ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS
Studia Iranica Upsaliensia
36

A Grammar of Modern Standard Balochi

Carina Jahani

also available online:

UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

ABSTRACT

Jahani, C. 2019. A Grammar of Modern Standard Balochi. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. *Studia Iranica Upsaliensia* 36. 292 pp. Uppsala. ISBN 978-91-513-0820-3.

Balochi is an Iranian language spoken in Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, the Gulf States (particularly Oman and the United Arab Emirates), Turkmenistan, India, and East Africa. Informal estimates suggest that no less than 10 million people speak the language. It can be divided into three main dialect blocks, Western, Southern and Eastern Balochi.

Ever since the mid-20th century, there have been attempts to create a unified orthography for Balochi. The development of written Balochi has mainly taken place in Pakistan, where there have been advocates of both the Arabic and Latin scripts. Most literature, of course, has been written in Arabic script, but even here diverging systems have been used.

In 2012, at the initiative of Uppsala University, the University of Balochistan and the Balochi Academy, Quetta, as well as a number of Baloch authors and literary societies, a programme was launched with the purpose of working towards the standardization of Balochi orthography and grammar. At an orthography conference held in Uppsala in 2014, the participants decided to work on two parallel orthographies, one based on the Arabic script and one on the Latin script. In 2016, a grammar conference was held, at which some of the areas of grammatical variation in Balochi were discussed and suggestions were made about what forms to include in the standard written Balochi language.

In order to create and promote a standard Balochi language, it is important to include as many intellectuals as possible in the process, in order to gain a consensus for the suggested standard language. This description of Modern Standard Balochi orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax and word-formation is based on discussions held at the conferences and on further input from a number of renowned Baloch writers and linguists.

Keywords: Balochi, Iranian languages, grammatical description, orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, word-formation.

In memory of

my Swedish father

John Einar Nilsson (1908–1994)

and

my Baloch father

Abdullah Jan Jamaldini (1922–2016)

Contents

Tables

Acknowledgements

This book would never have materialized if I had not been encouraged to write it by my Baloch co-workers who are part of the Balochi Language Project at Uppsala University. But going back even further, I would never have been able to enter the world of Balochi linguistics had it not been for all those who encouraged me along the way.

First of all, I would like to thank my Heavenly Father for my life, for my family, friends, and co-workers, and for all the opportunities He has given me in life, including the health and the strength I needed to write the book, since it is in Him that we live and move and have our being.

Secondly, I thank my biological father, John Einar Nilsson, who always encouraged me to follow my dreams, however strange they may have seemed to him, who did not know a word of any language but Swedish, and who had never travelled abroad, except for a short visit to Norway.

Thirdly, I express my sincere thanks to professor Bo Utas, Uppsala University, who has been my academic mentor for some 40 years and has always encouraged me to work in the areas of Iranian Studies that I myself find the most interesting. It was soon clear to him that my main interest would be the Balochi language.

Fourthly, I am most indebted to my "Baloch father", Abdullah Jan Jamaldini, who received me with open arms when I went to Balochistan for the first time in 1986, and who helped me immensely, not only to learn the language, but also to get acquainted with the Balochi culture.

Among my co-workers who have encouraged me to write this book and with whom I have had many rewarding discussions on the best options for a Balochi standard language, I would like to mention Aziz Dadiar, Saleem Ismail (Siddik Azat), Sabir Badalkhan, Jan Muhammad Dashti, Naseer Dashti, Abdul Wahid Bandig, Hamid Ali Baloch, Mousa Mahmoudzahi, Hamid Irannezhad, Taj Baloch, Zar Jan (Mehlab) Naseer, Sajid Hussain, Ali Mirkazehi, Naguman, Razzak Sarbazi, Peimaneh Mollazehi, Hamideh Shastan, Mina Khashi, Nasser Davodi Baloch, Abdul Malik, Azar Navvabi Rigi, Fariba Arbabi, Shahram Mobaraki, and all the other participants in the workshops on Balochi orthography and grammar that we arranged in Uppsala in 2014 and 2016.

I would also like to thank Professor James Hafford, University of Hawaii at Manoa, USA, as well as the students of Balochi Ryan Blakesley, Sandybell Pollock, Adam Richardson, and Sebastian Strid, for providing useful comments on an earlier version of this work.

I am much indebted to the two sponsors of this publication, Redaktionskommittén för Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis and Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond. Many thanks also go to The Royal Society of Humanities at Uppsala for sponsoring the orthography and grammar workshops in 2014 and 2016.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank Everett Thiele for language editing of the manuscript.

My hope is that this book will be a milestone in the development of Balochi from a conglomeration of dialects, all written with whatever orthography the writer preferred at the time, into a standardized written language with clear rules both for what grammatical forms should be the standard ones in the formal written language and for script and spelling.

Balóchi zobán sabz bát!

<div align="right">

Uppsala 15 November 2019,
Carina Jahani

</div>

1. Introduction

Balochi is an Iranian language spoken in Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, the Gulf States (particularly Oman and the United Arab Emirates), Turkmenistan, India, and East Africa. It is difficult to estimate the total number of Balochi speakers, since there are no official statistics on people's first language in the countries where Balochi is spoken. However, informal estimates suggest that Balochi is spoken by at least 10 million people, and that there are several million people who identify themselves as Baloch but speak another language as their first language.
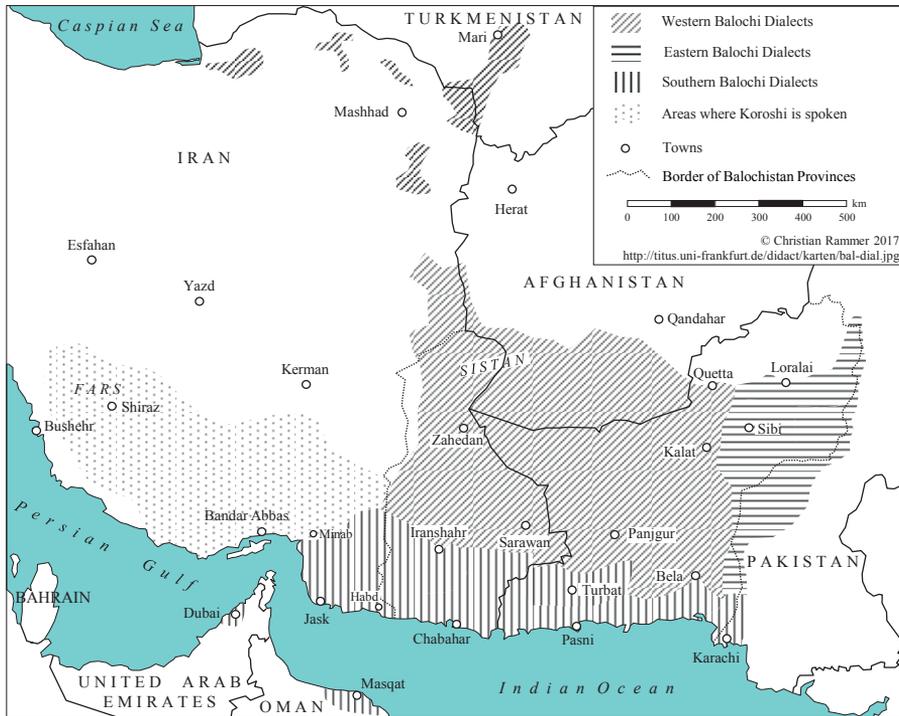
Figure 1. The Balochi language area with its broad dialect divisions

Balochi can be divided into three main dialect blocks, Western, Southern and Eastern. This is, however, only a broad division, and there are many sub-dialects within each of these three blocks. There are also dialects that cannot readily be placed within any of the dialect blocks, such as the one spoken in Iranian Sarawan and the variants known under the name of Koroshi.

We must also keep in mind that the total dialect picture for Balochi has yet to be drawn. Information about dialect variation in Eastern Balochi is especially scarce, mainly due to the lack of recent linguistic studies devoted to Eastern Balochi. Complicating the dialect picture even further is the fact that Balochi is spoken in different countries and is therefore influenced by different official languages, particularly when it comes to the lexicon.

Ever since the mid-20th century, there have been attempts to create a unified orthography for Balochi. The development of written Balochi has mainly taken place in Pakistan, where there have been advocates of both the Arabic and Latin scripts. Most literature, of course, has been written in Arabic script, but even here diverging systems have been used. Different writers and language developers have advocated different orthographic systems, and some of the more prolific writers have also employed different systems over time. Even in a single book it often happens that the orthography is inconsistent, which is not surprising in a non-standardized language where no spelling rules have been defined.

In 2012, at the initiative of Uppsala University, the University of Balochistan and the Balochi Academy, Quetta, as well as a number of Baloch authors and literary societies, a programme was launched with the purpose of working towards the standardization of Balochi orthography and grammar. At an orthography conference held in Uppsala in 2014, the participants decided to work on two parallel orthographies, one based on the Arabic script and one on the Latin script. In 2016, a grammar conference was held, at which some of the areas of grammatical variation in Balochi were discussed and suggestions were made about what forms to include in the standard written Balochi language. Grammatical terminology in Balochi was also discussed.

In order to create and promote a standard Balochi language, it is important to include as many intellectuals as possible in the process, in order to gain a consensus for the selected norms. Then it is important to expose speakers of different Balochi dialects to texts written in the suggested standard language to check if the texts are easy to understand or if there are specific grammatical structures that cause difficulty. Measures must then be taken to enhance comprehension wherever there are problems.

In the case of Balochi, there are several areas of great dialect divergence in phonology, morphology and syntax. Some of the most important issues will be presented, discussed and exemplified in the following paragraphs. Since most of the written literature in Balochi is in Southern Balochi, the natural starting point for forming a standard language is Southern Balochi dialects

spoken not in the extreme south, but rather in the area stretching from Bompur/Pahrah (Iranshahr) and southwards via Nékshahr and Sarbáz in Western (Iranian) Balochistan to the Kech valley in Eastern (Pakistani) Balochistan. However, a certain amount of dialect variation can be found even in this belt. There are also some grammatical constructions, found e.g. in classical poetry, that are retained in other dialects of Balochi. A number of these constructions have also been incorporated into the standard language presented in this work.

The sound system of Eastern Balochi diverges considerably from those of Southern and Western Balochi. The standard language does not take into consideration sound changes that are specific to Eastern Balochi, nor does it include phonemes that are only found in Eastern Balochi.

One of the features that distinguish the sound systems of the different dialects is the presence or absence of the fricative phonemes /f/, /kh/, and /gh/. In Eastern Balochi, these sounds are pronounced in complementary distribution with /p/, /k/, and /g/. This means that the position of the sound in the word determines how it is pronounced. In a number of Western and Southern Balochi dialects, particularly those in contact with Persian and Brahui, /f/, /kh/, and /gh/ are pronounced in loanwords. However, since they do not belong to the original Balochi sound system, they are used only marginally in the standard language.

Another phenomenon that is present in some dialects of Balochi is nasalization, where a vowel followed by /n/ is pronounced as a nasalized vowel. This happens frequently if /n/ occurs in word-final position and the preceding vowel is long. If another element, e.g. an enclitic pronoun, is attached to the word ending in a nasalized vowel, the /n/ reappears. This shows that nasalization is not phonemic in most Balochi dialects. It has, however, acquired phonemic status in some dialects, mainly those in heavy contact with Urdu. In Balochi, whenever a nasalized vowel is written, it is represented by the vowel sign, if any, followed by nun ghunna (see Section 2.1). In prose writing, nun ghunna is not a necessary element. However, in poetry it is often used for metric and rhythmic purposes.

In noun morphology the case system shows many important differences between the dialects. A locative case marker (e.g. *chokkániá* 'at the children's place', *maniá* 'at my place') is found in a limited number of dialects, but it has not been incorporated into the standard written language.

Another issue where the dialects diverge is the marking of indirect object. In some dialects a construction modelled on Persian with the preposition *pa* 'for' marks the indirect object (e.g. *man pa chokká/pa chokkán ketábé dát* 'I gave the child/children a book'), and in other dialects a form is used that adds an extra case suffix *-rā/-ā* (*man chokkárá/chokkáná ketábé dát*). The extra case suffix (rather than the construction with a preposition) has been selected as the standard form whenever there is a need to specifically mark the indirect object.

21

In some dialects, particularly those under Persian influence, the oblique case has been replaced by the direct case after prepositions (e.g. *é laybokiá pa mani chokk beger* 'buy this toy for my child'), whereas in most dialects the use of the oblique case after prepositions is still strong (*é laybokiá pa mani chokká beger*). In the standard language, oblique case is the norm after prepositions, except in a few fixed expressions.

Many dialects that are influenced by Persian have a tendency to change postpositions into prepositions, with or without the ezafe-particle used in Persian (e.g. *teh ketábá* 'in the book', *poshte lógá* 'behind the house'), but in the standard language, adpositions that are postpositions in a majority of dialects are retained as postpositions (*ketábay tahá* 'in the book', *lógay poshtá* 'behind the house'). In other dialects, mainly those under the heavy influence of Urdu, prepositions become postpositions (e.g. *chokkáni gómá* 'with the children', *shahrá cha* 'from the town'), but in the standard language, adpositions that are prepositions in a majority of dialects are retained as prepositions (*gón chokkán* 'with the children', *cha shahrá* 'from the town').

Another controversial issue is that of enclitic pronouns. In many dialects, only 3rd person enclitic pronouns are used. There are many dialects, however, where all pronouns may occur as enclitics, particularly those spoken in Western (Iranian) Balochistan. In the standard language, all persons of the enclitic pronouns are retained. Another controversy concerns whether the 3rd person singular enclitic pronouns should be standardized as *-é* or *-i*. Since a majority of the dialects use the form *-i*, this is the form employed in the standard language.

One of the problem areas in verb morphology is the past tense of transitive verbs. A construction that is retained in many dialects of Southern Balochi and that is predominant in classical poetry and the modern written literature, namely the so-called ergative construction (e.g. *mátá chokk shahrá dém dátant* 'the mother sent the children to town'), has been replaced in some dialects by the non-ergative construction (*mát chokkán shahrá dém dát*). Since the ergative construction must be seen as the original Balochi construction, it has been decided to employ and promote it in the standard written language.

Another issue is the presence or absence of the clitic *=a* that marks imperfective aspect in the verb system. This clitic is frequent in classical poetry and in a number of dialects, particularly of Western Balochi (e.g. *mana kanán* 'I do' and *mana kort* 'I repeatedly did'), but it has so far not been part of the written language, mainly because it is pronounced rather faintly in the dialects spoken in areas where writing is the strongest. However, since it is part of the classical poetry and also is the one grammatical marker of the past imperfective form that separates it from the past perfective form, it has been incorporated into the grammatical system of the standard written language. It must be noted that in those dialects where this marker is no longer present or is only faintly pronounced, the past imperfective form has merged with the past per-

fective form. In these dialects, the *be-/b-/by-* prefix in the present-future subjunctive has also become an obligatory marker of subjunctive, since the *=a* marking of the present-future indicative is no longer present.

The optative form of the verb (e.g. *bekanát* 'may he do') is present in most dialects, but some dialects use the subjunctive form instead. Since the optative form is widely used, it has been incorporated into the standard language.

In the area of syntax, one of the most striking divergences between different dialects is the tendency, in many areas of Balochistan where Persian is the dominant language, to use so-called right-branching structures with finite verbs (e.g. *man lóthán kár bekanán* 'I want to work', *man twánán kár bekanán* 'I can work'), whereas dialects spoken in Eastern (Pakistani) Balochistan use left-branching structures with non-finite verb forms (*man kár kanaga lóthán* 'I want to work', *man kár korta kanán* 'I can work'). In the written language, mainly developed in Pakistan, the latter constructions dominate. They are therefore promoted as recommended standard constructions.

There are, of course, many other areas of dialect divergence where decisions have to be made when it comes to the standard form, and after selecting and codifying a standard, it is crucial to promote the suggested standard language and gain community acceptance for it. Promotion of the standard language is both a difficult and an important task. Without an education system through which it can be efficiently promoted as the correct norm, it is only through a grassroots-level movement throughout Balochistan that the standard for reading and writing Balochi can spread and gain acceptance. This is not an easy task and it will require much networking in the coming years.

The purpose of this book is to be a tool in the promotion of a standard written Balochi language. It has therefore been written with non-linguists in mind, something which has been a challenge throughout the writing process. I have accordingly refrained from using some of the more technical terminology that was deemed unnecessary for this type of grammatical description, particularly the subject-agent-patient terminology used in the description of ergative constructions. The agent of an ergative clause and the subject of a non-ergative clause are both referred to as the subject. Likewise, the direct affectee (patient/direct object) of a transitive verb is invariably called the direct object. I have also refrained from discussing tense-aspect-mood categories under these labels, and describe all different TAM-forms of verbs as verb forms.

The script systems and phonology of Modern Standard Balochi is described in Chapter 2, and in Chapter 3, noun morphology is dealt with in altogether five subchapters describing nouns, adjectives, pronouns, adpositions, and numerals. Chapter 4 treats verb morphology as well as how the finite verb forms are used. In Chapter 5, syntax on phrase and clause level, as well as coordination and subordination are described, and Chapter 6 gives an account of word formation. Two appendices are also available in the online version of the book. Appendix 1 consists of a list of the infinitive, past stem, and 3rd person singular present-future indicative form (without the =a clitic) of common Balochi

verbs. Appendix 2 contains definitions of grammatical terms used in the book. These appendices can be downloaded from:
http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-397659

It should be noted that there are no references to other works in the text. Instead, there is a list of references to grammatical descriptions of various Balochi dialects or specific grammatical structures in Balochi that are a necessary prerequisite for a grammar book like the one you now have in your hand (or on your screen). There are also references to books and articles on the sociolinguistic situation in Balochistan, which is an important factor to consider in the process of language standardization. I have sometimes got inspiration from grammatical descriptions of other languages as well, and these books are also in the list of references. The reader is also referred to two websites where further material written in the suggested standard language can be found.

In accordance with the purpose of the book, there is no grammatical glossing of the examples. For glossed sample sentences and text corpuses, the reader is referred to corpus-based descriptions of various Balochi dialects, e.g. those by Axenov (2006), Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), Nourzaei *et al.* (2015), and Nourzaei (2017), or to Jahani and Korn (2009). However, since the English pronouns 'you' and 'your' are ambiguous and can refer to the 2nd person singular and plural alike, these pronoun are marked in the translation with SG if they refer to a 2nd person singular and PL if they refer to a 2nd person plural. Only one pronoun is marked in each example when subsequent pronouns are in the same person. If 'yourself' or 'yourselves' is present in the sentence and makes the number clear, there is no marking of 'you'.

2. Alphabet and phonology

2.1. Alphabets

There are two alphabets for Balochi, one based on the Arabic script and one based on the Latin script.

2.1.1. The Arabic script for Balochi

The Balochi-Arabic script runs from right to left, and each letter can have up to five possible shapes: one in initial position, one after a letter that does not connect to the left, one in word-medial position after a letter that connects to the left, one in word-final position after a letter that connects to the left, and one in word-final position after a letter that does not connect to the left. Several letters appear in the same shape more than once. The letters marked with an asterisk (*) do not connect to the left.

Table 1. Balochi-Arabic alphabet

Examples (for meaning, see below)	Arabic script	Name of letter
آپ، راہ، کار، تھا، سرا	آ، ا، ـا، ـا، ا	آ *
برات، گیابان، ہبر، رُمب، کتاب	ب، بـ، ـبـ، ـب، ب	بے
پت، باپاری، کپگ، شپ، لاپ	پ، پـ، ـپـ، ـپ، پ	پے
تھل، ھاترا، اژشتگ، راست، مات	ت، تـ، ـتـ، ـت، ت	تے
ٹال، لوٹگ، لیٹگ، پُٹ، چئوَٹ	ٹ، ٹـ، ـٹـ، ـٹ، ٹ	ٹے
جنک، بوْجگ، پنجاہ، راج، بُنگیج	ج، جـ، ـجـ، ـج، ج	جے
چوْن، روْچگ، بچک، پنچ، روْچ	چ، چـ، ـچـ، ـچ، چ	چے
خلیج، خمار، دسختّ	خ، خـ، ـخـ، ـخ، خ	خے
دوْست، بادشاہ، پدا، ہیْد، پاد	د، د، ـد، ـد، د	دے *
ڈئول، سردْگار، گُدْسرا، گوَنڈْ، چُنڈْ	ڈ، ڈ، ـڈ، ـڈ، د	ڈے *
روْچ، ورگ، برات، دیْر، کار	ر، ر، ـر، ـر، ر	رے *

ماڑی، گُڑا، مِڑا، ناجوڑ	ڑ، ڑ، ڑ، ڑ، ڑ	ڑے *
زندگ، دروازگ، پانزده، باز، چیزِّ	ز، ز، ز، ز، ز	زے *
ژند، رُژن، بَژن	ژ، ژ، ژ، ژ، ژ	ژے *
ساهت، دست، تُسگ، کَس، آس	سـ، سـ، ـسـ، ـس، س	سے
شپ، گَوشگ، لشکر، گَیش، گَوش	شـ، شـ، ـشـ، ـش، ش	شے
غئیرت، بالغ	غـ، غـ، ـغـ، ـغ، غ	غے
فئون، فُتبال	فـ، فـ، ـفـ، ـف، ف	فے
کار، هرکَس، بلکین، یک، تاک	کـ، کـ، ـکـ، ـک، ک	کے
گهار، اگن، بێگاه، مُرگ، لوگ	گـ، گـ، ـگـ، ـگ، گ	گے
لُنٹ، هالیگ، هَلک، گَل، دِل	لـ، لـ، ـلـ، ـل، ل	لے
مُندریک، اُمر، همساهگ، هم، نام	مـ، مـ، ـمـ، ـم، م	مے
نون، باندا، کندگ، روگن، دان	نـ، نـ، ـنـ، ـن، ن	نے
باں، تاں، ماں	ں	نون غُنّه
واب، باور، گوات	و، و، ـو، ـو، و	وے *
دور، نون، تمبو، دارو	او، و، ـو، ـو، و	او *
اوشتگ، روچ، کوه، چو، گَونڈو	او، و، ـو، ـو، و	او *
ائولی، رئوگ، تئوار، کلئو، هئو	ائو، ئو، ـئو، ـئو، ئو	ائو *
هئور، ساهت، تهار، بێه، مۆه	هـ، هـ، ـهـ، ـه، ه	هے
یات، شریت، نیاما	یـ، یـ، ـیـ، ـی، ی	یے
ایمان، دیوال، شیر، ئێکی، پاری	ایـ، یـ، ـیـ، ـی، ی	ای
اێرهت، دێم، شێر، همے، وهدے	اێـ، یَـ، ـێـ، ـے، ے	اے
ائیب، دئیگ، سئیل، کئے، بئے	ائیـ، ئیـ، ـئیـ، ـئے، ئے	ائے

Short vowels are not fully represented in the Balochi-Arabic script. Only at the beginning and end of a word are they represented with a letter. In the middle of a word, optional diacritics (symbols added to the letters) can be used to represent short vowels. The names of these diacritics are *zabar*, *zér*, and *pésh*. When /a/ marks the verb as present-future or continuous past, it is written with a *zabar*.

Table 2. Representation of short vowels

Examples (for meaning, see below)	Word-final	Word-medial	Word-initial	Phoneme
أَسپ، گَرم، مَرد، چِه، كارَ كنت	ﻪ، ه، ‎َ	(zabar/زَبَر) ‎َ	ا، أ	a
إِمبري، پِت، زِر، بَله	ﻪ، ه	(zér/زيِر) ‎ِ	ا، إ	e
أُرش، بُرز، سُهر، و	ﻮ، و	(pésh/پيِش) ‎ُ	ا، أُ	o

Two other diacritics are used in the Balochi-Arabic script, *shadd* and *sokun*. *Shadd* is used to indicate a double consonant, and *sokun* indicates the absence of a vowel after the consonant it is placed on.

Table 3. Other diacritics

Examples (for meaning, see below)	Name of diacritic
چيپّك، ربّ، سوتّ، پِدّر، گَتّ، هَدّ، چُكّ، لگّگ، پِسّئو، وشّ، مُرّ، چيزّ، هُژّار، أُتّ، مَجّ، هُجّ، چَمّ، تُنّيگ، زَرّ، بَلُّك	(shadd/شدّ) ‎ّ
گْوات، بْرات، بْرز، مُنْدريگ، رُژْن، بَژْن	(sokun/سُكون) ‎ْ

2.1.2. The Latin script for Balochi

The Balochi-Latin script runs from left to right, and the letters have two shapes: a capital letter used at the beginning of a sentence and at the beginning of proper names (names of persons, countries, months, etc.), and a lower case (small) letter used elsewhere.

Table 4. Balochi-Latin alphabet

Name of letter	Latin script	Examples (for meaning, see below)
á	Á, á	áp, ráh, kár, gwát, tahá, sará
a	A, a	asp, garm, mard, cha
aw	Aw, aw	awali, rawag, tawár, kolaw, haw
ay	Ay, ay	ayb, dayag, sayl, kay, bay
bé	B, b	brát, bér, gyábán, habar, romb, ketáb
ché	Ch, ch	chón, róchag, bachak, panch, róch
dé	D, d	dóst, bádsháh, padá, héd, pád
dhé	Dh, dh	dhawl, sardhagár, godhsará, gwandh, chondh
é	É, é	éraht, dém, shér, hamé, wahdé
e	E, e	embari, pet, zer, bale
fé	F, f	fawn, fotbál
gé	G, g	gohár, agan, bégáh, morg, lóg
ghé	Gh, gh	ghayrat, bálegh
hé	H, h	hawr, sáhat, tahár, béh, móh
i	I, i	imán, diwál, shir, théki, pári
jé	J, j	jenek, bójag, panjáh, ráj, bongéj
ké	K, k	kár, harkas, balkén, yak, ták
khé	Kh, kh	khalij, khomár, daskhatt
lé	L, l	lonth, hálig, halk, gal, del
mé	M, m	mondrik, omr, hamsáheg, ham, nám
né	N, n	nun, bándá, kandag, rógen, dán
nun ghunna	ń	báń, táń, máń
ó	Ó, o	óshtag, róch, kóh, chó, gwandhó
o	O, o	orosh, borz, sohr, o
pé	P, p	pet, pocch, bápári, kapag, shap, láp
ré	R, r	róch, warag, brát, dér, kár
rhé	Rh, rh	márhi, gorhá, merh, nájórh
sé	S, s	sáhat, dast, tosag, kas, ás
shé	Sh, sh	shap, gwashag, lashkar, gésh, gósh
té	T, t	tawár, tahl, háterá, óshtag, rást, mát
thé	Th, th	thál, lóthag, léthag, poth, chawath
u	U, u	dur, nun, dáru, tambu
wé	W, w	wáb, báwar, gwát, awali, rawag, tawár, kolaw, haw
yé	Y, y	yát, sharyat, nyámá
zé	Z, z	zendag, darwázag, pánzdah, báz
zhé	Zh, zh	zhand, rozhn, bazhn

Double consonants are represented by two letters. If the consonant is already represented by two letters ending in h, the first h is removed when it is doubled.

Table 5. Examples of double consonants

Double consonant	Latin script	Examples (for meaning, see below)
bé	bb	rabb, dhobbah
ché	cch	lacchénag, macch
dé	dd	paddar, hasadd
dhé	ddh	goddhag, haddh
fé	ff	off
gé	gg	laggag, saggag
jé	jj	pajjáh, hojj
ké	kk	kukkár, chokk
lé	ll	ballok, lell
mé	mm	kimmat, chamm
né	nn	tonnig, dhann
pé	pp	chippok, gapp
ré	rr	korrag, zarr
sé	ss	passaw, bass, kass
shé	ssh	kasshag, wassh
té	tt	zutter, sutt
thé	tth	patthag, gatth
yé	yy	hayyá
zé	zz	bazzag, mozz, chizz
zhé	zzh	hozzhár

2.2. Vowels

There are eight vowels in Balochi, five long (i, é, á, u, ó) and three short (e, a, o).

