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**“Those were the hungry years”:
A glimpse of Coastal Afro-Balochi**

AGNES KORN and MARYAM NOURZAEI

Abstract

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

1. Introduction

The present paper is a contribution to the description of Balochi (Bal.) dialects. We will present results of our research about Balochi varieties spoken by the “Black” population on the coast of Iranian Balochistan.

This paper presents some findings, particularly in the field of morphosyntax, of our work on what we will call “Coastal Afro-Balochi” (CAB) for the sake of brevity. Our material consists of folktales, life stories and procedural texts (e.g. how to produce various milk products) recorded from male and female informants of different ages and different social backgrounds and from different towns and villages on the coast (see Map 2), in 2010 and 2014.

It needs to be stressed that “Coastal Afro-Balochi” is not a uniform dialect. As is the case for other parts of Balochi society, there are notable regional differences; this will be noted below where appropriate.¹

1.1 The African connection of Balochistan

While it may initially seem surprising that we find people of African descent in Balochistan, contacts between the coast of the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa date back a long time.² The presence of Baloch in the Gulf States is particularly well known, and since the 19th century,³ Baloch have also gone to East Africa and settled there. Conversely, people from East Africa have come (or rather been brought) to Iran and other regions along

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

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

² We follow the common practice of writing Black with capital B to indicate that it refers to a social construct rather than to a measurable feature. The term “Afro-Baloch” was kindly suggested to us by Östen Dahl.

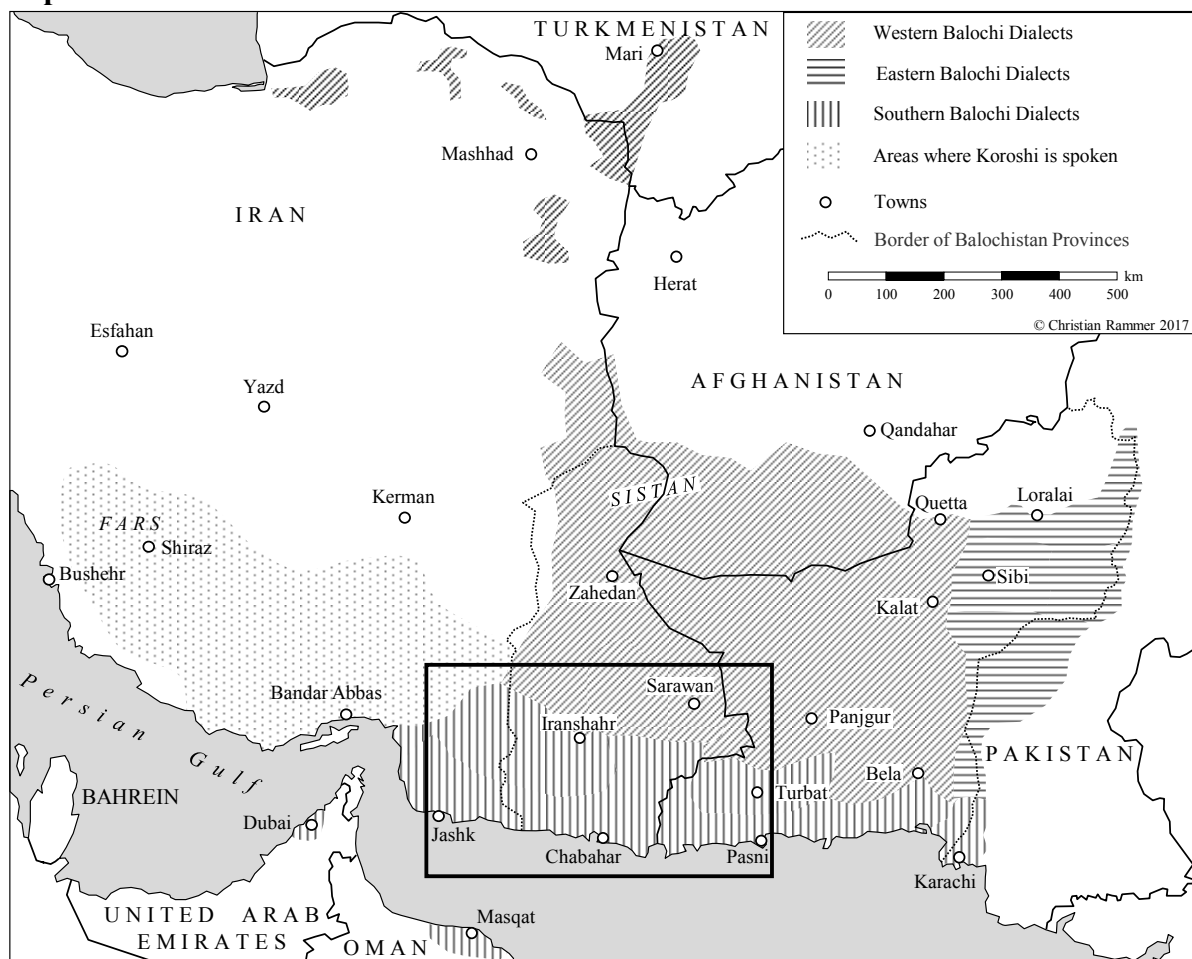
³ Nicolini (2008, p. 327).

the coast of the Indian Ocean for many centuries.⁴

Slavery was abolished in Iran in the early 20th century, but people of African descent still constitute a marginalised group of Iranian society and have continued to live in very poor conditions; this bitter and at times brutal reality is reflected in some of our recordings.⁵ They are sometimes referred to as “Black” by others, but they do not see themselves so. Mostly they are identified as *golām* (cf. Persian *golām* ‘slave’) both by others and by themselves (as opposed to *balōč* referring to the non-Black members of society), and terms like *golām* and *nōkar* ‘servant’ are even used as their tribe names or family names.

While this article is a linguistic paper, we would like to say that the African heritage of Balochistan is a point as worthy of notice as is the Baloch element in East Africa.

Map 1: Balochi dialects



1.2 The speech of the Afro-Baloch

To our knowledge, there is as yet no description of the speech of any group of Afro-Baloch. Farrell,⁶ studying influences on the Balochi of Karachi, mentions the possibility of influence from African languages. But the lexical items of possible African origin that Burton⁷

⁴ See e.g. Nicolini 2008. For a collection of articles about Blacks in other regions of Asia, see Prasad and Angenot 2008.

⁵ Cf. also the data presented by Yadegari (2008, pp. 252f.), Nicolini (2008, pp. 339f.) and Noraiee (2008, p. 351).

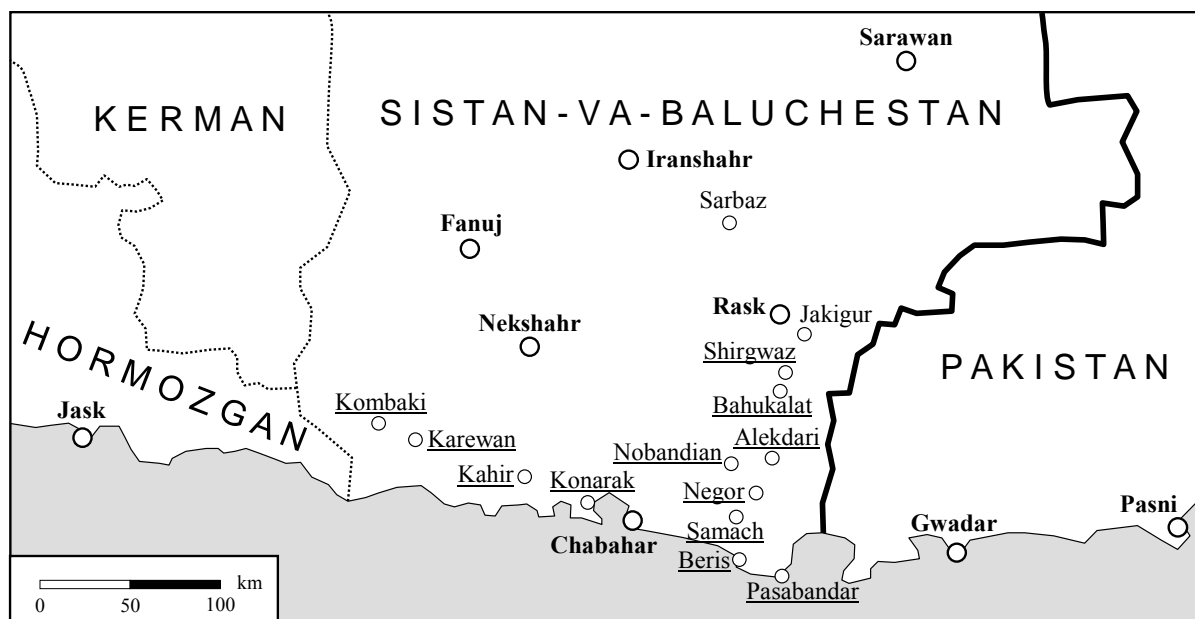
⁶ Farrell (2003), pp. 169,173

⁷ Burton (1851), pp. 256f., pp. 372-374.

