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Agnes Korn

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Verbal Adjectives and Participles
in Indo-European Languages

Adjectifs verbaux et participes
dans les langues indo-européennes

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VERBAL NOUNS IN BALOCHI

Agnes Korn

This paper looks at the forms and uses of verbal nouns in a variety of Balochi (Bal.) dialects. I will discuss how inherited verbal nouns and adjectives are integrated into the verbal system and how they are combined with innovated forms.¹

The innovations, and the verbal systems of the Balochi dialects in general, diverge considerably, in part surely owing to language contact. The main dialect groups are Western, Southern and Eastern Balochi (WBal., SBal., EBal., respectively).²

In order to get a fuller picture, some formations (such as the past stem) that are not really verbal nouns will also be considered.

1. FORMATION OF VERBAL NOUNS IN BALOCHI

1.1. MORPHOLOGY

Just like in other New and Middle Iranian (Ir.) languages, the verbal system of Balochi is based on two stems. The present stem (PR) derives from Old Ir. (OIr.) present stem formations in the case of inherited verbs, such as Bal. *bar-* ‘carry, bear’ (OIr. **bara-*).

Inherited instances of what synchronically is the past stem (PT) are a merger (Benveniste 1935: 104-108) of the output of the verbal adjective³ (**-ta-*, zero grade of the root, e.g. **byta-* > Bal. *burt* ‘carried’),⁴ the so-called ‘short infinitive’⁵ (from an infinitive in **-tayai*, dative of an abstract noun in **-ti-*, zero grade), and the OIr. infinitive in *-tanai* (*e*-grade of the root).

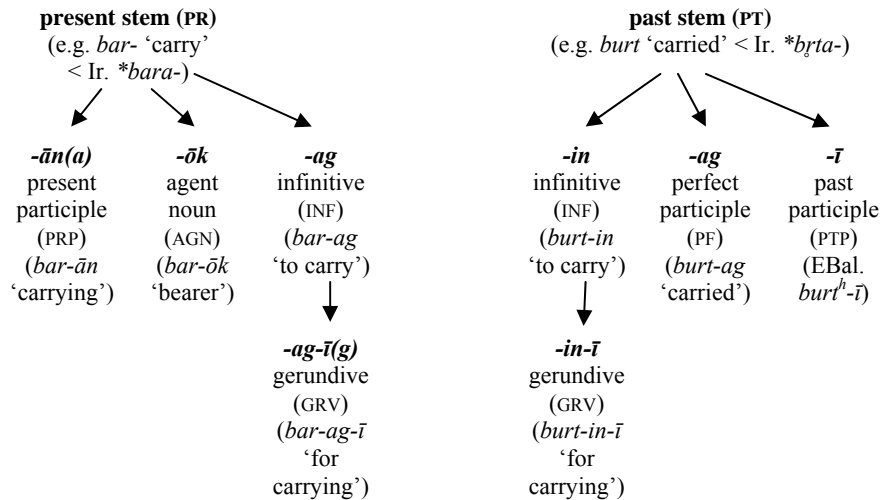
The PR and PT stems are the basis for a system of two layers (see Table 1):

- As in Persian, the present stem combined with a suffix *-ān* (EBal. *-āna*) gives a present participle (PRP) in Balochi (e.g. *bar-ān* ‘carrying’). Contrary to New Persian

-
- 1 The transcription (also of examples from published sources) has been unified for the present purposes. For technical reasons, nasal vowels are marked by ogonek (e.g. *ã = q*). In examples from other published sources, glosses are mine, as are translations of German sources. For the purposes of this article, ‘subject’ is used both for intransitive subjects and transitive agents. I am very grateful to Thomas Jügel for his comments on a previous version of this article.
 - 2 Dialectal differences relevant here include the EBal. change of postvocalic stops into fricatives, e.g. past stems in *-θ* (vs. *-t* in other dialects) and perfect participle in *-ay* (vs. *-ag*).
 - 3 For the Indo-European verbal adjective, see e.g. Fortson (2004: 96 § 5.57).
 - 4 For **ɣ* giving Bal. **ur* in neutral contexts (vs. Persian and Parthian *ir*), see Korn (2005: 146).
 - 5 This is the form seen in modal constructions such as NP *bāyad kard* ‘it is necessary to do’.

(NP), which has also a present participle *kon-and-e*, Balochi does not continue the OIr. active participle.

Table 1: Morphology of verbal nouns in Balochi



- The suffix *-ōk*, which is not known from New Persian, forms an agent noun (AGN) (*bar-ōk* ‘the bearer’).

- The suffix *-ag* forms an infinitive (INF) in many Bal. dialects (*bar-ag* ‘to carry’).

- Other dialects form the infinitive from the past stem, with a suffix *-in* (*burt-in* ‘to carry’), corresponding to NP *bordan*, and, since the formation occurs in dialects under particularly heavy Persian influence, probably copied from Persian.

Infinitives are conceived as active in Balochi.

- From the infinitive of whichever form a suffix *-ī* derives a gerundive (GRV) (*bar-ag-ī* or *burt-in-ī* ‘for carrying’).⁶ It conveys necessity and is called ‘future passive participle’ by some authors.⁷

- The past stem is also the basis for a perfect participle (PF), which shows the suffix *-a(g)* (*burt-a(g)* ‘carried’), corresponding to NP *borde*. The variation *-ag* vs. *-a* follows sandhi (in most dialects *-ag* appears in front of a clitic or ending, otherwise it is *-a*).

- In EBal. dialects, *-ī* is found suffixed to the past stem, referred to as ‘past participle’ (PTP) here, to indicate the morphology, and to distinguish it from PF. It is not mentioned in the grammars (for its used in a passive see section 2.5.).

Conversely, Gilbertson (1923: 88, 125-127) has an ‘alternative past participle’ (i.e. different from PF) PT-*īa* / PT-*īya*. It is not necessarily past in meaning (cf. Gilbertson’s

6 Note the parallelity in formation to Armenian, which likewise has an infinitive from the present stem, and a gerundive based on the former.