Table 6. Balochi vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i, e		o, u
Mid	é		ó
Open		a, á	

á (long) as in *áp* آپ 'water', *ráh* راه 'road, way', *kár* کار 'work', *gwát* گوات 'wind', *tahá* تها 'in, inside', *sará* سرا 'on'

a (short) as in *asp* اسپ 'horse', *garm* گرم 'warm', *mard* مرد 'man', *cha* چه 'from', kára kant کارَ کنت 'he/she works'

29

i (long) as in *imán* ايمان 'faith', *diwál* ديوال 'wall', *shir* شير 'milk', *théki* ٹیکی 'gift', *pári* پاری 'last year'

é (long) as in *éraht* ايرهت 'autumn', *dém* ديم 'face', *shér* شیر 'lion', *hamé* همے 'this very', *wahdé* وهدے 'when'

e (short) as in *embari* امبری 'this year', *pet* پت 'father', *zer* زِر 'sea', *bale* بله 'but'

u (long) as in *dur* دور 'far', *nun* نون now', *tambu* تمبو 'tent', *dáru* دارو 'medicine'

ó (long) as in *óshtag* اوشتگ 'to stand up', *róch* روچ 'day, sun', *kóh* کوه 'mountain', *chó* چو 'like, like this, in this way', *gwandhó* گوَندّو 'small child'

o (short) as in *borz* بُرز 'high', *sohr* سُهر 'red, gold', *o* و 'and'

There are also two combinations of a vowel + a consonant with a special sign, the hamza, inserted in the Balochi-Arabic script:

aw as in *awali* اوئلی 'first', *rawag* رئوگ 'to go', *tawár* تئوار 'voice, sound', *kolaw* کلئو 'message', *haw* هئو 'yes'

ay as in *ayb* ائیب 'fault', *dayag* دئیگ 'to give', *sayl* سئیل 'sightseeing', *kay* کئے 'who', *bay* بئے 'bet, share'

2.3. Consonants

There are 25 consonant in Balochi. Only 22 of them are common in the Balochi phonological system. Three (f, kh, gh) are very scarcely used. The symbol ń is used to denote nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Table 7. Balochi consonants

	labial	dental/ alveolar	post-alveolar /palatal	retroflex	velar	glottal
Plosives	p, b	t, d		th, dh	k, g	
Fricatives	(f)	s, z	sh, zh		(kh, gh)	h
Affricates			ch, j			
Nasals	m	n (ń)				
Taps		r		rh		
Lateral		l				
Approximants	w		y			

p as in *pet* پت 'father', *pocch* پُچّ 'clothes', *bápári* باپاری 'trader', *kapag* کپگ 'to fall', *shap* شپ 'evening, night', *láp* لاپ 'stomach', *chippok* چیپّک 'chick', *gapp* گپّ 'talk'

b as in *brát* برات 'brother', *romb* رُمب 'group', *bér* بێر 'revenge', *habar* هبر 'word, talk', *gyábán* گیابان 'desert', *ketáb* کتاب 'book', *rabb* ربّ 'Lord', *dhobbah* ڈّبّہ 'duty'

t as in *tawár* تَنوار 'voice', *tahl* تهل 'bitter', *háterá* هاترا 'for, for the sake of', *óshtag* اۆشتگ 'to stand up', *rást* راست 'right, true', *zutter* زوتتر 'quicker, faster', *sutt* سوتّ 'profit, gain'

d as in *dóst* دۆست 'friend', *bádsháh* بادشاہ 'king', *padá* پدا 'later, afterwards', *héd* هێد 'sweat', *pád* پاد 'leg, foot', *paddar* پدّر 'clear, evident, visible', *hasadd* هسدّ 'envy, jealousy'

th as in *thál* ٹال 'branch (of a tree)', *lóthag* لۆٹگ 'to want', *léthag* لێٹگ 'to roll over', *poth* پُٹ 'body-hair, fur', *chawath* چنوٹ 'sandal', *patthag* پٹّگ 'to search, to look for', *gatth* گٹّ 'busy'

dh as in *dhawl* ڈّنول 'way, manner', *sardhagár* سرڈّگار 'region, land', *godhsará* گۆڈّسرا 'at last, finally', *gwandh* گۆندّ 'small', *chondh* چُندّ 'piece', *goddhag* گڈّگ 'to chop off, to cut off', *haddh* هڈّ 'bone'

k as in *kár* کار 'work', *harkas* هرکس 'everybody', *balkén* بلکێن 'maybe', *yak* یک 'one', *ták* تاک 'leaf, page', *kukkár* کوگّار 'shout, scream', *chokk* چُکّ 'child'

g as in *gohár* گهار 'sister', *agan* اگن 'if', *bégáh* بێگاہ 'late afternoon/early evening', *morg* مرگ 'chicken', *lóg* لۆگ 'house', *laggag* لگّگ 'to bump into', *saggag* سگّگ 'to endure'

f as in *fawn* فنون 'phone', *fotbál* فُتبال 'football' (these words can also be pronounced with a *p* instead of the *f*), *off* اُفّ 'alas'

s as in *sáhat* ساهت 'hour', *dast* دست 'arm, hand', *tosag* تُسگ 'to faint', *kas* کس 'person', *ás* آس 'fire', *passaw* پسّنو 'answer', *bass* بسّ 'enough', *kass* کسّ 'nobody'

sh as in *shap* شپ 'evening, night', *gwashag* گۆشگ 'to say', *lashkar* لشکر 'army', *gésh* گێش 'more', *gósh* گۆش 'ear', *kasshag* کشّگ 'to pull, to draw', *wassh* وشّ 'happy, well'

z as in *zendag* زندگ 'alive', *darwázag* دروازگ 'door', *pánzdah* پانزدہ 'fifteen', *báz* باز 'very, much', *bazzag* بزّگ 'destitute, poor', *mozz* مزّ 'wages', *chizz* چیزّ 'thing'

zh as in *zhand* ژند 'tired, worn out', *rozhn* رُژن 'light', *bazhn* بژّن 'woe', *hozzhár* هژّار 'cautious, vigilant'

kh as in *khalij* خلیج 'bay', *khomár* خمار 'drunk, intoxicated', *daskhatt* دسختّ 'signature' (these words can also be pronounced with an *h* or a *k* instead of the *kh*)

gh as in *ghayrat* غئیرت 'honour, dignity', *bálegh* بالغ 'adolescent, mature' (these words can also be pronounced with a *g* instead of the *gh*)

h as in *hawr* ہئور 'rain', *sáhat* ساہت 'hour, clock, watch', *tahár* تہار 'dark', *béh* بیہ 'origin, basis', *móh* مۆہ 'opportunity'

ch as in *chón* چۆن 'how', *róchag* رۆچگ 'fasting', *bachak* بچک 'boy', *panch* پنچ 'five', *róch* رۆچ 'day, sun', *lacchénag* لچّینگ 'to attach', *macch* مَچّ 'date palm'

j as in *jenek* جنک 'girl', *bójag* بۆجگ 'to untie', *panjáh* پنجاہ 'fifty', *ráj* راج 'people, nation', *bongéj* بنگێج 'start', *pajjár* پجّار 'recognition, identity', *hojj* ہُجّ 'force'

m as in *mondrik* مندریک 'ring', *omr* اُمر 'life', *hamsáheg* ہمساہگ 'neighbour', *ham* ہم 'also', *nám* نام 'name', *kimmat* کیمّت 'price, value', *chamm* چمّ 'eye'

n as in *nun* نون 'now', *bándá* باندا 'tomorrow', *kandag* کندگ 'to laugh, laughter', *rógen* رۆگن 'oil', *dán* دان 'grain, rice (uncooked)', *tonnig* تنّیگ 'thirsty', *dhann* ڈنّ 'out, outside'

ń (nun ghunna) as in *báń* باں 'I will be/become', *táń* تاں 'until', *máń* ماں 'in' (nun ghunna is used in poetry for metrical and rhyming purposes)

r as in *róch* رۆچ 'day, sun', *warag* ورگ 'to eat, to drink', *brát* برات 'brother', *dér* دێر 'late', *kár* کار 'work', *korrag* کرّگ 'foal', *zarr* زرّ 'money, gold'

rh as in *márhi* مارھی 'palace', *gorhá* گڑا 'then', *merh* مڑ 'fight', *nájórh* ناجۆڑ 'ill'

l as in *lonth* لُنٹ 'lip', *hálig* ہالیگ 'empty', *halk* ہلک 'village, encampment', *gal* گل 'happy', *del* دل 'heart', *ballok* بلّک 'grandmother', *lell* لِلّ 'dumb'

w as in *wáb* واب 'sleep', *báwar* باور 'faith, belief', *gwát* گوات 'wind'

y as in *yát* یات 'memory', *sharyat* شرئت 'religious law', *nyámá* نیاما 'between, among'

2.4. Syllable patterns

The following syllable patterns are possible in Balochi (the symbol "." in the Balochi-Latin script marks a syllable break):

Table 8. Syllable patterns

Syllable pattern	Examples
V	é اے 'this', á آ 'that', o و 'and'
VC	áp آپ 'water', ér ایر 'down', arh اَڑ 'conflict, dispute'
VCC	asp اَسپ 'horse', óst اۏست 'hope, expectation', árt آرت 'flour'
CV	pa پہ 'for', ché چے 'what', do دو 'two'
CVC	kár کار 'work', bér بیٚر 'revenge', pet پت 'father'
CVCC	morg مُرگ 'bird', dóst دۏست 'friend', borz بُرز 'high, tall'
CCV	tru ترو 'aunt', gré.wag گریٚوگ 'to cry', pré.nag پریٚنگ 'to throw away'
CCVC	dráj دراج 'long', préb پریٚب 'fraud, trick', syáh سیاہ 'black'
CCVCC	grand گرند 'thunder', bránz برانز 'beam of light', grehn گرهن 'knot'

2.5. Stress

Stress normally falls on the last syllable of the word for nouns and adjectives. Some pronouns, adverbs, adpositions, conjunctions and interjections take their stress on the first syllable. Stress on prefixes and suffixes is dealt with in Sections 3, 4, and 6. All clitics (word-like morphemes that are attached to a host word, like the English "'s" in "it's good") are unstressed. Stress also varies in different dialects, and divergences from the normal stress patterns are not uncommon. (It may, in fact, be more appropriate to call this feature tone than to call it stress.) In the following polysyllabic words, the stressed syllable is underlined:

bápári 'trader', *chippok* 'chick', *habar* 'word, talk', *gyábán* 'desert', *ketáb* 'book', *dhobbah* 'duty', *tawár* 'voice', *bádsháh* 'king'

paddar 'clear, evident, visible', *hozzhár* 'cautious, vigilant', *tahár* 'dark', *zendag* 'alive', *godhsará* 'at last, finally', *randá* 'afterwards, later', *balkén* 'maybe', *bándá* 'tomorrow'

shomá 'you.PL', *mani* 'my', *harkas* 'everybody', *hechkas* 'nobody'

pánzdah 'fifteen', *sésad* 'three hundred', *hazár* 'a thousand', *awali* 'first', *cháromi* 'fourth'

óshtag 'to stand', *lóthag* 'to want', *kapag* 'to fall', *patthag* 'to search, to look for', *goddhag* 'to chop off, to cut off', *laggag* 'to bump into'

chiá ke 'because', *agan* 'if', *tánke* 'until, so that'

There is a considerable difference between how noun phrases and verb phrases are stressed. In noun phrases, several syllables can be given prominence. In verb phrases there is normally only one stress, but more than one stress can occur for focus purposes. In verb phrases, the stress falls on the final syllable of the first word (or coordinated words) of the phrase unless it is the verb, in which case there are specific rules for stress on prefixes or the stem. Nominalizations (words from other word classes, such as adjectives or verbs, that are used as nouns) also normally carry only one stress, on the last syllable of the nominalized phrase. Stress is marked with the symbol "'" before the stressed syllable.

'Chokk 'zutt mazana bant.	چکّ زوتّ مزنَ بنت.	'Children grow up quickly.'
Ke'tábé beger.	کتابے بگر.	'Buy a book.'
'Ápé, 'cháé 'maná 'nadayay?	آپے، چاے منا ندئیئے؟	'Won't you.SG give me a (glass of) water, a (cup of) tea?'
Bálách o Há'ni brát o go'hár atant.	بالاچ و هانی برات و گهار اَتنت.	'Balach and Hani were siblings (lit. brother and sister).'
Mani ham'káréá mani bá'poshtá ha'bar kortag.	منی همکاریّا منی باپُشتا هبر کرتگ.	'One of my workmates has talked behind my back.'
Sur ka'nag shar'ter ent yá sur naka'nag?	سور کنگ شرتر اِنت یا سور نکنگ؟	'Is it better to marry or not to marry?'

2.6. Intonation

Statements and questions with a question word are characterized by falling intonation at the end of the sentence.

(Á) wassh ent. ‎(آ) وشّ اِنت. 'He is well.'

(Taw) kojá raway?   (تئو) کجا رئوئے؟   'Where are you.SG going?'

Questions without a question word are characterized by rising intonation at the end of the sentence.

(Á) wassh ent?   (آ) وشّ اِنت.   'Is he well?'

Both coordinate and subordinate clauses that precede the final clause in the sentence have rising intonation. The final clause in the sentence has falling intonation.

Shahray kuchah o damkán hechkas gendaga nabut o bázár angat band at.

شهرئے کوچه و دمکان هچکَس گندگَ نبوت و بازار انگت بند اَت.

'Nobody was seen in the streets of the town, and the marketplace was still closed.'

May delá báz lóthet ke shomárá begendén.

مئے دلا باز لۆئت که شمارا بگندێن.

'We (lit. our heart) very much wanted to meet (lit. see) you.PL.'

Man zi mardomé dist ke dém pa tai lógá pédák at.

من زی مردمے دیست که دیٚم پہ تئیی لڑگا پیٚنداک اَت.

'I saw a person yesterday who was on his way to your.SG house.'

Agan bándá mani lógá byáay, báz wassha bán.
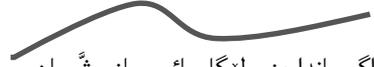
اگن باندا منی لڑگا بیائے، باز وشَّ بان.

'If you.SG come to my home tomorrow, I will be very happy.'

Wahdé dém pa shahrá rawagá atán, wati sangaton distant.

وهدے دیٚم پہ شهرا رئوگا اتان، وتی سنگتُن دیستنت.

'When I was going to town, I met my friends.'

3. Noun morphology

3.1. Nouns

A noun is a word that refers to a person, an animate (living) or inanimate (non-living) entity, or an abstract concept. It can act as the subject of a verb (e.g. the man works), direct object of a verb (e.g. I saw the man), indirect object of a verb (e.g. I gave the man a book), a genitive attribute denoting ownership or an ownership-like relation to another word (I saw the man's son), the object of an adposition (preposition or postposition) (e.g. I have no news of the man), or an adverbial (I met the man this morning).

Like English, but unlike many other languages, Balochi has no gender distinctions in the noun system. A noun can be declined, which means that its form is changed when it is used in different syntactic roles in the sentence, e.g. as a subject, as a direct object or as a genitive attribute. The case forms in Balochi are direct (also called nominative) case, oblique case, genitive case, object case and vocative case. The use of the different case forms is discussed in Section 3.1.7.

Nouns in the direct case are stressed on the final syllable. As a rule, stress remains on the last syllable of the noun in the singular, but in some dialects the oblique case suffix -á and the genitive case suffix -ay are stressed in monosyllabic nouns (ˈmátá/máˈtá, ˈmátay/máˈtay). The object case, however, is stressed on the second to last (penultimate) syllable (máˈtárá). The plural forms of the oblique, object, genitive, and vocative cases are stressed on the syllable containing the -án suffix (máˈtán, máˈtáná, máˈtáni, máˈtán). This applies to both monosyllabic and polysyllabic nouns. The different case forms of a word ending in a consonant are presented in Table 9. Case forms of nouns ending in vowels or -ah are presented in Tables 10–14.

Table 9. Case forms of a noun ending in a consonant (mát 'mother')

	Singular		Plural	
Direct case	mát	مات	mát	مات
Oblique case	mátá	ماتا	mátán	ماتان
Object case	mátárá	ماتارا	mátáná	ماتانا
Genitive case	mátay	ماتئے	mátáni	ماتانی
Vocative case	mát	مات	mátán	ماتان

When a noun ends in -*á*, a -*y*- is added before a case suffix that begins with *á*-.

Table 10. Case forms of a noun ending in -*á* (*azhdiá* 'dragon')

	Singular		Plural	
Direct case	*azhdiá*	اژديا	*azhdiá*	اژديا
Oblique case	*azhdiáyá*	اژديايا	*azhdiáyán*	اژديايان
Object case	*azhdiáyárá*	اژديايارا	*azhdiáyáná*	اژديايانا
Genitive case	*azhdiáay*	اژديائے	*azhdiáyáni*	اژديانی
Vocative case	*azhdiá*	اژديا	*azhdiáyán*	اژديايان

When a noun ends in a vowel other than -*á*, a case suffix that begins with *á*- attaches directly to the word.

Table 11. Case forms of a noun ending in -*i* (*nabi* 'prophet')

	Singular		Plural	
Direct case	*nabi*	نبی	*nabi*	نبی
Oblique case	*nabiá*	نبيا	*nabián*	نبيان
Object case	*nabiárá*	نبيارا	*nabiáná*	نبيانا
Genitive case	*nabiay*	نبيئے	*nabiáni*	نبيانی
Vocative case	*nabi*	نبی	*nabián*	نبيان

Table 12. Case forms of a noun ending in -*u* (*shu* 'husband')

	Singular		Plural	
Direct case	*shu*	شو	*shu*	شو
Oblique case	*shuá*	شوا	*shuán*	شوان
Object case	*shuárá*	شوارا	*shuáná*	شوانا
Genitive case	*shuay*	شوئے	*shuáni*	شوانی
Vocative case	*shu*	شو	*shuán*	شوان

Table 13. Case forms of a noun ending in -ó (*gwandhó* 'small child')

	Singular		Plural	
Direct case	*gwandhó*	گونډۍ	*gwandhó*	گونډۍ
Oblique case	*gwandhóá*	گونډۍا	*gwandhóán*	گونډۍان
Object case	*gwandhóárá*	گونډۍارا	*gwandhóáná*	گونډۍانا
Genitive case	*gwandhóay*	گونډۍئے	*gwandhóáni*	گونډۍانی
Vocative case	*gwandhó*	گونډۍ	*gwandhóán*	گونډۍان

There are no nouns ending in the vowels *-é*, *-e*, *-o*, or *-a*. Many nouns, however, do end in *-ah*. The *-h* is pronounced faintly in the direct case but with more force in the other cases.

Table 14. Case forms of a noun ending in -ah (*wájah* 'master, mister, sir')

	Singular		Plural	
Direct case	*wájah*	واجه	*wájah*	واجه
Oblique case	*wájahá*	واجها	*wájahán*	واجهان
Object case	*wájahárá*	واجهارا	*wájaháná*	واجهانا
Genitive case	*wájahay*	واجهئے	*wájaháni*	واجهانی
Vocative case	*wájah*	واجه	*wájahán*	واجهان

If the genitive is placed in predicative position, i.e. separated from its head noun, the suffix *-g* can be added to the genitive form. This suffix is always present if the following word begins with a vowel, but can also optionally be added if the following word begins with a consonant. Stress normally falls on the last syllable of the noun, but in some dialects the suffix *-ayg* is stressed in monosyllabic nouns (ˈ*mátayg/má*ˈ*tayg*). The plural form (monosyllabic or polysyllabic) is stressed on the syllable containing the *-án* suffix (*má*ˈ*tánig*).

Table 15. Nouns: attributive and predicative genitive form

mátay > mátayg	ماتئے › ماتئیگ
azhdiáay > azhdiáayg	اژدیائے › اژدیائیگ
nabiay > nabiayg	نبیئے › نبیئیگ
wájahay > wájahayg	واجهئے › واجهئیگ
gwandhóay > gwandhóayg	گَونڈۆئے › گَونڈۆئیگ
mátáni > mátánig	ماتانی › ماتانیگ
azhdiáyáni > azhdiáyánig	اژدیایانی › اژدیایانیگ
nabiáni > nabiánig	نبیانی› نبیانیگ
wájaháni > wájahánig	واجهانی › واجهانیگ
gwandhóáni > gwandhóánig	گَونڈۆانی › گَونڈۆانیگ

To denote a singular indefinite entity, a clitic called the "individuation clitic" is added as an enlitic to the noun. This clitic, *=é*, is unstressed. It is attached directly to the word in both the Balochi-Arabic and Balochi-Latin scripts.

Table 16. Nouns: basic form and form with the individuation clitic *=é*

mát > máté	مات › ماتے	'mother' > 'a mother'
shap > shapé	شپ › شپے	'night' > 'a night'
kár > káré	کار › کارے	'job' > 'a job'
wájah > wájahé	واجه › واجهے	'mister' > 'a mister'
azhdiá > azhdiáé	اژدیا › اژدیاے	'dragon' > 'a dragon'
tambu > tambué	تمبو › تمبوے	'tent' > 'a tent'
bó > bóé	بۆ › بۆے	'smell' > 'a smell'
mocchi > mocchié	مچّی › مچّیے	'group/gathering' > 'a group/gathering'

A noun with the individuation clitic =é can also add the oblique or genitive singular case suffix after the clitic.

Table 17. Nouns: declined forms with the individuation clitic

mátéá, mátéay	ماتیا، ماتیئے	'a mother', 'of a mother'
wájahéá, wájahéay	واجهیا، واجهیئے	'a mister', 'of a mister'
azhdiáéá, azhdiáéay	اژدیایا، اژدیائے	'a dragon', 'of a dragon'
shapéá, shapéay	شپیا، شپیئے	'a night', 'of a night'

3.1.1. Proper and common nouns

Proper nouns are names of specific individuals, animals, things or concepts, such as *Maryam* (name of a woman), *Háni* (name of a woman), *Bálách* (name of a man), *Taptán* (name of a mountain in Balochistan), *Saráwán* (name of a region in Balochistan), *Balóchestán* 'Balochistan', *Érán* 'Iran', *Makkoránay Zer* 'The Sea of Makran/Oman', *Mussáay Sharyat* 'The Law of Moses'. They are capitalized in the Balochi-Latin script. Common nouns are all the other nouns that in themselves do not refer to a specific individual/animal/thing/concept, such as *pet* 'father', *dóst* 'friend', *gorbag* 'cat', *asp* 'horse', *warák* 'food', *ázáti* 'freedom'.

3.1.2. Concrete and abstract nouns

Concrete nouns denote persons, animals and things that can be experienced by the human senses and thus exist in the material world, such as *mardom* 'person', *bachak* 'boy', *asp* 'horse', *oshter* 'camel', *lóg* 'house', *drachk* 'tree', *estár* 'star', *ketáb* 'book', *kalam* 'pen', and *kágad* 'paper'. Abstract nouns are ideas and concepts that cannot be experienced through the senses, and that therefore do not exist in the material world, such as *mehr* 'love', *bér* 'revenge', *kénag* 'grudge', *zór* 'power', and *hayál* 'thought'.

3.1.3. Verbal nouns

A verbal noun denotes the action of the verb, but is a noun in form, and is therefore declined as a noun (see Section 3.1.7). In Balochi, the infinitive of the verb acts as the verbal noun (see also Section 4.2.1). As an abstract noun, it is only found in the singular.

| *Shomay har róchigén rawag o áyag maná delsyáha kant.* | شمئے هر رۆچیگین رئوگ و آیگ منا دلسیاَہ کنت. | 'Your.PL going and coming every day bothers me.' |

41

Kár kanagay hobbi néstat.	کار کنگئے هُبّی نیِستاَت.	'He was not fond of working.'
Góshtay warag pa taw sharr naent.	گۆشتئے ورگ پَه تئو شرّ نهِاِنت.	'It is not good for you.SG to eat meat (lit. eating of meat).'

Occasionally the verbal noun can have a concrete meaning and take a plural oblique/genitive ending.

Shámay waragán tayár kan.	شامئے ورگان تئیار کن.	'Make the food for supper ready.'
Mani nálagáni tawárá kay gósha dárit.	منی نالگانی تئوارا کئے گۆشَ داریت؟	'Who listens to the sound of my moans.'

3.1.4. Countable nouns, singular and plural

Countable nouns are nouns whose referents are thought of as separate units, such as *chokk* 'child', *shahr* 'town', *kóh* 'mountain', *molk* 'country', *bádsháh* 'king', *gol* 'flower', and *pegr* 'thought'. If they refer to one unit, they take a verb in the singular, and if they refer to more than one unit, they take a verb in the plural. There is no difference between the singular and plural direct case form of a noun. Only the verb shows whether the noun has a singular or a plural referent.

É ketáb grán ent.	اے کتاب گران اِنت.	'This book is heavy/ expensive/difficult.'
É ketáb grán ant.	اے کتاب گران اَنت.	'These books are heavy/ expensive/difficult.'
Á bachak wassh ent.	آ بچک وشّ اِنت.	'That boy is well.'
Á bachak wassh ant.	آ بچک وشّ اَنت.	'Those boys are well.'

After cardinal numbers (see Section 3.5), if the noun is indefinite it takes the singular form, and it also takes a 3rd person singular verb. If it is definite, however, it takes the plural form and a 3rd person plural verb.

Panch chokk átk.	پنچ چُکّ آتک.	'Five children came.'

42

Mani panchén chokk átkant.	منی پنچین چُکّ آتکنت.	'My five children came.'
Pa dah mardomá warák byár.	په ده مردما وراک بیار.	'Bring food for ten people.'
Pa é dahén mardomán warák byár.	په اے دهین مردمان وراک بیار.	'Bring food for these ten people.'
Say shahray námá begwash.	سئے شهرئے ناما بگوَش.	'Say the names of three towns.'
É sayén shahráni námán begwash.	اے سئیین شهرانی نامان بگوَش.	'Say the names of these three towns.'
Dah oshter gár butag.	ده اشتر گار بوتگ.	'Ten camels have got lost.'
Mani dahén oshter gár butagant.	منی دهین اشتر گار بوتگَاَنت.	'My ten camels have got lost.'

A noun in the singular form with a verb in the singular can have a plural referent in some other instances as well. This applies, e.g., to nouns preceded by *bázén* 'many' or *lahtén* 'some'. Nouns following *bázén* 'many' are often marked with the individuation clitic =*é*. In those instances, both the noun and the verb take the singular form, even though they refer to more than one unit. If, however, the noun preceded by *bázén* 'many' has no =*é* clitic, the verb can occur either in the singular or in the plural. Even the noun can take plural case suffixes (-*án* (oblique case), -*áná* (object case) and -*áni* (genitive case)) in such instances. Nouns preceded by *lahtén* 'some' normally take singular case suffixes (-*á* (oblique case), -*árá* (object case) and -*ay* (genitive case)) and a singular verb. (For the use of *bázén* 'many' or *lahtén* 'some' as pronouns, see Section 3.3.6.)