collected from Afro-Baloch in Karachi (at least some of which are clearly from Swahili) are no longer in use today according to Farrell’s investigations, and the only item he found is *na* ‘and’ (not on Burton’s list), which is “used to conjoin nouns, especially names” and might be connected to Swahili *na*.⁸ However, it might perhaps be worthwhile double-checking these findings, as Farrell’s observations probably refer to the possible African elements in the speech of non-African Baloch in Karachi, and Farhat Sultana, while not a linguistic study, remarks that “many Baloch of African descent in Karachi speak a dialect which is similar to Swahili”.⁹

Independent of the question of linguistic elements from African languages, an investigation of the speech of the Afro-Baloch is interesting in itself for reasons of their status as a specific social group; moreover, owing to their marginalisation and lack of access to education etc., their speech might present traditional features that are less seen in other sectors of Baloch society. Also, we made it a point to chiefly (but not only) record female informants. Given the traditional nature of Baloch society, male linguists have not had access to women, and to our knowledge, Balochi data and texts published so far have nearly exclusively been from male informants.¹⁰ It is thus possible that some of the archaic features noted below may also be due to Afro-Baloch women’s particularly low exposure to other dialects and languages.

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



Likewise more or less undescribed are the dialects spoken on the coast of Iranian Balochistan (although a number of works have mentioned various specific features).¹¹ It is

⁸ Farrell (2003), p. 184.

⁹ Farhat (1996), pp. 45/50 note 9. She also notes that *gwāt* spirit healers on the coast of Pakistani Balochistan “speak a dialect which is a mix of Swahili and Balochi” (1996), pp. 34/50 note 4, cf. also p. 45. *Gwāt* (a Balochi word meaning ‘wind’) is a type of evil spirit similar to *jinn*s and can produce illnesses etc., and people seek the help of healers to counter these effects. The tradition is likely to contain African elements cf. Farhat (1996), pp. 28, 34.

¹⁰ Exceptions include the sample text in Baranzehi (2003), one text in Axenov (2006) and texts in Nourzaei et al. (2015) and Nourzaei (2017).

¹¹ See Nourzaei (2017) for a recent work on Coastal Balochi data from Iran.

generally assumed¹² that they more or less correspond to those spoken on the Pakistani coast and belong to the “Coastal Balochi” group of Southern Balochi (SBal.) (cf. Map 1).¹³ On the other hand, studies on Balochi dialects spoken in Iran published in recent decades have highlighted marked influence from standard Persian, particularly in the nominal system and the case marking and types of alignment that follow from it, rendering these dialects quite different from Pakistani Coastal Balochi. But most studies of Iranian Balochi¹⁴ focus on dialects spoken in the northern and central parts of the province Sistan-va-Baluchestan, so what kind of pattern an Iranian variety of Coastal Balochi (or: a coastal variety of Iranian Balochi) would show is quite unresearched.

The emphasis of this paper will be on discussing the position of Iranian Coastal Balochi as spoken by the Afro-Baloch in comparison with other Balochi dialects. The focus is on morphosyntactic properties which distinguish it from other Balochi dialects of Iran on the one hand and Coastal dialects of Pakistan on the other.

1.3 Transcription and other technicals

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

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

2. Nominal system

2.1 General points

Historically, Balochi shows a split-alignment system with nominative-accusative alignment in clauses whose verb forms are based on the present (PRS) stem (intransitive subject and transitive agent in the direct case, objects in the oblique case) and ergative-absolutive alignment for those based on the past (PST) stem (agent in the oblique, subject and direct object in the direct case). The pronominal clitics (enclitic pronouns, PC) are used in the historical functions of the oblique case (i.e. for direct and indirect objects, for the agent in the PST domain and for possession). Many Balochi dialects have diverged from this system, though, and all types of alignment (nominative, ergative, neutral, tripartite) are found in some dialect or the other.¹⁵ Balochi also shows differential object marking (DOM), which means that only definite direct objects are marked as such while indefinite ones are unmarked (thus appear in the direct case).

¹² Cf. e.g. Elfenbein (1989), p. 637.

¹³ The available works on Coastal Balochi, Mockler (1877), Pierce (1874), Farrell (1990 and 2003), describe varieties spoken on the Pakistani coast or, in the case of Omani Balochi described by Collett (1983), derived from there.

¹⁴ Spooner (1967), Yusefian (1992), Baranzehi (2003), Ahangar (2007), and cf. the bibliography in Jahani and Korn (2009).

¹⁵ Cf. Korn (2008c).

2.2 Nouns

2.2.1 Case system¹⁶

One point in which Balochi dialects diverge considerably is the nominal system. The nominal system of Pakistani Coastal Balochi comprises a direct (DIR), oblique (OBL), object (OBJ) and genitive (GEN) case (**Table 1**), the OBJ case showing an element *-rā* which is affixed to the form already marked by the OBL ending.¹⁷

Table 1: Case system of nouns in Pakistani Coastal Balochi

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

Conversely, many Iranian Balochi dialects exhibit a major refashioning of the case system (probably under the influence of Persian), viz. a coalescence of the direct and the oblique case to yield what may be called a nominative case (**Table 2**), and to a certain extent also a substitution of the *ežāfe* construction¹⁸ for the genitive case.¹⁹

Table 2: Case system of Iranian Balochi

	NOM	OBJ	GEN
SG	-∅	-ā, -ārā	-ey, -ī or <i>ežāfe</i>
PL	-ān	-ānā	-ānī

The case system shown by our CAB data diverges considerably from both systems. The suffix *-rā* does not occur on nouns at all. The plural ending *-ānā* or *-ānrā* is not found either. This means that CAB differs from Pakistani Coastal Balochi in not having a separate object case; instead, it has the following system of only three cases (**Table 3**).²⁰

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

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

¹⁶ For the analyses to follow, a form used as agent of ergative constructions (“ergative agent”) and, as a rule, with prepositions such as *čē / čā* ‘from’ or *gōn* ‘with’ cf. Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 657 is interpreted as OBL (not OBJ). Thus *man* ‘I’ is interpreted as being OBL (and DIR at the same time) in those dialects where it is used in the functions just mentioned cf. Korn (2009a), pp. 61f.; “subject of nominative constructions” includes the subject of intransitives and the agent of transitives in the PRESENT (PRS) domain. A form used in the possessive *mihi est* construction cf. Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 666 is interpreted as OBJ if it is different from the OBL form, and is included in the category of “indirect object”. For discussion of the cases in various Balochi dialects and their functions, cf. Korn (2008a).

¹⁷ Cf. Korn (2008a), pp. 172f., Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 652. One might add a vocative case (which has the form of the direct case in the SG and the form of the oblique in the PL).

¹⁸ The “*ežāfe*” is a clitic used in Persian (and some other Iranian languages) by which dependent elements (adjectives, possessors etc.) are attached to a head noun.

¹⁹ Cf. Jahani (2003), Korn (2008a), pp. 180-185, Jahani and Korn (2009), p. 652.

²⁰ Nourzaei (n.d.), p. 117 also notes *-ā* in GEN function for her Coastal Balochi data, but does not note *-ī*.