7 Thus Grierson (1921: 353), who has *-īg* as an alternative for *-ī*, Gilbertson (1923: 87) has the EBal. equivalent *-īy*.

example in 2.5.2.). It is therefore (albeit somewhat confusingly as well) termed ‘present participle’ by Dames (1881: 28), who notes the suffixes *-īyā*, *-īyā* as ‘used of a continued but not repeated action’, without giving further details.⁸

1.2. DERIVATION

Two of the formations just mentioned derive directly from corresponding OIr. forms:

- The present participle suffix *-ān* obviously derives from OIr. *-āna-*, the suffix of the athematic present participle of the middle voice, which is found with various present stem formations in Avestan, and abundantly in Old Indic, but happens not to be attested in Old Persian (OP).⁹

- Conversely, the infinitive formation as in Bal. *burtin* is found only in Old Persian, where this is the only infinitive formation, while Avestan has various other infinitives.¹⁰

- The suffix *-ag* (< **-a-ka-*) is used to derive a perfect participle from the past stem. Since the past stem is originally a verbal adjective, this **-aka-* is essentially the nominal suffix seen abundantly in the history of (post-Old) Iranian.¹¹

While the suffix *-ag* itself is likely to have been copied from Middle Persian,¹² it is a productive suffix in Balochi and thus functionally equivalent to the (inherited) New Persian suffix *-e* (< *-a* < MP *-ag*). It is also used in categories where it is not used in Persian.

- One such use is the *-ag* on present stems forming infinitives. This infinitive formation is not found in Old Iranian, but it is seen in Sogdian, several contemporary East Ir. languages and in Talyshi.¹³

Concerning this distribution, Benveniste (1935:111f.) notes: « De cette manière on restaure une grande unité, quoique non entièrement homogène, entre les nombreux parlars du Nord-Est et du Nord-Ouest qui affectent le suffixe **-aka* à la formation de noms verbaux sur thème de présent ou d’aoriste : *tāliš*, *balōči*, *sogdien*, *yagnābi*, *parāči*, *ōrmuri*, *iškāšimi*, *vaxi*, *šugni*, *sariqoli*. (...) C’est la plus notable innovation qui se mani-

8 The ‘past participle’ is not mentioned in Jahani & Korn (2009), and it does not seem clear whether it is still in use in Eastern Balochi (Bashir 2008 does not have examples of it from her fieldwork).

9 Old Persian only shows examples of the thematic suffix *-mna-* (cf. Kent 1953: 78, Brandenstein & Mayrhofer 1964: 81, Skjærvø 2009: 94).

10 Cf. e.g. Skjærvø (2009: 94). The only Avestan candidate comparable to OP *-tanai*, ‘*šyaōthanāi* s’élimine immédiatement’ as infinitive (Benveniste 1935: 41), but it is at least a comparable formation.

11 There are only a few examples in Avestan (cf. Bartholomae 1901: 106), but a good number in Vedic (Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 515ff.).

12 Cf. Korn (2005: 163-169).

13 Further research is needed to determine the distribution of this infinitive in Tatic. It is noted by Geiger (1901b: 369) and for some verbs by Hajatpur (2004: 115). Yar-shater (1969: 252) notes: ‘In Takestani the stressed suffix *-e* or *-a* is added to the present stem (with or without the prefix *be-*) to form a participle which, when followed by the substantive verb, imparts the meaning of ‘being able to’ (the ‘perfective morpheme’, suffixed to PT or to the finite form, is also *-a* in Takestani, p. 227f.), so these formations are likely to derive from **-a-ka-* as well.

An INF of the form PR-*a* is not mentioned by Lecoq (1989). Schulze (2000: 22f.) has an infinitive from PT-*e* (< Iranian **-anai*’) and a perfect participle PT-*a* (< **aka*’) while the present stem is only found in modal uses. Yoshida (2009: 297) confirms the present infinitive **-a-ka-* for Buddhist Sogdian (-*y*).

feste dans la structure de l'infinitif. Les deux autres formes de l'iranien moyen et moderne, sauf exceptions locales et sans portée, se partagent entre les deux grandes catégories en *-tayai* et en *-tanaiy* par où déjà l'avestique et le vieux-perse s'opposent. »

Essentially, then, most Ir. languages have one of the infinitives inherited from Old Iranian, either the one in **-tayai* or the one in **-tanai*, both based on verbal nouns. But a number of Ir. languages show an infinitive from the PRESENT STEM + **-aka-*. This is a noteworthy morphological innovation, and it is also noteworthy that it is shared by a number of Ir. languages which are otherwise not considered to be particularly closely related.

• This infinitive might also shed some light on the agent noun suffix *-ōk*. This suffix is obviously a cognate of Middle Persian (MP) *-ōg*,¹⁴ although Middle Persian shows only a few isolated instances.¹⁵ The most interesting of these is *kirrōg* 'craftsman',¹⁶ as it has an OP counterpart in *kərnuwaka-* 'stone mason'. The OP form clearly is a derivative from the present stem **k̄rnu-* 'do' by the suffix **-aka-*.

The actual way of derivation of MP *kirrōg* does not seem entirely clear. It is synchronically not derivable from the MP present stem *kun-* 'do'. It seems to be a lexicalised item (not formed in Middle Persian) that directly goes back to OP *kərnuwaka-*. The OP word, while the regular result of OIr. **k̄rn_wwaka-*, is not based on the OP synchronic present stem either (which irregularly is *kunaw-*).¹⁷ So it must be either a formation lexicalised before the OP present stem took on its particular shape,¹⁸ or a borrowing from a neighbouring Ir. dialect.

Comparing Vedic formations such as *K̄r̄nva-* (name) and *hinvá-* 'someone who impels / actuates' (vs. present stem *hinu-*), Schmitt (2014: 204) suggests that OP *kərnuwaka-* is a derivative of **k̄r̄nva-* with suffix *-ka-*. According to Wackernagel & Debrunner (1954: 81-83), the formation of agent nouns of the type *hinvá-*, showing semantics close to present participles, could have been triggered by the fact that the Indo-Iranian merger of Indo-European **e, a, o > a* made nominal formations (type *b^hara-*) identical to thematic present stems. This could then have opened a way to generalise the suffix **-a-ka-* on present stems, i.e. **-uwa-ka-*.

At any rate, whatever the exact history of OP *kərnuwaka-*, it seems based on the (historical) present stem **k̄r̄nu-* as seen in Avestan (*kər̄nu-*) and Vedic (*k̄r̄nu-*), and since an infinitive is formed from present stems in various Ir. languages, combinations **-nu-aka-* need to have existed at some point. Essentially, then, the Balochi suffix *-ōk* appears to have been generalised from combinations of present stems such as **k̄r̄nu-* with suffix **-a(-)ka-*, i.e. **-uwa-ka-*.

14 Geiger (1901a: 237) says Bal. *-ōk* "corresponds to" the MP present participle suffix *-āg* (adducing OIr. *-āka-*, so the comparison will be meant for the function only, not for the morphology). MP *-āg* derives from **-āwaka-* according to Salemann (1901: 278).