Bázén chokké edá átk.	بازین چِکّے اِدا آتک.	'Many children came here.'
Pári bázén jágahéá dhokkál kaptag.	پاری بازین جاگهِیا ڈکّال کپتگ.	'[I heard that] there was a famine in many places last year.'
É róchán bázén jágahán zaminchandha bit.	اے رۆچان بازین جاگهان زمینچنڈَ بیت.	'Nowadays there are earthquakes in many places.'

43

Bázén mardom may kerrá áyagá ant.	بازێن مردم مئے کَڑا آیگا اَنت.	'Many people are coming to us.'
Lahtén mardom cha Éráná ham átkag.	لهتێن مردم چه اێرانا هم آتکگ.	'Some people have also come from Iran.'
Lahtén dozzá maná dist.	لهتێن دزّا منا دیست.	'Some thieves saw me.'

3.1.5. Uncountable nouns, singular and plural

Uncountable nouns, also called mass nouns, refer to things that are not thought of as separate units. Each language has its own specific uncountable nouns, which may not necessarily be the same as in other languages. Some common uncountable nouns in Balochi are *áp* 'water', *hák* 'soil', *rógen* 'oil', *shir* 'milk', *chá* 'tea', *mehr* 'love', and *báwar* 'belief'. However, in Balochi uncountable nouns can take the plural form, in which case they denote a specific, delimited amount or concept. They can also take the individuation clitic =*é* to denote a single delimited unit of the referent.

Ápa waray?	آپَ ورئے؟	'Do you.SG want (lit. drink) water.'
É ápán maréch.	اے آپان مرێچ.	'Don't throw this water out.'
Ápé, cháé maná nadayay?	آپے، چاے منا ندئیئے؟	'Won't you.SG give me a [glass of] water, a [cup of] tea?'
Mani mát maná báz mehra kant.	منی مات منا باز مِهرَ کنت.	'My mother loves me very much.'
Pa wati brát o gohárán hásén mehré bedár.	په وتی برات و گهاران هاسێن مِهرے بدار.	'Have (lit. keep) a special (kind of) love for your.SG brothers and sisters.'
Hodáay mehráni sáhegá bemán.	هُدائے مِهرانی ساهگا بمان.	'Remain in the shadow of God's love (not anybody else's).'

3.1.6. Definiteness and indefiniteness

The basic form of a noun denotes either a generic or a definite concept. A generic noun refers to all members of a certain group. When the members of the group are seen as individuals, the verb is in the plural.

Chokk mazana bant.	چکّ مزنَ بنت.	'Children grow up.'
Pas zutt wati ráhá gára kanant.	پس زوتّ وتی راها گارَ کننت.	'Sheep easily (lit. quickly) lose their way.'

When the group is seen as one unit, the verb, if present, takes the singular form. (For nominal clauses in Balochi, see Section 4.4.1.)

Shér Hendustáná báza bit.	شیرَ هندوستانا باز بیت.	'There are many lions in India.'
Osther gránkimmatén jánwaré.	اُشتر گرانکیمّتیٚن جانورے.	'Camels are expensive animals.'

There is no marking of a definite noun. A definite noun can be identified in its context either because it is unique (e.g. the sun, the earth, God, the person behind a unique name), because it has already been introduced, or because it is identifiable, e.g. by means of a demonstrative determiner such as 'this, that' (see Section 3.3.2.2) or a genitive attribute such as 'my, their' (see Section 3.1.7.4).

Maróchi róch báz garm ent.	مروٚچی روٚچ باز گرم اِنت.	'Today the sun is very warm.'
Dódá kayt.	دوٚدا کئیت.	'Doda comes.'
Chokk wati mátay kotthá neshtag.	چکّ وتی ماتئے کُتّا نِشتگ.	'The child (already mentioned) is sitting on his/her mother's lap.'
É shahr mazan ent.	اے شهر مزن اِنت.	'This town is big.'
Tai mát kojá ent?	تئیی مات کجا اِنت؟	'Where is your.SG mother?'

To denote a singular indefinite entity, the individuation clitic *=é* is added to the noun. This entity can be specific – i.e. the identity of the referent can be known to the speaker – but this need not always be the case.

Jeneké dém pa bázárá rawagá ent.	جنکے دیٚم پَه بازارا رئوگا اِنت.	'A girl is going towards the marketplace.'
Chokké átk.	چُکّے آتک.	'A child came.'
Ketábé beger.	کتابے بگر.	'Buy a book.'

45

Yak róché mani é kágadá bwán.	یک رۏچے منی اے کاگدا بوان.	'Read this letter of mine one day.'

The individuation clitic =*é* can be combined with the singular oblique case suffix -*á* (see Section 3.1.7).

Mani hamkáréá mani báposhtá habar kortag.	منی همکاریٰا منی باپُشتا هبر کرتگ.	'One of my workmates has talked behind my back.'
Sharrén lógéá neshtag.	شرّین لۏگیا نِشتگ.	'He lives (lit. sits) in a good house.'

The individuation clitic =*é* can also be combined with the singular genitive case suffix -*ay* (see Section 3.1.7).

Báyad pa chizzéay zuragá lógá per betarrán.	باید په چیزّیئے زورگا لۏگا پر بتّران.	'I need to return home to pick something up.'
Má borzén kóhéay sará sar kaptén.	ما برزین کۏهیئے سرا سر کپتین.	'We climbed a high mountain.'

3.1.7. Case forms

Nouns are declined, which means that their forms change when they are used in different syntactic roles in the sentence. The case forms in Balochi are direct case, oblique case, genitive case, object case and vocative case.

It should be noted that there is an important syntactic difference between transitive and intransitive verbs. A transitive verb is a verb that can take a direct object, e.g. *kanag* 'to do', *warag* 'to eat', *barag* 'to take', *árag* 'to bring', whereas an intransitive verb cannot take a direct object, e.g. *rawag* 'to go', *áyag* 'to come', *kapag* 'to fall', *bayag* 'to be, to become'. (For more details, see Section 4.1.)

The case marking of subjects differs between all intransitive verbs and transitive verbs in the present-future tense on one hand, and transitive verbs in the past tense on the other hand. The marking of direct objects of transitive verbs also differs between the present-future and past tense. (Intransitive verbs cannot take direct objects.)

3.1.7.1. Direct case

The direct case form has no suffix. There is no distinction between its singular and plural forms.

The direct case form is used:

I. as the subject of any intransitive verb. An intransitive verb is a verb that cannot take a direct object.

É ketáb grán ent.	اے کتاب گَران اِنت.	'This book is heavy/ expensive/difficult.'
Á bachak wassh naant.	آ بچک وشّ نهاَنت.	'Those boys are not well.'
Bálách edá at.	بالاچ اِدا اَت.	'Balach was here.'
Háni ódá naat.	هانی اۆدا نهاَت.	'Hani was not there.'
Bálách o Háni brát o gohár atant.	بالاچ و هانی برات و گَهار اَتنت.	'Balach and Hani were siblings (lit. brother and sister).'
Mani brát enshapia kayt.	منی برات اِنشپیَ کئیت.	'My brother will come tonight.'
Chokk lógá shotant.	چکَّ لۆگا شتنت.	'The children went home.'
Máhigir bójigéá swár butant.	ماهیگیر بۆجیگیَا سوار بوتنت.	'The fishermen got on a ship.'
Pet kadi edá átk?	پِت کدی اِدا آتک؟	'When did father come here?'

A noun can also take the individuation clitic *=é* (see Section 3.1.6) to denote a singular subject that may or may not be specific.

Mardé átk.	مردے آتک.	'A man came.'
Mani sangaté maróchi molká rawt.	منی سنگتے مرۆچی مُلکا رئوت.	'A friend of mine is going to Balochistan (lit. the land) today.'

47

II. as the subject of a transitive verb in the present-future tense. A transitive verb is a verb that can take a direct object.

Ballok shirán kojá chéra dant?	بلّک شیران کجا چیٚر دنت؟	'Where does the grandmother hide the milk?'
Chokk wati mát o petá gechéna nakanant.	چکّ وتی مات و پتا گچیٚنَ نکننت.	'Children don't chose their parents.'
Bádsháh wati wazirá gón wata bárt.	بادشاه وتی وزیرا گٛون وتَ بارت.	'The king takes his minister with him.'
May sangat góshta nawarant.	مئے سنگت گوٛشتَ نئورنت.	'Our friends don't eat meat.'

A noun can also take the individuation clitic =*é* (see Section 3.1.6) to denote a singular indefinite subject that may or may not be specific.

Lógay poshtá bachaké layba kant.	لوٛگئے پُشتا بچکے لئیبَ کنت.	'A boy is playing behind the house.'
Jeneké har róch may lógá sapá kant.	جنکے هر روٚچ مئے لوٛگا سَپا کنت.	'A girl cleans our house every day.'

III. as a singular indefinite, specific or non-specific direct object with the individuation clitic =*é* (see Section 3.1.6) in the present-future tense.

Chizzé genday?	چیزّے گندئے؟	'Do you.SG see anything?'
Kocheké gendán.	کُچکے گندان.	'I see a dog.'
Kay choshén káré kant?	کئے چشیٚن کارے کنت؟	'Who does/will do such a thing?'
Hech tawáré naeshkonán.	هیچ تئوارے نہاِشکنان.	'I don't hear any sound.'
Ketábé beger.	کتابے بگر.	'Buy a book.'

Taw káré nakanay. *Gorhá chiá átkagay?*	تئو کارے نکنئے . گڑا چیا آتکگئے؟	'You.SG don't do anything (lit. any work). Then why have you come?'

IV. as a generic (see Section 3.1.6) direct object in the present-future tense.

Man ketába gerán.	من کتابَ گران.	'I buy books (or a book).'
É chokk har róch pocch badala kant.	اے چکّ ہر رۏچ پُچّ بدلَ کنت.	'This child changes clothes every day.'
Mani brát oshter bahá kant.	منی برات اشتر بہا کنت.	'My brother sells camels.'

V. as the direct object of a transitive verb in the past tense. The singular or plural verb form shows whether the direct object is singular or plural.

Jeneká cha durá wati mát dist.	جنکا چہ دورا وتی مات دیست.	'The girl saw her mother at a distance.'
Bachaká wati pocch badal kortant.	بچکا وتی پُچّ بدل کرتنت.	'The boy changed his clothes.'
Báláchá wati jan o chokk molká ráh dátant.	بالاچا وتی جن و چکّ مُلکا راہ داتنت.	'Balach sent his wife and children to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Báláchá wati jan molká ráh dát.	بالاچا وتی جن مُلکا راہ دات.	'Balach sent his wife to Balochistan (lit. the land).'

A noun can also take the individuation clitic =*é* (see Section 3.1.6) to denote a singular direct object that may or may not be specific.

Báláchá mardomé molká ráh dát.	بالاچا مردمے مُلکا راہ دات.	'Balach sent someone (lit. a person) to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Man ketábé bahá kort.	من کتابے بہا کرت.	'I sold a book.'

VI. as the object of a preposition in fixed expressions (see also Section 3.4.1). (The object of a preposition normally takes the oblique case.)

Maná pa zór áyáni kerrá borta nakanay.	منا په زور آیانی کڑا برت نکنئے.	'You.SG can't take me to them by force.'
Mani brátá é dhagár pa bahá zortag.	منی براتا اے ڈگار په بها زرتگ.	'My brother has bought this plot of land.'
Taw maná pa del dósta dáray?	تئو منا په دل دۏستَ دارئے؟	'Do you.SG love me from your heart?'
Chokk pa gal o shádahi ráh geptant.	چُکّ په گَل و شادهی راه گپتنت.	'The children set out happily.'

VII. as an adverbial (at a specific time or place, which may or may not be known to the speaker) with the individuation clitic =*é* (see Section 3.1.6) added to the noun.

Yak róché mani é kágadá bwán.	یک رۏچے منی اے کاگدا بوان.	'Read this letter of mine one day.'
Sardár jáhé nesht o mardomi wati kerrá lóthetant.	سردار جاهے نِشت و مردمی وتی کڑا لۏٹتنت.	'The tribal chief sat down in a [certain] place and called people to himself.'

3.1.7.2. Oblique case

The suffix -*á* is added to a noun to build the oblique singular form of the noun. To build the oblique plural form, the suffix -*án* is added. The -*á*/-*án* suffix carries stress. Thus, unlike the direct case form, there is a difference between the singular and plural forms in the oblique case.

The oblique case form is used:

I. as the direct object of a transitive verb in the present-future tense when it is definite, or sometimes when it is specific and/or animate.

É ketábá bwán.	اے کتابا بوان.	'Read this book.'
É ketábán bwán.	اے کتابان بوان.	'Read these books.'
Á bachaká drosta kanay?	آ بچکا درستَ کنئے؟	'Do you.SG recognize that boy?'

Jenekán ham drosta kanay?	جنکان هم درستَ کنئے؟	'Do you.SG recognize the girls as well?'
Maróchi Háni Báláchá gendit.	مروّچی هانی بالاچا گندیت.	'Today Hani sees / will see / will meet Balach.'
Bálách Hániá nagendit.	بالاچ هانیا نگندیت.	'Balach does not see / will not see / will not meet Hani.'
Á ostáyá genday?	آ اُستایا گندئے؟	'Do you.SG see that craftsman?'
É náyán bwar.	اے نایان بوَر.	'Eat these dates.'

A noun can also take the individuation clitic =*é* (see Section 3.1.6) before the case suffix -*á* to denote a singular direct object that may or may not be specific.

Sardár har wahd waziréá wati kerrá nendárénit.	سردار هروهد وزیرێا وتی کڑا نندارێنیت.	'The tribal chief always places a minister at his side.'

II. as the indirect object of a transitive verb in the present-future tense when the direct object is inanimate. Most indirect objects in Balochi are recipients of the verb *dayag* 'to give' or addressees of the verb *gwashag* 'to say'.

Man é ketábá wati brátá dayán.	من اے کتابا وتی براتا دئیان.	'I will give this book to my brother.'
Taw pa ché wati chokkán zarra nadayay?	تئو په چے وتی چکّان زرَ ندئیئے؟	'Why don't you.SG give your children money?'
Man wati petá gwashán ke mayayt.	من وتی پتا گوَشان که مئیئیت.	'I will tell my father not to come.'

The verb *gwashag* 'to say' can also be constructed with the preposition *gón* 'to, with' and a noun in the oblique case.

Man gón wati petá gwashán ke mayayt.	من گوَن وتی پتا گوَشان که مئیئیت.	'I will tell my father not to come.'

III. as the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense.

Maryamá kapót mohr dásht.	مریما کپۆت مُهر داشت.	'Maryam held the dove firmly.'
Mani brátá wati pocch badal nakortant.	منی براتا وتی پُچّ بدل نکرتنت.	'My brother did not change his clothes.'
Bakkálá zarr cháretant.	بکّالا زرّ چارتنت.	'The grocer looked at the money.'
É mardomán dah sáhat kár kortag.	اے مردمان ده ساهت کار کرتگ.	'These people have worked for ten hours.'
May sangatán é bachak wati lógá bort.	مئے سنگتان اے بچک وتی لۆگّا برت.	'Our friends took this boy to their home.'

A noun can also take the individuation clitic *=é* (see Section 3.1.6) before the case suffix *-á* to denote a singular subject that may or may not be specific.

| *Paséá mani ketáb wárt.* | پَسیّا منی کتاب وارت. | 'A goat/sheep ate my book.' |
| *Janénéá maná thékié dátag.* | جنیّنیا منا ٹیکیے داتگ. | 'A woman has given me a gift.' |

IV. as the subject of an impersonal verb (also called a verb with a non-canonical subject) in the present-future and past tenses (see also Section 4.4.6). Impersonal verbs in Balochi are verbs where the subject is not actively doing anything but rather undergoes an experience or is a possessor. Some common impersonal verbs are *torsag* 'to be afraid, to be scared' (this verb can also be constructed with a normal subject), *zahir kanag/bayag* 'to long for', *bad áyag* 'to dislike', *pakár bayag* 'to need', *dast kapag* 'to find (suddenly and unexpectedly), to get hold of', *bazzag bayag* 'to feel sorry for', and *dóst bayag* 'to like, to love', as well as the verb of possession 'to have'.

Bázén mardoméá cha marká torsit.	بازێن مردمیّا چه مرکا ترسیت.	'Many people are afraid of death.'
Petá pa wati chokká zahira kant.	پتا په وتی چکّا زهیرَ کنت.	'The father longs for his child.'
Mani mátá é káray sará bada kayt.	منی ماتا اے کارئے سرا بدَ کئیت.	'My mother dislikes this (lit. this work).'

52

Nádráhén mardoméá sharrén dáktaré pakár ent.	نادراهین مردمیا شرّین داکترے پکار اِنت.	'A sick person needs a good doctor.'
Mani brátá kwahnén ketábé dast kapt.	منی براتا کوَهنین کتابے دست کپت.	'My brother found an old book.'
May sangatán shayr o sháeri báz dóst ent.	مئے سنگتان شئیر و شایری باز دۆست اِنت.	'Our friends like poetry very much.'
Áiay brátá say chokk hast.	آییئے براتا سئے چِکّ هست.	'His brother has three children.'
É bánoká brahdárén pocch hastat.	اے بانکا برهدارین پِچّ هستأت.	'This woman had beautiful clothes.'
Mani chokkán pésará kocheké butag.	منی چِکّان پیِسرا کُچِکے بوتگ.	'My children had a dog before.'

V. as the object of a preposition (occasionally, though, the preposition *pa* 'for' takes its object in the direct case).

Á ketábá pa Báláchá byár.	آ کتابا پَه بالاچا بیار.	'Bring that book for Balach.'
Man gón Hániá gapp nakort.	من گۆن هانیا گپّ نکرت.	'I did not talk with Hani.'
Cha é bachaká josta kanén.	چہ اے بچکا جستَ کنین.	'We will ask this boy (lit. from this boy).'
É hál pa donyáyá sharr naent.	اے هال پَه دنیایا شرّ نہاِنت.	'This [piece of] news is not good for the world.'
Mán sajjahén molká dhokkálé kapt.	مان سجّهین مُلکا ڈکّالے کپت.	'There came a famine in the whole country.'
Man pa tai dóstán warák payma kanán.	من پَه تئیی دۆستان وراک پئیمَ کنان.	'I will make food for your.SG friends.'
Bálách gón mani brátán saparéá shot.	بالاچ گۆن منی براتان سپرِیا شت.	'Balach went on a journey with my brothers.'

A noun can also take the individuation clitic *=é* (see Section 3.1.6) before the case suffix *-á* to denote a singular specific object of a preposition.

Cha chellién pashkéá chondhé derr o byár.	چه چلّیین پشکیا چُندے دِرّ و بیار.	'Tear off a piece from a dirty shirt and bring it.'
Maryam pa chokkéá ométwár at.	مریم په چکّیا اُمیتوار اَت.	'Maryam was expecting a baby.'

VI. to denote location or direction with stative verbs (verbs that denote a state rather than an action, such as 'to be', 'to stay') or motion verbs (verbs that denote a movement, such as 'to come', 'to go', 'to arrive').

Man shahrá rawán.	من شهرا رئوان.	'I go/will go to town.'
Taw shahrá ay?	تئو شهرا ائے؟	'Are you.SG in town?'
Á lógá naent.	آ لوگا نهِانت.	'She is not at home.'
Má é sajjahén métagán shotagén.	ما اے سجّهیٖن میتگان شتگیٖن.	'We have gone to all these villages.'

A noun can also take the individuation clitic *=é* (see Section 3.1.6) before the case suffix *-á* to denote a singular location or direction that may or may not be specific.

Dega shahréá rawt.	دگه شهرِیا رئوت.	'She goes to another town.'
Sharrén lógéá neshtag.	شرّیٖن لوگیا نِشتگ.	'He lives (lit. sits) in a good house.'

When a phrase that requires oblique case marking consists of several words, only the last word in the phrase gets the *-á/-án* suffix.

Bálách o Hániá gendán.	بالاچ و هانیا گِندان.	'I see Balach and Hani.'
Wati kár o kerdán sharra nakanay?	وتی کار و کردان شرَّ نکنئے؟	'Won't you.SG start doing right (lit. correct your actions and deeds)?'
Tai brát o gohárán kojá dars wántag?	تئیی برات و گهاران کجا درس وانتگ؟	'Where have your.SG brothers and sisters studied?'

54

Man gón wati brát o sangatán saparéá shotán.	من گۆن وتی برات و سنگتان سپرێا شتان.	'I went on a journey with my brothers and friends.'
Cha Bálách o Hániá jost bekan.	چه بالاچ و هانیا جُست بکن.	'Ask Balach and Hani.'
É kerr o gwarán áp nést.	اے کڑ و گۆران آپ نێست.	'There is no water in this region.'
É métag o bázárá kass nést.	اے مێتگ و بازارا کسّ نێست.	'There is nobody in this village (lit. village and marketplace).'

3.1.7.3. Object case

The suffix -*rá* is added to the oblique case singular form to build the object case singular form. To build the object case plural form, the suffix -*á* is added to the oblique case plural form.

The object case form is used:

I. as the indirect object of a transitive verb in the present-future tense, mainly the recipient of the verb *dayag* 'to give', if the direct object is animate.

Man wati jeneká é bachakárá nadayán.	من وتی جنکا اے بچکارا ندئیان.	'I will not give my daughter to this boy (in marriage).'
Bádsháh wati doén jenekán waziráni chokkáná dant.	بادشاه وتی دوێن جنکان وزیرانی چکّانا دنت.	'The king will give his two daughters (in marriage) to the sons of the ministers.'

II. as the indirect object of a transitive verb in the past tense, mainly the recipient of the verb *dayag* 'to give' or the addressee of the verb *gwashag* 'to say'. (The oblique form would in these instances be the subject.)

Bachaká wati petárá wasshén hálé dát.	بچکا وتی پتارا وشّێن هالے دات.	'The boy gave a piece of good news to his father.'
Hákemá har sál wati mardománá thékia dát.	هاکما هر سال وتی مردمانا ٹێکیَ دات.	'The ruler gave presents to his people every year.'

Mátá wati chokkáná gwasht ke watá besambálét.	ماتا وتی چُکّانا گَوَشت که وتا بسمبالیْت.	'The mother told her children to take care of themselves (lit. yourselves).'

There is another way of marking a plural indirect object in the past tense, namely with the direct case form and a verb in the plural to agree with the indirect object. This structure is used in the standard language for stylistic variation.

Hákemá har sál wati mardom thékia dátant.	هاکما هر سال وتی مردم ٹیْکیَ داتنت.	'The ruler gave presents to his people every year.'
Mátá wati chokk gwashtant ke watá besambálét.	ماتا وتی چُکّ گَوَشتنت که وتا بسمبالیْت.	'The mother told her children to take care of themselves (lit. yourselves).'

The verb *gwashag* 'to say' can also be constructed with the preposition *gón* 'to, with' and a noun in the oblique case.

Mátá gón wati chokkán gwasht ke watá besambálét.	ماتا گَون وتی چُکّان گَوَشت که وتا بسمبالیْت.	'The mother told her children to take care of themselves (lit. yourselves).'

It is clear from the sections above that direct and indirect objects are marked in two different ways in Balochi. The direct object can either be in the direct or the oblique case. If the verb is in the past tense, the direct object is always in the direct case. If the verb is in the present-future tense, the direct object is in the direct case if it is generic. It is also mainly in the direct case if it is indefinite, but in the oblique case if it is definite, or sometimes when it is indefinite specific and/or animate.

The indirect object can either be in the oblique or the object case. It is in the oblique case if the verb is in the present-future tense and the direct object is inanimate, but in the object case if the verb is in the present-future tense and the direct object is animate, and also whenever it occurs with a verb in the past tense.

3.1.7.4. Genitive case

The suffix -*ay* is added to the noun to build the genitive singular form of the noun. To build the genitive plural form, the suffix -*áni* is added.

The genitive case form is used:

I. as a genitive attribute. A genitive attribute typically denotes the owner (the man's book), but it can also denote other owner-like relations (the man's children), a whole divided into parts (most of the evening), etc.

É lógay darwázag haráb ent.	اے لۆگئے دروازگ ہراب اِنت.	'The door of this house is broken.'
Á shahray nám Pahrah ent.	آ شہرئے نام پَہرہ اِنت.	'The name of that town is Pahrah.'
Chokkay pet edá naent.	چکّئے پت اِدا نہاِنت.	'The child's father is not here.'
Gókay gósht grán ent.	گۆکئے گۆشت گران اِنت.	'Beef (lit. cow's meet) is expensive.'
Pasay rang syáh ent.	پسئے رنگ سیاہ اِنت.	'The colour of the sheep is black.'
É ketábáni kimmat grán ent.	اے کتابانی کیمّت گران اِنت.	'The price of these books is high (lit. expensive).'
Chokkáni nám Chákar o Mirán ent.	چکّانی نام چاکر و میران اِنت.	'The children's names are Chakar and Miran.'
Man shapay awali pásá wapsán.	من شپئے ائولی پاسا وپسان.	'I will sleep during the first watch of the night (lit. night's first watch).'

A combination of the individuation clitic =*é* and the genitive singular case suffix -*ay* is used to denote a singular genitive attribute that may or may not be specific.

Gégén móhéay shóházá bay.	گێگێن مۆہیئے شۆھازا بئے.	'Look out for (lit. be in search of) a good opportunity.'

| *Shomá sharrén mardoméay mehmán butagét.* | شما شرّین مردمیئے مهمان بوتگیت. | 'You.PL have been the guests of a good person.' |

II. as the object of a postposition (see also Section 3.4.2).

Lógay tahá kass nést.	لۏگئے تها کسّ نیست.	'There is nobody in the house.'
Chokk drachkáni sará sar kaptant.	چکّ درچکانی سرا سر کپتنت.	'The children climbed the trees.'
Man watá sengéay poshtá chér dát.	من وتا سنگئیئے پُشتا چیٔر دات.	'I hid behind a stone.'
Mirán shahray némagá shot.	میران شهرئے نیٔمگا شت.	'Miran went towards town.'
É habará wati sangatáni démá makan.	اے هبرا وتی سنگتانی دیٔما مکن.	'Don't say this (lit. this word) in front of your.SG friends.'

It is possible to have several consecutive genitive forms:

É jenekay petay nám Mir Kambar ent.	اے جنکئے پتئے نام میر کمبر اِنت.	'The name of this girl's father is Mir Kambar.'
Mardománi drógáni gósh dárag wassh naent.	مردمانی درۏگانی گۏش دارگ وشّ نهاِنت.	'Listening to people's lies is not good.'
Lógay darwázagay démá bozé.	لۏگئے درۏازگئے دیٔما بُزے.	'There is a goat in front of the door of the house.'

A combination of the individuation clitic =*é* and the genitive singular case suffix -*ay* is used to denote a singular object of a postposition that may or may not be specific.

| *Mani petá maná borzén kóhéay sará bort.* | منی پتا منا برزیٔن کۏهیئے سرا برت. | 'My father took me up on a high mountain.' |
| *Man pa taw goláméay sará dhawlá kár kortag.* | من په تئو گلامیئے سرا ڈئولا کار کرتگ. | 'I have worked like a slave for you.SG.' |

58

When a phrase functioning as a genitive attribute or object of a postposition consists of several words, only the last word in the phrase gets the *-ay/-áni* suffix.

Mirán o Hániay mát edá naent.	میران و هانیئے مات اِدا نہاِنت.	'Miran's and Hani's mother is not here.'
É shahr o métagáni mardóm azgár ant?	اے شهر و میتگانی مردم اَزگار اَنت؟	'Are the people of these towns and villages rich?'
Wati mát o petay gwará átk.	وتی مات و پتئے گورا آتک.	'She came to her parents (lit. mother and father).'
Mani brát o goháráni sará zahr at.	منی برات و گهارانی سرا زهر اَت.	'He was angry with my brothers and sisters.'