2.2.2 A locative case?

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

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

This looks like the “locative” case of Afghanistan and Turkmenistan Balochi (4):²¹

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

In an earlier paper, I argued that in Afghanistan Balochi, the locative occurs more or less exclusively on nouns and pronouns with reference to humans,²² as in the instructive example (5), which opposes the oblique *gis-ā* “to the house” to the locative *āĵizag-ayā* “to (that) woman”:

- 5) Western Balochi of Afghanistan Buddruss (1988), p. 7.
bi *ē* *gis-ā* *wa* *bi* *ā* *gis-ā*
 to DEM house-OBL and to DEM house-OBL
 “they carried me [the baby] to this and that house,
bi *ē* *āĵizag-ayā* *wa* *bi* *ā* *āĵizag-ayā* *mn-ā* *burt-ant*
 to DEM woman-LOC and to DEM woman-LOC I-OBL carry.PST-3PL
 to this and that woman”

I also argued that the way the “locative” is employed in Afghanistan Balochi shows an earlier situation vs. the more general use seen in Turkmenistan Balochi, and that the motivation for the rise of the locative may be seen in the context of a typological constraint as to the possibility to apply local deixis to persons.²³ The locative marker, being the oblique case marker suffixed to that of the genitive, literally means ‘at [the place] of’ and is thus a periphrasis similar to English and French (6).

²¹ The “locative” in Afghanistan and Turkmenistan Balochi is also used in comparisons Buddruss (1988), p. 48, Axenov (2006), p. 81, although all instances are with prepositions meaning ‘like’.

²² Korn (2008b), p. 94.

²³ Korn (2008b), p. 96.

- 6) inanimate reference reference to persons
English
at the hotel *at my uncle's* [place]
French
à l'hôtel *chez mon oncle* (*chez* < Latin *casa* 'house')

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

The remaining instances of word-final *-īya* appear to be the combination of the clitic marking specificity (often called “indefinite article”) =*ē* plus oblique ending,²⁴ assimilated to *īya*, as in (7).

- 7) *sād=ī* *bōtk-a* *bast-ag=ī* *gō* *kahīr=īy-ā*
string=PC3SG open.PST-PRF bind.PST-PRF=PC3SG with PN=SPC-OBL
“‘He opened the string [and] bound it to a Kahur tree.’” Konarak, SE 1.1:42f.²⁵

2.2.3 The clitic =*o*

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

- 8) *gwašt=ī* *balē* *nū* *šēr=o* *balāh-ēn* *rastar* *ē*
say.PST=PC3PL yes now lion=FOC huge-ATTR beast COP3SG
“[The animals] said: ‘Now, the lion is a huge animal.
kay *bast-a* *kā*
who bind.PST-PRF do.PRS3SG
Who would be able to bind him?’” Konarak, GO 1:12.

The status of this element is at yet unclear, but it seems to us that it might be connected to the various markers of definiteness, specificity and focus appearing in forms such as *-ak(a)*, *-ū* etc. in other Iranian languages, cf. Dolatkhah, Csató and Karakoç (2016).²⁶ For Koroshi, a suffix *-ok* has been noted, which “contributes to a definite singular interpretation of the word to which it is attached” Nourzaei et al. (2015), p.32; there is also a suffix *-o* that “sometimes” attaches to adjectives and seems to retain more of the probably originally diminutive semantics since it is particularly found with *kas(s)ān* ‘small’ Nourzaei et al. (2015), p. 43.

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

²⁴ Note that this combination is not possible in all Balochi dialects; also note that the oblique case marker follows the specificity marker cf. Korn (2005), p. 292 for historical implications. The interpretation of this clitic as marking specificity follows the classification suggested by Heine (1997), pp. 72f.

²⁵ Kahūr trees (here with *ū* > *ī* as is common in Southern Balochi), *Prosopis spicigera* / *cineraria*, are rather prominent within the very scarce vegetation in Balochistan. They provide edible seedpods, leaves as food for the animals, heating wood, and shade.

²⁶ We are grateful to Geoffrey Haig for bringing this article to our attention. To the languages mentioned by Dolatkhah, Csató and Karakoç (2016), one might add Bashkardi, which has a suffix *-ak* (preceding the PL suffix), cf. Korn (2017a), pp. 85, 93f., and the Kumzari “definite suffix” *-o*, Anonby (2012), p. 57.

2.3 Personal pronouns

2.3.1 Full pronouns

Agreeing with the case system of nouns (**Table 1** and **2**), the personal pronouns show four cases in Pakistani Coastal Balochi (**Table 4**)²⁷ and a reconfiguring of the case system in many dialects of Iran (**Table 5**).²⁸

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

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

Table 5: Case system of personal pronouns in Iranian Balochi

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

or ezāfe

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

9) *man ta-rā bar-ān*
 I you.SG-OBJ Carry. PRS-1SG.
 “I will take you [with me]”. Shirgwaz YN 1:50.

10) *mā-re kabr-a šōn de*
 we-OBJ grave-OBL show give.IMP2SG
 “Show us her grave!” Konarak, SE 1.4:29.

11) *šomā-rē da*
 you.PL-OBJ give.PST
 “He gave [it] to you”. Konarak, SE 1.1:16.

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

12) *taw man-a bar-ē*
 you.SG I-OBJ carry.PRS-2SG
man bannām bō
 I of bad reputation become.PRS1SG
 “If you carry me off, I will have a bad reputation”. Shirgwaz, YN 1:54.

²⁷ Cf. Korn (2008a), pp. 173-175, Jahani and Korn (2009), pp. 653f.

²⁸ Cf. Korn (2008a), pp. 182f., 186, Jahani and Korn (2009), pp. 653f.

- 13) *aga manī band-ōk be-bī mollā rōbā*
 if I.GEN bind.PRS-AGN SBJV-become.PRS3SG Molla fox
 “If the one who binds me is Molla Fox
o manī bōj-ōk be-bī mošk
 and I.GEN release.PRS-AGN SBJV-become.PRS3SG mouse
 and the one who releases me is Mouse,
man-ā ta-rā ē molk o hokūmat=ī na-zīb-ī
 I-OBJ you.SG-OBJ DEM country and government=PC3SG NEG-fit.PRS-3SG
 then this country and its government is not fitting for you and me”.
 Konarak, GO 1:101ff.

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

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

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

The general picture here is that the inherited forms *man* (dialectally also *ma*), *taw* (also *to* and *ta*) as well as *mā*, *š(o)mā*²⁹ have the functions of the DIR and OBL cases insofar as the encoding of subject and agent and the use of these forms with prepositions is concerned. Object marking is twofold, however: CAB largely agrees with Pakistani SBalochi. in showing the clearly innovated forms *manā*, *tarā* etc. for direct and indirect objects in the PRS and PST domains, thus producing a split in the PST domain in that pronominal direct objects show a dedicated object case while nouns are consistently found in the DIR case (thus unmarked).³⁰

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

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

²⁹ These are the oblique case forms of Middle Iranian, going back to the Old Iranian genitives cf. Korn (2005).

³⁰ For more discussion of this split cf. Farrell (1995), pp. 221f., Korn (2008c), pp. 263ff., (2009a), pp. 71f.

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

	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN
1SG	<i>man, ma/ā</i>		<i>m(a)nā, mna</i>	<i>m(a)nī</i>
2SG	<i>taw, ta, tō</i>		<i>tarā</i>	<i>tī, taī</i>
1PL	<i>mā</i>		<i>mārā/a, māre</i>	<i>mē</i>
2PL	<i>š(o)mā</i>		<i>šomārā/a, šomārē</i>	<i>šomē</i>

2.3.2 Pronominal clitics

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

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

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

One instance of the 1PL pronominal clitic *=mān* is also found. As this is an isolated instance, it is best explained as a copy from Persian. In fact, it occurs as a last sentence of a text, and in our data, such final phrases often contain formalised expressions summarising the tale or presenting a bottom line, thus liable to contain Persian formulae.

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

2.4 Demonstratives

The inflexion of demonstratives in Pakistani Coastal Balochi (**Table 9**) likewise has four cases.³¹

Table 9: Case system of demonstratives in Pakistani Coastal Balochi

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

The demonstratives are not always treated in detail (this applies to the actual forms as well as to the distribution of the various stems) in the published sources of Iranian Balochi; the available data yield the system in **Table 10**.³²

³¹ Cf. Korn (2008a), p. 174. For the proximal pronoun, the system in the first line is that given by Mockler (1877), p. 39 and Farrell (1990), pp. 66f. and the one in the second line is the one given by Collett (1983), p. 9, who does not give a plural.

³² Cf. Korn (2008a), pp. 182f., 186f., Yūsefiyān (1992), pp. 42f.; (2005), p. 91.

