Notes on the nominal system of Bashkardi

Agnes Korn

Notes on the nominal system of Bashkardi

Agnes KORN, agnes.korn@cnrs.fr

Abstract

This article studies the nominal system and noun phrase of Bashkardi, a language of the Iranian family spoken in Southern Iran in the region of Bashakerd. Bashkardi is a very little studied language, and is in particular need of being documented because it is a minority language endangered by heavy influence from Persian. The article is based on recordings made by Ilya Gershevitch in 1956.[1]

In discussing the Bashkardi nominal system, I compare it to that of geographically or historically neighbouring languages such as Balochi, spoken nearby in the province (and also in the form of the Koroshi dialect spoken in Fars province to the west). From a historical perspective, Middle Persian and Parthian, the only two Western Iranian languages attested from Middle Iranian times, are adduced to elucidate the development of the Bashkardi nominal system.

I argue that the nominal system of Bashkardi agrees with Persian and other Western Ir. languages in having lost the distinction between direct and oblique case (preserved in Kurmanji, Balochi etc.), but that a trace of the oblique case might be present in the possessive marker -$ī$. Like Middle Persian, Bashkardi employs adpositions to mark syntactic relations, but none of these is used in a systematic way as of yet.

0. Introduction

0.1 Bashkardi

The present paper aims to contribute to a description of Bashkardi (Baškardī, Bš). Bashkardi is a member of the Iranian (Ir.) branch (subbranch Western Iranian) of the Indo-European family, and is spoken locally in the province of Hormozgan in Southern Iran (see Map). It is a minority language endangered by the influence of Persian (the only official language in Iran), and by the lack of any status or role in media or the educational system.

'Bashkardi' actually is a cover term for a group of dialects; it is taken here in the narrower sense, referring only to the varieties spoken in the region of Bashakerd (Bašākerd, also Baškard) in Hormozgan province in Southern Iran, inland from Bandar Abbas. The Bashkardi varieties can broadly be divided into two groups, North and South Bashkardi, but one must keep in mind that this is only a broad grouping and the actual dialectal differentiation is more complicated.

It is difficult to estimate the number of speakers of Bashkardi. The 2011 census registered some 40,000 inhabitants of the county (*šahrestān*) *Bašāgerd*. This recently created

---

administrative subdivision of the province (*ostān*) *Hormozgān* is not necessarily coterminous with Bashakerd as understood elsewhere, and the registered inhabitants are not all speakers of Bashkardi. Conversely, the area where Bashkardi is spoken extends beyond *Bašāgerd*. There are also speakers in Tehran and other big cities, of course. In any case, the figure at least gives a rough idea.

Bashkardi has been said to belong to the South Western group of Iranian,[2] which would make it a close relative of Persian. However, to what extent this really is the case needs to be determined. Indeed, it seems questionable to me whether Bashkardi is a genetic unity, or instead is a group of varieties that by convergence have resulted in one language. South Bashkardi shares with Balochi traits such as the preservation of Old Ir. intersonanal stops (e.g. *kert* 'did', *yōpes* 'pregnant') and of inherited plural pronominal clitics (i.e. not derived from the SG ones as in Persian) in South Bashkardi vs. lenition of postsonantal stops (*kerd, aves*) and plural pronominal clitics derived from the SG ones (as in Middle Persian *=mān, =tān, =šān* vs. SG *=m, =t, =š*).[3] While shared archaisms are of course not a good argument for a shared ancestor, and the issue needs to be studied, the presence of Koroshi, undoubtedly a Balochi dialect, in the province of Fars and thus to the West of Bashakerd, certainly suggests the possibility of a Balochi element in Bashkardi.

---
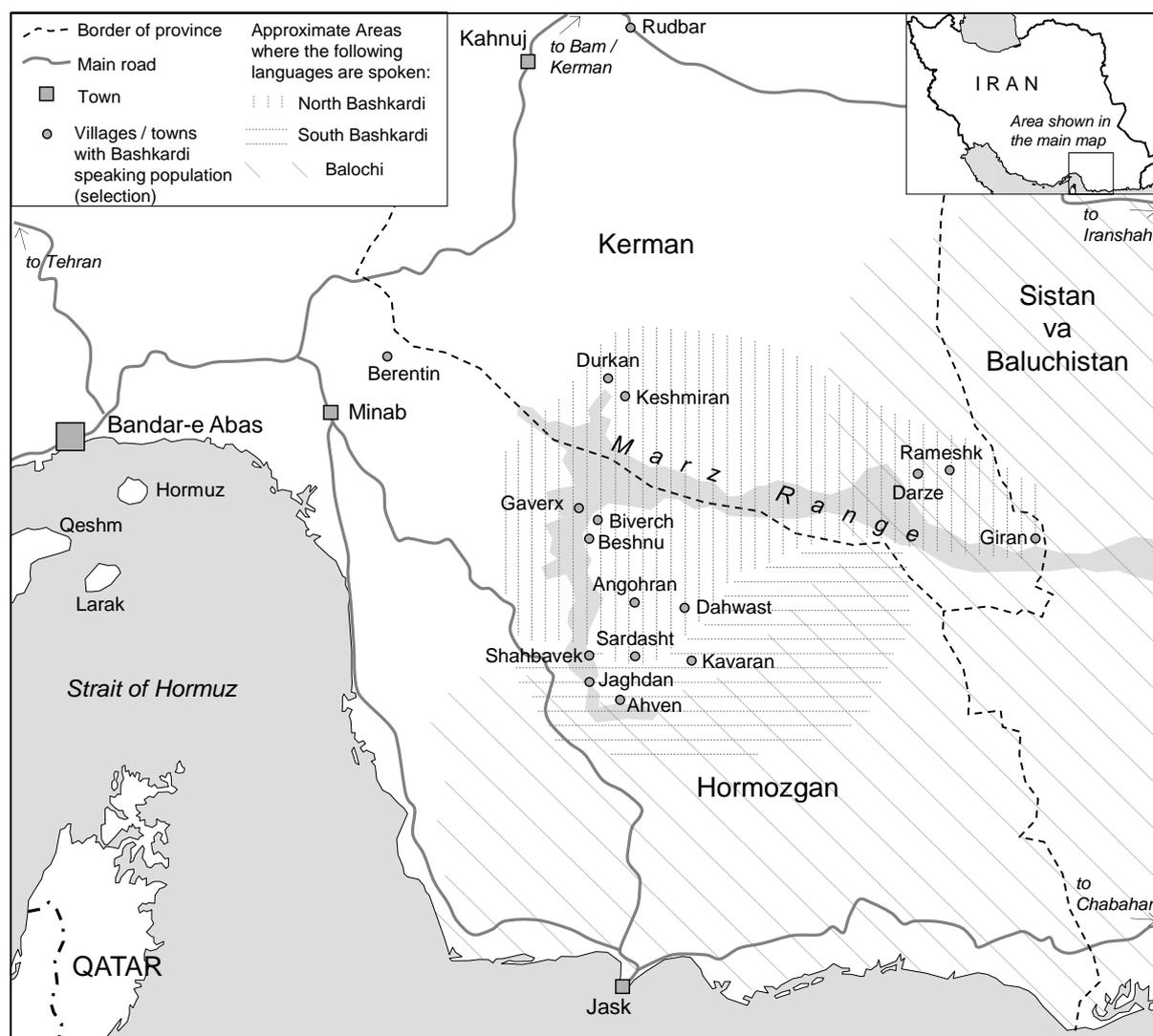
[2] Cf. SKJÆRVØ (1989a: 846).
[3] For discussion of the plural clitics, see KORN (2009: 166-169).