Predicative genitive
If the genitive is placed in predicative position (separated from its head noun as in 'this book is <u>my children's</u>'), the suffix *-g* is optionally added to the genitive form. This suffix is always present when the following word begins with a vowel.

É ketáb mani chokkánig ant.	اے کتاب منی چکّانیگ اَنت.	'These books are my children's.'
É ramag sardárayg ent.	اے رمگ سردارئیگ اِنت.	'This flock (of sheep and goats) is the tribal chief's.'
Jenek zargaray(g) but.	جنک زرگرئے / زرگرئیگ بوت.	'The girl became the goldsmith's.'
É molk Balóchání(g)a bit.	اے مُلک بلؤچانیَ / بلؤچانیگَ بیت.	'This land will belong to the Baloch (lit. will become the Baloch's).'

Compare this to examples with the genitive in attributive position (together with the noun, as in '<u>the children's</u> book is here').

Mani chokkáni ketáb gár butant.	منی چکّانی کتاب گار بوتنت.	'My children's books were lost.'
Sardáray ramag sakk mazan ent.	سردارئے رمگ سکّ مزن اِنت.	'The tribal chief's flock is very big.'
Zargaray jenek edá naent.	زرگرئے جنک اِدا نہاِنت.	'The goldsmith's daughter is not here.'
Balóchani molk zébáén molké.	بلۏچانی مُلک زیٚباین مُلکے.	'The land of the Baloch is a beautiful land.'

The predicative genitive form adds *-á/-án* to make an oblique case form which is used as a head noun.

Wati ketábá mawán, wati brátaygá bwán.	وتی کتابا مئوان، وتی براتئیگا بوان.	'Don't read your.SG book, read your brother's.'
Mani pocch cha chokkánigán garmter ant.	منی پُچّ چہ چُکّانیگان گرمتر اَنت.	'My clothes are warmer than the children's.'

The predicative genitive form with an added *-i* suffix is used with the preposition *pa* 'for, to' to denote 'for the sake of'. This form is stressed on the last syllable.

Má pa sardáraygi átkén.	ما پہ سردارئیگی آتکیٚن.	'We came for the sake of the tribal chief.'
Pa chokkánigi é kárá bekan.	پہ چکّانیگی اے کارا بکن.	'Do this (lit. this job) for the children.'

3.1.7.5. Vocative case
The vocative case is used in direct address, i.e. with a person/thing to whom one is speaking directly. The vocative case is identical with the direct case in the singular and with the oblique case in the plural. Often the vocative particle *oo* 'o, hey there' is used before the noun. The nouns *Hodá* 'God' and *Hodáwand* 'Lord' can add the suffix *-á* instead of the vocative particle *oo* for stylistic variation. This is a borrowed structure from Persian/Urdu.

Oo bánok! Edá byá.	او بانک! اِدا بیا.	'Dear lady, come here.'
Sangatán! Mani habarán gósh bedárét.	سنگتان! منی هبران گۏش بداریّت.	'Friends, listen to what I have to say (lit. my words).'
Oo Hodá! Mani dwáyá gósh bedár.	او هُدا! منی دوایا گۏش بدار.	'O God, listen to my prayer.'
Hodáwandá! Mani sará rahm kan.	هُداوندا! منی سرا رهم کن.	'O Lord, have mercy on me.'

3.2. Adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives are words that qualify nouns, i.e. that provide additional information about nouns, such as *warná* 'young', *pir* 'old', *mazan* 'big', *kasán* 'small', *sohr* 'red', and *zendag* 'alive'. Adverbs are words that qualify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs, such as *zutt* 'quickly', *dér* 'late', *maróchi* 'today', and *bándá* 'tomorrow'. Many words in Balochi, such as *báz* 'many, much, very', *sakk* 'hard, very', *trond* 'quick, fast', can function either as adjectives or adverbs.

3.2.1. Forms of adjectives

Adjectives in Balochi have two forms, a basic form and an attributive form. The basic form of an adjective is stressed on the final syllable. Most adjectives add the suffix *-én* to the basic form when they stand in attributive position (see Section 3.2.2). This suffix is stressed and is attached to the adjective in writing.

Table 18. Adjectives: basic and attributive forms

Basic form		Attributive form		English gloss
warná	ورنا	*warnáén*	ورناین	'young'
pir	پیر	*pirén*	پیریّن	'old'
ráhat	راهت	*ráhatén*	راهتین	'comfortable'
mazan	مزن	*mazanén*	مزنین	'big'
kasán	کسان	*kasánén*	کسانین	'small'
lokk	لُکّ	*lokkén*	لُکّین	'short'
wassh	وشّ	*wasshén*	وشّین	'happy'
zendag	زندگ	*zendagén*	زندگین	'alive'

The comparative form of adjectives and adverbs is used when a comparison is made (e.g. 'this book is more expensive than that book', 'I am feeling better today'). It is formed by adding -ter to the basic form. This suffix is stressed and is attached to the adjective/adverb in both scripts unless the adjective/adverb ends in -t. In this case it is written separate from the word without a space in the Balochi-Arabic script. The two adjectives *mazan* 'big' and *kasán* 'small' have irregular comparative forms. Adjectives that have a geminate (doubled) consonant at the end of the word, such as *lokk* 'short' and *wassh* 'happy' lose one of the consonants in the comparative form. The comparative adjective *gehter* 'better' has no basic form.

Like the basic form, the comparative form also adds the suffix *-én* in attributive position. This form is stressed on *-én*. The attributive comparative form in *-terén* is also used as the superlative form, which denotes the highest/lowest degree of a quality (e.g. 'this was the best book I have ever read', 'the youngest child is not here'). Some adjectives, such as *zendag* 'alive', are not normally used in comparisons.

Table 19. Adjectives: basic, comparative, and superlative forms

Basic form		Comparative form		Attributive comparative form Superlative form	
warná	ورنا	*warnáter*	ورناتر	*warnáterén*	ورناترێن
pir	پیر	*pirter*	پیرتر	*pirterén*	پیرترێن
ráhat	راهت	*ráhatter*	راهتتر	*ráhatterén*	راهتترێن
mazan	مزن	*master*	مستر	*masterén*	مسترێن
kasán	کسان	*kaster*	کستر	*kasterén*	کسترێن
lokk	لُکّ	*lokter*	لُکتر	*lokterén*	لُکترێن
wassh	وشّ	*washter*	وشتر	*washterén*	وشترێن
-	-	*gehter*	گهتر	*gehterén*	گهترێن
zendag	زندگ	-	-	-	-

3.2.2. Attributive and predicative adjectives

Adjectives qualify nouns. They are not declined with singular or plural case suffixes. Only when they are used as nouns do they take case suffixes (see Section 3.2.4). Adjectives can be placed in:

- predicative position, which means that the adjective is separated from the noun by a verb (e.g. the car is <u>red</u>, his house was <u>big</u>);
- attributive position, i.e. together with the noun (e.g. the <u>red</u> car, his <u>big</u> house).

In predicative position, the basic form of the adjective is used.

Ketáb mazan ent.	كتاب مزن اِنت.	'The book is big.'
É poll sohr ent.	اے پُلّ سهر اِنت.	'This flower is red.'
Mani jámag sabz ent.	منی جامگ سبز اِنت.	'My dress is green.'
Áiay chokk kasán ant.	آییئے چِکّ کسان اَنت.	'Her children are small.'
É kár grán ant.	اے کار گران اَنت.	'These jobs are difficult.'

In attributive position, the attributive form is used with the suffix *-én* added to the basic form. An attributive adjective normally precedes the noun it qualifies (for an attributive adjective following the noun it qualifies, see Section 5.1).

Man mazanén ketábé gept.	من مزنین کتابے گپت.	'I bought a big book.'
É sohrén pollé.	اے سهریّن پُلّے .	'This is a red flower.'
Sabzén jámagá gwará kan.	سبزیّن جامگا گَورا کن.	'Put on the green dress.'
É kasánén chokkán besambál.	اے کسانین چِکّان بسمبال.	'Take care of these small children.'
Márá gránén káresh dát.	مارا گرانین کارِش دات.	'They gave us difficult jobs.'

63

Nouns can take the attributive adjective ending -*én* and function as attributive adjectives.

Cha é paymén mardomán watá dur bedár.	چہ اے پئیمێن مردمان وتا دور بدار.	'Keep away from this kind of people.'
Oo mani dorrén chokk!	او منی دُرّێن چِکّ!	'Hey, my wonderful (lit. pearl) child!'
Áiá teláhén mondriké dastá at.	آیا تلاهێن مُندریکے دستا اَت.	'She had a golden ring on her finger (lit. hand).'

3.2.3. Comparative and superlative

The comparative form is used when there is an element of comparison in the adjective or adverb. The preposition of comparison is *cha* 'than'.

Áiay mát cha mani mátá master ent.	آییٔے مات چہ منی ماتا مستر اِنت.	'His mother is older (lit. bigger) than my mother.'
Mani kár cha tai kárá sakter ent.	منی کار چہ تئیی کارا سَکتر اِنت.	'My job is more difficult than your.SG job.'
É ketáb cha á ketábá ásánter ent.	اے کتاب چہ آ کتابا آسانتر اِنت.	'This book is easier than that book.'

If the comparative form is in attributive position, the attributive suffix -*én* is added.

| *Maná ásánterén ketábé beday.* | منا آسانترێن کتابے بدئے. | 'Give me an easier book.' |
| *Shomárá gránterén kára dant.* | شمارا گرانترێن کارَ دنت. | 'He will give you.PL more difficult jobs'. |

Depending on the context, -*terén* can also have superlative meaning. This superlative form can only occur in attributive position.

| *Ásánterén ketáb esh ent.* | آسانترێن کتاب اِش اِنت. | 'This is the easiest book.' |

Mani kasterén brát átkag.	منی کسترێن برات آتکگ.	'My youngest (lit. smallest) brother has come.'
Wati géshterén wahdá lógá gwázénán.	وتی گێشترێن وهدا لۆگا گوازێنان.	'I spend most of my time at home.'
Sharterén kár esh ent ke molká beraway.	شرترێن کار اِش اِنت که مُلکا برئوئے.	'The best thing (lit. work) is for you.SG to go to Balochistan (lit. the land).'

The superlative in predicative position is formed by the phrase *cha sajjahénán/drostán/drostigénán* 'than all' together with the comparative form. It is also possible to add a noun (N) in the phrase, i.e. *cha sajjahén/ drostén/drostigén* N*án* 'than all Ns'.

É ketáb cha sajjahénán ásánter ent.	اے کتاب چه سجّهێنان آسانتر اِنت.	'This book is the easiest one (lit. easier than all).'
É bachak cha drostigénán chálákter ent.	اے بچک چه درستیگێنان چالاکتر اِنت.	'This boy is the most clever one (lit. more clever than all).'
Mani mát cha donyáay sajjahén mátán gehter ent.	منی مات چه دنیائے سجّهێن ماتان گهتر اِنت.	'My mother is the best one in the whole world (lit. better than all the mothers in the world).'

3.2.4. Adjectives as nouns

An adjective can also take on the role of a noun in a process called nominalization. When an adjective is nominalized, it behaves like a noun and takes case suffixes and/or the individuation clitic. Adjectives are frequently nominalized to denote human beings, but sometimes also to denote inanimate things. Some adjectives are nominalized in their basic form, some in their attributive form.

É warnáyá genday?	اے ورنایا گندئے؟	'Do you.SG see this young [person]?'

65

É dód o rabédag may pirénánig ant.	اے دۆد و ربیٚدگ مئے پیریٚنانیگ اَنت.	'These traditions are those of our forefathers (lit. old).'
Wahdé mani hamráhán dist ke ráh dur ent per tarretant.	وهدے منی همراهان دیست که راه دور اِنت پِر تڑتنت.	'When my fellow-travellers (lit. accompanying) saw that the road was long, they returned.'
Nézgáráni komaká tayár bebét.	نیٚزگارانی کُمکا تئیار ببیٚت.	'Be prepared to help the poor.'
Wati keshtagénáni delgóshdáriá bekan.	وتی کِشتگیٚنانی دلگۆشداریا بکن.	'Take care of the things you.SG have sown/planted (lit. of your sown (plural)).'
Harkas ke mazania lóthit báyad ent sajjahénáni hezmatkár bebit.	هرکَس که مزنیَ لۆڑیت باید اِنت سجّهیٚنانی هزمتکار ببیت.	'Whoever wants to be great (lit. greatness) must be the servant of all.'
Lahtén sháma nakant.	لهتیٚن شامَ نکنت.	'Some don't eat (lit. do) supper.'

3.2.5. Adverbs

Adverbs generally express location, time or manner. Adverbs are placed before the word they qualify or clause initially (see also Sections 5.1 and 5.2).

Zutt byá.	زوتّ بیا.	'Come quickly.'
Bándá bázárá rawán.	باندا بازارا رئوان.	'I will go to the marketplace tomorrow.'
Balóchestán cha edá báz dur ent.	بلۆچِستان چه اِدا باز دور اِنت.	'Balochistan is very far from here.'
Sakk dér butag.	سکّ دیٚر بوتگ.	'It has got very late.'

66

Reduplicated adverbs indicate the manner of a process and often also that the action has already started. Note that the geminated consonant is lost on the first adverb.

Dér dérá pawna kant.	دیر دیرا پئونَ کنت.	'She doesn't call very often (lit. she calls late late).'
Zut zutt byá.	زوت زوتّ بیا.	'Come quickly.' (The person has already started coming.)
Man kam kammá é ketábá wánán.	من کم کمّا اے کتابا وانان.	'I will read this book little by little.'

Adverbs occasionally take the attributive suffix *-én.*

| *Taw sakkén radén káré kortag.* | تئو سکّین ردین کارے کرتگ. | 'You.SG did something very wrong (lit. a very wrong deed).' |

In many instances adverbial expressions are constructed by means of the pre-position *pa* 'for, to, in' and an abstract noun.

| *Tai brát pa wasshi o salámati lógá rasetag.* | تئیی برات په وشّی و سلامتی لوگا رستگ. | 'Your.SG brother has come home safe and sound (lit. in happiness and safety).' |
| *Pa trondi dapjákesh kort.* | په ترندی دپجاکِش کرت. | 'They quarreled fiercely (lit. in fervour).' |

When adverbs are used in comparisons, they follow the same rules as adjectives. However, some adverbs are inherently comparative and do not take the comparative suffix *-ter.*

Báyad ent zutter byátkénay.	باید اِنت زوتتر بیاتکینئے.	'You.SG should have come earlier.'
Géshter kukkári kort.	گیشتر کوگّاری کرت.	'He shouted louder (lit. more).'
Man cha sajjahénán pésar ódá rasetán.	من چه سجّهینان پێسر اۆدا رستان.	'I arrived there first of all (lit. before everybody).'

A number of locational and temporal adverbs (indicating place or time respectively) can take the genitive case suffix -*ay* and function as a genitive attribute.

Bádshahá pa eday mardomán bázén sharrén káré kortag.	بادشاها په اِدئے مردمان بازێن شَرێن کارے کرتگ.	'The king has done many good things for the people from here.'
Óday rawagá rand shomay kerrá káyán.	اۆدئے رئوگا رند شمئے کڑا کایان.	'When I have gone there I will come to you.PL.'
Bándátay gamá maróchi mawar.	باندائتے گما مرۆچی مئور.	'Don't trouble yourself (lit. eat) today [with] the sorrow of tomorrow.'

3.3. Pronouns

A pronoun is a word that takes the place of a noun, e.g. Peter came > <u>he</u> came, this is Mary's book > this is <u>her</u> book, the children saw their mother > <u>they</u> saw <u>her</u>. Pronouns can function in all the syntactic roles that nouns can function in.

3.3.1. Personal pronouns

Balochi has personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons and demonstrative pronouns that function as personal pronouns for the 3rd person. 1st person pronouns refer to the speaker(s), 2nd person to the addressee(s), and 3rd person to others.

For the 1st person plural, Balochi has two pronouns, one which is commonly used and can either exclude the addressee (I/we but not you) or include the addressee (I/we and you), and one inclusive pronoun which is used to emphasize the fact that both the speaker(s) and the addressee(s) are included.

In the 2nd person, the singular form is normally used when the referent is a single person, and the plural form when the referent consists of several persons. However, the plural pronoun can be used as an honorific pronoun to refer to a single person. This usage is increasingly common among people who are influenced by the national languages Persian and Urdu, where the 2nd person plural is used as an honorific pronoun referring to a single person who is of equal or higher status than the speaker.

For the 3rd person, the most commonly used demonstrative pronouns are those used for distant location (distal deixis) 'that, those'. The pronouns used for near location (proximal deixis) 'this, these' are used less frequently.

The 1st and 2nd persons have three case forms, direct/oblique, object and genitive, whereas the 3rd person has four case forms, direct, oblique, object and genitive. The case forms for personal and demonstrative pronouns employed in the standard Balochi language are presented in Tables 20–27.

The most common stress of polysyllabic forms is marked in the Balochi-Latin script by means of the symbol "ˈ" in Tables 20–26. The form with stress marking is placed in brackets since this symbol is not used in the standard spelling. There is some variation in how the pronouns are stressed in the different dialects.

Table 20. Personal pronouns: direct/oblique case

Person	Direct/oblique	
1SG	*man*	من
2SG	*taw*	تئو
1PL default	*má*	ما
1PL inclusive	*máshomá (másho ˈmá)*	ماشما
2PL	*shomá (sho ˈmá)*	شما

Table 21. Personal pronouns: object case

Person	Object	
1SG	*maná (ˈmaná)*	منا
2SG	*tará (ˈtará)*	ترا
1PL default	*mará (ˈmará)*	مارا
1PL inclusive	*máshomárá (másho ˈmára)*	ماشمارا
2PL	*shomárá (sho ˈmárá)*	شمارا

Table 22. Personal pronouns: genitive case

Person	Genitive	
1SG	*mani (ma ˈni)*	منی
2SG	*tai (ta ˈi)*	تئیی
1PL default	*may*	مئے
1PL inclusive	*mayshomay (maysho ˈmay)*	مئےشمئے
2PL	*shomay (sho ˈmay)*	شمئے

Table 23. Distal demonstrative / 3rd person personal pronoun: direct and oblique case

Person	Direct		Oblique	
3SG	*á*	آ	*áiá (á ˈiá)*	آییا
3PL	*á*	آ	*áyán (á ˈyán)*	آیان

Table 24. Distal demonstrative / 3rd person personal pronoun:
object and genitive case

Person	Object		Genitive	
3SG	*áiárá (áˈiárá)*	آیبارا	*áiay (áˈiay)*	آییئے
3PL	*áyáná (áˈyáná)*	آیانا	*áyáni (áˈyáni)*	آیانی

Table 25. Proximal demonstrative / 3rd person personal pronoun:
direct and oblique case

Person	Direct		Oblique	
3SG	*é, esh*	اے، اِش	*eshiá (eˈshiá)*	اِشیا
3PL	*é, esh*	اے، اِش	*eshán (eˈshán)*	اِشان

Table 26. Proximal demonstrative / 3rd person personal pronoun:
object and genitive case

Person	Object		Genitive	
3SG	*eshiárá (eˈshiárá)*	اِشیارا	*eshiay (eˈshiay)*	اِشیئے
3PL	*esháná (eˈsháná)*	اِشانا	*esháni (eˈsháni)*	اِشانی

Predicative genitive

Like nouns, pronouns have predicative genitive case forms, which add *-g* to
the attributive genitive case form. These forms are stressed on the same sylla-
ble as the attributive genitive case form.

Table 27. Distal demonstrative / 3rd person personal pronoun:
attributive and predicative genitive forms

mani > manig	منی > منیگ	*may > mayg*	مئے > مئیگ
tai > taig	تئی > تئیگ	*shomay > shomayg*	شمئے > شمئیگ
áiay > áiayg	آییئے > آییئیگ	*áyáni > áyánig*	آیانی > آیانیگ
eshiay > eshiayg	اِشیئے > اِشیئیگ	*esháni > eshánig*	اِشانی > اِشانیگ

70

3.3.1.1. First and second person pronouns

The use of case forms will first be discussed for the 1st and 2nd persons (for the 3rd person, see Section 3.3.1.2).

3.3.1.1.1. Direct/oblique case

The direct/oblique case of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is used:

I. as the subject of all verbs in both the present-future and past tense. The subject pronoun can be omitted whenever the verb suffix indicates the person of the subject. In such instances, pronouns are mainly present when there is a contrast between two different persons or to emphasize the subject (which always happens when *máshomá* is used). In cases where the verb does not show the person and number of the subject (see Section 4.4.3), a personal or enclitic (see Section 3.3.3) pronoun indicating the subject must be present.

(Man) edá án.	.(من) اِدا آن	'I am here.'
(Taw) kojá ay?	(تئو) کجا ائے؟	'Where are you.SG?'
(Má) maróchi nayáén.	.(ما) مرۆچی نئیاێن	'We will not come today.'
Máshomá báyad yakdomiá komak bekanén.	ماشما باید یکدومیا کُمک بکنێن.	'We must help each other.'
(Shomá) pa ché nayátkét?	(شما) په چے نئیاتکێت؟	'Why didn't you.PL come?'
Má báz kár kort bale shomá hech kar nakort.	ما باز کار کرت بله شما هچ کار نکرت.	'We worked a lot but you.PL did not do anything (lit. any work).'
Man wa é gappá nazánán.	من وه اے گپّا نزانان.	'I don't know this issue (lit. speech).'

II. as the object of a preposition.

É jámagá pa man bedóch.	اے جامگا په من بدۆچ.	'Sew this dress for me.'
Cha taw zarra nagerén.	چه تئو زرَّ نگرێن.	'We won't ask you.SG to pay (lit. we won't take money from you).'

71

Cha shomá josta nakanén.	چه شما جستَ نکنێن.	'We don't ask you.PL (lit. from you).'
Man tán bándá gón taw dárán.	من تان باندا گۆن تئو داران.	'I will stay with you.SG until tomorrow.
Chokk cha má pésará ráh kaptant.	چکّ چه ما پێسرا راه کپتنت.	'The children set out before us.'
Pa máshomá waráki grástag.	په ماشما وراکی گراستگ.	'He cooked food for us all (with emphasis on inclusion of the addressee).'

3.3.1.1.2. Object case

The the object case of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is used:

I. as the direct object of all transitive verbs in the present-future and past tenses.

Tai mát tará lóthit.	تئیی مات ترا لۆٹیت.	'Your.SG mother calls you.'
Márá nadisti.	مارا ندیستی.	'She did not see us.'
Pulis máshomárá edá nagendit.	پولیس ماشمارا اِدا نگندیت.	'The police will not see us here.'
Man shomárá wati lógá barán.	من شمارا وتی لۆگا بران.	'I will take you.PL to my house.'
Mani petá maná hechbar eskulá ráh nadátag.	منی پتا منا هچبر اِسکولا راه نداتگ.	'My father has never sent me to school.'

II. as the indirect object in the present-future and past tenses, mainly the recipient of the verb *dayag* 'to give' or the addressee of the verb *gwashag* 'to say'.

Taw chiá pésará é ketáb maná nadát?	تئو چیا پێسرا اے کتاب منا ندات؟	'Why didn't you.SG give me this book before?'
Tará zarra nadayán.	ترا زرّ ندئیان.	'I won't give you.SG money.'

Man shomárá nagwasht ke báyad ent byáét?	من شمارا نگَوَشت که باید اِنت بیایْت؟	'Didn't I tell you.PL that you have to come?'
Agan nókén hálé hast, márá begwash.	اگن نۆکێن هالے هست، مارا بگَوَش.	'Tell us if there is any news.'

III. as the subject of an impersonal verb (also called a verb with a non-canonical subject) in the present-future and past tenses. (For a definition of the term 'impersonal verb', see Section 4.4.6.)

Tará gón má che kár ent?	ترا گۆن ما چه کار اِنت؟	'What business do you.SG have with us?'
Maná pa wati gohárá zahira kant.	منا په وتی گهارا زهیرَ کنت.	'I long for for my sister.'
Máshomárá komak pakár ent.	ماشمارا کمک پکار اِنت.	'We need help.'
Márá pa é kárá wahd néstat.	مارا په اے کارا وهد نیْستأت.	'We didn't have time for this job.'
Shomárá máhig dósta bit?	شمارا ماهیگ دۆستَ بیت؟	'Do you.PL like fish?'
Maná torset.	منا ترست.	'I was scared.'
Tará may hayál gwar naent?	ترا مئے هئیال گۆر نهاِنت؟	'Aren't you.SG concerned about us?'

3.3.1.1.3. Genitive case
The genitive case of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is used:

I. as a genitive attribute.

Mani gohár molká shot.	منی گهار مُلکا شت.	'My sister went to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Tai brát may lógá nayátkag.	تئیی برات مئے لۆگا نئیاتکگ.	'Your.SG brother has not come home to us.'

Man shomay habará nazurán.	من شمئے هبرا نزوران.	'I won't listen to you.PL (lit. take your word).'
Mayshomay master kay ent?	مئےشمئے مستر کئے اِنت؟	'Who is the leader among us (lit. our greater)?'
May molk wasshén molké.	مئے مُلک وشّین مُلکے.	'Our country is a good country.'

II. as the object of a postposition.

Kadi mani gwará káay?	کدی منی گورا کائے؟	'When will you.SG come to me?'
Tai kashá nanendán.	تئیی کشا نَنندان.	'I won't sit beside you.SG.'
Mayshomay nyámá dozzé hast.	مئےشمئے نیاما دُزّے هست.	'There is a thief among us.'
É bádsháh shomay sará hokumat korta nakant.	اے بادشاه شمئے سرا هکومت کرتَ نکنت.	'This king cannot rule over you.PL.'
May báposhtá hechbar habar makan.	مئے باپُشتا هچبر هبر مکن.	'Never speak behind our backs.'

Predicative genitive

If the genitive is placed in predicative position, i.e. separated from its head noun, the suffix *-g* is optionally added to the genitive form. This suffix is always present when the following word begins with a vowel.

É ketáb mayg ent.	اے کتاب مئیگ اِنت.	'This book is ours.'
Pas taig ant?	پس تئییگ اَنت؟	'Are the sheep/goats yours.SG?'
Sajjahén molk mayg ent.	سجّهِین مُلک مئیگ اِنت.	'The whole land is ours.'
Harché tará rasit mani(g) ham bit.	هرچے ترا رسیت منی / منیگ هم بیت.	'Whatever you.SG get (lit. arrives to you) will also be mine.'

74

Compare these examples with examples of the genitive in attributive position:

May ketáb gár butant.	مئے کتاب گار بوتنت.	'Our books were lost.'
Tai pas kojá ant?	تئیی پس کجا اَنت؟	'Where are your.SG sheep/goats.'
May molk zébáén molké.	مئے مُلک زیٖباییٖن مُلکے.	'Our land is a beautiful land.'