Table 10: Case system of demonstratives in Iranian Balochi

	SG			PL		
	NOM	OBJ	GEN (or ezafe)	NOM	OBJ	GEN (or ezafe)
DISTAL	<i>ā(ī)</i>	<i>āīā, āīrā</i>	<i>āī(e)</i>	<i>āwān, āyān</i>	<i>āwānā, āyānā</i>	<i>āwānī</i>
	<i>hamā, hamāiē</i>					
PROXIMAL	<i>ē, (i)šī, ēš(ī)</i>	<i>(ī)šīya, šera</i>		<i>(e)šān</i>	<i>(e)šāna</i>	
	<i>hamī, hamē, hamēš, hamēši</i>					

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

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

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

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

	attrib.	nom. subj.	erg. agent	obj. PST	obj. PRS	other
PROX	<i>ē, (ha)mē</i>	<i>ē, mē</i> PL <i>ē</i>		dO: <i>ē, hamē</i> idO: <i>hamē</i>	dO: <i>ē</i> *	POSTP <i>ēīē</i>
	<i>ēš, ēšī, (ha)mēšī</i>	<i>ēš, ēšī</i> PL <i>ēšān</i>	<i>(ha)mēšī</i>	dO: <i>ēšī</i>		GEN <i>(ha)mēšī</i>
			<i>ēšīā</i>	idO: <i>ēšīā</i>	dO, idO: <i>ēšīā</i>	
DIST	<i>ā, hamā</i>	<i>ā, (ha)mā</i> PL <i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i> *	dO: <i>ā</i>		
			<i>āī, āīā</i>	idO: <i>āīā</i>	dO: <i>āī, āīā</i> idO: <i>āī</i>	GEN <i>āī</i> GEN.PL <i>āīānī</i>
other	<i>hamō</i>	<i>šō, ī</i>				

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

- 15) *balē šmā by-āy-e*
 now you.PL SBJV-come.PRS-2PL
 (The animals’ assembly is discussing their situation. The fox says:)
 “Now you should come
ke šēr-ā ē gārat=ē kan-ē
 SUB lion-OBL DEM killing=PC3SG do.SBJV-1PL
 so that we kill the lion

o mā-šmā ya hokūmat=*ē* pa wat hokūmat a b-*ē*
 and we-you.PL one government=SPC to self government V.EL become.
 PRS-1PL

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

Just like the nouns, but unlike the personal pronouns, the demonstratives do not use *-rā*. Conversely, the form *āī* appears to be used for the genitive and the oblique case, as in *pakat šmā āī košōk bey* “but you will be his killer” in (32). This wider function of the form *āī* has also been noted for other dialects, specifically from the Western Balochi dialect group.³³ It might mirror an older situation with a general oblique that also includes the genitive (and the use with postposition), as is the function of the oblique case in Middle Iranian cf. Korn (2005), pp. 296-298. Besides *āī*, an oblique form *āīā* occurs, but only for the oblique functions other than the genitive.

The form of the proximal demonstrative corresponding in function to the form *āī* is *ēšī*, which is likewise used for oblique functions including the genitive, but in fact it is used even more widely than *āī*. It seems to be the oblique of *ēš* insofar as simple *ēš* is not found in oblique functions such as the ergative agent and direct or indirect objects, but *ēšī* is found also in roles where one would expect the direct case (Table 12).³⁴

The single occurrence of a genitive *ēīē* appears to follow the model of an oblique **ēī* to which the genitive ending is affixed.

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

	SG			PL	
	DIR	OBL	GEN	DIR	GEN
stem <i>ā</i>	<i>ā, (ha)mā</i>	<i>āī</i> <i>āīā</i>	<i>āī</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>āyānī</i>
stem <i>ē</i>	<i>ē, (ha)mē</i>		<i>ēīē</i>	<i>ē</i>	
stem <i>ēš</i>	<i>ēš, ēšī, (ha)mēšī</i>	<i>ēšī, (ha)mēšī</i> <i>ēšīā</i>	<i>ēšī, (ha)mēšī</i>	<i>ēšān</i>	

The pronominal system of CAB is not particularly similar to the demonstrative system in other Iranian Balochi dialects. Instead, the CAB system goes more with Pakistani Coastal Balochi, more specifically with the system presented by Collett 1983, who has *ē / ēš-* for the proximal demonstrative.

2.5 Conclusion

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

³³ Thus for the Balochi dialects of Turkmenistan Sokolov (1956), p. 70, Axenov (2006), p. 113 and Afghanistan Buddruss (1988), p. 51. Other sources have *āīā* for the OBL, thus Southern Balochi, Mockler (1877), p. 34, Farrell (1990), p. 66, Western Balochi of Pakistan, Barker and Mengal (1969)/I, p. 72, Grierson (1921), p. 345 and Afghanistan, Nawata (1981), p. 12. Owing to the case reduction mentioned in Section 2.2, Sarawani uses *āī* for nominative functions and *āīā* for the object case cf. Baranzehi (2003), p. 87.

³⁴ Nourzaei (n.d.) does not note DIR *(ham) ēšī* for her Coastal Balochi data, but has the additional GEN *ēšīe and āīe*.

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

	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN	DIR	OBL	OBJ	GEN
noun endings	-∅	-ā	–	-ē, -ī	-∅	-ān	–	-ānī
personal pronouns	1 st	<i>ma(n), mǎ</i>		<i>manā</i>	<i>manī</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā/a, mārē/e</i>	<i>mē</i>
	2 nd	<i>taw, ta, tō</i>		<i>tarā</i>	<i>tī, taī</i>	<i>šomā</i>	<i>šomārā/a, šomārē/e</i>	<i>šomē</i>
demonstratives	<i>ē,</i>	<i>ēšī,</i>	–	<i>ētē,</i>	<i>ē,</i>		–	
	<i>ēš(ī)</i>	<i>ēšīā</i>		<i>ēšī</i>	<i>ēšān</i>			
	<i>ā</i>	<i>āī, āīā</i>		<i>āī</i>	<i>ā</i>			<i>āyānī</i>

2.5.1 Nouns and personal pronouns

CAB seems to confirm assumptions on the development of the Balochi case system suggested previously. For instance, it substantiates the view advanced by various authors³⁵ of the Balochi case system as being two-layered, with two markers *-ā* / *-rā*. The first one is the *-ā* in the OBL of nouns and the OBJ of the 1SG pronoun, and *-rā* on the other pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons; it is shared by CAB cf. **Tables 3** and **7**. The second one (presumably a later addition to the system) is the *-ā* or *-rā* shown by the object case of nouns (**Table 1**) and the additional *-rā* in the object case of the SG pronouns (**Table 4**) in some dialects, but not in CAB.

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

The system found in CAB is more archaic than the nominal system found in other Southern Balochi varieties. This is particularly noteworthy as the system in **Table 1** is even shared by the oldest Balochi manuscript (ca. 1820, edited by Elfenbein 1983) and by other 19th century sources such as Mockler (1877). So far as the personal pronouns are concerned, CAB differs again from the other Southern Balochi varieties including the 1820 manuscript, but here, it is rather close to the system shown by other Balochi dialects of Iran (**Table 5**).