As is common in many descriptive works, hyphens (-) separate morphemes while the equal sign (=) is used for clitics.

Apart from two survey articles, and isolated words and sentences quoted by GERSHEVITCH and others after him, these varieties remain essentially undescribed.[4] Indeed, 'very little of the morphology of Baškardi is known' (SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 848).

The data used for this article consist of recordings made by Ilya GERSHEVITCH, who spent some months in Bashakerd in 1956.[5] This was before paved roads and electricity arrived in the rural parts of Iran, and travel was by donkey or camel. The influence of Persian was less strong than it is today, which renders these data particularly valuable for a diachronic study.

0.2 Bashkardi grammar[6]

A very short description of the verb system of Bashkardi seems in place here.[7] As is common in New and Middle Iranian, forms are based either on the present (PR) or the past stem (PT); historically, forms based on the latter ("PT domain") pattern ergatively[8] while the former ("PR domain") yields nominative/accusative alignment. As will be seen below, the loss of case distinctions means that the former ergative alignment is only seen in the use of pronominal clitics for the agent in the PT domain, and by agreement of the verb with the object (1).

Peculiar verbal formations include the perfect participle, which ends in -*x* in SBš (thus PR *nen-* 'sit down', PT *nešt*, PF *nešx* vs. NBš PF *nešt-eh*) and the existential copula SBš *heš* 'there is' (NBš *hast* as in Persian), the negated form of which is *neš*.

(1) *nūn*   *yer*   *čåhī*   *xoy=om*   *jūx=e,*
     bread   under   tea   self=PC1SG   eat.PF=COP3SG
     'I had bread with tea,

     čåhī=om   *jūx*   *sahar-gāh.*
     tea=PC1SG   eat.PF   morning
     I had tea in the early morning.'   (SBš_B6t1.2: 16)[9]

In addition to the present tense formed from the present stem, often with the prefix *a-*, the modal uses of which (as well as the modal uses of the unprefixed forms) remain to be studied, there also is a present (progressive) formed from the infinitive (in SB also the past stem) combined with the copula, similar to patterns otherwise found in Tatic. It employs the preverbs *be-* (*be-kert-en-īn, be-kert-īn* 'I am doing') in SB and *a-* in NB (*a-kerd-en-om*). As the pattern employs a verbal noun, it patterns nominatively (the copula agreeing with the agent) although it is based on the past stem.[10]

Just like many other Ir. languages, Bashkardi makes ample use of pronominal clitics (enclitic personal pronouns). They are widely used in the PT domain to express the agent ((1), (8), (10), (14), (16), (18), (22)), frequently (though not consistently, thus differently than in Sorani) also when an overt agent is present.

The pronominal clitics are found in the following forms in the data under study so far:

---

[4] Survey articles: SKJÆRVØ 1989a, 1989b (with bibliography of GERSHEVITCH's articles related to Bashkardi; some of them are in the list of references).
[5] See GERSHEVITCH 1959 for an account of the journey.
[6] Since the phonemic system of the Bashkardi varieties, which differ significantly (also) on this point, is not clear yet, I employ a phonological notation that might simplify some things while being too specific otherwise. Notably, it seems that the length distinction of *ō* and *ū* (which also include labialisation products of historical /ā/) may have been lost in some varieties, rendering them identical to (historic) /u/, but since it is not clear yet where exactly this applies, I note the length where it historically applies. Conversely, the inherited length opposition between /a/ and /ā/ has developed to a quality contrast, yielding *å* for the latter as in New Persian.
[7] Cf. SKJÆRVØ (1989a: 848f.) for an overview.
[8] For ergativity in Iranian, see e.g. PAYNE 1988, HAIG 2008, KORN 2008.
[9] For a list of texts used and their abbreviations, see the appendix.
[10] Note the parallelity of this formation to patterns seen in Azerbaijan: Caucasian Tat (Muslim) *ba-bāftan=üm* 'I am weaving' (LECOQ 1989: 298) vs. *soxden=um* 'I am doing' (Jewish Caucasian Tat, AUTHIER 2012: 192).

Table 1: Pronominal clitics of Bashkardi

	SBš		NBš	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	=om	=an	=(o/a)m	=mōn
2	=t	=ox	=(e)t	=tōn
3	=	=eš	=(e/a/i)h, -i, -e	=šån,=šōn

Previous studies on the nominal system of Bashkardi

The nominal system and the noun phrase are particularly undescribed sections of Bashkardi grammar. SKJÆRVØ (1989a: 848) notes: 'The plural ending *-on* is seen in N[orth and] S[outh] Bš. *laharon* "huts", R[u]db[ari]. *pā'on* "feet", *-ūn* in the NBš. pronoun *ā'ūn* "they, those"', and adds that 'Morgenstierne mentioned the SBš. "indefinite" article *-o*, which, if correct, may be from **ēw.'* In his second article, SKJÆRVØ (1989b: 366) has a 'suffix of indefinition' NBš. *-i/-e*, SBš. *-o* and the 'plur. morphemes' NBš *-ā, -ōn*, SBš *-an*. This information yields the categories of number and possibly (in)definiteness for Bashkardi, though nothing is yet said about the marking (if any) of subjects and objects.

In describing the Bashkardi nominal system, I specifically look out for details that might shed some light on the history of the nominal system. I will argue that the data reveal a system in a somewhat fluid state, reflecting a transition between the loss of inherited case markers and the grammaticalisation of new ones. Comparing it with available descriptions of neighbouring contemporary dialects will highlight the directions in which this system subsequently may develop.

The languages I use for comparison are Middle Persian and Parthian, the only Western Ir. languages known from Middle Ir. period, and Balochi, which is spoken immediately adjacent to Bashkardi to the east and north, and, in the form of the Koroshi dialect, in Fars province, also to the west. It will be seen that the nominal system of Bashkardi shares features with neighbouring languages (for instance, Middle / New Persian and Parthian) and varieties spoken in the region (such as those of Minab and Dahwast) but differs from them at the same time.

1. Number

1.1 Unmarked nominals

On the whole, nouns and pronouns are largely unmarked for case, and to some extent even for number. A typical Bashkardi text passage such as (2) thus exhibits a high number of nominals without morphosyntactic marking.

(2) *sabåh*   *a-rra-īn*   *gaverx*
     morning   IPF-go.PR-1SG   PN
     'In the morning I go to Gaverx.
     gaverx   *a-rra-īn*   *čūr*   *xom*   *būr*   *a-kan-īn*
     PN   IPF-go.PR-1SG   four   date   load   IPF-do.PR-1SG
     I go to Gaverx, I load four [loads of] dates
     (= When I have arrived in Gaverx...)
     a-p-īn   *ba*   *mahala* *barå-i* *amīrī*
     IPF-come.PR-1SG   to   home   for   PN
     I come [and bring them] home for Amiri.' (SBš_B6t1.1: 2-3)

As this example also shows, unmarked nouns are also used after numerals, as in Persian or Balochi (cf. also *do tå čuk* in (17)).

4

The unmarked noun may be used in a generic function and for plural entities in other contexts as well; in (3b), the statement translatable as 'I have [a] sister (lit.: there is [a] sister to me)'[11] must in fact be 'I have sisters', as it turns out in (3d).