15 Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 161).

16 Cf. Korn & Durkin-Meisterernst (2009: 12f.).

17 Cf. Hoffmann (1976: 587f.) on the irregular forms in Iranian.

18 This might be the opinion of Schmitt (2014:204), who notes: 'The divergence between *k̄r̄nuwaka-* and the present stem *kunaw-* does not justify the assumption of a borrowing from another dialect (e.g. Median).'

• The gerundive is formed by suffixing $-ī$ to the infinitive. This is, I think, the $-ī$ forming adjectives of appurtenance seen in Persian (instances such as $\check{S}īrāz-ī$ ‘coming from Shiraz’ are particularly clear examples).¹⁹ As Ir. $*-iya-ka-$, from which this suffix derives, is unlikely to regularly yield Bal. $-ī$, the suffix has probably been borrowed from Persian. This assumption is confirmed by the gerundive having a variant showing the adjective suffix $-īg$ in some dialects, which might be borrowed from Middle Persian.²⁰

• The EBal. ‘past participle’ might show the same adjective suffix $-ī(\gamma)$, which, again, would seem to be confirmed by the derivative $-īyā$ having a variant $-īyā$. This could be the oblique case (see 1.3.) of the past participle. If so, the description by Dames (1881: 28) as ‘used of a continued but not repeated action’ would agree with other progressive formations using the OBL case (see 2.1.2.). A progressive from a past stem is somewhat unexpected, so one might perhaps assume that it was generalised (if indeed it was) from verbs with stative or resultative meaning (e.g. ‘to sit down’: ‘sat down’ = ‘is sitting’).

1.3. BALOCHI MORPHOLOGY

Some basics of the Balochi nominal (Table 2) and verbal system (Table 3) are needed for the discussion to follow. Everything stated in this section is a supradialectal abstraction.

1.3.1. Basic nominal system²¹

• For names and pronouns, the genitive case has the suffix $-ī$, which in my view is the $-ī$ forming adjectives of appurtenance just mentioned (1.2.), while other nominals have the ending $-ay$, dialectally $-ē$, deriving from the OIr. genitive.²²

• The oblique case $-ā$ is likely to be an innovation in the system.²³ It is used for objects as well as for adverbial and local uses such as $\check{s}ap-ā$ ‘by night’ and $lōg-ā$ ‘in/at/to the house’.

• The object case marker clearly consists of the oblique ending to which $-(r)ā$ is suffixed; it is used for direct and indirect objects under particular pragmatic conditions.²⁴

19 Cf. Korn (2005: 168f.). As argued by Hackstein (2003: 54f., 59-64), adjectives of appurtenance formed from a verbal noun have deontic modality also in other languages.

20 Cf. Korn (2005: 163-169).

21 Cf. Jahani & Korn (2009: 651-653), and Korn (2008b) for the case system of the various dialects. See Korn (2005a, with references) for the view of the Bal. case system presented here.

22 Cf. Korn (2005: 293f.).

23 Cf. Korn (2005: 292). In many Bal. dialects, final vowels are shortened, so that the ending is $-a$.

24 Cf. Korn (2005: 291).

Table 2: Balochi case system

	SG	PL	examples relevant here
DIR	∅ (< NOM / ACC)	∅	
GEN	-ay / -ē (< GEN *-ahya) names, pronouns: -ī	-ānī (= OBL.PL + -ī)	wāntin-ay 'read.INF-GEN' gerundive: barag-ī
OBL	-ā (← NP -(r)ā ?)	-ān (< GEN.PL *-ānām)	šap-ā 'by night', lōg-ā 'in/at the house' kaššag-ā 'pull.INF-OBL'
OBJ	-ārā (= OBL + -rā)	-ān(r)ā (= OBL.PL + -(r)ā)	

1.3.2. Basic verbal system²⁵

As mentioned in 1.1., the verbal system is based on the present (PR) and past (PT) stem, from which the simple verb forms are built. The perfect participle (PF) is derived from the past stem by the suffix *-a(g)*; it is the basis of the compound forms.

Table 3: Basic Balochi verbal system

Simple forms:					
PR + suffix / prefix:	finite			infinite	
	∅ (dial. a-)	<i>b(i)-</i>	<i>-āt-</i>	<i>-ag</i>	<i>-ān</i>
	present indicative	imperative (2SG -∅), subjunctive	optative	infinitive	participle
Alignment: nominative / accusative					
PT + suffix / prefix:	finite			infinite	
	∅	<i>b(i)-...-ēn-</i>		<i>-in</i>	<i>-ag</i>
	past indicative	subjunctive II (irrealis)		infinitive	perfect participle
Alignment: ergative (in dialects patterning ergatively)					

Compound forms:		
PF + auxiliary:	copula present (3SG -∅)	copula past (<i>at-</i> , <i>it-</i> or <i>būt</i>)
	present perfect	past perfect
Alignment: ergative (in dialects patterning ergatively)		
Compound forms:		
PF + auxiliary:	copula present (3SG -∅)	copula past (<i>at-</i> , <i>it-</i> or <i>būt</i>)
	present perfect	past perfect
Alignment: ergative (in dialects patterning ergatively)		

The forms based on the present stem pattern nominative-accusatively. Those based on the past stem, including the compound forms employing the perfect participle, pattern ergatively in those Bal. dialects that preserve ergativity.²⁶

25 Cf. Jahani & Korn (2009: 660ff.).

The actual occurrence of the elements mentioned in the tables is a matter of considerable dialectal variation.

2. USES OF VERBAL NOUNS²⁷

The verbal nouns are used in a large number of constructions, making periphrastic verb forms and some also serving to form equivalents of subordinate clauses (marked with {...} below). The variation seen among Bal. dialects may to a certain extent be due to language contact (be it ancient or modern).

Verbal nouns can govern objects. These are mostly in the GEN case (as may be expected from the object of a noun), e.g. in (7), (22), but infinitives occasionally also take an object in the OBL or the OBJ case as they would be with a finite verb form (cf. e.g. (4), (5), and (25) for an example of a pronominal clitic).

2.1. INFINITIVES

2.1.1. *Infinitives as nominals*²⁸

• Just like any other noun, infinitives may be inflected, cf. (1), where the GEN of the INF *wāntinay* is governed by the circumposition *pa ... xātirā*.