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

2.5.2 Demonstratives

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

Another interesting point is the distribution of the stems found for the demonstrative pronouns. The proximal deixis shows a paradigm composed of the stems *ē* and *ēš*. The former is employed in the direct case and in attributive position (preceding a noun), where nominals are not inflected. One might thus say that the pronoun *ē* is generally uninflected, while the

³⁵ See Bashir (2008), pp. 50f., Adamik (1977), pp. 114, 150, 154, Korn (2005), pp. 297-300, with differing views about the origin of the suffixes, and Nourzaei (n.d.), pp. 179f.

inflected forms are provided by the stem $\bar{e}\check{s}$.³⁶

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

The co-occurrence of \bar{e} and $\bar{e}\check{s}$ in what originally seems to have been a suppletive paradigm is reminiscent of suppletive paradigms found in other Iranian languages (and in general in Indo-European): it is rather typical for pronominal paradigms to show two unrelated stems (originally one for the nominative and one for the remaining cases). Such suppletivism in the pronouns is well known from other Iranian languages, and indeed inherited from Proto-Indo-European. The main demonstratives in Old Iranian are $i/ay-$ vs. $a-$ for the proximal and $hau-/h\bar{a}w-$ vs. $awa-$ for the distal deixis,³⁷ and (in Avestan) $ha/ta-$ vs. $aita-$ for a neutral one. Sogdian has a three-way system, too, adding to proximal $i/ai-$ and distal $hau-$ vs. $awa-$ the combination of the stems $*ai\check{s}a-$ vs. $*ta-$,³⁸ and showing that the inherited stems may be recombined in the individual later languages.³⁹

From a phonological point of view, the most straightforward derivation of \bar{e} and $\bar{e}\check{s}$ would be from the stems $ai-$ and $ai\check{s}a-$, respectively.⁴⁰ Potentially likewise relevant is the fact that \bar{e} and $\bar{e}\check{s}$ also occur as personal clitics in some Balochi dialects (though only $=\bar{e}$ in CAB, cf. **Table 8**: here, $=\bar{e}$ is the 3SG clitic and $=\bar{e}\check{s}$ the 3PL one.⁴¹ One possible origin would be the Old Ir. independent pronoun GEN.SG $ahya$, GEN.PL $ai\check{s}\bar{a}m$.⁴² These forms account well for the forms of the Balochi clitics, and also agree with the fact that the personal pronouns are derived from the Old Iranian genitive (this is particularly obvious for the 1SG pronoun man , which can only derive from the Old Iranian GEN $mana$). Obviously the pronominal clitics provide no motivation for the distribution of stems in the suppletive paradigm of the proximal demonstrative (the underlying principle of which would rather be inherited), but the presence of matching forms in the demonstrative and the clitic system might have reinforced each other.

3. Alignment

3.1 Ergativity

The changes in the case system shown by other Iranian Balochi dialects (cf. Section 2.2) have important consequences for alignment patterns. Besides the nominative/accusative vs. ergative system historically found in Balochi, patterning as shown in **Table 14a-b** (cf. Section 2.1), several Iranian Balochi dialects show a system of argument marking known as “neutral”, i.e. intransitive subject, transitive agent and object all marked identically in the PST domain (**Table 14c**).⁴³

³⁶ Thus already Geiger (1901), p. 241.

³⁷ Cf. Brandenstein and Mayrhofer (1964), pp. 67f., Hoffmann and Forssman (1996), pp. 165-169 for details.

³⁸ Cf. Sims-Williams (1994).

³⁹ The choice in demonstrative stems has also been used as an isogloss for the subgrouping of Iranian since Tedesco (1921), pp. 215f, it does not feature in Windfuhr (2009) any more, though.

⁴⁰ Thus Geiger (1901), p. 241, who rightly notes that \bar{e} does not have anything to do with Persian \bar{m} . Conversely, his suggestion *Ibid.* that the stem \bar{a} would have the same origin as Persian $\bar{a}n$ and go back to $ana-$ seems unlikely to me.

⁴¹ $-\bar{e}$ and $-i\check{s}$ are the only pronominal clitics found in the Southern Balochi varieties studied by Mockler (1877) and Collett (1983).

⁴² Cf. Korn (2009b), p. 164, following Lecoq (1989), p. 257.

⁴³ Cf. Baranzehi (2003), p. 82; Jahani (2003), pp. 121-125; Korn (2008c), (2009).

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

14a: nominative/accusative		14b: ergative		14c: neutral	
S		S		S	
A	P	A	P	A	P

Agreeing with the absence of a reduction in the case system **Tables 3, 7, 12**, CAB does not follow the neutral pattern in the PST domain found in other Iranian Balochi dialects. Instead, it systematically exhibits split ergativity as does Pakistani Coastal Balochi. This includes the marking of the plurality of an object with the 3PL ending *-an(t) / -ã* (48), (50), (51), (65) as is the tradition for “canonical” ergativity in Balochi.

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

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

- 17) *ešīy-a* *ešīy-a* *ke warag* *dāt-ag-an* *gept-a*
 DEM-OBL DEM-OBL CL food give.PST-PRF-3PL take.PT-PP
 “When he gave food to them (= the tradesmen), they took him”.
 (Konarak, SE 1.1:32f).

- 18) *manjal=ē* *āp=ē* *dāt-ag-ã*
 pot=SPC water=PC3PL give.PST-PRF-3PL
nagan-e *čonḍok=ē* *dāt-ag-ã*
 bread-GEN slice=SPC give.PST-PRF-3PL
 “They (= the children) gave them (= the Hots) a pot of water,
 [and then] they (= the Hots) gave them (= the children) a slice of bread”.
 (Bahukalat, SB 2:16).

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

- 19) *mē* *gaz-ānī* *o* *mē* *rēk-ānī* *lāpā bār=ē* *dāt-ag-an*
 DEM tamarisk-GEN.PL and DEM sand-GEN.PL in load=SPC give.PST-PRF-3PL
 “In the sand, [under] the tamarisk trees, it gave them a load (?) (= they died)”.
 (Konarak, SE 1.3:13).

- 20) *šot-a* *šōn=ē* *dāt-ag-ã*
 go.PST-PRF show=PC3PL give.PST-PRF-3PL
 “They went [and] he showed them (the direction to the grave)”.
 (Konarak, SE 1.4:30).

Agreement of a verb in the PST (ergative) domain with an indirect object has not been noted for Balochi so far, but it has been observed for several other Iranian languages: This

construction, which philologists traditionally refer to as the ‘indirect affectee’ construction, is found occasionally in Middle Persian, MacKenzie (1964); Tafazzoli (1986), pp. 483-486 and Sogdian Yoshida (2009), pp. 284-285. Sims-Williams (2011), p. 34 as well as in some New Iranian languages, cf. examples (21)-(23), which incidentally also use ‘give’ and ‘show’.

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

- 21) Middle Persian, Tafazzoli (1986), p. 485.
ēg=im rāh ī rāst nimūd hēnd
 then=PC1SG way EZ right show.PST COP3PL
 “then I showed them the right way”.
- 22) Bidheni, Kashan, Tafazzoli (1986), p. 486.
bi=m vāt-i
 to=PC1SG say.PST-2SG
 “I said to you”.
- 23) Zoroastrian Yazdi, Tafazzoli (1986), p. 487.
čmoš=oš om=dud-i
 shoe=PC3SG PC1SG=give.PST-2SG
 “I gave his shoes to you”.
- 24) Bactrian, Sims-Williams (2011) p. 34, example (41)⁴⁴
 οδο μαχο λαδδηδο ειo χοησιυαοο
 ud māx lād-ēd ei xwēciyāu
 and we give.PST-**2PL** this undertaking
 “and we gave you this undertaking” (S 12)

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

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

4. Mood, tense and aspect

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

⁴⁴ Bold and italics from the original, Greek script added.

4.1 Progressives and ingressives

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

Verbal nouns used in these patterns include the present participle (PRS-*ān*), the agent noun (PRS-*ōk*), the infinitive, which in CAB is formed by suffixing *-ag* to the present stem (as in other Southern Balochi dialects, but different from dialects that have an infinitive PST-*in*) and the gerundive, which is derived from the infinitive by the suffix *-sī*.⁴⁵

4.1.1 The infinitive

Many Balochi dialects show the infinitive in the OBL combined with the copula in a pattern that can be interpreted as a locational construction “be in [the position / situation of] doing something”, thus not unlike the English “continuous form” (and thus termed by Farrell (1990)) *I am going*, at the same time agreeing with the typologically common pattern of locational constructions yielding progressives.⁴⁶

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

- 25) *zōr-ēn* *peywast=ē* *kan-ag-ā* *yant=ī*
force-ATTR union=SPC do.PRS-INF-OBL COP3PL=PC3SG
“they are (just now) making a forced union for her
(they are marrying the girl without her consent)”. (Shirgwaz, YN 1:148).

In addition to this pattern, the bare infinitive is also found (26)-(29). This pattern has not been reported for Southern Balochi dialects yet, but has been noted in Eastern Balochi.⁴⁷ In (27), the contrast between “now as the sun is rising” (progressive) and “yet Hawrok is not at work” (simple present) is interesting.

- 26) *gwašt-ag=ī* *na* *āy-ag* *ne*
say.PST-PRF=PC3SG NEG come.PRS-INF NEG.COP.PRS3SG
“He said: No, nobody is coming”. (Konarak, SE 1.1:50).