(3) a. K: *xūx=et*   *heš?*
             sister=PC2SG   exists
             'Do you have sisters?'

     b. A: ***xūx=om***   *heš.*   (...)
             sister=PC1SG   exists
             'I have a sister / sisters.'

     c. K: *čan*   *xūx=et*   *heš?*
             how many   sister=PC2SG exists
             'How many sisters do you have?'

     d. A: *dō*   *xōx*   [sic]
             two   sister
             'Two sisters.'   (SBš_B6t1.3: 22-29)[12]

1.2 Plural marking

The plural suffixes found in the data so far are -*ōn* ((6), (27)) in both NBš and SBš; its variant -*ūn* (NBš) ((5), (9), (19), (23b)); and SBš -*ån* with its variant -*an* ((10), (11)). Clearly this is historically the same suffix as -*ān*, which is the PL marker in Persian and the OBL.PL suffix in Balochi and (early) Middle Persian.

The NBš PL ending -*ā* mentioned by SKJÆRVØ might be present in (4), where the shortening may be due to the following vocalic clitic (for which see Section 3.2 below). This suffix might be yet another variant of -*ān* or perhaps can be compared to the Persian PL marker -*hā*.

(4) *tūlag-**a**=ī*   *sīr-å*
     jackal-PL=POSS   wedding-DIR
     '[I will go] to the jackals' wedding'   (NBš_A4t3: 63, 71, 79, 84)

While numerals are usually followed by the unmarked noun (see 1.1), plural marking after a numeral combined with a counter word is found in (5).

(5) *ham   do   tå   čuk-**ūn**=ī   mord-en   ham   zan=ī.*
     also   two   piece child-PL=PC3SG   die.PT-3PL   also   wife=PC3SG
     'His two children died and his wife [died], too.' (NBš, Angohran; T II.2, 21)

Just as in Balochi, mass nouns are conceived as plural when definite (6), (9).

(6) *yåw   a-yår-and   a-dah-an*   (...)
     water   IPF-bring.PR-3PL   IPF-give.PR-3PL
     'They bring water [and] give [it to me]. (...)
     *mon   ei   yåw-**ōn**   a-xwar-om.*
     I   to   water-PL   IPF-eat.PR-1SG
     I drink the water.'   (NBš_B3t27.2: 18)[13]

1.3 Singular marking

The 'indefinite' =ō mentioned by SKJÆRVØ does occur in (some of) South Bashkardi, but is not very frequent. It has a variant =oy, occurring alongside =ō in (7) (cf. also (10), where the clitic occurs without preceding numeral 'one'). As noted by SKJÆRVØ (see 0. above), this clitic may derive from =ēw 'one' seen in Middle Persian.

(7)   *hålå*   *to*   *yeu*   *gap=**ō***   *seråk=ī*   *yamah*   *a-deh*
      now   you.SG   one   word=IND   showing=PC3SG   we   IPF-give.IPR2SG
      'Now show us a word of it (= the tape recorder)!
      yau   *bayåt=**oy***   *xīn-it,*   *yau*   *kalam=**oy***   *bī,*
      one   verse=IND   recite.PR-3SG   one   word=IND   become.PR.3SG
      It should recite a verse, or it should be a word,
      yeu   *šeir=**oy***   *bī*   *yeu*   *čīz=**oy**,*   (…)
      one   poem=IND   become.PR.3SG   one   thing=IND
      it should be a poem [or] something.'   (SBš_B6t1.1: 35f.)[T4]

Much more common is the clitic =ē (NBš), =ī (NBš, SBš) known from Persian and other Ir. languages (8) (cf. also *taxt=ē* in (22)). Either or both could be a dialectally different development from =ēw 'one' or a borrowing from another Ir. language (possibly Persian).

(8)   *ravån*   *bü,*   *röu*   *jåh=**ē***   *dīst=ī*
      going   become.PT   go.PT   place=IND   see.PT=PC3SG
      'He set off [and] at a certain place, he saw:
      ya   *čuk*   *šīr=ī*   *=e.*
      one   child   lion=POSS   COP3SG
      there is a lion cub.'   (NBš_A5t2.2: 34)

The clitic is mostly translatable in its probable etymological sense 'one'. It is quite regularly used to introduce new entities, but is not limited to this function, which HEINE (1997: 72f.) calls 'presentative marker' (Stage II of his grammaticalisation chain leading from the numeral 'one' to an indefinite article). It seems to me that the Bš clitic fits HEINE's 'specific marker' (Stage III, defined as marking participants known to the speaker, but not to the hearer and expected to be mentioned again; its use is confined to singular countable nouns).[15]

1.4 The suffix -*ak*

Various instances are found of a suffix -*ak*, which recalls the Persian diminutive suffix of the same form. In some words, it seems to be lexicalised (e.g. *čårak* 'fourth (quantity entity)' from *čår* 'four'), or to be the diminutive suffix (e.g. *manjalak* 'pot', *čokak* 'boy' vs. *manjal, čok* 'id.').[16]
     In a small number of instances, however, a diminutive interpretation (either literal or in the sense of endearment or familiarity) does not seem possible, cf. *måstakūn* in (9) (vs. instances of *måst(ūn)* elsewhere in the same text).

(9)   *tūla=i*   *xwara=ī*   *hamī*   *måst-**ak**-ūn*   *mon*
      jackal=EZ   accustomed=IND   DEM   yoghurt-?-PL   I

---

[14] Having said something to the tape recorder, the interviewee suggests hearing something in return.

[15] JAHANI & KORN (2009: 667) suggest the term 'individuation marker' for the corresponding Balochi clitic.

[16] For the suffix -*ak* in Persian, cf. CIANCAGLINI 2015, who on p. 294, 296, 301 has examples of doublets with and without -*ak/g* (e.g. NP *rama, ramak* 'herd, flock' vs. MP *ramag* 'id.'; MP *zardag* 'yolk' vs. *zardak* 'safflower'; MP *wistarag* 'bedding' vs. NP *bistar*); however, these seem to be lexicalised cases.

a-xwar-ed	*mõ*		*če-kår*	*be-kan-õ.*
IPF-eat.PR-3SG	I		what	SBJ-do.PR-1SG

'A jackal who knows my house keeps eating this yoghurt of mine.   (NBš_A4t3: 12f.)
What can I do?'

While it is difficult to exclude that a given instance of *-ak* is a diminutive, cases such as (9) where a diminutive interpretation does not suggest itself are remarkable since SEDDIQI NEZHAD 2010 suggests the possible existence of a definite marker *-ak* (see Section 5. below), which recalls the definite article /-aka/ of Central and Southern Kurdish.[17]

2. Marking of objects and direction

2.1 No marking

As in Persian, in the Central Dialects and in Sorani Kurdish (but unlike Kurmanji Kurdish, Balochi, etc.), the distinction between direct and oblique case has been lost, and the plural suffix (historically OBL.PL *-ān*) has become the general PL marker. Agents, subjects and objects all have the same form in the PR and PT domains[18] ((10), (11), cf. also *būr* in (2), *ahmad-i mādī* in (13) and the indirect object *yamah* in (7)).

(10)	*hå,*	*verx=oy=om*	*dīx,*	*båsīd-**an**=om*	*dīx*
	yes	leopard=IND=PC1SG	see.PF	wolf-PL=PC1SG	see.PF

'Yes, I saw one leopard and [several] wolves.'   (SBš_B6t1.1: 26f.)