The predicative genitive form behaves like a noun and adds *-á/-án* to make an oblique case form, which is used in the same way as the oblique case form of a noun.

| *Wati ketábá mawán, maygá bwán.* | وتی کتابا مئوان، مئیگا بوان. | 'Don't read your.SG book, read ours.' |
| *É pocch cha manigán garmter ant.* | اے پُچّ چه منیگان گرمتر اَنت. | 'These clothes are warmer than mine.' |

There is a strong tendency to use the predicative genitive form of a pronoun in front of *o* 'and' even in attributive position in order to avoid hiatus (two vowels occurring next to each other). (The attributive genitive form can also be used in this context.)

| *May(g) o áyáni kár yakk ent.* | مئے/ مئیگ و آیانی کار یکّ اِنت. | 'Our [job] and their job are the same (lit. one).' |
| *Mani(g) o tai brát yakdomiá drosta kanant.* | منی/ منیگ و تئیی برات یکدومیا درستَ کننت. | 'My [brother] and your brother know each other.' |

The predicative genitive form with an added *-i* suffix is used with the preposition *pa* 'for, to' to denote 'for the sake of'. This form is stressed on the last syllable.

| *Má pa taigi átkén.* | ما پَه تئییگی آتکیٖن. | 'We came for your.SG sake.' |
| *Pa maygi é kárá bekan.* | پَه مئیگی اے کارا بکن. | 'Do this (lit. this job) for us.' |

3.3.1.2. Third person pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are used instead of 3rd person personal pronouns, with distal deixis occurring more frequently than proximal deixis.

3.3.1.2.1. Direct case

The direct case of 3rd person pronouns is used:

I. as the subject of any verb in the present-future tense and of an intransitive verb in the past tense. Subject pronouns can, however, be omitted since the verb suffix indicates the person and number of the subject. The pronouns are mainly used when there is a contrast between two different persons or to emphasize the subject.

(Á) wati molká rawt.	(آ) وتی مُلکا رئوت.	'She will go to her homeland.'
(Á) shahrá narawant.	(آ) شهرا نرئونت.	'They won't go to town.'
(Á) báz kára kant.	(آ) باز کارَ کنت.	'He works a lot.'
(É) wati chokkán sharra nasambálant.	(اے) وتی چگّان شرَّ نسمبالنت.	'They don't take good care of their children.'
(Á) wati molká shot.	(آ) وتی مُلکا شت.	'She went to her homeland.'
(É) shahrá nashotant.	(اے) شهرا نَشتنت.	'They did not go to town.'
(Á) wassh butant.	(آ) وشّ بوتنت.	'They got well.'
(Á) hechbar edá nabutag.	(آ) هچبر اِدا نبوتگ.	'He has never been here.'

II. as the direct object of a transitive verb in the past tense.

Man á distant.	من آ دیستنت.	'I saw them.'
Shomá á kojám molká bort?	شما آ کجام مُلکا برت؟	'To what country did you.PL take him?'
Dáktará é dráh kort nakort.	داکترا اے دراه کرت نکرت.	'The doctor could not make her well.'

76

| *Áyáni sangatá á sahig kortant.* | آیانی سنگتا آ سهیگ کرتنت. | 'Their friends informed them.' |

3.3.1.2.2. Oblique case

The oblique case of 3rd person pronouns is used:

I. as the direct object of a transitive verb in the present-future tense.

Áiá gón wat bázárá mabar.	آیا گۆن وت بازارا مبر.	'Don't take him with you.SG to the marketplace.'
Áyán kojá rawána kanét?	آیان کجا رئوانَ کنێت؟	'Where do you.PL send them?'
Shomá báyad eshán besambálét.	شما باید اِشان بسمبالێت.	'You.PL must take care of them.'
Má eshiá nagendén.	ما اِشیا نگندیۤن.	'We don't see her.'

II. as the subject of a transitive verbs in the past tense. The subject pronoun cannot be omitted in this case because the suffix on the verb does not show the person and number of the subject. Subject pronouns can, however, be replaced by enclitic pronouns (see Section 3.3.3).

Áiá gwasht ke má mayáén.	آیا گۆشت که ما مئیاین.	'She told us not to come.'
Áyán báz kár kort.	آیان باز کار کرت.	'They worked a lot.'
Eshán angat warák nawártag.	اِشان اَنگت وراک نئوارتگ.	'They have not yet had food.'
Áiá wati chokk chiá eskulá ráh nadátant?	آیا وتی چکّ چیا اِسکولا راه نداتنت؟	'Why didn't he send his children to school?'

III. as the object of a preposition.

| *Man gón áiá gwasht ke byayt.* | من گۆن آیا گَۆشت که بیئیت. | 'I told him (lit. with him) to come.' |

Tai kolaw pa áyán narasetag.	تئیی کلئو پہ آیان نرستگ.	'They have not got your.SG message (lit. your message has not reached to them).'
Wati jostá cha eshiá bekan.	وتی جُستا چہ اِشیا بکن.	'Ask her (lit. from her) your.SG question.'
Zarrán cha eshiá pach gerét.	زرّان چہ اِشیا پچ گریّت.	'Take back the money from him.'
Badal gón áyán delgósh at.	بدل گۆن آیان دلگۆش اَت.	'Badal was busy with them.'

IV. as the subject of an impersonal verb (also called a verb with a non-canonical subject) in the present-future and past tenses (see also Section 4.4.6).

Áiá chokk néstat.	آیا چِکّ نیِستاَت.	'He did not have any children.'
Eshán mazanén lógé hast.	اِشان مزنیِن لۆگے ھست.	'They have a big house.'
Áyán arzánén góké dastá kapt.	آیان ارزانیِن گۆکے دستا کپت.	'They got hold of a cheap cow.'
Áiá chokk báz dóst ent.	آیا چِکّ باز دۆست اِنت.	'He likes children very much.'
Áyán torset.	آیان ترست.	'They got scared.'

V. as the indirect object in the present-future tense when the direct object is inanimate, mainly as the recipient of the verb *dayag* 'to give' or the addressee of the verb *gwashag* 'to say'.

Eshiá kágad o kalamé beday.	اِشیا کاگد و کلمے بدئے.	'Give her a pen and paper (lit. paper and a pen).'
Mani pet áyán zarra dant.	منی پت آیان زرّ دنت.	'My father will give them money.'
Man áiá gwashán ke mayayt.	من آیا گۆشان کہ مئیئیت.	'I will tell him not to come.'

The verb *gwashag* 'to say' can also be constructed with the preposition *gón* 'to, with' and the pronoun in the oblique case.

| *Man gón áiá gwashán ke mayayt.* | من گۆن آییا گوَشان که مئیئیت. | 'I will tell him not to come.' |

3.3.1.2.3. Object case

The object case of 3rd person pronouns is used:

I. as the indirect object in the present-future tense, mainly the recipient of the verb *dayag* 'to give', if the direct object is animate.

| *Man wati jeneká áiárá dayán.* | من وتی جنکا آییارا دئیان. | 'I will give him my daughter (in marriage).' |
| *Bádsháh wati doén jenekán esháná dant.* | بادشاه وتی دوێن جنکان اِشانا دنت. | 'The king will give them his two daughters (in marriage).' |

II. as the indirect object in the past tense, mainly the recipient of the verb *dayag* 'to give' or the addressee of the verb *gwashag* 'to say'. (The oblique form would in these instances be the subject.)

Petá eshiárá hech mirásé nadát.	پتا اِشیارا هچ میراسے ندات.	'The father did not give him any inheritance.'
Man áyáná thékié dát.	من آیانا ٹئکیے دات.	'I gave them a gift.'
Bádsháhá é habar áyáná nagwasht.	بادشاها اے هبر آیانا نگوَشت.	'The king did not tell them this (lit. this word).'

There is another way of marking a 3rd person plural indirect object in the past tense, namely with the direct case form and the verb in the plural to agree with the indirect object. This structure is used in the standard language for stylistic variation.

| *Man á thékié dátant.* | من آ ٹئکیے داتنت. | 'I gave them a gift.' |

The verb *gwashag* 'to say' can also be constructed with the preposition *gón* 'to, with' and the pronoun in the oblique case.

Má gón áiá gwasht ke wati mátay gendagá berawt.	ما گۆن آییا گَوشت که وتی ماتئے گندگا برئوت.	'We told him to go and visit his mother.'

3.3.1.2.4. Genitive case

The genitive case of 3rd person pronouns is used:

I. as a genitive attribute.

Áiay pet bázárá shot.	آییئے پت بازارا شت.	'His father went to the marketplace.'
Áyáni brát may lógá nayátkag.	آیانی برات مئے لۆگا نئیاتکگ.	'Their brother has not come home to us.'
Man eshiay habarán sarpada nabán.	من اِشیئے هبران سرپدَ نبان.	'I don't understand what he says (lit. his words).'
Taw áyáni sangat distagant?	تئو آیانی سنگت دیستگأنت؟	'Have you.SG seen/met their friends?'

II. as the object of a postposition.

Man áiay poshtá óshtátagatán.	من آییئے پشتا اۆشتاتگأتان.	'I was standing behind her.'
Áyáni kasha jágah néstat.	آیانی کشا جاگه نئیستأت.	'There was no room beside them.'
Maná esháni sará bazzag but.	منا اِشانی سرا بزّگ بوت.	'I felt sorry for them.'
Drachk annuna kapit, áiay chérá maósht.	درچک انّونَ کپیت، آییئے چئیرا مهاۆشت.	'The tree will fall right now, don't stand under it.'

Predicative genitive

If the genitive is placed in predicative position, i.e. separated from its head noun, the suffix *-g* is optionally added. This suffix is always present when the following word begins with a vowel.

É ketáb áyánig ant.	اے کتاب آیانیگ اَنت.	'These books are theirs.'
Chokk áiayg ant?	چکّ آیئیگ اَنت؟	'Are the children hers?'
Sajjahén lóg eshiayg ent.	سجّهین لۆگ اِشیئیگ اِنت.	'The whole house is his.'

Compare examples with the genitive in attributive position (together with the noun):

Áyáni ketáb gár butant.	آیانی کتاب گار بوتنت.	'Their books were lost.'
Áiay chokk edá ant?	آیئے چکّ اِدا اَنت؟	'Are her children here?'
Eshiay lóg mazan ent.	اِشیئے لۆگ مزن اِنت.	'His house is big.'

The predicative genitive form behaves like a noun and adds *-á* to make an oblique case form.

May lóg cha áyánigá master ent.	مئے لۆگ چه آیانیگا مستر اِنت.	'Our house is bigger than theirs.'
Wati ketábá mawán, áiaygá bwán.	وتی کتابا مئوان، آیئیگا بوان.	'Don't read your.SG book, read hers.'

The predicative genitive form with an added *-i* suffix is used with the preposition *pa* 'for, to' to denote 'for the sake of'. This form is stressed on the last syllable.

Pa áiaygi ódá beraw.	په آیئیگی اۆدا برئو.	'Go there for his sake.'
Man pa áyánigi é kár kort.	من په آیانیگی اے کار کرت.	'I did this (lit. this job) for their sake.'

3.3.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives indicate where a person or object is located in relation to the speaker or another reference point. Balochi has two demonstratives, one for proximal deixis (close to the speaker/reference point) and one for distal deixis (distant from the speaker/reference point).

3.3.2.1. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are *é*, *esh* 'this/these' and *á* 'that/those'. For proximal deixis *é* and *esh* are used, and for distal deixis *á* is used. The demonstrative pronouns also serve as 3rd person personal pronouns. These two uses, in fact, merge with each other. The forms of the demonstrative pronouns are given in Tables 23–27 (see Section 3.3.1).

The form *esh* 'this' is the only form that can be used as the subject of a copula in the present and past tense. (See Section 4.4.1 for a definition of the term 'copula'.)

Nun gapp esh ent ke kass nazánt chón bekant.	نون گپّ اِش اِنت که کسّ نزانت چۆن بکنت.	'Now the issue (lit. talk) is (lit. is this) that nobody knows what to do.'
Esh ant mani pet o mát.	اِش اَنت منی پت و مات.	'These are my parents (lit. father and mother).'
Mani wáhag esh at.	منی واهگ اِش اَت.	'This was what I wanted.'

The demonstrative pronouns can be further emphasized with *ham*= 'the very' which attaches to the pronoun as a proclitic, i.e. preceding the pronoun. It has no stress of its own.

Á mardomá genday? Cha hamáiá watá dur bedár.	آ مردما گندئے؟ چه همایيا وتا دور بدار.	'Do you.SG see that person? Keep away from him.'
Man cha taw hameshiá lóthán.	من چه تئو همِشيا لۆثان.	'I want this from you.SG.'
Mani hamkárán zánt ke man hamáyáni bárawá habar kanagá án.	منی همکاران زانت که من همایانی بارئوا هبر کنگا آن.	'My co-workers knew that I was talking about them.'
Cha hameshán yakkéá dozzi kortag.	چه همِشان يکّيا دُزّی کرتگ.	'One of these ones has committed theft.'

3.3.2.2. Demonstrative determiners

Demonstrative pronouns can also function as determiners of nouns, which means that they occur together with the noun (e.g. 'this boy', 'those children'), which is then specified as being close to or distant from the speaker. Balochi has a binary distinction of proximity, *é* 'this, these' and *á* 'that, those'. Demonstrative determiners are not declined.

82

3.3.2.2.1. Proximal deixis

The demonstrative determiner used for proximal deixis, i.e. to refer to some-
one or something which is near the speaker or another reference point, is *é*
'this, these'. The form *esh* cannot be used as a determiner.

É ketáb grán ent.	اے کتاب گران اِنت.	'This book is heavy/ difficult/expensive.'
É kárá makan.	اے کارا مکن.	'Don't do this (lit. this job).'
É chokkáni mát mani dazgohár ent.	اے چگّانی مات منی دَزگَہار اِنت.	'These children's mother is my friend.'
Taw pa ché é mazanén lóg nazort?	تئو په چے اے مزنێن لۆگ نزرت؟	'Why didn't you.SG buy (lit. take) this big house?'
Maróchi é pocchán gwará kan.	مرۆچی اے پُچّان گۆرا کن.	'Put on these clothes today.'

3.3.2.2.2. Distal deixis

The demonstrative determiner used for distal deixis, i.e. to refer to someone or
something which is far from the speaker or another reference point, is *á* 'that,
those'.

Á ketáb arzán ent.	آ کتاب اَرزان اِنت.	'That book is cheap.'
Á kárá bekan.	آ کارا بکن.	'Do that (lit. that job).'
Á chokkáni pet mani dóst ent.	آ چگّانی پت منی دۆست اِنت.	'Those children's father is my friend.'
Taw pa ché á kasánén lóg zort?	تئو په چے آ کسانێن لۆگ زرت؟	'Why did you.SG buy (lit. take) that small house?'
Maróchi á pocchán gwará makan.	مرۆچی آ پُچّان گۆرا مکن.	'Don't put on those clothes today.'

Demonstrative determiners, like demonstrative pronouns, can be further em-
phasized with the proclitic *ham=* 'the very', which is not stressed.

Hamé kárá bekan.	ہمے کارا بکن.	'Do this very job.'

Hamá paymá at ke taw maná gwashtagat.	هما پئیما اَت که تئو منا گوَشتگاَت.	'It was the very way you.SG had told me.'
Man cha áyán hamé jost kort.	من چه آیان همے جُست کرت.	'I asked them this very question.'
Hamá pasán bedósh.	هما پسان بدۆش.	'Milk those sheep/goats.'

Determiners follow genitive attributes but precede adjective attributes of their head noun.

Chokkáni é kár sharr naat.	چکّانی اے کار شرّ نهاَت.	'This thing that the children did (lit. the children's this deed) was not good.'
É chokkáni kár sharr naat.	اے چکّانی کار شرّ نهاَت.	'The thing that these children did (lit. these children's deed) was not good.'
Shomay é habarán maná tawréntag.	شمئے اے هبران منا تئورینتگ.	'These words of yours.PL (lit. your these words) have offended me.'
Tai á pésarigén mehr kojá ent?	تئیی آ پیٚسریگیٚن مِهر کجا اِنت؟	'Where is that love you.SG used to have (lit. your that former love)?'
May sangatáni é nókén lóg sakk mazan ent.	مئے سنگتانی اے نۆکین لۆگ سکّ مزن اِنت.	'This our friends' new house is very big.'

3.3.3. Enclitic pronouns

Balochi has enclitic pronouns, which attach to the end of one of the other constituents in the clause. As is the case for all enclitic particles, they are not stressed. They can attach to different types of words, e.g. nouns, adjectives, prepositions, postpositions and verbs. They never attach to subjects or subject phrases, but normally attach to the first non-subject element in the clause. The enclitic pronouns have the following forms in different persons.

Table 28. Enclitic pronouns

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	=on	نُ◌=
2SG	=et	تِ◌=
3SG	=i	ی=
1PL	=en	نِ◌=
2PL	=ó	ۊ=
3PL	=esh	شِ◌=

When they are attached to a word that ends in a consonant, they are written connected to the word, as demonstrated in Table 29. (For words ending in -*ah*, see Table 32; for words ending in -*ay*, see Table 35; for words ending in -*aw,* see Table 39.)

Table 29. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in a consonant (*lóg* 'house')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*lógon*	لۊگُن
2SG	*lóget*	لۊگِت
3SG	*lógi*	لۊگی
1PL	*lógen*	لۊگِن
2PL	*lógó*	لۊگۊ
3PL	*lógesh*	لۊگِش

When they are attached to a word ending in -*á*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 30.

Table 30. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*á* (*Hodá* 'God')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*Hodáon*	هُدااُن
2SG	*Hodáet*	هُدااِت
3SG	*Hodái*	هُدایی
1PL	*Hodáen*	هُداان
2PL	*Hodáó*	هُدااۊ
3PL	*Hodáesh*	هُدااِش

When they are attached to a postposition (always ending in -*á*), they are written in the same way as when they are attached to a noun ending in -*á*. In spoken language, when the enclitic pronoun is attached to a postposition, the vowels *á* + *e*/*i* are contracted to *ay*.

Table 31. Enclitic pronouns attached to a postposition (*sará* 'on, on top of')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script	Pronunciation
1SG	*saráon*	سراأُن	*saráon*
2SG	*saráet*	سراِات	*sarayt*
3SG	*sarái*	سرایی	*saray*
1PL	*saráen*	سراِان	*sarayn*
2PL	*saráó*	سرااؤ	*saráó*
3PL	*saráesh*	سراِاش	*saraysh*

When they are attached to a word ending in -*ah*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 32.

Table 32. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*ah* (*wájah* 'master, mister, sir')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*wájahon*	واجهان
2SG	*wájahet*	واجهِات
3SG	*wájahi*	واجهای
1PL	*wájahen*	واجهِان
2PL	*wájahó*	واجهاؤ
3PL	*wájahesh*	واجهِاش

When they are attached to a word ending in -*i*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 33.

Table 33. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*i* (*zébái* 'beauty')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*zébáion*	زیبایی‌اُن
2SG	*zébáiet*	زیبایی‌اِت
3SG	*zébáii*	زیبایی‌ای
1PL	*zébáien*	زیبایی‌اِن
2PL	*zébáió*	زیبایی‌اۏ
3PL	*zébáiesh*	زیبایی‌اِش

When they are attached to a word ending in -*é*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 34.

Table 34. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*é* (*ché* 'what')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*chéon*	چے‌اُن
2SG	*chéet*	چے‌اِت
3SG	*chéi*	چے‌ای
1PL	*chéen*	چے‌اِن
2PL	*chéó*	چے‌اۏ
3PL	*chéesh*	چے‌اِش

When they are attached to a word ending in -*ay*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 35.

Table 35. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*ay* (*bay* 'bet, share')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*bayon*	بئے‌اُن
2SG	*bayet*	بئے‌اِت
3SG	*bayi*	بئے‌ای
1PL	*bayen*	بئے‌اِن
2PL	*bayó*	بئے‌اۏ
3PL	*bayesh*	بئے‌اِش

When they are attached to a word ending in -*u*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 36.

Table 36. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*u* (*shu* 'husband')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*shuon*	شوُان
2SG	*shuet*	شوِات
3SG	*shui*	شوِیی
1PL	*shuen*	شوِان
2PL	*shuó*	شواؤ
3PL	*shuesh*	شوِاش

When they are attached to a word ending in -*ó*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 37.

Table 37. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*ó* (*bó* 'smell')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*bóon*	بۆاُن
2SG	*bóet*	بۆات
3SG	*bói*	بۆیی
1PL	*bóen*	بۆان
2PL	*bóó*	بۆاؤ
3PL	*bóesh*	بۆاش

When they are attached to a word ending in -*o*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 38.

Table 38. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*o* (*do* 'two')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*doon*	دوأن
2SG	*doet*	دوات
3SG	*doi*	دویی
1PL	*doen*	دوان
2PL	*doó*	دواۉ
3PL	*doesh*	دواش

When they are attached to a word ending in -*aw*, they are written according to the pattern given in Table 39.

Table 39. Enclitic pronouns attached to a word ending in -*aw* (*passaw* 'answer')

Person	Latin script	Arabic script
1SG	*passawon*	پسّئوأن
2SG	*passawet*	پسّئوات
3SG	*passawi*	پسّئوی
1PL	*passawen*	پسّئوِان
2PL	*passawó*	پسّئواۉ
3PL	*passawesh*	پسّئواش

The enclitic pronouns are used:

I. as the direct object in the present-future tense. In this role, the enclitic pronoun attaches to the verb or to the non-verbal part of a complex verb. A complex verb, also called a complex predicate, is a verb with two elements, one verbal and one non-verbal, e.g. *mazan kanag* 'to raise', *pésh dárag* 'to show' (see Section 4.1).

Gendánet.　　　　　　　گِندانِت.　　'I see you.SG.'

Máta chokkiti.　　　　　ماتَ چِکّیتی.　　'The mother kisses her.'

Man mazanesha kanán.　　من مزنِشَ کنان.　　'I will raise them.'

89

II. as the indirect object in the present-future tense, mainly if there is no explicit direct object in the clause. In this role, the enclitic pronoun attaches to the verb or to the non-verbal part of a complex verb.

Dayánesh.	دئیانِش.	'I will give [it] to them.'
Péshi bedár.	پێشی بدار.	'Show [it] to him.'

III. as a genitive attribute. In this role, the enclitic pronoun attaches to the head of the genitive attribute (i.e. the word to which the genitive attribute belongs). The use of enclitic pronouns for genitive attributes is not very common and it is avoided with a transitive verb in the past tense, since the enclitic pronoun could then be interpreted as the subject (see below).

Pádon proshtag.	پادُن پرشتگ.	'I broke my leg (lit. my leg broke).'
Zóron cha taigá gésh ent.	زؤرُن چه تئیگا گێش اِنت.	'I am stronger than you.SG (lit. my strength is more than yours).'

IV. as the object of a postposition. In this role, the enclitic pronoun attaches to the postposition of which it is the object (i.e. to which it belongs). The use of enclitic pronouns for objects of postpositions is not very common.

Poshtáesh chér bay.	پُشتااِش چێر بئے.	'Hide behind them.'
Sarái sar makap.	سرایی سر مکپ.	'Don't climb it (e.g. a tree).'
Chérái bázén zarré ér at.	چێرایی بازێن زرّے اِیر اَت.	'There was a lot of money left under it.'

Prepositions only take full personal or demonstrative pronouns as their objects.

Man gón áiá dhikk wárt.	من گؤن آیا ڈیکّ وارت.	'I met him (by chance).'

V. as the subject of an impersonal verb (also called a verb with a non-canonical subject) in the present-future and past tenses (see also Section 4.4.6). In this role, the enclitic pronoun attaches as early as possible in the clause, normally to the first constituent of the predicate (i.e. to the first element

that does not belong to the subject of the clause). The use of enclitic pronouns for subjects of impersonal verbs is not very common.

Ketábon gón at.	. كتابُن گۆن اَت	'I had the book with me.'
Torseten.	. ترستِن	'We got scared.'
Chokki nest.	. چُکّی نیْست	'He has no children.'
É warákó dósta bit?	؟ اے وراکۆ دۆستَ بیت	'Do you.PL like this food?'

VI. as the subject of a transitive verbs in the past tense. In this role, the enclitic pronoun attaches as early as possible in the clause, normally to the first constituent of the predicate. The use of enclitic pronouns for subjects of transitive verbs in the past tense is very common.

Wati brát o goháron distant.	. وتی برات و گهاُرن دیستنت	'I saw my sisters and brothers.'
É nókén pocchet kadi geptant?	؟ اے نوکیْن پُچِّت کدی گِپتنت	'When did you.SG buy these new clothes?'
Zekki zort o wati drostigén rógeni áiay tahá mán kortant.	زکّی زرت و وتی درستیگیْن رۆگنی آییْے تها مان کرتنت .	'She took the skin-bag and poured all her ghee into it.'
Lahtén mardomesh pésará gechén kortagat.	لهتیْن مردمِش پیْسرا گِچیْن کرتگاَت .	'They had selected a few people in advance.'
Mani habaró báwar nakort.	. منی هبرۆ باور نکرت	'You.PL did not believe what I said (lit. my word).'
Chokken hará swár kort.	. چکّیْن هرا سوار کرت	'We put the child onto the donkey.'

If two verbs are closely coordinated, the enclitic pronoun can be dropped from the first clause but is obligatory on the second verb.

Morád pád átk, kukkár kort o gwashti: "Mani ketáb gár ent".	مُراد پاد آتک، کوکّار کرت و گوَشتی: «منی کتاب گار اِنت» .	'Morad stood up and shouted (lit. shouted and said): "My book is missing."'

91

Maná mazanén zarré dát o gwashti: "Saparéá beraw."	منا مزنین زرّے دات و گوَشتی: «سپِرِیّا برئو.»	'She gave [a] large [sum of] money and said: "Go on a journey."'

There are, however, some words or phrases that the enclitic pronoun does not normally attach to. Some of these cases are presented below.

I. The enclitic pronoun does not attach to adpositional phrases (unless it is the object of a postposition, see above).

Cha hamá mardomán josten kort.	چه هما مردمان جُستِن کرت.	'We asked those people.'
Lógay poshtá drachkesh kesht.	لوگئے پُشتا درچکِش کِشت.	'They planted trees behind the house.'

II. The enclitic pronoun does not attach to adverbs.

Padá jostesh kort.	پدا جُستِش کرت.	'They asked once more.'
Anágat wati chokkay tawáron eshkot.	اناگت وتی چِکّے تئوارُن اِشکت.	'Suddenly I heard my child's voice.'
Zi káron nakort.	زی کارُن نکرت.	'I did not work yesterday.'

III. The enclitic pronoun does not attach to direct or indirect objects in the 1st and 2nd person.

Maná nadisti.	منا ندیستی.	'She did not see me.'
Shomárá é thékiesh dát?	شمارا اے ٹیکیِاش دات؟	'Did they give you.PL this gift?'
Márá zarri dát.	مارا زرّی دات.	'He gave us money.'
Tará borti gón?	ترا برتی گوَن؟	'Did he take you.SG along?'

IV. The enclitic pronoun does not attach to a word with the individuation clitic =*é*.

Mazanén radé jatagi.	مزنین ردے جتگی.	'He has made a big mistake.'
Jané gepti.	جنے گپتی.	'He got married (lit. he took a wife).'
Chónén passawé dátesh?	چۆنین پسّئوے داتش؟	'What kind of an answer did they give?'

V. The enclitic pronoun does not attach to a word with the case suffix -*á* (unless it is the object of a postposition; see above. Postpositions always end in the case suffix -*á*.)

É passawá madayi.	اے پسّئوا مدئےای.	'Don't give him this answer.'
Watmánwatá shawr o saláhen kort.	وتمانوتا شئور و سلاهِن کرت.	'We took council among ourselves.'

These rules are not to be seen as absolute, but more as a question of good writing style. When a word or phrase does not host the enclitic pronoun, it is attached to the next word or phrase that can host it.