- 27) *marčī* *rōč* *dar* *āh-eg* *ē*
today sun out come.PRS-INF COP3SG
“The sun is rising [already],
hawrok-ī *janter* *tawār* *na* *kā*
PN-GEN handmill sound NEG do.PRS3SG
[but] Hawrok’s handmill does not make a sound”. (Bahukalat, RB 2:61).

- 28) *ē* *nōjwān* *lāye* *jan-ag* *ā*
DEM young possible hit.PRS-INF COP1SG
“This young man, is it possible that I hit [him]?” (Shirgwaz, YN 1:88).

⁴⁵ For more details on the use of infinite forms and verbal nouns in Balochi in general, see Korn (2017b).

⁴⁶ For locative expressions as progressives see Heine and Kuteva (2002), pp. 97-99, 178f., 202f.

⁴⁷ Cf. Bashir (2008), p. 73.

Our data also show infinitives in habitual function (29).

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

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

4.1.2 The present participle

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

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

4.1.3 The agent noun

In descriptions of other dialects, the agent noun in *-ōk* (formed from the PRS stem), even called “present participle” by some authors, is noted as being combined with the copula to express habitual doing, but also for doing something right now.⁴⁸

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

- 31) *nē lōtet by-ān*
 now want.PST SBJV-come.PRS3PL
 “Now they wanted to come [and]
gend-ōk=ī kan-an māt o pet-met=e
 see.PRS-AGN=PC3PL do.PRS-3PL mother and father-etc.=PC3SG
 see them; her mother, father, etc”. (Shirgwaz, YN 1:251f).
- 13') *aga manī band-ōk be-bī mollā rōbā*
 if I.GEN bind.PRS-AGN SBJV-become.PRS3SG Molla fox
 “If the one who binds me is Molla Fox
o manī bōj-ōk be-bī mošk
 and I.GEN release.PRS-AGN SBJV-become.PRS3SG mouse
 and the one who releases me is Mouse,
man-ā ta-rā ē molk o hokūmat=ī na-zīb-ī
 I-OBJ you.SG-OBJ DEM country and government=PC3SG NEG-fit.PRS-3SG

⁴⁸ See Heine and Kuteva (2002), pp. 93f. for the connection of continuous and habitual.

then this country and its government is not fitting for you and me”.
(Konarak, GO 1:101ff).

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

4.1.4 The gerundive

The gerundive conveys necessity: when referring to a person, it usually means “someone who should do something”, and with an object “something that needs to be done”. Like the agent nouns, the gerundive is rare in our data.⁴⁹

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

- 32) *ē* *kār=o* *manīg* *en*
DEM work=FOC mine COP3SG
“This is my job.
band-agī *manīg* *en* *manī*
bind.PRS-GRV mine COP3SG mine
I am to bind [him].
dast-ān=ī *band-an*
hand-OBL.PL=PC3SG bind.PRS-1SG
I will bind his feet (lit. hands).
pakat *šmā* *āī* *koš-ōk* *bey*
only you.PL DEM.GEN kill.PRS-AGN become.PRS2PL
But you will kill him”. (Konarak, GO 1:17ff).

4.1.5 Action noun with copula

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

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

- 33) *mā* *hanī* *gap-ā* *ā̃* *na* *gōš* *dār* *manī* *gap-ā̃*
I now word-OBL COP1SG NEG ear hold.IMP2SG I.GEN word-OBL-PL
“I am speaking now, right? Listen to my words!” (Bahukalat, SB 2:1).
- 34) *hamā* *kār-ān* *a* *kār-ān* *a*
DEM work-OBL.PL COP.PST3SG work-OBL.PL COP.PST3SG
“He worked, worked
kār-ān *a* *kār-ān* *a* *kār-ān*
work-OBL.PL COP.PST3SG work-OBL.PL COP.PST3SG work-OBL.PL

⁴⁹ Cf. Jahani (2017), p. 266 for discussion of the gerundive and Vydrin (2017), pp. 149f. for parallels from other Iranian languages.

worked, worked, worked,
dā yak rōč=ē bī
 until one day=SPC become.PST.3SG
 until one day...”. (Shirgwaz, YN 1:8f).

4.2 Mood

4.2.1 The clitic *a*

There is also an interesting modal formation in our CAB data. It concerns the use of a clitic *a*. One might expect that this element is identical to the so-called “verbal element” *a* known from other dialects. In some Balochi dialects (chiefly Western Bal. from Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan, but also elsewhere), this element is very common and is employed like the Persian prefix *mī-* (35), so that it has been described as marker of imperfective aspect.⁵⁰

- 35) Sarawani Balochi (Baranzehi 2003, p. 89)
čand sāl o šomā eda kār a kan-ēt
 how many year COP3SG you.PL here work V.EL do.PRS-2PL
 “How many years have you been working here?”

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

Moreover, it seems to have modal function in several examples, as in (36)-(38) and the second parts of (39) and (15),⁵¹ where it occurs in contexts that in Persian would show the subjunctive.

- 36) *man raw-ā āb dast a kan-ā*
 I go.PRS-1SG water hand V.EL do PRS-1SG
 “I am going to the toilet.” lit. ‘I will go; I do the ablution,
 i.e. I am going to wash’. (Konarak, SE 1.1:38, 40).

- 37) *janēn ham be-zā tarr-ī šekār a kā na*
 The woman also SBJV-know.IMP2SG turn.PRS-3SG hunt V.EL do.PRS3SG NEG
 “The woman also goes hunting, you know, right?” (Shirgwaz, YN 1:28).

- 38) *p-čī bahā a kan-ē*
 to-which price V.EL do.PRS-1PL
 “Why would we sell him?” (Konarak, SE 1.1:10).

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

⁵⁰ Cf. Buddruss (1988, pp. 62-65), Axenov (2006, pp. 166ff.), Jahani & Korn (2009, pp. 661f., 673); thus also Nourzaei & Jahani 2012, who discuss the status of the verbal element as enclitic to the previous word vs. proclitic to the verb in various Balochi dialects. In some dialects, there are restrictions as to the possibility of it occurring clause-initially or after vowels.

⁵¹ Cf. also (49b).

deh-ey ke mana bahā a kan-an
 give.PRS-2SG CL I.OBJ price V.EL do.PRS-3PL
 “You give me [away] so that they sell me”. (Konarak, SE 1.1:81f).

It is not quite clear whether one should assume that the morpheme *a* as found in CAB is the same element as the imperfective aspect marker found in other Balochi dialects. If it is the same element, a potential semantic bridge might be found in the fact that habitual or durative and modal forms overlap in many languages, as e.g. shown by Vydrin 2011 (with examples from various Iranian languages).⁵² Somewhat similarly, a sentence like English *Every night, I would read this book.* allows a modal and a habitual reading as well. The verbal element *a* is found in habitual uses also in other Balochi dialects (40)-(41):

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

šanek-āna jedā a kan-ēn
 goat-OBJ.PL separate V.EL do.PRS-1PL
rah-ēn āf a dah-en=e
 go.PRS-1PL water V.EL do.PRS-1PL=PC3SG
 “We separate the goats. We go and give them water”.

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

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

One might also compare the past subjunctive, which has iterative and irrealis uses (42)-(43) (cf. Jahani & Korn 2009, pp. 674f.):

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

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

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

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

4.2.2 Permissive

Our data show several examples of a construction with *bel-*, i.e. the imperative of *el(l)*- ‘let, leave’ in meanings that seem to border a permissive. In (44)-(45), the literal meaning is more present, but in (46)-(47), no active ‘letting’ is involved.⁵³ Other instances suggest a reading of

⁵² Cf. also Lazard 1975.

⁵³ Note that the same verb is used, in combination with the oblique case of the infinitive, as a “terminative” (‘to stop doing something’) in Turkmenistan Balochi (Jahani & Korn 2009, p. 676) and Western Balochi of Pakistan

bel as permissive, or when combined with a negated verb, prohibitive (48).

