1 (2009), pp. 43–79. <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/personal/agnes/ergativ.pdf>
- 'Looking for the Middle Way: Voice and Transitivity in Complex Predicates in Iranian', *Lingua* 135 (2013), pp. 30–55.
- (2017a) 'Notes on the Nominal System of Bashkardi', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 115 (2017), pp. 79–97.
- (2017b) 'Verbal nouns in Balochi', in *Verbal Adjectives and Participles in Indo-European Languages / Adjectifs verbaux et participes dans les langues indo-européennes*, (eds.) Claire Le Feuvre, Daniel Petit and Georges-Jean Pinault (Bremen, 2017), pp. 119–140.
- Korn, Agnes, Geoffrey Haig, Simin Karimi and Pollet Samvelian (eds.), *Topics in Iranian Linguistics* (Wiesbaden, 2011).
- Korn, Agnes and Irina Nevskaya (eds.), *Prospective and Proximative in Turkic, Iranian and beyond* (Wiesbaden, 2017).
- Korn, Agnes and Maryam Nourzaei, 'Those were the hungry years': A glimpse of Coastal Afro-Balochi', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28/4 (2018), pp.661–695.
- Lazard, Gilbert, 'La catégorie de l'éventuel', *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste* (Paris, 1975), pp. 347–358.
- Lecoq, Pierre, 'Le classement des langues irano-ariennes occidentales', in *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard (Studia Iranica Cahier 7)*, (eds.) Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, Philippe Gignoux (Paris, 1989), pp. 247–264.
- MacKenzie, D. Neil, 'The Indirect Affectee in Pahlavi', in *Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1964), pp. 45–48 (= id. 1999: *Iranica Diversa* I. Rome, pp. 3–6).
- Mockler, Edward, *A Grammar of the Baloochee Language, as it is spoken in Makrān (ancient Gedrosia), in the Persi-Arabic and Roman characters* (London, 1877).
- Nawata, Tetsuo, *Baluchi* (Tokyo, 1981).
- Nicolini, Beatrice, 'The 19th Century Slave Trade in the Western Indian Ocean: The Role of the Baloch Mercenaries', in Jahani / Korn / Titus, 2008, pp. 326–344.
- Noraiee, Hoshang, 'Change and Continuity: Power and Religion in Balochistan', in Jahani / Korn / Titus, 2008, pp. 345–364.
- Nourzaei, Maryam, *Participant Reference in Three Balochi Dialects: Male and Female Narrations of Folktales and Biographical Tales* (Uppsala, 2017). <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1069126&dswid=-6317>
- , *Participant Reference in Three Balochi Dialects: Male and Female Narrations of Folktales and Biographical Tales: Appendix B-D*. <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1069126&dswid=-6317>
- Nourzaei, Maryam and Carina Jahani, 'The Distribution and Role of the Verb Clitic = a/a = in Different Balochi Dialects', *Orientalia Suecana* 61 (2012), pp. 170–186.
- Nourzaei, Maryam, Carina Jahani, Erik Anonby and Abbas Ali Ahangar, *Koroshi. A Corpus-based Grammatical Description* (Uppsala, 2015). <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A810250&dswid=-7311>

- Pierce, E., 'A description of the Mekranee-Beloochee dialect', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11 (Bombay, 1874), pp. 1–98.
- Prasad, Kiran Kamal and Jean-Pierre Angenot (eds.), *TADIA. The African Diaspora in Asia* (Bangalore, 2008).
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas, 'Differential Object Marking in Bactrian', in Korn / Haig / Karimi / Samvelian, 2011, pp. 23–38.
- , 'The Triple System of Deixis in Sogdian', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 92 (1994), pp. 41–53.
- Sokolov, Sergej N., 'Grammatičeskij očerk jazyka beludžej Sovetskogo Sojuza', in *Trudy Instituta Jazykoznanija* 6 (Moscow, 1956), pp. 57–91.
- Spooner, Brian, 'Notes on the Balochī Spoken in Persian Baluchistan', *Iran* 5 (1967), pp. 51–71.
- Tafazzoli, Ahmad, 'The 'Indirect Affectee' in Pahlavi and in a Central Dialect of Iran', in *Studia grammatica iranica: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach*, (eds.) Rüdiger Schmitt, Prods Oktor Skjærvø (Munich, 1986), pp. 483–487.
- Tedesco, Paul, 'Dialektologie der mitteliranischen Turfantexte', *Monde Oriental* 15 (1921), pp. 184–258.
- Vafaeian, Ghazaleh, *Progressives in use and contact: A descriptive, areal and typological study with special focus on selected Iranian languages* (Stockholm, 2018). <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-155533>.
- Vydrin, Arseniy, 'Counterfactual Mood in Iranian', in Korn / Haig / Karimi / Samvelian, 2011, pp. 69–86.
- , 'Two Ossetic constructions with the future participle: prospective-intention and necessity', in Korn / Nevskaya, 2017, pp. 145–160.
- Windfuhr, Gernot, 'Dialectology and Topics', in Windfuhr, 2009, pp. 5–42.
- (ed.), *The Iranian Languages* (London and New York, 2009).
- Yadegari, Abdolhossein, 'Pluralism and Change in Iranian Balochistan', in Jahani / Korn / Titus, 2008, pp. 253–258.
- Yoshida Yutaka, 'Minor moods in Sogdian', in *East and West: Papers in Indo-European studies*, (eds.) Kazuhiko Yoshida, Brent Vine (Bremen, 2009), pp. 281–293.
- Yūsefiyān, Pākzād, 'Gorūh-e esmī, fe 'lī va qeidī-ye zabān-e balūčī (gūyeš-e lāšārī)', (unpublished MA thesis, University of Tehran, 1992 / 1371 h.š.)
- , 'Toušf-e gorūh-e esmī-ye gūyeš-e balūčī', *Gūyeš-šenāsi / Dialectology* 1 (2005), pp. 82–102.

<agnes.korn@cnrs.fr, maryam.nourzaei@lingfil.uu.se>

AGNES KORN
CNRS; *Mondes iraniens et indiens*

MARYAM NOURZAEI
Uppsala University