3.3.4. Reflexive pronoun

A reflexive pronoun "reflects back" in the clause – in the case of Balochi always to the subject; it is coreferential with the subject, which means that the reflexive pronoun and the subject refer to the same entity (e.g. 'they saw themselves in the mirror', 'I took my book'). The reflexive pronoun is *wat* and it functions in all persons. The case forms of *wat* are presented in Table 40 (stress is marked with the symbol "'" before the stressed syllable):

Table 40. Reflexive pronouns

Direct/oblique case		Object case		Genitive case	
wat	وت	*watá / watárá* (*waˈtá / waˈtárá*)	وتا / وتارا	*wati* (*waˈti*)	وتی

The direct/oblique case form is used:

I. to emphasize a subject in the present-future tense of any verb and in the past tense of an intransitive verb. Since the subject is emphasized, the pronoun is also normally present, but it is possible to omit the pronoun.

Man wat gón shomá gón atán.	من وت گۆن شما گۆن اتان.	'I myself was with you.PL.'
Bárén, taw wata káay gón?	بارێن، تئو وتَ کائے گۆن؟	'Will you yourself come along?'
Wat shomay gendagá kayt.	وت شمئے گندگا کئیت.	'He himself will come to see you.'
Má wat molká rawén.	ما وت مُلکا رئوێن.	'We ourselves will go to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Shomá wat chokkán warák bedayét.	شما وت چکّان وراک بدئیێت.	'Give the children food yourselves.'
May sangat wat nókén lógé bandagá ant.	مئے سنگت وت نۆکێن لۆگے بندگا اَنت.	'Our friends themselves are building a new house.'

Sometimes the 1st person plural pronoun in combination with *wat* takes on an exclusive meaning (i.e. we the speakers, but not you the listeners or anyone else).

Má wat é kárá korta nakanén, shomá báyad ent márá komak bekanét.	ما وت اے کارا کرتَ نکنێن، شما باید اِنت مارا کُمک بکنێت.	'We cannot do this (lit. this work) ourselves, you have to help us.'

II. to emphasize a subject in the past tense of transitive verbs. Since the verb does not show the person and number of the subject, a full pronoun or an enclitic pronoun must be present.

Taw wat é habar gwasht.	تئو وت اے هبر گوَشت.	'You said this (lit. this word) yourself?'
Mani brátá wat maná zarr dát.	منی براتا وت منا زرّ دات.	'My brother himself gave me money.'
Watesh rad jat.	وتش رد جت.	'They themselves did the wrong thing.'

94

III. as the object of a preposition when it is coreferential with the subject of the clause. As the object of a preposition, the object case form *watá* can also occur (see below).

Man tará gón wat hamráha nakanán.	من ترا گۆن وت همراہَ نكنان.	'I won't take you.SG with me.'
Pa wat bázén málé ambár makan.	پہ وت بازێن مالے امبار مكن.	'Don't store up a lot of wealth for yourself.'
Báláchá lóthet mardomán cha wat razá bekant.	بالاچا لۆﺋت مردمان چہ وت رزا بكنت.	'Balach wanted to make people satisfied with him.'
Á hamé ketábá pa wat gechéna kant.	آ همے كتابا پہ وت گچێنَ كنت.	'She chooses this book for herself.'

The object case form *watá* is used:

I. as the direct object of a transitive verb in the present-future and past tenses when it is coreferential with the subject of the clause.

Betach o watá berakkén.	بتچ و وتا بركّێن.	'Run and save yourself.'
Watá molká raséntesh.	وتا مُلكا رسێنتنش.	'They took themselves to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Watá ádénkay tahá cháreton.	وتا آدێنكئے تها چارتُن.	'I looked at myself in a mirror.'
Háni watá cha badén mardomán dura dárit.	هانی وتا چہ بدێن مردمان دورَ داریت.	'Hani stays away from bad people.'

II. interchangeably with *wat* for stylistic variation as the object of a preposition when it is coreferential with the subject of the clause.

Cha watá pésar, lahtén mardomi shahrá ráh dát.	چہ وتا پێسر، لهتێن مردمی شهرا راہ دات.	'Before [going] himself, he sent some people to town.'
Man pa watá hecch nakatthetag.	من پہ وتا هیچّ نكتّتگ.	'I have not gained anything for myself.'

The object case form *watárá* is optionally used:

I. as the direct object when it is coreferential with the subject of the clause, particularly if the subject is already emphasized by *wat*.

Man wat watárá (watá) cha é baláhá rakként.	من وت وتارا (وتا) چه اے بلاھا رکّینت.	'I myself saved myself from this calamity.'
Á wat báyad ent watárá (watá) cha badiá dur bedárit.	آ وت باید اِنت وتارا (وتا) چه بدیا دور بداریت.	'He himself must stay away (lit. keep himself far) from what is bad.'
Shomá wat watárá (watá) táwán dayagá ét.	شما وت وتارا (وتا) تاوان دئیگا اینت.	'You yourselves are harming yourselves.'
Betach o watárá (watá) berakkén.	بتچ و وتارا (وتا) برکّین.	'Run and save yourself.'

The genitive case form is used:

I. as a genitive attribute when it is coreferential with the subject of the clause.

Man wati ketábá wánán.	من وتی کتابا وانان.	'I read my book.'
Wati pocchesh badal nakortant.	وتی پُچّش بدل نکرتنت.	'They didn't change their clothes.'
Má wati mátá edá nagendén.	ما وتی ماتا اِدا نگندیٰن.	'We don't see our mother here.'
Salmán wati molká yalaha nakant.	سلمان وتی مُلکا یلهَ نکنت.	'Salman won't leave his homeland.'

II. as the object of a postposition when it is coreferential with the subject of the clause.

Wati bárawá ché gwashay?	وتی بارئوا چے گوشئے؟	'What are your claims about yourself (lit. what do you say about yourself)?'
É pocchán wati nyámá bahr kanét.	اے پچّان وتی نیاما بهر کنیٰت.	'Share these clothes between yourselves.'

96

It must, however, be noted that if the head noun of the genitive attribute is part of the subject, the reflexive pronoun cannot be used.

| *Man o mani chokka káén.* | من و منی چکّ کاین. | 'I and my children will come.' |
| *Bádsháh o áiay wazir gár ant.* | بادشاه و آییئے وزیر گار اَنت. | 'The king and his minister are missing.' |

Predicative genitive

If the genitive *wati* is placed in predicative position, i.e. separate from its head noun, the suffix -*g* can be added to the genitive form. This suffix is always present if the following word begins with a vowel, but can also optionally be added if the following word begins with a consonant. The form ending in -*g* is stressed on the last syllable.

É lóg áyáni watig ent.	اے لۆگ آیانی وتیگ اِنت.	'This house is their own.'
Man wati mál o melkatá watiga nazánán.	من وتی مال و ملکتا وتیگ نزانان.	'I don't regard (lit. know) my belongings as my own.'
É dhagár may wati(g) but.	اے ڈگار مئے وتی/ وتیگ بوت.	'This plot of land became our own.'

The predicative genitive form with an added -*i* suffix is used with the preposition *pa* 'for, to' to denote 'for the sake of'. This form is stressed on the last syllable.

| *Hechbar pa watigi zend magwázén.* | هچبر په وتیگی زند مگوازین. | 'Never live for yourself (i.e. a selfish life).' |

The reflexive pronoun *wat(á)* can also have a reciprocal function, which means that it expresses some kind of mutual relation between the referents of a plural subject. In this context it is constructed with the pronoun *gón* 'with'. For reciprocal functions, the adverb *watmánwat* (or *watmánwatá*) is also used. The forms *watmánwat* and *watmánwatá* can be used interchangeably.

Agan yak molkéay mardom gón wat jang bekanant, á molk barbáda bit.	اگن یک مُلکیئے مردم گۏن وت جنگ بکننت، آ مُلک برباد بیت.	'If the people in one country fight among themselves, that country will be destroyed.'
Gón watá mehrabán bebét.	گۏن وتا مهربان ببیت.	'Be kind to each other.'
Á watmánwat nátepák butant.	آ وتمانوت ناتپاک بوتنت.	'They came to be at odds with each other.'
Shomá watmánwatá ché gwashagá ét?	شما وتمانوتا چے گۏشگا اێت؟	'What are you.PL saying to each other.'

3.3.5. Interrogative pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in Balochi, *kay* 'who' denoting a person and *ché* 'what' denoting a thing. Existing case forms of the pronoun *kay* are presented in Table 41 (stress is marked with "'" before the stressed syllable):

Table 41. Interrogative pronouns

Direct case		Oblique case		Object case		Genitive case	
kay	کئے	*kayá (ka'yá)*	کئیا	*kayárá (ka'yárá)*	کئیارا	*kai (ka'i)*	کئیی

The direct case form is used:

I. as the subject in the present-future tense of any verb and in the past tense of an intransitive verb.

Taw kay ay?	تئو کئے ائے؟	'Who are you.SG?'
Maróchi kay kayt?	مرۏچی کئے کئیت؟	'Who will come today?'
Kay chokká waráka dant?	کئے چکّا وراکَ دنت؟	'Who will feed the child?'
Kay cha máshomá mehrabánter ent?	کئے چه ماشما مهربانتر اِنت؟	'Who is kinder than us.' ('Us' here includes both the speaker and the listeners.)
Kay shot?	کئے شت؟	'Who went?'

98

The oblique case form is used:

I. as the direct object of verbs in the present-future tense.

Kayá tawára kanay?	کئیا تئوارَ کنئے؟	'Whom are you.SG calling?'
Kayá gón wata barant?	کئیا گؤن وتَ برنت؟	'Whom are they taking with them?'
Bachak kayá jant?	بچک کئیا جنت؟	'Whom does the boy hit?'

II. as the indirect object of verbs both in the present-future and past tense. (The object case form can also be used for the indirect object; see below.)

Wati jeneká kayá bedayán?	وتی جنکا کئیا بدئیان؟	'To whom should I give my daughter (in marriage)?'
É thékiá kayá dayay?	اے ٹئیکیا کئیا دئیئے؟	'To whom will you.SG give this gift?'
Wati mál o hastiet kayá dát?	وتی مال و هستیِات کئیا دات؟	'To whom did you.SG give your possessions?'

III. as the object of a preposition.

Gón kayá é habará begwashán?	گؤن کئیا اے هبرا بگوَشان؟	'To whom should I say this (lit. this word)?'
Taw wati lóg cha kayá geptag?	تئو وتی لؤگ چه کئیا گِپتگ؟	'From whom did you.SG buy your house?'
Pa kayá watá pajjárénit?	په کئیا وتا پِجّارِنیت؟	'To whom will ke introduce himself?'

IV. as the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense.

Kayá é kár kortag?	کئیا اے کار کرتگ؟	'Who did this (lit. this work)?'
Kayá tará jat?	کئیا ترا جت؟	'Who hit you.SG?'

99

Kayá may sajjahén shir wártagant?	کئیا مئے سجّهێن شیر وارتگ‌اَنت؟	'Who has drunk all our milk?'

IV. as the subject of an impersonal verb (also called a verb with a non-canonical subject) in the present-future and the past tenses (see also Section 4.4.6).

Kayá é paymén lógé hast?	کئیا اے پئیمێن لۆگے هست؟	'Who has this kind of a house?'
Mirás kayá rasetag?	میراس کئیا رستگ؟	'Who has got the inheritance?'

The object case form is used:

I. as the indirect object in the past tense.

Wati jeneki kayárá dát?	وتی جنکی کئیارا دات؟	'To whom did he give his daughter (in marriage)?'
Wati mál o hastiet kayárá dát?	وتی مال و هستیۍ‌ات کئیارا دات؟	'To whom did you.SG give your possessions?'

II. as the indirect object in the present-future tense if the direct object is animate. (The oblique case form can also be used in this instance; see above.)

Wati jeneká kayárá bedayán?	وتی جنکا کئیارا بدئیان؟	'To whom should I give my daughter (in marriage)?'

The genitive case form is used:

I. as a genitive attribute.

É kai chokk ent?	اے کئیی چکّ اِنت؟	'Whose child is this?'
Kai ketáb gár but?	کئیی کتاب گار بوت؟	'Whose book was lost?'
Kai lóg cha maygá master ent?	کئیی لۆگ چه مئیگا مستر اِنت؟	'Whose house is bigger than ours?'

100

II. as the object of a postposition.

Kai sará zahr geptagay?	کئیی سرا زهر گپتگئے؟	'With whom have you.SG got angry?'
Kai bárawá habar kanagá ay?	کئیی بارئوا هبر کنگا ائے؟	'Whom are you.SG talking about?'
Kai kerrá neshtagatét?	کئیی کڑا نِشتگاتیت؟	'Whom were you.PL sitting beside?'

Predicative genitive

If the genitive *kai* is placed in predicative position, i.e. separate from its head noun, the suffix *-g* can be added to the genitive form. This suffix is always present if the following word begins with a vowel, but can optionally also be added if the following word begins with a consonant. The form ending in *-g* is stressed on the last syllable.

É ketáb kaig ent?	اے کتاب کئییگ اِنت؟	'Whose book is this?'
É zamin kai(g) but?	اے زمین کئی/کئییگ بوت.	'Who got (lit. to whom became) the land?'

The interrogative pronoun *ché* 'what' is not declined. Since it denotes a thing it is mainly used as the direct object, both in the present-future and past tense. It is also used as the object of a preposition in the phrase *pa ché* 'why'. Occasionally it is used as the subject as well.

Má ché bekanén?	ما چے بکنیْن؟	'What are we to do?'
Cha é ketábay wánagá ché sarpada bay?	چه اے کتابئے وانگا چے سرِبَ بئے؟	'What do you.SG understand by (lit. from) reading this book?'
Áyán tai bárawá ché gwasht?	آیان تئیی بارئوا چے گَوشت؟	'What did they say about you.SG?'
Pa ché nayáay?	په چے نئیائے؟	'Why won't you.SG come?'
Ché but?	چے بوت؟	'What happened?'

The form *che* 'what' (with a short *-e*) is used as an interrogative determiner, together with a noun.

Taw che chizzay wadará ay?	تئو چہ چیزّئے ودارا ائے؟	'What are you.SG waiting for?'
Shomárá gón man che kár ent?	شمارا گۄن من چہ کار اِنت؟	'What do you.PL have to do with me?'
É arhá che paymá begisshénán?	اے اڑا چہ پئیما بگیشّینان؟	'How (lit. in what way) should I solve this problem?'

3.3.6. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns refer to non-specified persons or things. The indefinite pronouns in Balochi that refer to persons are *harkas* 'everybody, all', *hechkas/kass* 'nobody', and *dega* 'someone else, another one'. Note that the verb is negated together with *hechkas/kass* 'nobody' (double negation).

The indefinite pronouns *harkas* and *hechkas/kass* are regarded as 3rd person singular. They are stressed on the first syllable and have the case forms presented in Table 42.

Table 42. Forms of the indefinite pronouns *harkas* 'everybody, all' and *hechkas/kass* 'nobody'

Direct case		Oblique case		Genitive case	
harkas	هرکَس	*harkasá*	هرکَسا	*harkasay*	هرکَسئے
hechkas	هچکَس	*hechkasá*	هچکَسا	*hechkasay*	هچکَسئے
kass	کسّ	*kassá*	کسّا	*kassay*	کسّئے

There is also a form *kassárá*, which is the object form of *kass* 'nobody'.

The indefinite pronoun *dega* 'someone else, another one' occurs both in the singular and in the plural. It adds an *r* before the case suffix in declined forms, before the individuation clitic *=é*, and before the verb clitic *=a* (see Sections 4.4.2.1 and 4.4.3.2). Stress falls on the second syllable in all singular forms (e.g. *deˈga, deˈgaré*) and on the syllable containing the oblique plural suffix *-án* whenever applicable (e.g. *degaˈrán*). The different case forms of *dega* 'someone else, another one' are presented in Table 43.

Table 43. Forms of the indefinite pronoun *dega* 'someone else, another one'

	Direct case		Oblique case		Genitive case	
SG	*dega*	دگه	*degará*	دگرا	*degaray*	دگرئے
SG with the =é clitic	*degaré*	دگرے	*degaréá*	دگریا	*degaréay*	دگرئێے
PL	*dega*	دگه	*degarán*	دگران	*degaráni*	دگرانی
PL with the =a clitic	*degara*	دگر	-	-	-	-

There is also an object form, *degaréárá, degaráná*.

The direct case form is used:

I. as the subject in the present-future tense of any verb and in the past tense of an intransitive verb. When the form *dega* is used as the subject, it is normally preceded by a demonstrative determiner (*é* 'this' or *á* 'that').

Harkas byayt sharr ent.	هرکَس بیئیت، شرِّ انت.	'It is good whoever comes.'
Hechkas maróchi nayátkag.	هچکَس مرۆچی نئیاتکگ.	'Nobody has come today.'
Kass habara nakant.	کَسّ هبرَ نکنت.	'Nobody says anything (lit. speaks).'
É kárán degara kanant.	اے کاران دگَر کننت.	'Others do these things.'
Degaré átk.	دگرے آتک.	'Someone else came.'
Á dega shotant.	آ دگه شتنت.	'The other [ones] went.'

The oblique case form is used:

I. as the direct object of a verb in the present-future tense.

Cha mani sangatán harkasá belótháén.	چه منی سنگتان هرکَسا بلۆتاین.	'Invite all of my friends.'
Hechkasá nagendagá án.	هچکَسا نگندگا آن.	'I am not seeing anyone.'

Kassá mabar gón.	کسّا مبر گٶن.	'Don't take anyone along.'
Degaréá byár.	دگرٔیا بیار.	'Bring someone else.'

II. as the indirect object of a verb in the present-future tense.

Wati jeneká hechkasá nadayán.	وتی جنکا هچکَسا ندئیان.	'I will not give my daughter (in marriage) to anyone.'
É kocheká harkasá dayay, beday.	اے کُچکا هرکَسا دئیئے، بدئے.	'Give this dog to anyone (lit. to whomever you.SG give this dog, give).'
É mondriká kassá maday?	اے مندریکا کسّا مدئے.	'Don't give this ring to anyone.'

The object case form *kassárá* 'nobody' can also be used for indirect objects of a verb in the past tense. If there are two possible candidates for the subject, word order determines which is the subject and which the direct object, if they are both in the oblique form.

Man wati ketáb hechkasá/kassárá nadát.	من وتی کتاب هچکسا/کسّارا ندات.	'I did not give my book to anyone.'
Chokká wati ketáb hechkasá/kassárá nadát.	چُکّا وتی کتاب هچکسا/کسّارا ندات.	'The child did not give her book to anyone.'

The object form *degaréárá/degaráná* 'another, others' is used for indirect objects in the past tense.

Taw pa ché wati jenek degaréárá dátag?	تٶو په چے وتی جنک دگرٔیارا داتگ؟	'Why did you.SG give your daughter to a stranger (lit. another)?'
May mardomán wati mál o melkat degaráná dát.	مئے مردمان وتی مال و ملکت دگرانا دات.	'Our people gave their riches to others.'

III. as the object of a preposition.

Cha harkasá jost korta kanay.	چہ ہرکَسا جُست کرتَ کنئے.	'You.SG can ask anyone.'
Gón hechkasá habar makan.	گۆن ہچکَسا ہبر مکن.	'Don't talk to anyone.'
Tai habar pa kassá pakká naatant.	تئیی ہبر پہ کسّا پکّا نہاتنت.	'What you.SG said was not (lit. your words were not) clear to anyone.'

IV. as the subject in the past tense of transitive verbs.

Harkasá yak chizzé gwasht.	ہرکَسا یک چیزّے گۆشت.	'Everybody said something (i.e. people said different things).'
Hechkasá habar nazort.	ہچکَسا ہبر نزرت.	'Nobody obeyed (lit. took word).'
Kassá maróchi Mirán nadistag.	کسّا مرۆچی میران ندیستگ.	'Nobody has seen Miran today.'

V. as the subject of an impersonal verb (also called a verb with a non-canonical subject) in the present-future and past tenses (see also Section 4.4.6).

Harkasá chizzé hast, komak bekant.	ہرکَسا چیزّے ہست، کُمک بکنت.	'Whoever has something (lit. a thing) should help.'
Hechkasá natorset.	ہچکَسا نترست.	'Nobody got scared.'
Kassá é kár dósta nabit.	کسّا اے کار دۆستَ نبیت.	'Nobody likes this job.'

The genitive case form is used:

I. as a genitive attribute.

Harkasay hakká beday.	هرکَسئے هگّا بدئے.	'Give everyone what is fair (lit. give everybody's right).'
Kassay kárá kár madár.	کسّئے کارا کار مدار.	'Don't interfere in anyone's business (lit. don't have work in anyone's work).'

II. as the object of a postposition.

Hechkasay sará zahr nabut?	هچکَسئے سرا زهر نبوت؟	'Didn't he get angry with anyone?'
Harkasay poshtá habara kant.	هرکَسئے پشتا هبرَ کنت.	'He speaks behind everybody['s back].'

Predicative genitive

If the genitive *hechkasay/harkasay/kassay/degar(é)ay/degaráni* is placed in predicative position, i.e. separate from its head noun, the suffix *-g* can be added to the genitive form. This suffix is always present if the following word begins with a vowel, but can also optionally be added if the following word begins with a consonant. The form ending in *-g* is stressed on the last syllable.

É ketáb harkasayg ent, bebárti.	اے کتاب هرکسئیگ اِنت، ببارتی.	'To whomever this book belongs (lit. whoever's this book is), let him take it.'
Lóg degaréayg ent.	لۆگ دگرئیگ اِنت.	'The house is someone else's.'

The direct case form of *dega* 'someone else, another one' can also be used as an indefinite determiner. It is not declined as a determiner.

Dega mardomé byár.	دگه مردمے بیار.	'Bring another person.'
Man é ketáb nawántag, dega ketábé wántag.	من اے کتاب نئوانتگ، دگه کتابے وانتگ.	'I have not read this book, I have read another book.

106

The indefinite pronoun referring to things is *harché* 'whatever, anything'. It is not declined. Since it denotes a thing it is mainly used as the direct object, both in the present-future and past tense. It can also be used as the subject.

Harché lóthay, belóth.	هرچے لوٹئے، بلوٹ.	'Ask for whatever you.SG want.'
Harché ke shomárá pa waragá dátesh, bwarét.	هرچے که شمارا په ورگا داتِش، بوَریّت.	'Eat whatever they give (lit. gave) you.PL.'
Harché mardomay delá bebit, hamá cha áiay dapá dara kayt.	هرچے مردمئے دلا ببیت، هما چه آییئے دپا درَ کئیت.	'Whatever is in a person's heart comes out of his mouth.'

The adjective/adverb *báz* 'much, many' can also function as an indefinite pronoun replacing a noun. In this context it takes the attributive suffix *-én* and the individuation clitic *=é* to constitute the form *bázéné*. This form is declined as a noun in the singular. The adjective *lahtén* 'some, a few' can also function as an indefinite pronoun, but without the individuation clitic *=é*. It mostly takes singular case suffixes, but can also occur with plural case suffixes. The case forms are used in the same way as the case forms of any noun. As subjects, these forms are followed by a verb in the 3rd person singular (see also Section 3.1.4). With transitive verbs in the past tense, however, the verb agrees in person and number with the direct object.

Bázéné nájórh but.	بازینے ناجوڑ بوت.	'Many fell ill.'
Bázénéá mani habar báwar kortant.	بازینیا منی هبر باور کرتنت.	'Many believed what I said (lit. my words).'
Man cha bázénéá eshkotag ke á nayayt.	من چه بازینیا اِشکتگ که آ نئیئیت.	'I have heard from many that he will not come.'
É chálákén mardom bázénéá rada dant.	اے چالاکین مردم بازینیا ردَ دنت.	'This cunning person fools many.'
Bázénéay lóg wayrán but.	بازینیئے لوگ وئیران بوت.	'Many [people]'s houses were destroyed.'
Bázénéay sará bohtáma janant.	بازینیئے سرا بهتامَ جننت.	'They accuse many.'

Lahtén hechbar sura nakant.	لهتین هچبر سورَ نکنت.	'Some never marry.'
Lahténá cha edá dar kan.	لهتینا چه اِدا در کن.	'Send some away from here.'
Gón lahténá mehrabán at, bale gón dega lahténá na.	گۆن لهتینا مهربان اَت، بله گۆن دگه لهتینا نه.	'He was kind to some but not to others.'
Lahténá maná passaw dát nakort.	لهتینا منا پسّئو دات نکرت.	'Some could not answer me.'
Lahténay kár wassh naatant.	لهتینئے کار وشّ نهاتنت.	'What some did was not (lit. the work of some were not) good.'
Lahténáni sará kandeti o lahténi jat.	لهتینانی سرا کندتی و لهتینی جت.	'He laughed at some and beat up some.'

The two indefinite determiners *har* 'each, every' and *hech* 'no' precede the noun. They also precede an attributive adjective.

Har habaré ke tai delá ent begwash.	هر هبرے که تئیی دلا اِنت بگۆش.	'Say whatever (lit. every word that) is on (lit. in) your.SG heart.'
Har haptén brát chátá kaptant.	هر هپتین برات چاتا کپتنت.	'All the seven brothers fell into the well.'
Mardom cha har némagá átkant.	مردم چه هر نێمگا آتکنت.	'People came from all directions.'
Hech ráhé nagendán.	هچ راهے نگندان.	'I don't see any way [out].'
Hech omét néstat.	هچ اُمێت نێستاَت.	'There was no hope.'

There is an indefinite pronoun *hecch* 'nothing', which can also function as an adverb meaning 'not at all'.

Maná pa wati wámáni dayagá hecch néstent.	منا په وتی وامانی دئیگا هچّ نێستاِنت.	'I have nothing to pay my debts with.'

108

Hecch sarpada nabay?	هِچّ سرپدَ نبئے؟	'Do you.SG understand nothing?'
É molká hecch majall.	اے مُلکا هِچّ مجلّ.	'Don't stay in this country at all.'

3.4. Adpositions

Adpositions are words that occur together with a noun phrase. Adpositions show the relation of the noun phrase to other elements in the clause. The noun phrase governed by an adposition is called the object of the adposition (e.g. in the house, from my friend). Prepositions precede the noun phrase and postpositions follow it. Balochi has both prepositions and postpositions.

3.4.1. Prepositions

A preposition precedes the noun phrase it governs, i.e. the object of the preposition. There are a small number of prepositions in Balochi. The most common are *pa* 'for', *gón* 'with', *cha* 'from, than', *mán* 'in', and *chó* 'like'. The object of a preposition is normally in the oblique case.

Mirán gón wati sangatán molká shotag.	میران گۆن وتی سنگتان مُلکا شتگ.	'Miran has gone to Balochistan (lit. the land) with his friends.'
É ketábá pa man beger.	اے کتابا په من بگر.	'Buy this book for me.'
Man cha áiá josta nakanán.	من چه آییا جُستَ نکنان.	'I won't ask him.'
Mán á ketábá hech radié nést.	مان آ کتابا هِچ ردیے نیٛست.	'There is no mistake in that book.'
Drógbandáni zobán chó thélá charp ent.	درۆگبندانی زبان چۆ ٹیٛلا چرپ اِنت.	'The tongue of the liars is slippery (lit. greasy) like oil.'

Only occasionally, often in fixed expressions, is the object of a preposition in the direct case (see also Section 3.1.7).

Taw pa rásti sharrén mardomé ay.	تئو په راستی شرّین مردمے ائے.	'You.SG are really (lit. for truth) a good person.'
Ensán cha azal tán abad sargardán ent.	إنسان چه اَزل تان اَبد سرگردان اِنت.	'The human race (lit. a human) is straying for ever.'
Hazár sál pa Hodáyá chó yak róché, chó shapay yak pásé.	هزار سال په هُدایا چو یک رۆچے، چو شپئے یک پاسے.	'A thousand years is like one day for God, like one watch of the night.'

There is also one compound preposition, namely *abéd cha* 'except, apart from', which is sometimes found as a circumposition (see Section 3.4.3).