- 44) *got=ī* *mnī* *nām-ā* *b-el*
 say.PST=PC3SG I.GEN name-OBL SBJV-leave.IMP2SG
 “He said: ‘Leave my name alone.’”. (Shirgwaz, YN 1:96).
- 45) *b-el=ē* *bay-ān* *šīr*,
SBJV-leave.IMP2SG=PC3PL become.PRS-3PL yoghurt
šīr *a* *bay-ān*
 yoghurt V.EL become.PRS-3PL
 “Leave it so that it becomes yoghurt; [let] it become yoghurt”.
 (Karewan, GH 1:11), *passim*.⁵⁴
- 46) *b-el=ī* *hoš-ā*
SBJV-leave.IMP2SG=PC3PL dry.PRS-3PL
 “Let them become dry”. (Karewan, GH 1:76)
- 47) *ē* *āb-a* *b-el=ī* *čax-ant=ī*
 DEM water-OBL SBJV-leave.IMP2SG=PC3PL drip.PRS-3PL=PC3PL
 “Then let the water drip from it.
ē *āb-a* *degar=e* *čax-an*
 DEM water-OBL other=PC3PL drip.PRS-3PL
 And again the water drips from it”. (Karewan, GH 1:66f).
- 48) *ōī* *dast* *borret-ag-ā* *gō* *kārč-a*
 self.GEN hand cut.PST-PRF-3PL with knife-OBL
 “He cut his own hands with a knife”.
dast=ī *borret-ag-ā*
 hand=PC3PL cut.PST-PRF-3PL
 “He cut his hands”.
borret-ag-ā *borret-ag-ā*
 cut.PST-PRF-3PL cut.PST-PRF-3PL
 “He cut them. He cut them”.
b-el=ī *man-ā* *gerāk* *ma-zīr-an*
SBJV-leave.IMP2SG=PC3PL I-OBL tradesman PROH-seize.PRS-3PL
 “[He said:] ‘May not any tradesmen take me!’” (Konarak, SE 1.1:94ff).

The only author (to our knowledge) who notes such a use of the verb ‘let’ is Mockler (1877, p. 54), who states that imperatives for other persons than the 2nd “are expressed by using the 2nd person Imperative (with *b* prefixed) of the Verb *ilag* ‘to permit’” with the present tense, and sometimes with “the connective particle” *ki* (49).⁵⁵

- 49) Southern Balochi of Pakistan (Mockler 1877, p. 54)
 a. *b-il* (*ki*) *ā* *raw-t*
SBJV-leave.IMP2SG (SUB) DEM go.PRS-3SG

(Barker & Mengal 1969/I, pp. 195-197).

⁵⁴ Entities such as water and yoghurt are treated as plural in Balochi (Jahani & Korn 2009, p. 651).

⁵⁵ Mockler 1877 does not note a negated form of this pattern.

<i>b-il=ē</i>			<i>rawt</i>	
<u>SBJV-leave.IMP2SG=PC3SG</u>			<u>go.PRS-3SG</u>	
“Let him go”.				
b. <i>b-il</i>	(<i>ki</i>)	<i>man</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>raw-t</i>
<u>SBJV-leave.IMP2SG</u>	(SUB)	I	V.EL	<u>go.PRS-3SG</u>
“Let me go”.				

4.3 Multiple verb constructions

Quite frequently, combinations of several verbs are met with that appear to refer to a single event. While the phenomenon has been noted occasionally,⁵⁶ the position of these patterns within the grammatical system of the language, and the distribution in the various Balochi dialects, is a hitherto unstudied topic.

For the vector verb and the converb patterns mentioned in this section, studied by Bashir 2008 for Eastern Balochi and Farrell 2003 for Karachi Balochi, respectively, influence from Indo-Aryan has been suggested. Such influence may surely play a role in strengthening the position of the patterns in Balochi dialects of Pakistan, but their presence in Balochi of Iran demonstrates that Indo-Aryan influence is not a necessary condition.

4.3.1 Vector verb constructions

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

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

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

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

For other Balochi dialects, such patterns have been noted for combinations of two verbs joined by *o* ‘and’ such as (52); in Eastern Balochi, such patterns employ a form called “conjunctive participle” (descriptively the PST stem with suffix *-o* or *-au*), as in (53) (Bashir 2008, pp. 65-75).

- 52) Western Balochi; Pakistan. (Bashir 2008, p. 75)
āī mahrk mā-ra gam-ān gētk o išt
DEM.GEN death we-OBJ grief-OBL.PL bring.PST and leave.PST

⁵⁶ Cf. Bashir (2008, pp. 65-75) for Eastern and Western Balochi and Nourzaei (2017, pp. 147-152), for a related discussion (not entirely employing the same terms).

“His death has brought us grief”. lit. ‘His death brought us grief and left’.⁵⁷

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

a. *bāz=ē mard murθ-o šuθ-a*
 many=SPC man die.PST-CP go.PST-PRF
 “Many men died”. (Gilbertson 1923:134)

b. *bākī-ya āwār māl išt-o dāθ-a*
 rest-OBL looted goods leave.PST-CP give.PST-PRF
 “The rest of them abandoned their booty...” (Gilbertson 1923, p. 261).

Most clearly in (53), there is actually no act of ‘going’ or ‘giving’ involved. As noted by Bashir (2008, p. 74), the reference is to a single event, and “the second (vector) verb contributes aktionsart or aspectual meanings”.⁵⁸

It seems that such combinations contain a lexical verb in combination with a verb of movement (‘go’, ‘come’) or physical transfer (‘bring’, ‘seize’, ‘throw’). Following Bashir (2008, pp. 65-75), we use the term “vector verbs”. The vector verbs largely overlap with ones found in corresponding function in Eastern Balochi, where the inventory (including ‘throw’ and ‘rise’) is exactly parallel to that found in Indo-Aryan (Bashir 2008, p. 75). Note that the case marking of the subject in (53b) and (54) is the one required by the vector verb and not the one for the main verb.

This corresponds to periphrastic constructions such as the continuous form and the potential construction, where the transitivity feature of the auxiliary (‘be’ and ‘do’, respectively) cause the construction to pattern nominatively or ergatively, independent of the transitivity of the main verb.⁵⁹

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

54) *golāmkader dar ā goš-ī*
 PN out come.PRS3SG say.PRS-3SG
 “Gholamkader set out to speak (lit. appeared, said):
hā taw sār ey ganok ey
 yes you.SG wise COP2SG crazy COP2SG
 ‘Hey, are you in sense [or] are you crazy?’” (Bahukalat, SB 2:62)

55) *goš-ī mā harjāgāh be-gend-ā kahīr-ā*
 say.PRS-3SG I everywhere SBJV-see.PRS-1SG PN-OBL
 “He said, ‘Wherever I see Kahir,
kahīr-ā koš-ā hawrokān-ā zīr-ō kāy-ō
 PN-OBL kill.PRS-1SG PN-OBL seize.PRS-1SG come.PRS-1SG

⁵⁷ It is possible that this dialect might have lost ergativity, so *mahrk* ‘death’ being in the direct case does not imply anything in terms of agreement with one or the other verb.

⁵⁸ Essentially the Eastern Balochi pattern was already seen by Dames, who notes: “One verb frequently qualifies another, the two verbs being used in the same person and tense throughout” (Dames 1881, p. 31; 1922, p. 26), citing e.g. *ilay dēay* ‘to let go’ for the phenomenon of interest here, but grouping other patterns under the same heading.

⁵⁹ Cf. Korn (2009, pp. 65-67; 2013, p. 36). Conversely, in compound tenses derived from the perfect participle (PST-*a(g)*) it is the main verb, not the auxiliary (the copula) that determines the alignment.

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

These patterns may be particularly common with PST or PRF forms but, as already seen in (55), are not excluded from the PRS system either. Vector verbs also occur in imperative contexts. In (56), ‘let’s sell him’ would seem the most adequate interpretation, and the straightforward reading of (15) would be ‘Now let’s kill the lion and govern ourselves’ (there is no going or coming involved in either context). In (57), an interpretation ‘I’ll have a look’ would seem quite viable. To some extent, this is reminiscent of French *Allez*, which is generalised for commands, e.g. *Allez, viens!* ‘Come here! (lit. go.2PL, come.2SG)’ (used e.g. when addressing a child or a dog), or to English *Come on*, ...