- 1) { *pa wānt-in-ay* *xātirā* } *mnā gipt u jat*
 for read.PT-INF-GEN for reasons of I.OBJ take.PT and strike.PT
 ‘{ for reasons of studying }, he (my father) used to take me and beat me’ (WBal.; Turkmenistan)

• An infinitive may be the object of an inflected verb, as in (2), which is from a text describing the production of butter:

- 2) *kammok=ē* *mant-ag-a* *lōt-ī*
 little=IND shake.PR-INF-OBL want.PR-3SG
 ‘it needs (lit.: wants) a little shaking’ (SBal.; Karewan, GH 1.97)

• Infinitives can be used in equivalents of complement and purpose clauses. In (3) and (4), the OBL case of the infinitives *kaššag* and *čār-ag-ā* denotes direction, and the infinitive has verbal qualities, taking a direct object.

- 3) *šut* *kū-ā* { *āp* *kašš-ag-ā* }
 go.PT well-OBL water pull.PR-INF-OBL
 ‘He went to the well {to pull up water}’ (WBal.; Pakistan, Noshke)
- 4) *šot-an* *ya* *šap=ē* *čār-ag-ā*
 go.PT-3PL one night=IND look.PR-INF-OBL

26 In Bal. ergative patterns, the transitive subject is in the OBL case and the direct object in DIR case (sometimes also object case). For more details, see Korn (2008a).

27 In what follows, examples are from Jahani & Korn (2009) unless otherwise indicated. Examples with place names and abbreviations are from field recordings collected among Afro-Baloch in South Eastern Iran and analysed by Maryam Nourzaei and myself; this is referred to by ‘our data’ in what follows.

28 Cf. Jahani & Korn (2009: 679, 683, 688).

čo janēn drost-ā goš-ī { dast-ān pād-ān prēnč-ag-ā }
 as woman all-OBL.PL say.PR-3SG hand-OBL.PL foot-OBL.PL press.PR-INF-OBL
 ‘They went one evening for visiting, as the girl had told (lit: tells) everyone
 to press her hands and feet.’ (SBal.; Shirgwaz, YN 1.174)

Complex sentences can have a considerable length, as in (5). Note the object in the object case in the third infinitive clause (vs. the GEN object of *pač kanag*), and the subject *allāh rabb-ul-izzat* in the OBL, going with the main verb in the last clause in an ergative construction.

- 5) *allāh rabb-ul-izzat-ā*
 God (epithet)-OBL
 ‘Allah the Lord of Glory,
 { *insān-ē bīnāi-ē pač kan-ag-ē wāstā* }
 man-GEN view-GEN open do.PR-INF-GEN for
 for the sake of opening the sight of humans,
 { *insān-ē dimāg-ē pač kan-ag-ē wāstā* }
 man-GEN mind-GEN open do.PR-INF-GEN for
 for the sake of opening the mind of humans,
 { *insān-ārā samjāin-ag-ē wāstā* }
 man-OBJ make.understand.PR-INF-GEN for
 for the sake of explaining to humans,
dunyā-ē tōkā nabī dēm kut-a
 world-GEN in prophet forward do-PF
 sent prophets into the world.’ (SBal.; Karachi)²⁹

2.1.2. Infinitives with copula and auxiliaries³⁰

Ingressives and progressives

• There are several INF constructions with auxiliaries. For instance, the verbs *lagg-*, literally ‘hit, fall upon; beat’ and (Turkmenistan) *binā kan-* ‘build’ are used for ingressives in one dialect or the other.

Here, too, one might interpret the OBL as occurring in its directional function.

- 6a) *man guš-ag-ā lagg-ā* 6b) *čārit-in-ā laggit*
 I say.PR-INF-OBL hit.PR-1SG graze.INF-OBL hit.PT
 ‘I begin to say’ (SBal.; Karachi) ‘It started to graze’ (WBal.)
- 7) *mehratūn mē hōt lagge baṭ-ānī kaš-ag-ā*
 PN DEM PN hit.PT rice-GEN.PL pull.PR-INF-OBL
 ‘Mehratun, this Hot [tribe name], started to distribute the rice.’ (SBal.; Konarak, SE 1:2.38)

In Eastern Balochi, this form is also found (interpreted as an influence from other Bal. dialects and/or from Brahui by Bashir 2008: 73). Otherwise, *k^haf-* (EBal. variant of

²⁹ Text published by Farrell (2008: 131), his translation.

³⁰ Jahani & Korn (2009: 663, 675-678). Some early authors note the infinitive in the oblique as a separate verbal noun but do not mention the gerundive (thus e.g. Geiger 1901a: 237, Mockler 1877: 51).

kap-) ‘fall’ is used for ingessives and habituals according to Gilbertson.³¹ As shown by the pronominal clitic expressing the subject in (8a), transitive main verbs trigger ergative structures in the PT domain.

8a) *k^han-ay-ā* *k^hapta=ī*
do.PR-INF-OBL fall.PF=PC3SG
‘S/he began to do’ (EBal.; Dames 1881:26)

8b) *ingō* *āngō* *k^hapt-a* *p^ha* *t^hat^har-ay-a*
here there fall.PT-PF to wander about.PR-INF-OBL
‘He began to roam about here and there’ (EBal.; Gilbertson 1925/I:6)

• The copula is combined with the infinitive in the OBL to denote a progressive, (9), (10).

9) *man* *guš-ag-ā* =*un*
I say.PR-INF-OBL COP1SG
‘I am saying’ (WBal.)

10) *zōrēn* *peywast=ē* *kan-ag-ā* =*yant=ī*
forced union=IND do.PR-INF-OBL COP3PL=PC3SG
‘They are (just now) making a forced union (marrying the girl without her consent)’
(SBal.; Shirgwaz, YN 1.148)

Literally this is a construction ‘be in the state / position of doing something’, showing the OBL in its locative function. Indeed the formation is not unlike English *I am saying*, and thus labelled ‘continuous form’ by Farrell (1990: 74 passim). This pattern is found in many Bal. dialects. In the Balochi of Karachi studied by Farrell, it can be formed in all tenses just as the English pattern. But there are also dialects where it is uncommon or not found at all.

It seems that all dialects that use the pattern also in past tenses have a separate past copula (stem *at-* or *it-*) instead of employing the past stem of ‘become’ (*būit*) so that there is no coalescence with the passive, which in several dialects is formed from the infinitive with ‘become’ as auxiliary (see below).

According to Barker & Mengal (1969/I: 237), who call this pattern ‘continuative form’, it ‘denotes an action continuously in progress at the time of the utterance (or else an action which will begin in the immediate future)’, in contrast to the ‘iterative’, i.e. present participle plus copula (for which see 2.2.).

In our field recordings, the continuous form also takes the bare infinitive, (11). This pattern is also found in EBal. dialects (12).