Abéd cha man o taw edá kass nést.	ابێد چه من و تئو اِدا کسّ نێست.	'There is nobody here except you.SG and me.'
Abéd cha gréwagá dega káré korta nakanán.	ابێد چه گرێوگا دگه کارے کرتَ نکنان.	'I cannot do anything but cry.'

3.4.2. Postpositions

A postposition follows the noun phrase it governs, i.e. the object of the postposition. There are a large number of postpositions in Balochi. Historically, they are nouns which show location or direction and therefore take the oblique case suffix -*á*. Some common postpositions are presented in Table 44.

Table 44. Some common postpositions

Balochi-Latin	Balochi-Arabic	Gloss
tahá	تها	'in, into'
tóká	تۆکا	'in, into'
poshtá	پُشتا	'behind, after'
démá	دێما	'in front of, against'
chérá	چێرا	'under'
háterá	هاترا	'because of, for the sake of'
kerrá	کڑا	'beside, at the side of'
nyámá	نیاما	'between, among'
sará	سرا	'on'
sarborá	سربرا	'on top of'
sawabá	سئوبا	'because of, for the sake of'
redá	ردا	'according to'
randá	رندا	'after'
dém pa démá	دێم په دێما	'opposite, face to face with'
gwará	گۆرا	'beside, at the side of'
némagá	نێمگا	'towards'
kashá	کَشا	'beside, at the side of'
dastá	دستا	'to, into, into the hands of'
bárawá	بارئوا	'about'
helápá	هلاپا	'against'
dhawlá	ڈئولا	'like'
paymá	پئیما	'like'
warhá	وڑا	'like'

The object of a postposition takes the genitive case.

Lógay poshtá machkadagé.	لۆگئے پُشتا مچکدگے.	'Behind the house there is a date palm grove.'
Mani kerrá benend.	منی کݔا بنند.	'Sit down beside me.'
Sajjahénáni démá gón man jangi kort.	سجّہینانی دیٚما گۆن من جنگی کرت.	'He had a fight with me in front of everybody.'
Bádsháh wati tahtay sará neshtag.	بادشاہ وتی تھتئے سرا نِشتگ.	'The king is sitting on his throne.'
Man wati ostáday dastay chérá kára kanán.	من وتی اُستادئے دستئے چیٚرا کارَ کنان.	'I work under the authority (lit. hand) of my master.'

Postpositions can also take the genitive case, which shows that they have not completely lost their original identity as nouns.

Parzónagay saray neshtagén mardom mani pajjárók atant.	پرزۆنگئے سرئے نِشتگیٚن مردم منی پجّارۆک اتنت.	'The people sitting at the tablecloth (spread out on the floor) were my acquaintances.'
Tai pádáni chéray chérgéj dazgwáp ent.	تئیی پادانی چیٚرئے چیٚرگیٚج دَزگواپ اِنت.	'The mat under your.SG feet is handmade.'
Lógay poshtay drachk dóshi kapt.	لۆگئے پُشتئے درچک دۆشی کپت.	'The tree behind the house fell down last night.'

3.4.3. Circumpositions

There are a number of combinations of preposition + postposition that function as circumpositions; i.e. the preposition stands before the object and the postposition after it. The first element is always *cha* 'from' and the circumposition expresses a direction from or out of something. In such instances, the object is in the genitive case just as with postpositions, except for *cha…abéd*, whose object takes the oblique case.

Bálách cha mardománi nyámá pédák at.	بالاچ چه مردمانی نیاما پیّداک اَت.	'Balach turned up from among the people.'
Cha drachkay poshtá márá cháragá ent.	چه درچکئے پُشتا مارا چارگا اِنت.	'She is looking at us from behind the tree.'
Wati ketábá cha mizzay sará bezur.	وتی کتابا چه میزّئے سرا بزور.	'Take your.SG book from (lit. from on) the table.'
Cha é ketábá abéd, dega ketábé edá hast?	چه اے کتابا ابید، دگه کتابے اِدا هست؟	'Is there any other book here apart from this one?'

3.5. Numerals

Numerals are words that express number or other quantifications. All numerals are stressed on the final syllable of the word.

A cardinal numeral is the basic form of the numeral. It expresses the number of items referred to. Numerals higher than twenty are formed by adding the single digit to the ten digit by means of *o* 'and'. The word *sad* 'a hundred' is attached to the numeral preceding it, but from *hazár* 'a thousand' onwards, there is no attachment to a preceding numeral.

Table 45. Cardinal numerals

0	sepr	سِپر	30	si	سی
1	yak	یک	31	si o yak	سی و یک
2	do	دو	32	si o do	سی و دو
3	say	سئے	40	chel	چل
4	chár	چار	50	panjáh	پنجاه
5	panch	پنچ	60	shast	شست
6	shash	شش	70	haptád	هپتاد
7	hapt	هپت	80	hashtád	هشتاد
8	hasht	هشت	90	nawad	نئود
9	noh	نه	100	yaksad, sad	یکسد، سد
10	dah	ده	101	sad o yak	سد و یک
11	yázdah	یازده	110	sad o dah	سد و ده
12	dwázdah	دوازده	120	sad o bist	سد و بیست
13	sézdah	سیزده	200	dosad	دوسد
14	chárdah	چارده	300	sésad	سئسد
15	pánzdah	پانزده	400	chársad	چارسد
16	shánzdah	شانزده	500	panchsad	پنچسد
17	habdah	هبده	600	shashsad	ششسد
18	hazhdah	هژده	700	haptsad	هپتسد
19	nózdah	نۆزده	800	hashtsad	هشتسد
20	bist	بیست	900	nohsad	نُهسد
21	bist o yak	بیست و یک	1 000	hazár	هزار
22	bist o do	بیست و دو	2 000	do hazár	دو هزار
23	bist o say	بیست و سئے	5 000	panch hazár	پنچ هزار
24	bist o char	بیست و چار	10 000	dah hazár	ده هزار
25	bist o panch	بیست و پنچ	100 000	yak lakk	یک لکّ
26	bist o shash	بیست و شش	1 000 000	yak milyun	یک میلیون
27	bist o hapt	بیست و هپت	10 000 000	yak korórh	یک کرۆڑ

Ordinal numerals denote position in a sequence. They add the suffix -*(o)mi* to the cardinal numeral. Only the first ordinal numeral is irregular. In the item 'fortieth', the consonant is geminated when the ending -*omi* is added.

Table 46. Ordinal numerals

1st	*awali*	ائولی	20th	*bistomi*	بیستمی
2nd	*domi*	دومی	21st	*bist o yakomi*	بیست و یکمی
3rd	*saymi*	سئیمی	22nd	*bist o domi*	بیست و دومی
4th	*cháromi*	چارمی	30th	*siomi*	سیمی
5th	*panchomi*	پنچمی	40th	*chellomi*	چلّمی
6th	*shashomi*	ششمی	50th	*panjáhomi*	پنجاهمی
7th	*haptomi*	هپتمی	60th	*shastomi*	شستمی
8th	*hashtomi*	هشتمی	70th	*haptádomi*	هپتادمی
9th	*nohomi*	نُهمی	80th	*hashtádomi*	هشتادمی
10th	*dahomi*	دهمی	90th	*nawadomi*	نئودمی
11th	*yázdahomi*	یازدهمی	100th	*sadomi*	سدمی
12th	*dwázdahomi*	دوازدهمی	1 000th	*hazáromi*	هزارمی

A cardinal numeral precedes the noun, which takes the singular form and a singular verb form if it is the constituent with which the verb agrees (i.e. is the subject of any verb in the present-future tense or of an intransitive verb in the past tense, or the direct object of a transitive verb in the past tense).

Yak chokké átk.	یک چکّے آتک.	'One child came.'
Panch mardoma kayt.	پنچ مردمَ کئیت.	'Five people will come.'
Taw pa ché dah ketáb gept?	تئو په چے ده کتاب گپت؟	'Why did you.SG buy ten books?'
Cha sad mardomá joston kort.	چه سد مردما جُستُن کرت.	'I asked a hundred people.'
Dah chokk dars wánagá at.	ده چُکّ درس وانگا اَت.	'Ten children were studying.'

115

It is also possible, however, to use the plural form of the copula (see Section 4.4.1) with a noun phrase containing a cardinal numeral.

Panch bachak hará swár atant.	پنچ بچک هرا سوار اَتنت.	'Five boys were riding on the donkey.'
Mirán gón wati sarjamén hándáná ke bist o panch mardom ant, kayt o shahrá jahmenenda bit.	میران گۆن وتی سرجمێن هاندانا که بیست و پنچ مردم اَنت، کئیت و شهرا جهمنندَ بیت.	'Miran will come and settle in town with his whole family, who are twenty five people.'

When two or more verbs agree with a noun phrase containing a cardinal numeral, all the verbs can remain in the singular in written standard Balochi. It is also possible, however, to use a plural form of the verb(s) following the first verb, which is always in the singular form. This is more common if the verbs are not closely joined.

Say dozz átk o dokkáná potert.	سئے دُزّ آتک و دکّانا پترت.	'Three thieves came and entered the shop.'
Chont shap ent ke do say rahzan har shap shahrá rechit o dokkán o gesána jant/janant o polit/polant.	چُنت شپ اِنت که دو سئے رهزن هر شپ شهرا رچیت و دکّان و گسانَ جنت/جننت و پُلیت/پُلنت.	'Since some nights ago, every night two [or] three robbers attack (lit. pour into) the city and and strike and rob the shops and the houses.'

If the verb(s) following the first verb are transitive, only the 3rd person plural enclitic pronoun can be employed to refer to the subject.

Do mardom dóshi may lógá átk o gón má shámesh kort.	دو مردم دۆشی مئے لۆگا آتک و گۆن ما شامِش کرت.	'Two people came to our home and had dinner with us last night.'
Say sangat shot o molká pa wat lógesh bast.	سئے سنگت شت و مُلکا په وت لۆگِش بست.	'Three friends went and built houses for themselves in Balochistan (lit. the land).'

Sometimes the word *dánag* 'piece, item' is added between the numeral and the noun, or after the numeral if there is no noun.

É mardá si dánag pas hast.	اے مردا سی دانگ پس هست.	'This man has thirty sheep/goats.'
Taw say dánag ketáb gept yá do dánag?	تئو سئے دانگ کتاب گپت یا دو دانگ؟	'Did you.SG buy three books, or two?'

Cardinal numerals can be used as adjectives and take the attributive suffix *-én* when they are used with definite concepts. The numeral 'one' is pronounced *yakk* when it functions as an adjective. After a cardinal numeral functioning as an adjective, the noun takes the plural form with numerals greater than 'one' and the verb takes the plural form if it agrees with this constituent.

Mani yakkén chokká berakkén.	منی یکّین چکّا برکّین.	'Save my only (lit. one) child.'
Har doén brátán sur kortag?	هر دوێن براتان سور کرتگ؟	'Have both brothers married?'
Man tai har doén brát zi distagant.	من تئیی هر دوێن برات زی دیستگ‌اَنت.	'I saw both of your.SG brothers yesterday.'
É panchén ketáb taig ant.	اے پنچین کتاب تئییگ اَنت.	'These five books are yours.SG.'

A cardinal numeral with the attributive adjective suffix *-én* can also be used as a noun (i.e. without a following noun). The numeral is then declined like a noun. The numeral *yakk* 'one' takes singular case suffixes; the rest of the numerals take plural case suffixes.

Abéd cha á yakkéná, harkas átk.	اِبێد چه آ یکّینا، هرکَس آتک.	'Everybody came except that one.'
Man é panchénáni nyámá óshtátagán.	من اے پنچینانی نیاما اۆشتاتگان.	'I am standing in the middle of these five [ones].'

117

Har sayénán wati wám dátant.	هر سئینان وتی وام داتنت.	'All three paid back (lit. gave) their debts.'
Cha é doénán kojám bacchá wati petay habar zort?	چه اے دوئنان کجام بچّا وتی پتئے هبر زرت؟	'Which one of these two sons obeyed his father?'

An ordinal numeral precedes the noun.

Shapay cháromi pásá tuppáné chest but.	شپئے چارمی پاسا توپّانے چست بوت.	'During the fourth watch of the night a storm arose.'
Tai awali chokkay nám kay ent?	تئیی ائولی چکّئے نام کئے اِنت؟	'What is the name of your.SG first child?'
É dahomi rand ent ke man tará pawna kanán.	اے دهمی رند اِنت که من ترا پئونَ کنان.	'This is the tenth time I am phoning you.SG.'
Mani saymi jostay passawet nadát.	منی سئیمی جُستئے پسّئواِت ندات.	'You.SG did not answer my third question.'

An ordinal numeral can also be used as a noun and take singular case suffixes. The ordinal numeral *awali* 'first' gets the oblique/genitive forms *awaligá/ awaligay*. In the sense of 'the first ones' it takes plural case suffixes (*awaligán/ awaligáni*). It can also add the attributive suffix *-én* before both singular and plural case suffixes.

Pésará awaligay passawá beday.	پیسرا ائولیگئے پسّئوا بدئے.	'Answer the first one first.'
Awalia kayt.	ائولیٔ کئیت.	'The first one comes.'
Sardár yakkéá wati rástén o domiá chappén némagá nendárénit.	سردار یکّیا وتی راستین و دومیا چپّین نیمگا نندارینیت.	'The tribal chief will place one at his right side and the other one at his left side.'
Saymiay gappán sarpad nabután.	سئیمیئے گپّان سرپد نبوتان.	'I did not understand what the third one said (lit. the third's words).'

| *Godhsari kárendahán beger tán awaligénán, sajjahénáni mozzá beday.* | گُدسری کارندهان بگر تان ائولیگینان، سجّهینانی مزّا بدئے . | 'From the last to the first workers, give wages to all (lit. all's wage).' |

The word *ném* 'half' can be used as a determiner or as a noun.

| *Tán yak o ném sálá nayáyán.* | تان یک و نیم سالا نئیایان. | 'I won't come within one and a half years.' |
| *Lóg kapt o do ném but.* | لۇگ کپت و دو نیم بوت. | 'The house fell and was split in half.' |

Reduplication of numerals is used to denote the meanings 'one by one', 'two by two', etc. Reduplicated numerals are used as adverbial expressions with the oblique case *-á* suffix. The form *yak yakká* is used for 'one by one'.

Mardom say sayá átkant.	مردم سئے سئیا آتکنت.	'People came, three by three.'
Chokkán yak yakká passaw dát.	چگّان یک یگّا پسّئو دات.	'The children answered one after another.'
Mani sangatán yak yakká belóthaén.	منی سنگتان یک یگّا بلۇثائن.	'Ask my students to come, one by one.'
Bachak do doá átkant.	بچک دو دوا آتکنت.	'The boys came two by two.'

Fractions are expressed by means of the expression '(out of) X one/two/three, etc. The direct and oblique case forms of the most common fractions are presented in Table 47.

Table 47. Commonly used fractions

ném, némá	نیم، نیما	'half'
sayak, sayakká	سئیک، سئییگّا	'a third'
chárek, cháreká	چارِک، چارِکا	'a quarter'
panchek, pancheká	پنچِک، پنچِکا	'a fifth'
shashek, shasheká	ششِک، ششِکا	'a sixth'
dahyak, dahyakká	دہیک، دہیگّا	'a tenth'

É molkay panchek manig ent.	اے مُلکئے پنچِک منیگ اِنت.	'A fifth (one out of five) is mine.'
Wati dahyakká sardárá beday.	وتی دہیکّا سردارا بدئے.	'Give your.SG tithes to the tribal leader.'
Máláni sayyakká wati jeneká dant.	مالانی سئیکّا وتی جنکا دنت.	'He will give a third of his livestock (of sheep and goats) to his daughter.'

Percentages are expressed by X *darsad* 'X in a hundred'.

Káray dah darsad tayár ent.	کارئے دہ درسد تئیار اِنت.	'Ten percent of the work is ready.'
Shahray panch darsad wayrán but.	شہرئے پنچ درسد وئیران بوت.	'Five percent of the town was destroyed.'
Dozhmená molkay si darsad gept.	دژمنا مُلکئے سی درسد گپت.	'The enemy took thirty percent of the country.'

Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division can be expressed as in the model sentences below:

Dahá do per bekan dwázdaha bit.	دھا دو پِر بکن دوازدہَ بیت.	'Ten plus two is twelve.'
Dahá do dar bekan hashta bit.	دھا دو دَر بکن ہشتَ بیت.	'Ten minus two is eight.'
Dahá gón dahá bejan sada bit.	دھا گۆن دھا بجن سدَ بیت.	'Ten times ten is a hundred.'
Dahá panchay sará bahr bekan doa bit.	دھا پنچئے سرا بہر بکن دوَ بیت.	'Ten divided by five is two.'

4. Verb morphology

4.1. Types of verbs

Balochi has three different types of verbs – simple verbs, preverbal verbs, and complex (or phrasal) verbs. There is no syntactic difference between these types of verbs. Simple verbs consist only of a verb. Examples are *kanag* 'to do', *rawag* 'to go', *nendag* 'to sit down', *barag* 'to take', *warag* 'to eat, to drink'.

Preverbal verbs consist of a verb together with a preverb which adds an extra element of location or direction to the basic meaning of the verb. Examples are *mán kanag* 'to put into', *dar kanag* 'to remove, to take out', *ér kanag* 'to put down', *per tarrag* 'to return', *dar barag* 'to learn'.

Complex verbs consist of a verb which has basically lost its original meaning (a light verb) and a nominal element (a noun, adjective or adverb) which carries the main meaning. Examples are *habar kanag* 'to speak', *jetá kanag* 'to separate', *béhayál bayag* 'to forget', *dém dayag* 'to send', *sarkech warag* 'to understand'. The verbs *kanag* 'to do', *bayag* 'to be, to become', *gerag* 'to take', *dayag* 'to give', and *warag* 'to eat, to drink, to consume' are particularly frequent in making complex verbs. When new verbs are needed in Balochi, they are constructed as complex verbs, e.g. *pawn kanag* 'to telephone', *prenth kanag* 'to print, to print out', *póthó kasshag* 'to take a picture'.

There is an important syntactic difference between transitive and intransitive verbs. A transitive verb is a verb that can take a direct object, e.g. *kanag* 'to do', *warag* 'to eat', *barag* 'to take', *árag* 'to bring', whereas an intransitive verb cannot take a direct object, e.g. *rawag* 'to go', *áyag* 'to come', *kapag* 'to fall', *bayag* 'to be, to become'. The transitivity of preverbal and complex verbs is determined by the transitivity of the simple verb. This means that even if a complex verb, such as *maydán kanag* 'to run' or *thagal warag* 'to slip, to stumble' is semantically intransitive, it is conjugated as a transitive verb. An exception is the verb *gerag* 'to get', which is transitive as a simple verb, but intransitive as a complex verb, e.g. *sar gerag* 'to set out', *garm gerag* 'to get excited'.

The transitivity of simple verbs is not always transparent from their meaning, and some verbs that follow the conjugation pattern of transitive verbs do not take direct objects as their complements, but rather adpositional phrases, e.g. *kaséay sará kandag* 'to laugh at somebody', *kettag* 'to groan', and *ráshag* 'to bark'.

4.2. Verb stems and non-finite verb forms

Balochi verbs have two stems, the present-future stem and the past stem. The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix -*ag* to the present-future stem of the verb. The present-future stem can thus be deduced from the infinitive. There are no clear rules for how the past stem is formed from the present-future stem. It is therefore necessary to know both the present-future and the past stem of a verb in order to be able to conjugate all its finite forms correctly. Some common verbs (infinitive and past stem) are given in Table 48. For a comprehensive list of more than 300 Balochi verbs (infinitive, past stem, and the 3rd person singular present-future indicative form), see Appendix 1, which is available online at: http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-397659

Table 48. Infinitives and past stems of some common verbs

Gloss	Infinitive		Past stem	
'to bring'	*árag*	آرگ	*áwort*	آورت
'to come'	*áyag*	آیگ	*átk*	آتک
'to take'	*barag*	برگ	*bort*	برت
'to be, to become'	*bayag*	بئیگ	*but*	بوت
'to give'	*dayag*	دئیگ	*dát*	دات
'to run'	*tachag*	تچگ	*tatk*	تتک
'to do'	*kanag*	کنگ	*kort*	کرت
'to go'	*rawag*	رئوگ	*shot*	شت
'to eat, to drink'	*warag*	ورگ	*wárt*	وارت

The present participle (cf. English 'singing', 'doing', etc.) is formed on the present-future stem by adding the suffix -*án* or -*áná*. The past participle (cf. English 'sung', 'done', etc.) is formed on the past stem by adding the suffix -*ag*.

Table 49. Present and past participles of some common verbs

Gloss	Present participle		Past participle	
'to bring'	*árán(á)*	آران، آرانا	*áwortag*	آورتگ
'to come'	*áyán(á)*	آیان، آیانا	*átkag*	آتکگ
'to take'	*barán(á)*	بران، برانا	*bortag*	برتگ
'to be, to become'	*bayán(á)*	بئیان، بئیانا	*butag*	بوتگ
'to give'	*dayán(á)*	دئیان، دئیانا	*dátag*	داتگ
'to run'	*tachán(á)*	تچان، تچانا	*tatkag*	تتکگ
'to do'	*kanán(á)*	کنان، کنانا	*kortag*	کرتگ
'to go'	*rawán(á)*	رئوان، رئوانا	*shotag*	شتگ
'to eat, to drink'	*warán(á)*	وران، ورانا	*wártag*	وارتگ

An agent noun (cf. English 'singer', 'doer', etc.) is formed on the present-future stem by adding the suffix -*ók*. A verbal adjective (corresponding to the English construction 'to be sung/possible to sing', 'to be done/doable', etc.) is formed on the infinitive by adding -*i*.

Table 50. Agent nouns and verbal adjectives of some common verbs

Gloss	Agent noun		Verbal adjective	
'to bring'	*árók*	آروک	*áragi*	آرگی
'to come'	*áyók*	آیوک	*áyagi*	آیگی
'to take'	*barók*	بروک	*baragi*	برگی
'to be, to become'	*bayók*	بئیوک	*bayagi*	بئیگی
'to give'	*dayók*	دئیوک	*dayagi*	دئیگی
'to run'	*tachók*	تچوک	*tachagi*	تچگی
'to do'	*kanók*	کنوک	*kanagi*	کنگی
'to go'	*rawók*	رئووک	*rawagi*	رئوگی
'to eat, to drink'	*warók*	وروک	*waragi*	ورگی

There is also a causative verb formation. Causative verbs are based on the present-future stem of the simple verb, to which they add -*én* or -*á(r)én* + the infinitive suffix -*ag* to form the infinitive of the causative verb. Sometimes there are stem changes as well. The present participle, past participle and agent noun of causative verbs are formed in the same way as those of simple verbs.

Causative verbs are always transitive and have the meaning of causing someone or something else to perform the action of the verb from which it is formed. Causative verbs can be formed from both intransitive and transitive verbs. Some examples of causative verbs are presented in Table 51.

Table 51. Some causative verbs and their corresponding simple verbs

Causative verb: infinitive, past stem		Simple verb	
rasénag, rasént 'to take someone somewhere'	رسێنگ، رسێنت	*rasag* 'to arrive'	رسگ
tarrénag, tarrént 'to turn something around'	تڕێنگ، تڕێنت	*tarrag* 'to spin'	تڕگ
lótháénag, lótháént 'to summon, to call upon'	لۆٹاینگ، لۆٹاینت	*lóthag* 'to invite, to want'	لۆٹگ
hallénag, hallént 'to finish up'	هلّێنگ، هلّێنت	*hallag* 'to finish, to end'	هلَّگ
rakkénag, rakként 'to rescue, to save'	رکێنگ، رکێنت	*rakkag* 'to be rescued, to be saved'	رکگ
kósháénag, kósháént 'to have someone killed'	کۆشارێنگ، کۆشارێنت	*koshag* 'to kill'	کُشگ
geráénag, geráént 'to make someone arrest somebody'	گراینگ، گراینت	*gerag* 'to catch'	گرگ
nádénag, nádént 'to place, to establish'	نادێنگ، نادێنت	*nendag* 'to sit down'	نندگ
nendárénag nendárént 'to place, to make someone sit down'	ندارێنگ، ندارێنت	*nendag* 'to sit down'	نندگ

Complex verbs form causatives by changing an intransitive verb to a transitive one, mainly *bayag* 'to be, to become' to *kanag* 'to do'. Some pairs of intransitive and transitive/causative complex verbs are presented in Table 52.

Table 52. Some complex intransitive and transitive/causative verb pairs

Intransitive complex verb		Transitive/causative complex verb	
sarpad bayag 'to understand'	سرپد بئیگ	*sarpad kanag* 'to make someone understand'	سرپد کنگ
chest bayag 'to rise up'	چست بئیگ	*chest kanag* 'to raise up, to make something stand up'	چست کنگ
wassh bayag 'to be happy '	وشّ بئیگ	*wassh kanag* 'to make someone happy'	وشّ کنگ
hór bayag 'to be together'	هۆر بئیگ	*hór kanag* 'to join, to put together'	هۆر کنگ

124

4.2.1. Uses of the infinitive

The infinitive is used as a verbal noun. It can therefore be declined as a noun in the singular.

Sur kanag sharter ent yá sur nakanag?	سور کنگ شرتر اِنت یا سور نکنگ؟	'Is it better to marry or not to marry?'
Mehr kanag cha sajjahén kárán sharter ent.	مِهر کنگ چہ سجّهیٚن کاران شرتر اِنت.	'The best thing (lit. work) is to love.'
Kadi dars wánaget bongéj kort?	کدی درس وانِگت بنگیٚج کرت؟	'When did you.SG start studying?'
Pa komak kanagá átkagán.	پہ کُمک کنگا آتکگان.	'I have come to help.'
Márá pa waragá chizzé nést.	مارا پہ ورگا چیزّے نیٚست.	'We don't have anything to eat.'
É mardom mani ázár dayagay randá ent.	اے مردم منی آزار دئیگئے رندا اِنت.	'This person wants to harm me (lit. is after harming me).'
Balóch bayagay sutt ché ent?	بلوٚچ بئیگئے سوتّ چے اِنت؟	'What is the advantage (lit. profit) of being a Baloch.'

The infinitive in the direct case form is used together with the finite verb *bayag* 'to be, to become' to construct passive verb forms (see Section 4.4.4). The infinitive in the oblique case form is used to construct progressive verb forms (see Section 4.4.5.1) and also in the inchoative construction to mark the starting point of an event (see Section 4.4.5.6).

4.2.2. Uses of the present participle

The present participle, either in *-án* or *- án á*, can be used as an adverb that further describes the action of the verb. It can also denote an action taking place at the same time as the main verb.

Mani sangatá iráz gerán gwasht ke "taw radén káré kort."	منی سنگتا ایراز گِران گوَشت کہ «تئو ردیٚن کارے کرت.»	'My friends criticized me and said that I had done something wrong (lit. a bad deed).'

Salmán tachaná wati bаná shot.	سلمان تچانا وتی بانا شت.	'Salman went running to his room.'
Mardomán kukkár kanаná gwasht: "Dozzá begerét."	مردمان کوکّار کنانا گوَشت: «دُزّا بگرێت.»	'People shouted (lit. said shouting): "Catch the thief."'
Sardárá márá wasshátk kananá gwasht: "Byáét, benendét."	سردارا مارا وشّآتک کنانا گوَشت: «بیایْت، بنندیْت.»	'Welcoming us, the tribal chief said: "Come, sit down."'
Mardom cha har némagá tachán tai kerrá pédák ant.	مردم چه هر نیْمگا تچان تئیی کڑا پیْداک اَنت.	'People are coming running to you.SG from all directions.'