(11)	*gap-**an**=e*	*yamah*	*a-čīn-ē*
	word-PL=EZ	we	IPF-pick.PR-2SG

'You are collecting our words.'   (SBš_B6t1.1: 39)

The pronominal clitics, historically oblique forms, are thus all that remains of the inherited case system (cf. 0.2).

2.2 The suffix *-å*

A suffix *-å/-a* is occasionally found, which recalls the Balochi OBL.SG marker *-ā*. The only clear instance of *-å* I have found so far that comes close to marking an object is (12).

(12)	*xo,*	*hålå*	*på*	*ba*	*tå*	*be-rr-īn*
	well	now	foot	become.IPR2SG	so that	SBJ-go.PR-1PL

'Now get up; let's go

	tå	*dehngōn=et-**a***	*seråk*	*be-dah-om.*
	so that	chief=PC2SG-DIR	showing	SBJ-give.PR-1SG

[and] I will show you your chief.' (NBš_A5t2.2: 126)

In all other instances, *-å* marks direction or other adverbial meanings (thus *sīr-å* in (4), *gare-a* (place name) with preposition in (13)). In the light of these data, (12) would lend itself to a directional interpretation, too (e.g. 'I will point you towards your chief', considering that the addressee is not yet in sight of the chief at the time when the utterance is made in the story).

---

[17] Cf. BLAU (1989: 330). The Kurdish definite article likewise precedes the PL suffix: *pyāw-a'ka / pyāw-a'k-ān* 'the man / the men' (MCCARUS 2009: 598) as it does in Dahwast (cf. note 43).
[18] See Section 0.2.

(13)   *ahmad-i mādī   or-gir-īn   a-p-īn   dah gare-**a***
        PN   up-take.PR-1SG   IPF-come.PR-1SG   to   PN-DIR
        'I take Ahmad Mahdi [and] I come to Gaverx' (SBš_B6t1.1: 5)

The combination of *-å* with a plural marker does not occur in the data, which along with its following a clitic in (11) suggests that it is not yet truly integrated into the nominal system.

2.3 Prepositions

Prepositions occur quite commonly in the PR and PT domains to mark direct and indirect objects. *a, ba* and NBš *ei* are found in this function (*ei* is moderately frequent in this use while the others are not particularly common); these prepositions are also (and much more commonly) used in directional function (cf. (19)). Note also the marking of the possessor in the possessive construction (Section 3.1).

    It seems that definiteness is a condition for marking an object with a preposition. Bashkardi would thus agree with many other Ir. languages in showing 'differential object marking'. (That is to say, only objects fulfilling certain conditions are marked as such, while other objects are left unmarked.) More specifically, only definite direct objects are marked in Persian, while other Ir. languages only mark the object when it is definite and animate, or definite and human.[19]

    Most Bš instances of the marking of a direct object with a preposition are pronouns referring to animates, as in (16), or otherwise refer either to animates (14a) or to beings treated as animates, e.g. in fairytales (15). However, inanimates are also found (as in (6), where the water is definite since it was mentioned before).

(14) a. ***ei***   *hazrat-e*   *amīr=ī*   *da'vat*   *kerd.*   (...)
          to   lord-EZ   PN=PC3SG   invitation do.PT
          'He invited Amir (lit.: did an invitation to Amir).
      b. *ashāb*   *ham yak=ī   yak=ī   hazrat-e amīr=šōn da'vat   kerd*
          ministers also one=IND one=IND lord-EZ   PN=PC3PL invitation do.PT
          Each of the ministers also invited Amir.'   (NBš_TII.1: 2-4)

(15) *konår   **a**   xwa   takand   reh   tåg*
        konar tree to   self   shake.PT pour.PT leaf
        'The Konar-tree shook itself [and] let leaves fall.'   (NBš_A4t3: 91)

(16) ***ba*** *to=m*   *dīt*
        to   you.SG=PC1SG   see.PT
        '(As I came near,) I saw you.'   (SBš_B6t1.2: 19)

As the examples also show, this marking is by no means systematic (cf. the absence of any object marking in (10), (12), (13), (14b)). There is thus no dedicated object marker in Bashkardi.

2.4 Points of comparison

The Bš data appear to suggest a nominal system very similar to that of Western Middle Iranian, i.e. Middle Persian and Parthian, (and, for a look beyond Western Iranian, also that of Bactrian), where the distinction of direct and oblique case is being lost for nouns and the former ending of the OBL.PL is in the process of being transformed into a general plural

---

[19] See e.g. KORN 2008b for the effects of differential case marking in Balochi, and BOSSONG 1985 for a survey of differential object marking in Iranian.

marker (Table 2).

Table 2: Nominal system of Western Middle Iranian[20]
in comparison with Bashkardi

Early Middle Persian / Parthian > later Middle Persian / Parthian

	SG	PL
DIRECT	-∅	
OBLIQUE	*-ay > *-ē > -∅	-ān

SG	PL
-∅	-ān

'individuation marker'
=ēw

Bashkardi

SG	PL
-∅	-ån, -an (SBš) -ōn -ūn (NBš)
	-ā, -a (NBš)

'individuation marker'
=ō, =oy (SBš)
=ī =ē (NBš)

As in Middle Persian, Parthian and Bactrian, adpositions are employed to mark syntactic relations in Bashkardi, but they are not systematically used as case markers in the 1956 material.

3. Possessive constructions

3.1 'to have'

As in many other Ir. languages, an existential sentence (*mihi est* construction) is used to express predicative possession ('there is / exists a book to me' = 'I have a book'). Owing to the loss of case distinctions, pronominal clitics are widely employed to indicate the possessor (3), even when a possessor is already expressed by a noun phrase (17).[21] The preposition *ei* is also found to indicate the possessor (29).

(17) *ī   fakīr   do   tå   čuk=ī   hast=ī=a*
      DEM   poor   two   piece   child=PC3SG   exist.3SG=PC3SG=COP.PT3SG

      o   ya   zan.
      and   one   wife
      'This poor man had two children and one wife.' (NBš_A5t3.2: 4)

3.2 Possessive noun phrases

For genitive relations, both head-final and head-initial patterns are found. Head-initial ones occur with (11) and without Ezafe;[22] the latter pattern is rather regular with pronominal

---

[20] For the Western Middle Ir. system, see e.g. NYBERG (1974: 277), SKJÆRVØ (2009: 205), JÜGEL (2015: 167-258). The Early MP system is also shared by various contemporary Ir. languages and is the 'Khoini type' (no. 5) in STILO's (2009: 703) typology of nominal systems resulting from the reduction of the Old Ir. case system, while the later MP system is his no. 8 ('Persian type'), the simplest type, that has lost not only gender but also case distinctions.
[21] Also note the double use of the pronominal clitic: '[to] this poor [man] two his children (*čuk-ī*) there are to him (*hast-ī*)'. See also 0.2 for the use of pronominal clitics.
[22] Ezafe (*ezāfe*) is the name (used particularly for Persian, but also for other Ir. languages) of a clitic attached to

possessors (18) (cf. also *måstakūn mon* in (9), but cf. also *råhger=e mõ* in (31)), but also occurs elsewhere (19), (20).