11) *pam-ag* =*ey*
understand.PR-INF COP2SG
‘Do you understand (i.e.: are you following)?’ (SBal.; Konarak, SE 1:1.37)

31 There are several additional patterns reported by Gilbertson (1925/I): he adds a pattern with *mirēn-* ‘attack’ followed by INF-OBL (p. 61f.), and see 2.5.

- 12a) *l^haš-ay* =ant
run.PR-INF COP3PL
'They are running.'
- (12b) *l^haš-ay* =*ēθ-ant*
run.PR-INF COP.PT-3PL
'They were running.'
(EBal.; Gilbertson 1923: 81f.)³²

Our data also show the infinitive with the copula in habitual function (13):

- 13) *čē kambol-ān* =a *kan-ag* =ant=*ī*
under blanket-OBL.PL IPF do.PR-INF COP=PC3PL
'They used to put (lit: they are putting) it under a cloth.' (SBal.; Karewan, GH 1.10)

Terminatives, Permissives

The verb PR *il(l)-* / PT *išt* 'let, leave' is used as an auxiliary with the infinitive to form a 'terminative' in Turkmenistan Balochi (14).³³

- 14) *watī jāng kurt-in-ā* *išt*
own fight do.PR-INF-OBL leave.PT
'He stopped quarrelling.' (WBal.; Turkmenistan)

In EBal. as studied by Gilbertson, this combination yields a 'permissive'. Many examples actually show the negated form, expressing refused permission / prohibition (15b).

- 15a) *ma l^hara rav-ay-a* *k^hil-ā*
now you.SG.OBJ go.PR-INF-OBL leave.PR-1SG
'I may allow you to go.' (WBal.; Turkmenistan)
- 15b) *mā qhīārā guš-ay-a* *ney-išt-a*
I.OBL DEM.OBJ say.PR-INF-OBL NEG-leave.PT-PF
'I did not allow him to speak.' (EBal.)³⁴

Passives

The infinitive, with the verb 'become' agreeing with the subject, forms the passive in SBal. and most WBal. dialects (16), (17).³⁵

- 16) *maskat-ē tōkā lānč gir-ag* *būt-ag=it-ā*
PN-GEN in boat take.PR-INF become.PT-PF=COP.PT-3PL
'Boats had been caught in Muscat.' (SBal.; Karachi)
- 17) *ē mardom-ān jat-en* *būt-ē*
DEM people-PL hit.PT-INF become.PT-3PL
'These people were beaten.' (Iranian Bal.; Sarawan)

32 Bashir (2008: 73) also reports the pattern from her field work.

33 For this verb with subjunctive, see 3.2.

34 Both Gilbertson (1923: 141f.), his translation.

35 For other passive formations, see 2.5.

Modal constructions

• Infinitives are also used in impersonal constructions. The verb *lōt-* (which, when used as a transitive main verb, means ‘want something’) may be used in a construction ‘to me [it] wants’ to convey necessity (18):

- 18) *manā* *likk-ag* *lōt-ī*
 I.OBL write.PR-INF want.PR-3SG
 ‘I should write’ (lit.: ‘to me it wants to write’) (SBal.; Karachi).

This pattern, as the gerundive discussed in 2.4., can be subsumed within the class of impersonal constructions which is characterised by ‘the lack of a human agent controlling the depicted situation or event’, i.e. the agentivity is low (Jahani *et al.* 2012: 198, following Siewierska 2008: 3f.). The logical subject is thus marked as an experiencer and marked as oblique. One typical context where this applies cross-linguistically is with ‘modal meanings, such as verbs of wanting, necessity/obligation, capability/possibility’ etc. (Jahani *et al.* 2012: 199f., quoting Onishi 2001: 25-35). This fits the present use very well, as it does fit the gerundive.

2.2. PRESENT PARTICIPLE³⁶

The present participle with copula is an alternative to the infinitive constructions just mentioned to express a progressive.

In (19), the present participle with the copula appears in a construction with *bi* ‘to, at’ (lit.: ‘he was at (the position of) [being] someone who goes a-riding’), thus a locational construction again.

- 19) *wāja* *panč-kuš* *bi har-ā* *swār* *raw-ān* *at*
 mister five-kill.PR to donkey-OBL riding go.PR-PRP COP.PT3SG
 ‘Mr. Five-slayer kept moving forward riding on his donkey’ (WBal.; Noshke)

But it also occurs without locational element (20). Barker & Mengal (1969/I: 237) say that the event is viewed as having started in the past and is ongoing at present; they call this pattern ‘iterative’.

- 20) *šumā* *zarr* *day-q̄* *bi-bit*
 you.PL money give.PR-PRP IPR-become.2PL
 ‘Keep giving money!’ (WBal.; Noshke)³⁷

However, (21) shows the present participle with ‘do’. The functions and dialectal distribution of present participle constructions remain to be studied.

- 21) *hamē* *bayt-a* *gwaš-ān* *kot*
 DEM verse-OBL say.PR-PRP do.PT
o *dēm* *pa* *zīyārat-a* *raw-ān*
 and forward to shrine-OBL go.PR-PRP
 ‘They said the verse and went off in the direction of the shrine’
 (SBal.; Shirgwaz, YN 1.255)

36 Jahani & Korn (2009: 67).

37 Barker & Mengal (1969/I: 237), their translation.

2.3. AGENT NOUN³⁸

Quite close to the preceding formation is the agent noun, which in fact (and a bit confusingly) is called ‘present participle’ by Barker & Mengal (1969/I: 404). The Bal. grammars diverge considerably in describing the formation as denoting someone who does something right now, or rather habitually and/or as a profession. The use of the agent noun with the copula (instead of using a finite form of the main verb) yields a focus on the doer rather than on the event.

The (logical) object of an agent noun is in the genitive (22), underlining the nominal character of the formation (vs. the infinitive, which can also take an object in the OBL). It may also be expressed by a pronominal clitic (25).

- 22) *mullā āī gir-ōk =a bī*
 mulla DEM.GEN take.PR-AGN IPF become.PR3SG
 ‘The mulla will marry her (lit.: is becoming her taker)’ (WBal.; Turkmenistan, Axenov 2006: 207)
- 23) *baššām-ay jāambar grand-ōk =ant*
 monsoon-GEN cloud thunder.PR-AGN COP3PL
 ‘The clouds of the monsoons are thundering.’ (WBal.; Noshke)³⁹
- 24) *man šot-ān =o ma mēšī zīr-ok bī-ā*
 I go.PT-1SG and I DEM.GEN seize.PR-AGN become.PT-1SG
 ‘I went, and I took it (the child).’ (SBal.; Konarak, SE 1:2.29f.)