56) *gwašt-ag=ī* *be-r-ē* *bahā=ī* *kan-ē*
 say.PST-PRF=PC3PL SBJV-go.PRS-1PL price=PC3SG do.SBJV-1PL
 “They said: “Let’s go and sell him.”’. (Konarak, SE 1.1:13)

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

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

4.3.2 Converb constructions

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

58) *mard-ā* *hakalet* *šo* *pada* *otī* *padešāh-e* *gwarā*
 man-OBL set out.PST go.PST3SG back own king-GEN beside
 “The man went quickly back to his king”. (Shirgwas, YN 1:119)

59) *bānūr-a* *čam* *čes* *ko* *o* *čāret=ī*
 bride-OBL eye lifting do.PST and look.PST=PC3SG
 “The bride lifted her eyes and looked [and said to herself:]
ē *maanā-ēn* *sarīg* *manīg* *ē*
 DEM silk-ATTR headscarf mine COP2SG
 “This silken headscarf is mine”’. (Shirgwas, YN 1:164f.)

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

This phenomenon has likewise been noted by Bashir (2008, p. 68) for the Eastern Balochi “conjunctive participle” mentioned above, which “can function as an adverbial in a monoclausal sentence”, as in (61). This pattern is possible in Eastern Balochi even with different grammatical subjects (62), which is a noteworthy difference from the otherwise quite parallel Indo-Aryan “conjunctive participle” (Bashir 2008, pp. 70f.).

The verb contributing the semantics of manner has the form of the PST or the PRF stem,

identical with the 3SG. As noted by Farrell (2003, pp. 200-204) for Karachi Balochi, the non-final verb of a series could be interpreted along the lines of an Indo-Aryan “conjunctive participle” (or a Turkic converb, for that matter), particularly if they show signs of being somewhat less than finite e.g. when the subject does not show the case marking normally required by the verb in question (as is the case for *bīθ-au* in (61) and *wārt-au* in (62)).

As pointed out by Bashir (2008, p. 66), there is not necessarily a strict borderline to be drawn between instances that can be analysed as combinations with converbs or vector verbs and other verb pairs; rather, these “constitute a continuum of grammaticization of verbal conceptions” ranging from less to more closely bound verbs. So there is some fluidity between expressions of several events and those that refer to a single event.

61) Eastern Balochi (Bashir 2008, p. 71)

čōrav-ā *šudī* *bīθ-au* *grēθ-ā*
 little boy-OBL hungry become.PST-CP cry.PST-PRF

“The baby cried from hunger”. lit. ‘The little boy got hungry and cried’.

62) Eastern Balochi (Bashir 2008, p. 70)

ā *mār-ā* *wārt-au* *muṛt-a*
 DEM snake-OBL eat.PST-CP die.PST-PRF

“He died of snake bite”. lit. ‘A snake bit him and he died’.

4.3.3 Repetition

Quite frequently informants use a verb form several times in a row to describe a single event rather than several separate actions, in order to express the duration of an action or its being iterative. In (63) and (34), the repetition of *šot* ‘went’ contributes the meaning of the passing time rather than describing a series of separate actions. In (64), a nuance of intensity may be present in addition to the duration, and in (65), the duration of the cooking could be seen to be combined with the amount of fish.

63) *šot* *šot* *šot* *šot* *šot* *šot* *šot*
 go.PST3SG go.PST3SG go.PST3SG go.PST3SG go.PST3SG go.PST3SG go.PST3SG

“He went and went and went and went and went and went and went

šot *šot* *šab* *jat-a*
 go.PST3SG go.PST3SG night hit.PST-PRF

and went and went. He camped (spent the night)”. (Shirgwaz, YN 1:128)

64) *o* *tarr=ī* *a* *kan-ēn* *o* *tarr=-ī* *a* *kanēn*
 and wet=PC3SG V.EL do.PRS-1PL and wet=PC3SG V.EL do.PRS-1PL

“... and we knead the dough and knead it

o *tarr=ī* *a* *kan-ē*
 and wet=PC3SG V.EL do.PRS-1PL
 and knead it,

dā *halās-e* *tarr=ī* *kan-ēn*
 until completely=PC3SG wet=PC3SG do.PRS-1PL

until it is finished with kneading”. (Karewan, GH 2:60f.)

65) *o* *ē-kad-ēn* *māhī* *ārt-a* *o* *grāst-ag-an*

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

A slightly different case is present in instances where a speaker resumes a preceding sentence after having been interrupted, as in (66); this is actually not an instance of a repeated verb.⁶⁰

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

4.3.4 Additional copula

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

- 67) *hast a deya ya rōč=e rōzegār=e*
 exist.3SG COP.PST3SG then one day=SPC day=SPC
 “There was, once upon a time,
hast a ya bādešāh=ē a
 exist.3SG COP.PST3SG one king=SPC COP.PST3SG
 there was a king”. (Bahukalat, SB 1:1f.)

- 68) *ē čī kan-ant ě raw-ānt ě ēdga*
 DEM what do.PRS-3PL COP3SG go.PRS-3PL COP3SG here
 “What do they do? They go there [and]...” (Bahukalat, RB 2:59)

⁶⁰ Incidentally, this shows the importance of noting the intervention of persons external to the narration (often “edited out” in published texts).

- 69) *o* *gōtok=ē* *gōtok=ē* *ōtī* *hamsāheg-ān* *a* *day-ē*
 and little=SPC little=SPC own neighbour-OBL.PL V.EL give.PRS-1PL
 “... and we give a little to our neighbours,
mē *hamsāheg-ā* *šīr* *nēst* *ē*
 we.GEN neighbour-OBL.PL milk NEG.exist.PRS3SG COP3SG
 [because] our neighbours don’t have [any] milk”. (Karewan, GH 1:111f.)

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

Following Jahani & Korn (2009, p. 685), we assume that the element is indeed the 3SG copula. One might explain the fact that it inflects only when affixed to (*h*)*ast* and *nēst* by suggesting that the 3SG copula is on its way of becoming a fossilised grammaticalised element. However, the question whether the additional copula in these contexts should better be considered as a separate phenomenon remains open for the moment being.

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

5. Summary

5.1 In this article, we describe some elements of the grammar of Coastal Afro-Balochi (CAB) of Iran, i.e. the dialects spoken by Baloch of African origin living in the Coastal area of Iranian Balochistan. In doing so, we are in no way claiming the existence of a difference between the varieties spoken by Baloch of African and other origins. In our data, the only possible candidate of a lexical element not known to us from other dialects and not known to an elderly non-Afro-Baloch informant from that region is *taggal-o-varz* in (70). While *varz* could quite well be linked to words in other Ir. languages and beyond (Cheung 2007, pp. 425f.), including English *work*, and could thus likely mean ‘labour, toil’, the meaning and origin of *taggal* is not clear to us. According to our informants, its meaning must be similar to *varz*.

- 70) *ī* *hančō* *taggal* *-o-* *varz=e* *kot-a*
 DEM thus ? and labour(?)=IND do.PST-PRF
 “In this way he made ... (?).
zōr=e *=mān* *bīt-a* *wādān*
 oppression=EZ =PC1PL become.PST-PRF before
 [Such] was our oppression, those days”. (Konarak, SE 1.4:42f.)

In this sense, there is no “Afro-Balochi” as opposed to the Balochi of other members of Baloch society in the same region. Nevertheless, we argue that, as the speech of a marginalised faction of the community, and potentially with a lower degree of social and geographic mobility, the speech of the Afro-Baloch might have been less exposed to

influences from other dialects and languages. It could thus show more archaic features than other varieties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Potentially discourse-related phenomena, which would require further investigation,

include a clitic =o, to some extent parallel to markers of specificity etc. in other Ir. languages, and a copula added to finite verb forms.

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

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

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Abbreviations:⁶¹

AGN	agent noun
ATTR	attribute marker
Bal.	Balochi
CAB	Coastal Afro-Balochi
CP	conjunctive participle (see 4.3)
DIR	direct case
dO	direct Object
EZ	ezāfe
idO	indirect object
OBJ	object case

⁶¹ Grammatical glosses found in the "Leipzig glossing rules" <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php> are not listed here.

OBL oblique case
PC pronominal clitic
PN name
PRS present stem; PRESENT domain (see **2.1, 3.1**)
PST past stem; PAST domain (see **2.1, 3.1**)
SBal. Southern Balochi dialect group
SPC specificity marker
SUB subordinator
V.EL verbal element (see **4.3**)

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