(18) *esm   xwad=om   na-go*
     name   self=PC1SG   not-say.PT
     'I didn't say my name [yet].'   (NBš_A6t3: 64)

(19) *reht   lot-ūn   ei   čak   kakå*
     pour.PT   stick-PL   to   neck   grandmother
     'The sticks showered down on the grandmother's neck.'   (NBš_A6t3: 32)

(20) *hamå   pūstak   mår*
     DEM   skin   snake
     'that snake skin'   (NBš_A5t2.2: 90)

Head-final patterns are also found, cf. *čūr xom būr* in (2).
   Particularly interesting are instances with a suffix *=ī* on the possessor, of which (4) is a head-final instance. Example (21), referring to the same snake skin as (20) (the snake itself is not mentioned in the text), is head-initial (cf. also *čuk šīr=ī* in (8)). Examples are not numerous, and in some cases it is hard to exclude that the *=ī* is the individuation marker or the 3SG pronominal clitic in agent or other function.

(21) *ī   pūstak   mår=ī   ham-čī,   röut-en.*
     DEM   skin   snake=POSS   likewise   go.PT-3PL
     '[He took] that snake skin as well [and] they set off.'   (NBš_A5t2.2: 41)

This also occurs in combination with Ezafe (22).

(22) *hamå   darbīš=ī   ke   šöu   mehmon=e   mon=ī   =e*
     DEM   dervish=IND   SUB   night   guest=EZ   I=POSS   COP3SG
     'That dervish who one night was (lit. is) a guest of mine

     sar   ya   taxt=ē   nešteh=ī.
     on   one   bed=IND   sit down.PF=COP3SG
     is sitting on a bed.'   (NBš_A5t2.2: 118)

One possible explanation for the co-occurrence of examples with and without the suffix would be that the construction might be on its way out. If so, this could be the reason why the speaker of A4 text 3.2 hesitates in one of the several instances where the phrase *tūlaga-ī sīrå* occurs (4) = (23a) and proceeds to add an explanation (23b):

(23) a.   ...   *tūlag-a=ī   sīr-å*
              jackal-PL=POSS   wedding-DIR
           '[I will go] to the jackals' wedding.
     b.   *(åxa ...   tūlag ...   sür ...   tūla-ūn   ar)*
           finally   jackal ...   wedding ...   jackal-PL   COP.PT3SG
           After all, the jackal... the wedding ... of the jackals it was.' (NBš_A4t3: 71f.)

Possessive noun phrases with a non-pronominal possessor are not particularly frequent in Bashkardi. The variety of patterns found in the data is then all the more noteworthy (Table 3).

---

the head noun which links the head noun to the following attributes.

Table 3: Possessive noun phrases in Bashkardi

structure	noun phrase		examples
head-initial	N-EZ	Gen.-∅	*gapan=e yamah*
	N-∅	Gen-∅	*čak kakå*
	N-∅	Gen=*ī*	*čuk šīr=ī*
	N-EZ	Gen-*ī*	*mehmon=e mon=ī*
head-final	Gen-∅	N-∅	*xom būr*
	Gen=*ī*	N-∅	*tulaga=ī šīr*

3.3 The possessive clitic *-ī*

Regarding the identity of the possessive clitic =*ī*, one wonders whether it might be an adjective suffix, which would seem quite probable *a priori* since adjectives of appurtenance are cross-linguistically very common sources for genitives. This =*ī* could then be the suffix found in Persian adjectives of appurtenance, e.g. *šīrāz-ī* 'from Shiraz'.[23]

Stress patterns rather speak against this option, though; like in Persian, nominals are stressed on the last syllable of the stem in Bashkardi, and since an adjective suffix would belong to the stem, one would expect it to carry stress (as does the Persian suffix). However, the Bš possessive =*ī* is clearly unstressed.[24]

Another element that one might expect in a possessive noun phrase is a possessive pronoun (in Ir. languages appearing in the form of a pronominal clitic) in a construction along the lines seen in Turkish or in German dialects (24).

(24)   a.   *Orhan-ın*   *ev-i*
Turkish   PN-GEN   house.NOM.SG-POSS3SG
    b.   *dem*   *Hans*   *sein*   *Haus*
German (dialectal)   the.DAT.SG.M   PN   his.NOM.SG.N   house.NOM.SG
    'Orhan's / Hans' house' (lit.: of Orhan / to Hans his house)[25]

However, this does not quite seem to work for Bashkardi, as one might rather expect the pronominal clitic to be suffixed to the possessum (as in *ev-i* 'his house'), while *čuk šīr=ī* is not ⁂ 'the child its lion', but 'the lion's child'.

The question arises, then, whether this =*ī* might be what it seems to be, i.e. a genitive case suffix; and if so, one possibly deriving from Old Ir. GEN.SG *-ahya*. In view of the fact that the plural suffix *-ān* undoubtedly derives from the Old Ir. GEN.PL *-ānām*, it would not seem unlikely that we would find a reflex of the GEN.SG.[26] The GEN.SG is the only SG case to have a disyllabic ending in Old Irania, making it more liable to leave a trace in later stages (while no trace remains of the monosyllabic case endings in Middle and New Western Iranian); *-ahya* has also been assumed to be present in Early Middle Persian and Parthian *-ē* (see Table 2).[27]

---

[23] This suffix *-ī* goes back to the Middle Persian adjective suffix *-īg* (< Old Ir. *-iya-ka-* and possibly also < Old Ir. *-i-ka-*, cf. KORN 2009a: 201f.). It is not to be confused with the homophonous Persian abstract suffix *-ī* (< MP *-īh* < *-iya-θwa-*).

[24] The directional element *-å* is also enclitic.

[25] German dialects that show this construction do not have a genitive case.

[26] Another element clearly deriving from the Old Ir. GEN is the 1SG pronoun *mon* 'I' (seen e.g. in (6)), which, just like Persian *man*, can only derive from the Old Ir. GEN form of the pronoun *mana* (the other case forms of the pronoun are formed from entirely different stems).

[27] Another theoretically possible origin (suggestion by Thomas Jügel) would be a demonstrative in the OBL case that became enclitic. (Such an origin has been suggested for some 3SG pronominal clitics in some Ir. languages, cf. KORN 2009b: 164.)

3.4 Points of comparison continued

If the above assumption is on the right track, it would suggest that Table 2 needs to be revised so far as Bashkardi is concerned (Table 4). The inherited oblique marker (deriving from the Old Ir. genitive ending) would be generalised in the plural, as it was in Middle Persian and Parthian, while the OBL.SG ending would have specialised its function to marking possessors (which was one of the functions of the oblique case in Middle Western Iranian).[28]

Table 4: Nominal system of Western Middle Iranian
in comparison with Bashkardi (revised)

*Early Middle Persian / Parthian   >   later Middle Persian / Parthian

	SG	PL
DIRECT	-∅	
OBLIQUE	*-ay > *-ē	-ān

	SG	PL
DIRECT	-∅	-ān
OBLIQUE		

*Middle Bashkardi   Bashkardi

	SG	PL
DIRECT	-∅	
OBLIQUE	**-ay**	-ān

	SG	PL
DIRECT	-∅	
OBLIQUE		-ån etc.
GENITIVE	**-ī**	-∅

This picture would to a certain extent be parallel to the development assumed for Balochi (Table 5); i.e. it would agree with the opinion voiced by various authors that the Balochi OBL case marker -ā is a secondary addition to the nominal system[29] while the genitive ending -ay / -ē derives from the Old Ir. genitive.[30]

    With zero marking of the direct case and the OBL.PL -ān as inherited features, it seems to me that the use of the (likewise inherited) OBL.SG was reduced to possessive function, i.e. to a genitive case marker, in Balochi. A new marker for objects (possibly the Persian clitic =rā in its dialectal pronunciation =å) was integrated into the system, and the system was rendered symmetrical by the formation of a new GEN.PL -ānī by suffixing the adjective suffix -ī mentioned in Section 3.3 above[31] to the OBL.PL (at the same time forming a GEN of pronominals such *man* 'I' → *man-ī* 'my', etc., clearly secondary).[32]

    The ensuing three-case system, the assumption of which is strengthened by the fact that Gilaki also has such a system, was further completed by an object case in Balochi, adding (another) -rā to the OBL marker.[33]

    Conversely, the Bš directional marker -å could provide a parallel to the development of the Balochi nominal system by showing a stage where it was not yet integrated into the case

---

[28] Such a shift is not covered in the typology of innovations in the Ir. case system mentioned by STILO (2009: 704-712). Conversely, he includes the multifunctionality of the oblique case in the innovations, which in my view is rather part of the reduction of the Old Ir. case system (cf. note 20).