As in (21) with the present participle, our data also show *kan-* ‘do’ instead of the copula with the agent noun in (25), where the pronominal clitic refers to the object:

- 25) *nē lōtet by-ān*
 now want.PT SBJ-come.PR3PL
gend-ōk=ī kan-an māt o pet-met=e
 see.PR-AGN=PC3PL do.PR-3PL mother and father-etc.=PC3SG
 ‘Now they wanted to come [and] see them; her mother, father, and so on.’ (SBal.; Shirgwaz, YN 1.252f.)

2.4. GERUNDIVE⁴⁰

In addition to the patterns conveying necessity or volition in 2.1.2., the gerundive may be used for that function.

• In the construction literally meaning ‘I am someone who should go’, the gerundive expresses the action as a feature of the subject. The semantics of this pattern is a domain of considerable dialectal variation, (26):⁴¹

- 26) *man raw-agī =un* (incl. dialectal variants of the copula)
 I go.PR-GERV COP1SG
 ‘I am about to go’ (SBal.; Karachi) / I intend / am able / have to go’ (WBal.; Noshke)

38 Cf. Jahani & Korn (2009: 660).

39 Barker & Mengal (1969/I: 405), their translation.

40 Cf. Jahani & Korn (2009: 659f., 677).

41 For the prospective semantics of this construction, see Jahani (forthcoming).

• In an existential construction, the gerundive is the subject, as in (27), which literally is ‘to me there exists the necessity to go’.⁴² This pattern agrees with the infinitive with *lōt-* (see 2.1.2.) in showing a ‘dative subject’. It is noteworthy, though, that the pattern just mentioned above (gerundive with subject in the direct case) patterns differently, underlining the puzzle (cf. Jahani *et al.* 2012: 198f., quoting Haig 2008: 59) that semantically quite close patterns (modal readings with both DIR and OBL subjects) do not necessarily agree in their case marking patterns.

- 27) *manā raw-agī =int*
 I.OBJ go.PR-GRV COP3SG
 ‘I have to go’ (WBal., Noshke; SBal., Karachi)⁴³

A gerundive also appears to be present in (28).⁴⁴ Here, the animals are discussing who will assume the task of binding the lion. The fox says:

- 28) *ē kār=o manīg =en*
 DEM work=DEF mine COP3SG
 ‘This is my job
- band-agī manīg =en manī*
 bind.PR-GRV mine COP3SG mine
 I am to bind [him].
- dast-ān=ī band-an*
 hand-OBL.PL=PC3SG bind.PR-1SG
 I will bind his paws (lit.: hands).’ (SBal.; Konarak, GO 1.17ff.)

2.5. PAST STEM / ‘SHORT INFINITIVE’, PERFECT PARTICIPLE AND PAST PARTICIPLE⁴⁵

The past stem is an important element of the verbal system, deriving as it does from several OIr. verbal nouns (cf. 1.1.), and building forms of the basic verbal system presented in 1.3. (Table 3), as do the perfect participle (PT-*a(g)*) and the EBal. past participle (suffix *-ī(?)*).

The EBal. ‘conjunctive participle’, which is the PT to which *-ō* ‘and’ or *-au* is suffixed,⁴⁶ which is mostly used as a converb (see 3.3.), is also employed as a verbal noun (2.5.2.).

42 Note that Balochi mostly expresses ‘to have’ with an existential construction of the *mihi est* type (‘to me there is a book’), cf. Jahani & Korn (2009: 666).

43 Barker & Mengal (1969/I: 240), Farrell (1990: 76).

44 Theoretically, this could also be the abstract suffix *-ī*, which, however, does not seem to occur on infinitives in Balochi.

45 Cf. Jahani & Korn (2009: 677).

46 Cf. Bashir (2008: 72). *-au* might be a dialectal variant or (suggestion by Thomas Jügel) the combination of the PF *-a(?)* and *o* ‘and’.

2.5.1. *Patterns with the copula**Passive voice*⁴⁷

Those dialects that do not form their passives with the infinitive (see 2.1.2.) employ the perfect participle. This concerns the dialects of Afghanistan and Turkmenistan (WBal.) and Eastern Balochi (29)-(30).⁴⁸

- 29) *ar dukēn-ānī sar burrit-ag būt*
 each two-GEN.PL head cut.PT-PF become.PT
 ‘The heads of both of them were cut off.’ (WBal., Turkmenistan)
- 30a) *ǰaθ-aγ=ǰ* 30b) *ǰaθ-aγ=ēθ-ǰ*
 hit.PT-PF=COP1SG hit.PT-PF=COP.PT-1SG
 ‘I am struck’ ‘I was struck’ (EBal.; Gilbertson 1923: 125, 127)

Our SBal. recordings, which show very few instances of passives, appear to use the PF as well (31).

- 31) *čē hamedān kāgad=ē dāt-a mnī pet-a hoseyhān-a*
 from there letter=IND give.PT-PF my father-OBL PN-OBL
če hamē... golmahmad-a, golmahmad-a
 from DEM PN-OBL PN-OBL
 ‘From there, a letter was sent (lit.: given) to my father for Hosein-Khan,
 from this ... Golmahmad, Golmahmad’ (SBal.; Konarak, SE 1:1.1)

Additional EBal. passive patterns⁴⁹ include one based on the past participle (PTP, PT-ī) (32).

- 32a) *gīpt-iv=ǰ* 32b) *gīpt-iv=ēθ-ǰ*
 seize.PT-PTP=COP1SG seize.PT-PTP=COP.PT-1SG
 ‘I am seized.’ ‘I was seized.’ (EBal.; Gilbertson 1923: 126f.)

Progressive

The past participle is also involved in a progressive formation: Dames (1881: 28) says that the form PT-īyā / -īyā (also cited as -īa and -iya by Gilbertson 1923) is ‘used of a continued but not repeated action’, suggesting a progressive: Gilbertson (1923: 87) gives ex. (33), which, with a copula added, might point into the same direction, but clearer examples are lacking.

I argue that this suffix -īyā is the OBL of the past participle PT-ī, and that the pattern is parallel to those seen in 2.1.2., likewise employing the OBL of a verbal noun, yielding a locational construction (‘be in the state / position of doing’).

47 Cf. Jahani & Korn (2009: 662f.).

48 Bashir (2008: 62), who does not find this pattern in her fieldwork, wonders whether these examples should not rather be translated ‘I have / had been struck’, which might indicate resultative meaning.

49 There is also a morphological passive (employing a borrowed suffix), for which cf. Bashir (2008: 61-64).

- 33) *diyār-a* *wapt-iyā*
ground-OBL lie.PT-PTP
'lying on the ground' (Gilbertson 1923: 87)

2.5.2. Patterns with auxiliaries

The potential construction

In the potential construction, the past stem (in some dialects also the perfect participle, cf. (34), (35)) is combined with the verb 'do' as auxiliary. Some Bal. dialects employ 'become' when the subject is affected (i.e. if the main verb has mediopassive semantics) (35)⁵⁰ while others use 'do' for these as well, as in (36).⁵¹

The construction with 'do' patterns ergatively irrespective of the transitivity features of the main verb.⁵²

- 34) *ē* *mā* *ēšīy-a* *zort-a* *na-kan-ē*
DEM we DEM-OBL seize.PT-PF NEG-do.PR-1PL
'We cannot take this one [as slave]' (SBal.; Konarak, SE 1:1.105)

- 35) *ēš-ī* *dast* *čōt* *mant*
DEM-GEN hand crooked remain.PT

'His hand remained crooked,

rāst *kurt-ag* =*a* *na-bīt*
right do.PT-PF IPF NEG-become.PR3SG

it cannot be made straight.' (WBal.; Turkmenistan, Axenov 2006: 224)

- 36) *āy-q̄* *kapt* *kut-ag=ā*
DEM.OBL.PL fall.PT do.PT-PF=COP.PT3SG
'they could have fallen'

Bashir (2008: 64f.) mentions a pattern (potentially due to Indo-Aryan influence and not mentioned in the earlier grammars) in which the inflected negative form of 'come' is combined with the perfect participle to indicate impossibility, as in (37). The verb agrees with the object (as if 'the thief was not to be caught / not catchable by the police').

50 For more discussion of this distribution, see Korn (2013: 34-38).

51 The potential construction is inherited from Old Iranian. In Old Persian, the pattern employs the verbal adjective in **-ta-*, which agrees with the object in the active pattern (X in 'be able to do X') and with the subject in the mediopassive one (the latter is also the case in Khotanese); the Sogdian potential employs a form slightly different from those used in other verbal patterns. For the potential construction in these and other Ir. languages, see Sims-Williams 2007.

52 Cf. Farrell (1990: 58). This is a major difference to the compound forms (see 1.3.) that pattern according to the transitivity features of the main verb (i.e. the perfect forms pattern ergatively when the main verb is transitive in spite of the intransitive finite verb 'be').

- 37) *pulūs-ā duzz gipt-a niy-ātk-a*
 police-OBL thief take.PT-PF NEG-come.PT-PF

‘The police could not catch the thief’ (EBal.; Kohlu, Bashir 2008: 65)

Habitual / iterative

The ‘conjunctive participle’ of ‘fall’ is found in a habitual or iterative construction in Eastern Balochi (38). It patterns ergatively with transitive main verbs.⁵³

- 38a) *ma ēḍa k^hapt-ō kār k^han-ā*
 I here fall.PT-CP work do.PR-PF

‘I shall continue to work here.’

- 38b) *mā waθ ḍḍa k^hapt-ō kār k^huθ-a*
 I-OBL self there fall.PT-CP work do.PT-PF

‘I continued to work there.’ (EBal.; Gilbertson 1923: 141)

3. CONCLUSION

3.1. VERBAL NOUNS

Among the forms discussed above, the following may be considered to be verbal nouns from a morphosyntactic point of view: the agent noun (*barōk*); the present participle (*barān*); the perfect participle (*burtag*); the infinitive (*barag / burtin*); the gerundive (*baragī / burtinī*); the EBal. past participle (*burt^hī*). The agent noun, the perfect participle (quite commonly) and the present participle (rather rarely) can be used attributively;⁵⁴ this might not be so significant, though, as the attributive adjective suffix *-ēn*, which is suffixed in these constructions, could be regarded as changing the word class; still, the differing extent to which this actually is the case is noteworthy. The infinitive and the EBal. past participle are declinable like a noun, which might be regarded as more significant.

The past stem does not take part in nominal patterns and is, despite being involved in similar constructions as are the other formations discussed above, not part of the system of verbal nouns.

3.2. VERBAL NOUN CONSTRUCTIONS

As seen in 2., verbal nouns are employed in a number of modal and aktionsart patterns. Some constructions have close parallels cross-linguistically and others less so. The Bal. system of verbal nouns thus exhibits an interesting mix of cross-linguistically common and uncommon patterns.

The first group includes those using a copula in Balochi. Locational constructions such as the ‘to be in the state of doing’, which are a quite common source for

53 Note the use of ‘fall’ in progressive patterns involving the infinitive (2.1.2.).

54 Examples for the participles (kindly provided by Carina Jahani): *manī kutagēn kār* ‘the work I did’, *rawanēn āp* ‘running water’.

progressives cross-linguistically,⁵⁵ appear in various forms of Balochi, using the OBL of the infinitive or of the past participle or the present participle with *bi* ‘to’ (2.1.2., 2.2., 2.5.1.). The Bal. combination of present participle with copula could be compared (2.2.) to combinations of ‘be, exist’ with a main verb functioning as progressives in other languages,⁵⁶ and so is the development of progressive to habitual (cf. the Balochi patterns in 2.1.2., 2.5.2., 2.3.).⁵⁷

So far as the gerundive (2.4.) is concerned, to which the notion of necessity or desiderativity is inherent, its use in future sense is likewise to be expected.⁵⁸

Some auxiliaries also arrange themselves with common patterns, thus e.g. ‘want’ for necessity and desiderative.

However, verbs meaning ‘fall’ (Bal. *lagg-*, *kap-*), which at various points are found in the Bal. verbal system (2.1.2., 2.5.2.), do not seem to be prominent sources for ingressives or habituals cross-linguistically. The nearest construction found in Heine & Kuteva (2002: 133) is ‘fall’ yielding a passive, which remotely recalls inchoatives yielding intransitives in Iranian, by a semantic link which is described by Stilo (2004: 240) as ‘an action that happens all by itself’.

In several patterns, *kan-* ‘do’ is found, instead of the copula, in combination with a verbal noun (present participle, 2.2., agent noun, 2.3.), which recalls the opposition of ‘do’ and ‘become’ in the potential construction (2.5.1.), and in complex predicates.