[29] Cf. BASHIR (2008: 49f.), ADAMÍK (1977: 114, 135, 150, 154).

[30] MORGENSTIERNE (1948: 257, 259).

[31] Incidentally, the GEN.PL is composed of the same elements that also make the Persian and Armenian family names in X-*iān* 'those (people) pertaining to X'.

[32] The pronoun *man* itself derives from the Old Ir. GEN (see note 26).

[33] For a more detailed discussion, see KORN 2005. The integration of a novel object marker and the filling up of the case system to get a symmetry of singular and plural are also mentioned among STILO's (2009: 706-708, 711) innovation strategies of Ir. case systems.

system.

Table 5: Development of the nominal system of Balochi (shaded: innovations)[34]

*Middle Balochi   >   *Common Balochi   >   contemporary Balochi

	SG	PL
DIRECT	-∅	
OBLIQUE	*-ay*	-ān

	SG	PL
DIRECT	-∅	
OBLIQUE	-ā	-ān
GENITIVE	*-ay*	-ān-ī

	SG	PL
DIRECT	-∅	
OBLIQUE	-ā	-ān
GENITIVE	-ay, -ē	-ān-ī
OBJECT	-ā-rā	-ān-(r)ā

4. Adjectives

While adjectives as such are not rare in the Bš data, they mostly occur as predicates; qualities are chiefly presented in the form of an item being / becoming / being made X, after which the text proceeds to discuss further events relevant to the item, without referring to the adjective.

    Similar to possessive noun phrases, the patterns shown by the attributive adjectives that do occur are very diverse. Head-initial patterns predominate, mostly with Ezafe (25),[22] but also without (26).

(25)   *mon*   *=om*   *boz=e*   *ǰelengapā*
       I   COP1SG   goat=EZ   bell-footed
       'I am a goat with bells on my feet'   (NBš_A5t2.2: 8 passim)

(26)   *hamå best-ōn*   *sorx ke bå*   *åteš sorx*   *=en*
       DEM   pebble-PL red   SUB   with   fire   red   COP3PL
       'those red-hot pebbles, which are red-hot from the fire'   (NBš_B3t27.1: 21)

The 'individuation' clitic can either be appended at the end of the adjective phrase (with Ezafe as in *tūla-i xwara-ī* in (9) or without, (27)) or be appended to the noun (28).

(27)   *yak ǰag*   *biland=ī*   *hast=a*
       one   Jag-tree   high=IND   exists=COP.PT3SG
       'There was a high Jag-tree.'   (NBš_A5t2.2: 43)

(28)   *ehwål=ī*   *bad*   *nie*
       news=IND   bad   is not
       'There is no bad news.'   (NBš_B3t27.2: 14)

A few instances of head-final adjective phrases occur as well. The items occurring in this position appear to be a limited set, though, i.e. chiefly comprising pronominal adjectives such as *ī-töurī* 'such'. An instance of *aǰab* 'surprising, amazing' is also found (29). This exceptional position of the (Arabic) adjective *aǰab* is also found in Persian (and is likely to be copied from there).

(29)   *aǰab*   *nöuk*   *ei mõ hast=ī*
       amazing   grandson   to   I   exists=PC3SG
       'What an amazing grandson I have!'   (NBš; T IV.1: 52)

---

[34] 'Common Balochi' is a reconstructed entity representing the ancestor of the attested varieties. 'Contemporary Balochi' is here a simplified abstraction of the case systems found in the various dialects.

cf. Persian: *aǰab*   *kār=ī*   *kard-ī*
                amazing   work=IND   do.PT-2SG
                'That's an amazing thing you did!'

One instance of a head-final adjective phrase contains a clitic appended to the adjective (30). This is probably not the 'individuation' clitic (which is *-ī* or *-ie* in this speaker's idiolect), so the question is whether it could be the Ezafe (?) or possibly an adjective suffix along the lines of the Balochi attributive suffix *-ēn*.

(30)   *a-yå*   *ba*   *råhger=e*   *mõ*
       IPF-come.PR.3SG   to   meeting=EZ   I
       'He comes to greet me
       ke   *gozer=e*   *mantaka*   *=om*
       SUB   big=?   position   COP1SG
       as I am of high rank.'   (NBš_B3t27.2: 3)

Adjective patterns are summarised in Table 6.

Table 6: Adjective phrases in Bashkardi

adj. phrase	without IND		with IND	
head-initial	N=EZ	Adj.	N=EZ	Adj-*ī*
	N-∅	Adj.	N-∅	Adj-*ī*
			N=*ī*	Adj.
head-final	Adj-∅	N		
	Adj-*e*	N		

5. Neighbouring dialects

At this point, a look at descriptions of neighbouring varieties seems appropriate.

Minab

The variety of Minab, described by BARBERA 2005, shows some parallel structures, but differs significantly from Bashkardi proper.[35] The plural suffix is *-ân* only (it also applies to mass nouns as in Section 1.2 above), and 'indefiniteness' is expressed by *=i* or *=e*.[36]

     There are no case distinctions, and none of the case-like elements mentioned above (DIR *-å*, POSS *=ī*) appear to occur in this dialect. The preposition *be* is used to mark definite direct objects in the PR and PT domains;[37] otherwise there is neutral alignment (apart from the use of pronominal clitics for the agent in the PT domain).[38]

     Possession as well as adjective phrases use the Ezafe. Units of measurement likewise follow the Persian pattern (with or without Ezafe), e.g. *ya liwân(=e) how* 'one glass of water',[39] vs. the patterns seen in (2) and (21).

Dahwast

The dialect of Dahwast, described by SEDDIQI NEZHAD 2010, is much closer to the varieties

---

[35] Cf. BARBERA (2005: 44-48) for the nominal system of Minabi.
[36] The vowel system of Minabi is *a, â* [ɑ]*, e, i, o, u* (BARBERA 2005: 32).
[37] BARBERA (2005: 80).
[38] BARBERA (2005: 65).
[39] BARBERA (2005: 45, 47).

studied above. Dahwast is a village of 60 families; following a recent administrative change, it is situated in the county *Bašāgerd*, district (*baxš*) *Gāfr o Pārmūn / Gwāfr o Pārmūnt*, in Hormozgan province.[40]

In this variety, the PL marker is *-an*,[41] and the individuation clitic is *=oy*, which can also follow the PL marker.[42] Most interestingly, there is also a definite suffix *-ak* (preceding a plural marker, if any).[43]

Judging from the material quoted by SEDDIQI NEZHAD 2010, much of which is elicited (not authentic) text, the marker *-a* is used for direct objects (sometimes also for indirect ones[44]); it follows the PL marker and the definite suffix *-ak*. The preposition *ba* likewise marks direct (and indirect) objects. There seems to be a tendency for *-a* to be used more in the PR domain and *ba* in the PT domain, and for *ba* to be more common with humans; but neither is absolute. The marker *-a* is incompatible with an agent clitic. Interestingly, it seems that in the PT domain, definite direct objects are always either marked by a *ba* or *-a*, or carry an agent clitic.[45] In the PR domain, definite direct objects may be unmarked if inanimate.