3.3. THE DOUBLE SYSTEM

Looking at the various aktionsart and modal functions for which verbal nouns are employed, it springs to mind that largely the same functions can also be expressed by auxiliaries in combination with subordinate forms of the main verb (Table 4).⁵⁹ Tellingly, they are chiefly found in Bal. dialects which in recent centuries have been under particularly strong influence of Persian. Some Bal. constructions are downright calques on Persian models while others are formed on the basis of these.

Conversely, it is possible that the patterns employing verbal nouns are strengthened by contact with Indo-Aryan languages with which Balochi dialects spoken in Pakistan have been in contact. These make vast use of the root, of the infinitive and of participles to express aktionsart and modal patterns.⁶⁰

This situation is parallel to many other spheres of Balochi grammar. For instance, it has been noticed that ergativity, inherited in Balochi, is perhaps strengthened in Pakistan by the influence of Indic languages while it is weakened in the dialects in Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan (the latter without any ergativity) under the influence of Persian (and other non-ergative languages).⁶¹

55 Cf. Heine & Kuteva (2002: 97f.: ‘be at’, 178f.: ‘in’ + main verb; 202f.: locative marker on verb).

56 Heine & Kuteva (2002: 127).

57 Heine & Kuteva (2002: 92).

58 Heine & Kuteva (2002: future from deontic modality p. 116f.; obligation p. 128; ‘want’ p. 311).

59 For these patterns, see Jahani & Korn (2009: 675-678).

60 Cf. Korn (2010: 108-110).

61 Cf. e.g. Farrell (2003: 197-199).

Table 4: Constructions with verbal nouns and related constructions in Balochi⁶²

verbal noun constructions	approximate function	Persian-style constructions
with copula:		
PRP (<i>bar-ān</i>) + COP	Progressive	<i>golāyīš</i> + COP + SBJ
AGN (<i>bar-ōk</i>) + COP		<i>dār-</i> ‘hold’ + INDIC.
INF(-OBL) (<i>bar-ag(ā)</i> / <i>burt-in(ā)</i>) + COP		
PTP-OBL EBal. (<i>burt^hī-ā</i>) + COP		
GRV (<i>bar-agī</i> / <i>burt-inī</i>) + COP	Immediate future	<i>āy-</i> ‘come’ + SBJ
with auxiliary:		
INF-OBL (<i>bar-ag-ā</i> / <i>burt-in-ā</i>) + <i>lagg-</i>	Ingressive	<i>lagg-</i> ‘hit, fall’ + SBJ
INF-OBL EBal. (<i>baray-ā</i>) + <i>k^haf-</i>		
INF (<i>bar-ag</i> / <i>burt-in</i>) + <i>lōṭ-</i>	Desiderative	<i>lōṭ-</i> ‘want’ + SBJ
INF-OBL (<i>bar-agā</i> / <i>burt-inā</i>) + <i>il(l)-</i>	Terminative / permissive	<i>il(l)-</i> ‘let’ + SBJ
PT (<i>burt</i>) + <i>kan-</i>	Potential	
impersonal constructions:		
OBL + (<i>manā baragī</i> / <i>burtinī</i>) + COP3SG	Necessity	
GRV <i>int</i>		
OBL + INF (<i>manā barag</i> / <i>burtin</i>) + 3SG <i>lōṭī</i>		
other:		
EBal. PTP <i>k^haptō</i> + inflected main verb	Habitual / iterative	

I would like to conclude with a sideview on Balochi subordination. This topic overlaps with the issue of the usage of verbal nouns insofar as some verbal nouns can be used in equivalents of subordinates, as is the case for the infinitive (see 2.1.1.). Moreover, the past stem, the perfect participle and, more systematically, the EBal. “conjunctive participle” (see 2.5.), are frequently found in converb-like function.⁶³

Second, the double system of modal and aktionsart constructions, using verbal nouns on the one hand and Persian-style patterns with auxiliary and subjunctive on the other, has similarities with the patterns seen in subordination.⁶⁴ Subordination in Balochi can be achieved by the use of inherited elements such as infinitive constructions and intonation patterns as well as by the use of conjunctions (Table 5). Patterns of overt subordination seem to be essentially copied from Persian, and the conjunctions are borrowed at least in part, if not all.

62 Adapted and revised from Jahani & Korn (2009: 675, 677). To exemplify the patterns, forms of the verb *bar-* ‘carry’ are again used. Not included here are the passive constructions (cf. 2.1.2., 2.5.1.).

63 In these instances, the subject agrees with the final (finite) verb, not with the converb. For discussion of this phenomenon, see Farrell (2003: 200-204), Bashir (2008: 65-75).

64 The double system of Balochi subordination will be the topic of another article.

Table 5: Constructions of subordinations in spoken Balochi

type of pattern			origin
intonation			inherited?
head-tail linkage			inherited?
connectives	<i>nū / nī</i> <i>o</i>	‘now, then’ ‘and’	inheri ted
SUB	<i>ki</i>	‘that’	= Persian <i>ke</i>
‘conjunction’	<i>waxt-ē ki</i>	‘time-IND SUB’	calque on Persian <i>waqt-i ke</i> (<i>waqt</i> ‘time’: Arabic) etc.
‘conjunctions’	(other combinations with <i>ki</i>)		
conjunction	<i>agar</i>	‘if’	Persian (OIr. <i>*hakaram</i> ‘once’)

Just as many ancient Indo-European languages, Balochi shows a combination of inherited elements, such as the preservation of the participle of the middle voice (*-ān*) with innovations which may be important for the grouping of Ir. languages, such as the infinitive formed with the suffix **-aka-* from the present stem which is shared with Sogdian and other Ir. languages, plus a number of innovations of its own, which may be motivated by language contact. It is also interesting to see how the inherited aspect-temporal system is recreated in New Iranian with partly inherited, partly innovated means. These elements recombined to yield a new set-up of the verb system, which is unique to the language, as the specific combination of elements produce its distinctive flavour.

ABBREVIATIONS

AGN	agent noun
Bal.	Balochi
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
EBal.	Eastern Bal. dialect(s)
GEN	genitive case
GRV	gerundive
IND	‘indefinite article’ (individuation clitic)
INF	infinitive
IPF	imperfective marker
IPR	imperative
Ir.	Iranian
MP	Middle Persian
NP	New Persian
OBJ	object case
OBL	oblique case
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP	Old Persian
PC	pronominal clitic
PF	perfect participle

PL	plural
PN	name
PR	present stem
PRP	present participle
PT	past stem
PTP	past participle
SBJ	subjunctive prefix
SBal.	Southern Bal. dialect(s)
SG	singular
WBal.	Western Bal. dialect(s)

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