Possessive and adjective noun phrases are head-initial and are formed with and without Ezafe.[46]

Table 7: Noun systems of Minab and Dahwast varieties

	Minab	Dahwast
plural ending	*-ân*	*-an*
IND	*=i, =e*	*=oy*
marking of definite direct objects	*be*	*ba* *-a* affixing of agent clitic (PT domain)
possession	N=EZ Gen.	N(=EZ) Gen.
adjective phrases	N=EZ Adj.	N(=EZ) Adj.

6. Conclusion

The Bashkardi material studied here reveals some details which have not previously been described, and offers points of comparison with other Ir. languages.

While the categories of number and individuation in Bashkardi present themselves along the lines suggested previously, the distribution of the various forms of the plural suffixes and the 'individuation' clitic does not seem as neat as suggested by SKJÆRVØ.

As a result of the loss of inherited case distinctions, Bashkardi nouns and pronouns appear to be essentially unmarked for case.[47] Exceptions to this are the pronominal clitics, which are the only oblique case marked elements (as in Sorani Kurdish), and the possessive clitic *=ī*, which might be a remnant of the Old Ir. genitive (as has been suggested for the Balochi genitive ending). Conversely, the Balochi oblique marker *-ā* could be a cognate of the Bš directional clitic *-å*, but the latter is clearly not a case suffix in the 1956 material.

---

[40] SEDDIQI NEZHAD (2010: pp. ز, 13, 19). The village is called *Rūstā-ye Rostam-Ābād-e Dahvast* in other sources (http://www.bashagard.ir/index.aspx?siteid=5&siteid=5&pageid=2782, https://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%85%E2%80%8C%D8%A2%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AF_%D8%AF%D9%87%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%AA , which give 29 families for 2006).

[41] SEDDIQI NEZHAD (2010: 95-97).

[42] SEDDIQI NEZHAD (2010: 94f.); ex. 3.33d: *mōš-an=oy* 'man-PL=IND'.

[43] SEDDIQI NEZHAD (2010: 90f.); ex. 3.16: *morg-ak-an* 'chicken-DEF-PL'. NB that there is also a diminutive suffix *-ak*, besides *-ok* (pp. 249-251).

[44] Cf. ex. 3.23, 3.44b.

[45] Cf. ex. 3.16, 3.50b.

[46] SEDDIQI NEZHAD (2010: 87, 109-112, 225). Cf. also the examples with *xo* 'own' (attached without Ezafe) p. 125.

[47] There is no trace of gender in Bashkardi either.

To a certain extent, clitics and adpositions indicate syntactic relations in the 1956 material, but none of these elements can be said to be sufficiently systematic to have a dedicated syntactic function. The use of adpositions for definite direct objects is paralleled by Persian, Parthian and Bactrian.

Table 7 summarises the elements composing the nominal system of Bashkardi in the 1956 material.

Table 8: Elements of the Bashkardi nominal system of 1956

	prepositions	suffixes	clitics
plural		*-ōn*, NBš *-ūn* SBš *-ån, -an* NBš *-å, -a*	
direct object	*a, ba*, NBš *ei*		
direction			*-å*
possession			N=EZ ; Gen=*ī*
individuation			=*ī*, NBš =*ē* SBš =*ō*, =*oy*
definiteness		*-ak* (?)	

Data from contemporary varieties suggest that the situation visible in the recordings from 1956 may subsequently have moved toward a system with systematic marking of indirect and (definite) direct objects, with the Minab dialect using *be* (as stated by BARBERA 2005) and Dahwast (according to the data quoted by SEDDIQI NEZHAD 2010) combining the preposition *ba* and the suffix *-a*, the latter being omitted if an agent clitic is suffixed.

The development that, judging by the extant descriptions of the Minab and Dahwast varieties, has taken place in recent decades would be parallel to that from Middle to New Persian.

At the same time, Bashkardi provides evidence that the rather fluid state of affairs seen in Middle Persian can actually function in a living language; inherited case distinctions have largely disappeared and adpositions are coming into use to mark syntactic relations instead. As the latter are not in systematic use yet, many noun phrases are unmarked for case, and it is by the context and its pragmatics that syntactic functions are understood by speakers. The variation of possessive and adjective phrases, showing both head-final and head-initial patterns, with and without Ezafe, is to a certain extent also found in Middle Persian and Parthian. Here as well, syntactic relations are essentially unmarked.

For a historical language like Middle Persian, it is difficult to determine whether what we observe are the real facts of the language or are peculiarities due to textual transmission, dialect mixture or other factors. Bashkardi shows that a nominal system as discussed above can be functional in a language.

References

ADAMÍK, Jozef 1977. *The Origins and Dialect Differentiation of Balōčī: Chronological Reconstruction of Developments in the Nominal Morphology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts (unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University)

AUTHIER, Gilles 2012. *Le judéo-tat (Langue iranienne des Juifs du Caucase de l'Est)* (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 36). Wiesbaden: Reichert

BARBERA, Gerardo 2005. *Lingua e cultura a Minab (Iran sud-orientale). Profilo grammaticale, testi e vocabolario*. Naples (unpublished PhD thesis, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")

BASHIR, Elena 2008. 'Some Transitional Features of Eastern Balochi: An Areal and Diachronic Perspective', in Carina JAHANI, Agnes KORN, Paul TITUS (eds.), *The Baloch and Others: Linguistic, historical and socio-political perspectives on pluralism in Balochistan.* Wiesbaden: Reichert, 45-82

BLAU, Joyce 1989. 'Le kurde', in SCHMITT, 327-335

BOSSONG, Georg 1985. *Empirische Universalienforschung. Differentielle Objektmarkierung in den neuiranischen Sprachen* (Ars linguistica. Commentationes analyticae et criticae 14). Tübingen: Gunter Narr

GERSHEVITCH, Ilya 1957. 'Sissoo at Susa (OPers. *yakā = Dalbergia Sissoo* Roxb.', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19, 317-320 (= id. 1984, 165-169)

_____ 1959. 'Travels in Bashkardia', *Journal of the Central Asian Society* 46, 213-225

_____ 1962. 'Outdoor terms in Iranian', in: Walter B. Henning, Ehsan Yarshater (eds.): *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S.H. Taqizadeh.* London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., 76-84 (= id. 1984, 170-178)

_____ 1964. 'Iranian chronological adverbs', in Georges REDARD (ed.), *Indo-Iranica. Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire.* Wiesbaden: Reichert, 78-88 (= id. 1984, 179-189)

_____ 1970. 'The Crushing of the Third Singular Present', in Mary BOYCE, Ilya GERSHEVITCH (eds.), *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume.* London: Lund Humphries, 161-174 (= id. 1984, 223-236)

_____ 1984. *Philologia Iranica* (Beiträge zur Iranistik 12). Wiesbaden: Reichert

_____ 1987. 'A Bahuvrīhic Past-Tense Construction', *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 41, 75-86

HAIG, Geoffrey 2008. *Alignment Change in Iranian Languages. A Construction Grammar Approach* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 37). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter

HEINE, Bernd 1997. *Cognitive Foundations of Grammar.* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press

JAHANI, Carina & Agnes KORN 2009. 'Balochi', in WINDFUHR, 634-692

JÜGEL, Thomas 2015. *Die Entwicklung der Ergativkonstruktion im Alt- und Mitteliranischen. Eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung zu Kasus, Kongruenz und Satzbau* (Iranica, 21). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz

KORN, Agnes 2005. 'Das Nominalsystem des Balochi, mitteliranisch betrachtet', in Günter SCHWEIGER (ed.), *Indogermanica: Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt. Indische, iranische und indogermanische Studien dem verehrten Jubilar dargebracht zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag.* Taimering: VWT-Verlag, 289-302

_____ 2008. 'Marking of arguments in Balochi ergative and mixed constructions', in Simin KARIMI, Vida SAMIIAN, Donald STILO (eds.), *Aspects of Iranian Linguistics.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 249-276

_____ 2009a. 'Lengthening of *i* and *u* in Persian', in Almut HINTZE, François DE BLOIS, Werner SUNDERMANN (eds.), *Exegisti monumenta. Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams* (Iranica, 17). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 197-213

_____ 2009b. 'Western Iranian Pronominal Clitics', *Orientalia Suecana* 58, 159-171

LECOQ, Pierre 1989. 'Les dialectes caspiens et les dialectes du nord-ouest de l'Iran', in SCHMITT, 296-312

MCCARUS, Ernest 2009. 'Kurdish', in WINDFUHR, 587-633

MORGENSTIERNE, Georg 1948. 'Balochi Miscellanea', *Acta Orientalia* 20, 253-292

NYBERG, Henrik S. 1974. *A Manual of Pahlavi II: Glossary.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz

PAYNE, John 1988. 'Ergative construction', in *Encyclopædia Iranica* 8, 555-558

SCHMITT, Rüdiger (ed.) 1989. *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum.* Wiesbaden: Reichert

SEDDIQI NEZHAD, Bakhtiar 2010. *Bar-resī-ye touṣīfī-ye sāxt-vāže-ye gūyeš-e bašākardī. A Descriptive Study of Bashakardi Dialect Morphology.* Zahedan: Dānešgāh-e Sīstān-va Balūčestān MA thesis, 1389 h.š.

SKJÆRVØ, Prods O. 1989a. 'Baškardi', in *Encyclopædia Iranica* III, 846-850
_____ 1989b. 'Languages of Southeast Iran', in SCHMITT, 363-369
_____ 2009. 'Middle West Iranian', in WINDFUHR, 196-278
STILO, Donald 2009. 'Case in Iranian: From reduction and loss to innovation and renewal', in Andrej MALCHUKOV, Andrew SPENCER (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Case* (Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 700-715
WINDFUHR, Gernot (ed.) 2009. *The Iranian Languages* (Routledge Language Family Series). London, New York: Routledge

APPENDIX

The original recordings, as well as Ilya Gershevich's notes and vocabulary cards, are kept in the *Ancient India and Iran Trust* in Cambridge, UK. The texts from which examples in this article are quoted are the following.

index / sound file[48]	notes[49]	name	place
SBš_B6t1.1 (track. 1 min. 0:00 ff.)	T I.1[50]	The journey	Jaġdān
SBš_B6t1.2 (track. 1 min. 1:32 ff.)	T I.2[51]	Loading camels	
SBš_B6t1.3 (track. 1 min. 3:02 ff.)	T I.3[52]	Dialogue	
NBš_T II.1 (no sound file)	T II.1[53]	The prophet	(partly Persian)
NBš_A5t2.2 (track 2 min. 1:33 ff.)	T II.1[54]	The poor man's reward	Angohran
NBš_A6t3 (track 3 min. 2:30 ff. = B 3 track 1 min. 0:00 ff.)	T IV.1[55]	The magic donkey and cudgels	unknown location
NBš_A4t3 (track 3 min. 20:05 ff.)		The jackal's tail	
NBš_A5t2.1 (track 2 min. 0:00 ff.)		The goat with two kids	Angohran
NBš_B3t27.1 (track 27 min. 0:00 ff.)		Traditions1: Baking bread	R=amešk?
NBš_B3t27.2 (track 27 min. 3:55 ff.)		Traditions 2: Having guests	

ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSES

Adj.	adjective	N	noun
Bš	Bashkardi	N	neuter

---

[48] A and B refer to the digitised version of Gershevich's tapes (on CD). 'A' contains Gershevich's tapes 'Music I-II', 'Speech I-V' and 'Dizful', and 'B' contains the tapes 'UC II-VI' (UC VI in fact does not have a label). The series UC is partly a copy of the other series. The CDs do not entirely correspond to the tapes (for instance, B I does not contain all of UC II, which is thus continued on B II), etc.

[49] 'T I' etc. refers to notes by Gershevich in the paper bundle labelled 'Tape I' (etc.). These notes are rather few and usually consist of some transcription with explanations of words and other fieldnotes.

[50] On the title page of the bundle, this text has the title 'Jaγdān: Xamis-Zāde talk, [p.] 1-'. On the extra sheet 'Beginning of tape-recorded text', it is noted as 'Sabah a'rrein Ga'verx čōr xom bōr akanīn Tape-file I, 1'.

[51] On the title page of the bundle 'Tape I', this text has the title 'Jaγdān: Bŏ'dāk, [p.] 3 sq.'. On the extra sheet 'Beginning of tape-recorded text', it is noted as 'Hā'la ī va'da mon arrŏm meił ešter-xwa (Bodak acc. to Tape I table of contents) Tape-file I, 3'.

[52] On the title page of the bundle 'Tape I', this text has the title 'Jaγdān: Kadx. & Alī-ye Zangī, [p.] 5'. On the extra sheet 'Beginning of tape-recorded text', it is noted as 'To če bekerto? men samāt bečentīn Tape-file I, 5'.

[53] On the title page of the bundle, this text has the title 'Son of Šahverdi Xān (Alahverdi), p. 1'. On the extra sheet 'Tape II' in the bundle, this is noted as 'Alahvardi Xān, p. 1.'

[54] On the title page of the bundle, this text has the title 'Dād Mohamad-e Ehterāmī: Hasta ya māl'dārī, p. 3.' On the extra sheet 'Tape II' in the bundle, it is noted as 'Hasta ya māl'dārī, p. 3.'

[55] On the title page of the bundle, this text has the title 'Abbas Mahmadi. Pīrazal & čiokak II. = 1-4.'

COP	copula	NBš	North Bashkardi
DAT	dative	NOM	nominative
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	PC	pronominal clitic
DIR	direction marker	PF	perfect stem
EZ	Ezafe	PL	plural
Gen, GEN	genitive	PN	name
IND	individuation clitic	POSS	possessive clitic
IPF	imperfective prefix	PR	present stem
IPR	imperative	PT	past stem
Ir.	Iranian	SBJ	subjunctive prefix
M	masculine	SBš	South Bashkardi
MP	Middle Persian	SG	singular
		SUB	subordinator