Sometime two present participles indicate two simultaneous actions. The present participle can also be reduplicated to show continuity or intensity of the action. Normally only the second participle can occur in the *-aná* form.

May brát o gohár sénagá janán o mótk kananá lógá per tarretant.	مئے برات و گهار سیْنگا جنان و مۆتک کنانا لۆگا پِر ترّتنت.	'Our brothers and sisters returned home beating their breasts in (lit. and) mourning.'
Má rawán rawaná ábádén jágahéá rasetén.	ما رئوان رئوانا آبادیْن جاگهیا رستیْن.	'We walked and walked and came to a fertile place.'
Chokk tachán tachaná lógá shotant.	چُکّ تچان تچانا لۆگا شتنت.	'The children ran home fast.'

The present participle ending in *-án* can also be used as an adjective. This use is not very frequent, however.

Rawánén ápá sellén chizz dawr maday.	رئوانیْن آپا سِلّیْن چیزّ دئور مدئے.	'Don't throw dirty things in running water.'

The present participle ending in *-án* together with the verb *bayag* 'to be, to become' can mark the start of an action.

Chokk tachán but o shot.	چکّ تچان بوت و شت.	'The child started running [away] (lit. and went).'
Wahdé áp rawána bit, kopp kan.	وهدے آپ رئوانَ بیت، کُپِّ کن.	'Dive into the water when it starts running.'

The present participle ending in *-án* is used in the iterative periphrastic verb construction (see Section 4.4.5.2).

4.2.3. Uses of the past participle

The past participle can be used as an attributive adjective, in which case it takes the attributive suffix *-én*.

Wati neshtagén janénchokká pa ché sura nadayay?	وتی نِشتگێن جنێنچُکّا پہ چے سورَ ندئیئے؟	'Why don't you.SG marry off your unmarried (lit. sitting) daughter?'
Sar átkagén naganán yakjáh bekan.	سر آتکگێن نگنان یکجاہ بکن.	'Gather the leftover bread.'
Cha molká átkagén mehmán kojá ant?	چہ مُلکا آتکگێن مهمان کجا اَنت؟	'Where are the guests who have come from Balochistan (lit. the land)?'

As an adjective the past participle, like other adjectives, can function as a noun and take case suffixes.

Cha sardáray dátagénán abéd chizzé narasit.	چہ سردارئے داتگێنان ابێد چیزّے نرسیت.	'Nothing is available (lit. arrives) apart from what the tribal chief has given.'
Mani gwashtagénáni sará báwaret hast?	منی گۏشتگێنانی سرا باوِرت هست؟	'Do you.SG believe what I said.'

Bádsháhay nadéntagénay helápá pád átkagant.	بادشاهئے نادینتگینئے هلاپا پاد آتککگ‌اَنت.	'They have made an insurrection (lit. stood up) against the one whom the king has installed (lit. the placed of the king).'

The past participle is used to construct the present perfect and past perfect verb forms (see Sections 4.4.3.4 and 4.4.3.5).

4.2.4. Uses of the agent noun

The agent noun is mostly used as a noun to denote the agent, the one who performs the action of the verb. However, it can also sometimes be used as an adjective. Some agent nouns have taken on a new lexical meaning (see also Section 6.2).

Sajjahén máláni mirás barók taw ay.	سجّهێن مالانی میراس برۆک تئو ائے.	'You.SG are the inheritor of all the livestock.'
É ketábay nebisók angat zendag ent?	اے کتابئے نبیسۆک انگت زندگ اِنت؟	'Is the author of this book still alive?'
Áyáni sar o sój dayók kay at?	آیانی سر و سۆج دئیۆک کئے اَت؟	'Who was their advisor?'
Mirán mani pajjárók ent.	میران منی پجّارۆک اِنت.	'I am acquainted with Miran (lit. Miran is my 'recognizer').'
É molkay nendók árámén mardom ant.	اے مُلکئے نندۆک آرامێن مردم اَنت.	'The inhabitants of this country are calm people.'
Maná cha áyókén róchán torsé nést.	منا چه آیۆکێن رۆچان تُرسے نێست.	'I am not afraid of the coming days.'
May lógá warók hast.	مئے لۆگا ورۆک هست.	'There are termites (lit. eaters) in our house.'

128

4.2.5. Uses of the verbal adjective

The verbal adjective is used together with the copula (see Section 4.4.1) in the two periphrastic verb constructions that express future time reference (see Section 4.4.5.4) and necessity/intention (see Section 4.4.5.5).

4.3. Person-marking verb suffixes

Person-marking verb suffixes agree either with the subject (in the present-future tense and in the past tense of intransitive verbs), or with the direct object (in the past tense of transitive verbs and in impersonal verb constructions with a non-canonical subject), and occasionally agree with the indirect object (in the past tense of transitive verbs) (for details, see Section 4.4). The 2nd person plural ending can be used, with or without the 2nd person plural pronoun, as an honorific to address a single person who is of equal or higher status than the speaker.

4.3.1. Present-future person-marking verb suffixes

The present-future person-marking verb suffixes are added to the present-future stem of a verb to build the verb forms used in the present-future tense. These are present-future indicative, present-future subjunctive, optative, and imperative. The suffixes are always written attached to the stem. The standard forms that are used in the written language are presented in Table 53.

Table 53. Present-future tense person-marking verb suffixes

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*-án*	ان-	*-én*	‑یّن
2nd	*-ay*	‑ئے	*-ét*	‑یّت
3rd	*-it, -t*	‑یت، ‑ت	*-ant*	‑نت

In the optative form (see Section 4.4.2.3), Balochi has a tendency to use the person-marking verb suffix only once if two verbs are closely coordinated with the conjunction *o* 'and'.

| *Chokk hamé ketábá begerát o bwánátant.* | چکّ همے کتابا بگرات و بواناتنت. | 'I wish that the children will buy this book and read it.' |

4.3.2. Past person-marking verb suffixes

The past person-marking verb suffixes are added to the past stem of a verb to build three of the verb forms used in the past tense. These are past perfective, past imperfective and past subjunctive. The other two verb form in the past tense, present perfect and past perfect, are formed by means of the copula (see Section 4.4.1) rather than person-marking verb suffixes. (For more details about the different verb forms, see Section 4.4.3.)

Note that intransitive verbs agree in person and number with the subject of the sentence, but transitive verbs agree with a 3rd person direct object or occasionally with a 3rd person indirect object (for more details, see Section 4.4.3). The suffixes are identical to the present-future suffixes except in the 3rd person singular, and are also always written attached to the stem. The standard forms that are used in the written language are presented in Table 54.

Table 54. Past tense person-marking verb suffixes

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	-án	ان-	-én	ـێن
2nd	-ay	ـئے	-ét	ـێت
3rd	-	-	-ant	ـنت

With all verb forms presented in Section 4.4.3, i.e. with all verb forms based on the past stem, Balochi has a strong tendency to use the person-marking verb suffix or the copula only once if two verbs are closely coordinated with the conjunction *o* 'and'.

Chokkán ketáb gept o wántant.	چکّان کتاب گِپت و وانتنت.	'The children bought books and read [them].'
Taw pa ché tatkag o shotagay?	تئو په چے تتکگ و شتگئے ؟	'Why have you.SG run away?'
Báyad byátkén o gón má beneshténét.	باید بیاتکِین و گۆن ما بنشتینێت.	'You.PL should have come and stayed (lit. sat down) with us.'

4.3.3. Negations

There are two negation prefixes, *na-/nay-* and *ma-/may-*. The negation prefix carries the main stress in the negated verb forms. The forms present-future subjunctive, imperative and past subjunctive are negated with *ma-/may-*; all other forms are negated with *na-/nay-*. Verbs beginning in *á-* take the negations *nay-/may-*, whereas most other verbs take *na-/ma-*. The negations are

invariably attached to the verb stem in the Balochi-Latin script. In the Balochi-Arabic script, the negation is attached to the stem except when the negation is *na-/ma-* and the verb stem begins with a vowel. In such cases the negation is written separately from the verb without a space (for examples, see Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). Other special rules also apply to some verbs in the forms based on the present-future stem (see Section 4.4.2).

4.4. Finite verb forms

Finite verb forms are those that show tense, aspect, mood and person. They are formed on the stem of the verb by adding person-marking suffixes (see Section 4.3) or enclitic pronouns (see Section 3.3.3).

4.4.1. The copula and the verb of existence

A copula is a verb that links the subject of a sentence to it complement, e.g. I am here, the boy was ill, she is a nurse. The most typical copula is 'to be'. The verb of existence 'to be, to exist' does not have a linking function but rather describes what exists, e.g. I think, therefore I am (=exist).

The copula is also used to form the present perfect and past perfect verb forms. Special writing rules for the copula apply in the present perfect and past perfect verb forms (see Sections 4.4.3.4 and 4.4.3.5).

In the present tense, the copula has the forms that are presented in Table 55. The copula is written separately from the previous word (i.e. with a full space) in both the Balochi-Latin and Balochi-Arabic scripts.

Table 55. Affirmative present tense forms of the copula

Person	Present-future tense				Past tense			
	Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural	
1st	*án*	آن	*én*	اين	*atán*	اتان	*atén*	اتێن
2nd	*ay*	ائے	*ét*	ايت	*atay*	اتئے	*atét*	اتێت
3rd	*ent*	اِنت	*ant*	اَنت	*at*	اَت	*atant*	اتنت

Negated present tense forms of the copula are presented in Table 56. Since the verb begins with a vowel, the negation is written separately from the verb without a space in the Balochi-Arabic script (see Section 4.3.3).

Table 56. Negated present tense forms of the copula

Person	Present-future tense				Past tense			
	Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural	
1st	*naán*	نەآن	*naén*	نەاین	*naatán*	نەاتان	*naatén*	نەاتین
2nd	*naay*	نەائی	*naét*	نەاێت	*naatay*	نەاتئی	*naatét*	نەاتیت
3rd	*naent*	نەاِنت	*naant*	نەاَنت	*naat*	نەاَت	*naatant*	نەاتنت

Affirmative present tense forms of the verb of existence are presented in Table 57.

Table 57. Affirmative present tense forms of the verb of existence

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*hastán*	هستان	*hastén*	هستێین
2nd	*hastay*	هستئی	*hastét*	هستێت
3rd	*hast(ent)*	هست، هستِانت	*hastant*	هستاَنت

Negated forms of the verb of existence in the present tense are presented in Table 58.

Table 58. Negated present tense forms of the verb of existence

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*néstán*	نیستان	*néstén*	نیستێین
2nd	*néstay*	نیستئی	*néstét*	نیستێت
3rd	*nést(ent)*	نیست، نیستِانت	*néstant*	نیستاَنت

In the past tense, only the affirmative and negated forms in the 3rd person singular are common.

Table 59. Affirmative and negated past tense forms of the verb of existence

hastat	هستاَت	*néstat*	نیستاَت

If the complement consists of a noun with the individuation clitic =é, with or without adjective attributes, and describes the subject as belonging to a generic class, there is no copula in the 3rd person singular affirmative form. Such a clause without a verb is called a nominal clause. The copula is present for all other persons.

Kasánén bachaké án.	کسانین بچکے آن.	'I am a small boy.'
Kasánén bachaké ay.	کسانین بچکے ائے.	'You.SG are a small boy.'
Kasánén bachaké.	کسانین بچکے.	'He is a small boy.'
Kasánén bachak én.	کسانین بچک این.	'We are small boys.'
Kasánén bachak ét.	کسانین بچک ایت.	'You.PL are small boys.'
Kasánén bachak ant.	کسانین بچک اَنت.	'They are small boys.'

In the negated forms of the present tense, the copula is present for all persons.

Chokké naán.	چُکّے نہآن.	'I am not a child.'
Chokké naay.	چُکّے نہائے.	'You.SG are not a child.'
Chokké naent.	چُکّے نہِانت.	'He is not a child.'
Chokk naén.	چُکّ نہاین.	'We are not children.'
Chokk naét.	چُکّ نہایت.	'You.PL are not children.'
Chokk naant.	چُکّ نہاَنت.	'They are not children.'

In the past tense, affirmative and negated, the copula is present for all persons.

Á wahdi bachaké atán.	آ وہدی بچکے اتان.	'At that time I was a boy.'
Á wahdi bachaké atay.	آ وہدی بچکے اتئے.	'At that time you.SG were a boy.'
Á wahdi bachaké at.	آ وہدی بچکے اَت.	'At that time he was a boy.'
Á wahdi bachak atén.	آ وہدی بچک اتین.	'At that time we were boys.'
Á wahdi bachak atét.	آ وہدی بچک اتیت.	'At that time you.PL were boys.'
Á wahdi bachak atant.	آ وہدی بچک اتنت.	'At that time they were boys.'

Á wahdi ostádé naatán.	آ وهدی اُستادے نہاتان.	'At that time I was not a teacher.'
Á wahdi ostádé naatay.	آ وهدی اُستادے نہاتئے.	'At that time you.SG were not a teacher.'
Á wahdi ostádé naat.	آ وهدی اُستادے نہاَت.	'At that time she was not a teacher.'
Á wahdi ostád naatén.	آ وهدی اُستاد نہاتیٖن.	'At that time we were not teachers.'
Á wahdi ostád naatét.	آ وهدی اُستاد نہاتیٖت.	'At that time you.PL were not teachers.'
Á wahdi ostád naatant.	آ وهدی اُستاد نہاتنت.	'At that time they were not teachers.'

The copula is present in all persons when the complement has another function than describing the subject as a member of a generic class, e.g. when ascribing a specific quality to it.

É bánok tai gohár ent?	اے بانک تئیی گھار اِنت؟	'Is this woman your.SG sister?'
Mani sangat nájórh ent.	منی سنگت ناجوڑ اِنت.	'My friend is ill.'
Chokkáni pet lógá ent.	چُکّانی پت لۆگا اِنت.	'My husband (lit. the children's father) is at home.'

The verb of existence is commonly used only in the 3rd person singular with the meaning 'there is/was (not)'.

Tará báwar ent ke Hodá hast?	ترا باور اِنت کہ هُدا هست؟	'Do you.SG believe that God exists?'
Maná brát hast.	منا برات هست.	'I have brothers (or one brother).'
Zalurat nést byáét.	زلورت نیٖست بیاٸت.	'There is no need for you.PL to come.'
Yak mardéá do mardénchokk hastat.	یک مردیٰا دو مردیٖنچُکّ هستاَت.	'A man had two sons.'
Á wahdi may shahrá bázén mardomé hastat.	آ وهدی مئے شهرا بازیٖن مردمے هستاَت.	'In those days there were many people in our town.'
Márá hecch omét néstat.	مارا هیچّ اُمیٖت نیٖستاَت.	'We had no hope (lit. there was no hope to us).'

134

The copula and the verb of existence only occur in the present and past tense indicative forms. All other forms, e.g. present-future indicative with future time reference, present-future subjunctive, and present perfect, are formed regularly from the verb *bayag* 'to be, to become'.

4.4.2. Verb forms based on the present-future stem

There are four verb forms based on the present-future stem: present-future indicative, present-future subjunctive, optative and imperative.

4.4.2.1. Present-future indicative

The present-future indicative form is used for events and states that are real and described as certain in the present time or in the future. There is no special future verb form in Balochi, but there is a construction that marks something as occurring in the future as opposed to the present; see Section 4.4.5.4.

4.4.2.1.1. The form: intransitive and transitive verbs

The present-future indicative is formed by:

1. The clitic =*a*, which is added as an enclitic to the previous word in the sentence. The function of the clitic =*a* is to show continuation (imperfectivity). The clitic =*a* is not present if the verb is the first word in the clause, as well as in some other instances specified below.
2. The actual verb form which consists of the present-future stem + person-marking verb suffixes.

The present-future indicative form is stressed on the final syllable, i.e. on the person-marking suffix, which is always attached to the verb stem in writing.

There are several irregularities in the formation of the present-future indicative form. A very common irregularity is that the stem undergoes changes in the 3rd person singular. The present-future indicative of a number of common verbs is presented in Tables 60–87, some of which have an irregular 3rd person singular form. The 3rd person singular present-future indicative form of more than 300 verbs is found in Appendix 1, which is available online at:
http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-397659

Table 60. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a kanán	كنان =َ	=a kanén	كنێن =َ
2nd	=a kanay	كنئے =َ	=a kanét	كنێت =َ
3rd	=a kant	كنت =َ	=a kanant	كننت =َ

Table 61. Negated present-future indicative forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nakanán	نكنان =ئَ	=a nakanén	نكنێن =ئَ
2nd	=a nakanay	نكنئے =ئَ	=a nakanét	نكنێت =ئَ
3rd	=a nakant	نكنت =ئَ	=a nakanant	نكننت =ئَ

Table 62. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *gendag* 'to see'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a gendán	گندان =ئَ	=a gendén	گندێن =ئَ
2nd	=a genday	گندئے =ئَ	=a gendét	گندێت =ئَ
3rd	=a gendit	گندیت =ئَ	=a gendant	گندنت =ئَ

Table 63. Negated present-future indicative forms of *gendag* 'to see'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nagendán	نگندان =ئَ	=a nagendén	نگندێن =ئَ
2nd	=a nagenday	نگندئے =ئَ	=a nagendét	نگندێت =ئَ
3rd	=a nagendit	نگندیت =ئَ	=a nagendant	نگندنت =ئَ

Table 64. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *barag* 'to take'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a barán	بران =ئَ	=a barén	برێن =ئَ
2nd	=a baray	برئے =ئَ	=a barét	برێت =ئَ
3rd	=a bárt	بارت =ئَ	=a barant	برنت =ئَ

Table 65. Negated present-future indicative forms of *barag* 'to take'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nabarán	نبران =ئَ	=a nabarén	نبرێن =ئَ
2nd	=a nabaray	نبرئے =ئَ	=a nabarét	نبرێت =ئَ
3rd	=a nabárt	نبارت =ئَ	=a nabarant	نبرنت =ئَ

Table 66. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *warag* 'to eat, to drink'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a warán	وران =ئَ	=a warén	ورێن =ئَ
2nd	=a waray	ورئے =ئَ	=a warét	ورێت =ئَ
3rd	=a wárt	وارت =ئَ	=a warant	ورنت =ئَ

Table 67. Negated present-future indicative forms of *warag* 'to eat, to drink'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nawarán	نثوران =َ	=a nawarén	نثورێن = َ
2nd	=a nawaray	نثورئے = َ	=a nawarét	نثورێت = َ
3rd	=a nawárt	نثوارت =َ	=a nawarant	نثورنت = َ

Table 68. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become'
(note that the stem is reduced from *bay- > b-* in all persons)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a bán	بان = َ	=a bén	بێن =َ
2nd	=a bay	بئے =َ	=a bét	بێت =َ
3rd	=a bit	بیت =َ	=a bant	بنت =َ

Table 69. Negated present-future indicative forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become'
(note that the stem is reduced from *bay- > b-* in all persons)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nabán	نبان =َ	=a nabén	نبێن =َ
2nd	=a nabay	نبئے =َ	=a nabét	نبێت =َ
3rd	=a nabit	نبیت =َ	=a nabant	نبنت =َ

Table 70. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *gerag* 'to get'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a gerán	گران =َ	=a gerén	گرێن =َ
2nd	=a geray	گرئے =َ	=a gerét	گرێت =َ
3rd	=a gipt	گیپت =َ	=a gerant	گرنت =َ

Table 71. Negated present-future indicative forms of *gerag* 'to get'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nagerán	نگران =َ	=a nagerén	نگرێن =َ
2nd	=a nageray	نگرئے =َ	=a nagerét	نگرێت =َ
3rd	=a nagipt	نگیپت =َ	=a nagerant	نگرنت =َ

Table 72. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *dayag* 'to give'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a dayán*	=ةَ دئیان	=*a dayén*	=ةَ دئیێن
2ⁿᵈ	=*a dayay*	=ةَ دئیئے	=*a dayét*	=ةَ دئیێت
3ʳᵈ	=*a dant*	=ةَ دنت	=*a dayant*	=ةَ دئینت

Table 73. Negated present-future indicative forms of *dayag* 'to give'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a nadayán*	=ةَ ندئیان	=*a nadayén*	=ةَ ندئیێن
2ⁿᵈ	=*a nadayay*	=ةَ ندئیئے	=*a nadayét*	=ةَ ندئیێت
3ʳᵈ	=*a nadant*	=ةَ ندنت	=*a nadayant*	=ةَ ندئینت

Table 74. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a rawán*	=ةَ رئوان	=*a rawén*	=ةَ رئوێن
2ⁿᵈ	=*a raway*	=ةَ رئوئے	=*a rawét*	=ةَ رئوێت
3ʳᵈ	=*a rawt*	=ةَ رئوت	=*a rawant*	=ةَ رئونت

Table 75. Negated present-future indicative forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a narawán*	=ةَ نرئوان	=*a narawén*	=ةَ نرئوێن
2ⁿᵈ	=*a naraway*	=ةَ نرئوئے	=*a narawét*	=ةَ نرئوێت
3ʳᵈ	=*a narawt*	=ةَ نرئوت	=*a narawant*	=ةَ نرئونت

Some verbs that begin with *á-* add the prefix *k-* in the affirmative form but not in the negated form. The verbs that add *k-* in the affirmative form take the negative prefix *nay-*. Two verbs of this type are very common, namely *árag* 'to bring' and *áyag* 'to come'.

Table 76. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *árag* 'to bring'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a kárán*	=ةَ کاران	=*a kárén*	=ةَ کارێن
2ⁿᵈ	=*a káray*	=ةَ کارئے	=*a kárét*	=ةَ کارێت
3ʳᵈ	=*a kárit*	=ةَ کاریت	=*a kárant*	=ةَ کارنت

Table 77. Negated present-future indicative forms of *árag* 'to bring'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a nayárán*	نئیاران =َ	=*a nayárén*	نئیاریّن =َ
2ⁿᵈ	=*a nayáray*	نئیارئے =َ	=*a nayárét*	نئیاریّت =َ
3ʳᵈ	=*a nayárit*	نئیاریت =َ	=*a nayárant*	نئیارنت =َ

Table 78. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *áyag* 'to come'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a káyán*	کایان =َ	=*a káen*	کایّن =َ
2ⁿᵈ	=*a káay*	کائے =َ	=*a káét*	کایّت =َ
3ʳᵈ	=*a kayt*	کئیت =َ	=*a káyant*	کاینت =َ

Table 79. Negated present-future indicative forms of *áyag* 'to come'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a nayáyán*	نئیایان =َ	=*a nayáén*	نئیایّن =َ
2ⁿᵈ	=*a nayáay*	نئیائے =َ	=*a nayáét*	نئیایّت =َ
3ʳᵈ	=*a nayayt*	نئیئیت =َ	=*a nayáyant*	نئیاینت =َ

Most other verbs that begin with *á-* or another long vowel do not add the prefix *k-* in the affirmative form. Negated forms of a verb that begins with a long vowel but does not take the prefix *k-* in the affirmative form take the negation *na-*.

Table 80. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *áshopénag* 'to stir up a commotion, to shock'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a áshopénán*	آشُپینان =َ	=*a áshopénén*	آشُپینین =َ
2ⁿᵈ	=*a áshopénay*	آشُپینئے =َ	=*a áshopénét*	آشُپینیت =َ
3ʳᵈ	=*a áshopénit*	آشُپینیت =َ	=*a áshopénant*	آشُپیننت =َ

Table 81. Negated present-future indicative forms of *áshopénag* 'to stir up a commotion, to shock'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a naáshopénán*	نهآشُپینان =َ	=*a naáshopénén*	نهآشُپینین =َ
2ⁿᵈ	=*a naáshopénay*	نهآشُپینئے =َ	=*a naáshopénét*	نهآشُپینیت =َ
3ʳᵈ	=*a naáshopénit*	نهآشُپینیت =َ	=*a naáshopénant*	نهآشُپیننت =َ

Table 82. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a óshtán*	اۇشتان ﻩ=	=*a óshtén*	اۇشتین ﻩ=
2ⁿᵈ	=*a óshtay*	اۇشتئے ﻩ=	=*a óshtét*	اۇشتیت ﻩ=
3ʳᵈ	=*a óshtit*	اۇشتیت ﻩ=	=*a óshtant*	اۇشتنت ﻩ=

Table 83. Negated present-future indicative forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a naóshtán*	نهاۇشتان ﻩ=	=*a naóshtén*	نهاۇشتین ﻩ=
2ⁿᵈ	=*a naóshtay*	نهاۇشتئے ﻩ=	=*a naóshtét*	نهاۇشتیت ﻩ=
3ʳᵈ	=*a naóshtit*	نهاۇشتیت ﻩ=	=*a naóshtant*	نهاۇشتنت ﻩ=

The verb *ellag* 'to allow, to let' adds the prefix *k-* in the affirmative form, but not in the negated form. This verb is negated with *nay-*, after which the *e* is lost. Other verbs that begin with a short vowel do not take the prefix *k-*. These verbs take the negation *na-*.

Table 84. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a kellán*	کِلّان ﻩ=	=*a kellén*	کِلّین ﻩ=
2ⁿᵈ	=*a kellay*	کِلّئے ﻩ=	=*a kellét*	کِلّیت ﻩ=
3ʳᵈ	=*a kellit*	کِلّیت ﻩ=	=*a kellant*	کِلّنت ﻩ=

Table 85. Negated present-future indicative forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a naylán*	نئیلان ﻩ=	=*a naylén*	نئیلین ﻩ=
2ⁿᵈ	=*a naylay*	نئیلئے ﻩ=	=*a naylét*	نئیلیت ﻩ=
3ʳᵈ	=*a naylit*	نئیلیت ﻩ=	=*a naylant*	نئیلنت ﻩ=

Table 86. Affirmative present-future indicative forms of *eshkonag* 'to listen'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	=*a eshkonán*	اِشکنان =ﻩ	=*a eshkonén*	اِشکنین =ﻩ
2ⁿᵈ	=*a eshkonay*	اِشکنئے =ﻩ	=*a eshkonét*	اِشکنیت =ﻩ
3ʳᵈ	=*a eshkont*	اِشکنت =ﻩ	=*a eshkonant*	اِشکننت =ﻩ

Table 87. Negated present-future indicative forms of *eshkonag* 'to listen'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a naeshkonán	نه‌اِشکنان ‌ﻪَﻋ=	=a naeshkonén	نه‌اِشکنیٛن ‌ﻪَﻋ=
2nd	=a naeshkonay	نه‌اِشکنئے ‌ﻪَﻋ=	=a naeshkonét	نه‌اِشکنیت ‌ﻪَﻋ=
3rd	=a naeshkont	نه‌اِشکنت ‌ﻪَﻋ=	=a naeshkonant	نه‌اِشکننت ‌ﻪَﻋ=

4.4.2.1.2. Uses of present-future indicative forms

The present-future indicative verb form is used to express:

I. general truths.

Róch sohbá dara kayt.	روچ سهبا دَرَ کئیت.	'The sun rises in the morning.'
Garmágán Karáchiá hawra gwárit.	گرماگان کراچِیا هئورَ گوارِیت.	'In the summer it rains in Karachi.'
Nonnok shira warant.	نُنّک شیرَ ورنت.	'Infants breastfeed (lit. drink milk).'
Chokk zutt mazana bant.	چِکّ زوتّ مزنَ بنت.	'Children grow up quickly.'

II. ongoing states and events in the present that may have been initiated in the past. There is also, however, a marked progressive form for events that are ongoing at the present moment (see Section 4.4.5.1).

May chokk eskulá darsa wánant.	مئے چُکّ اِسکولا درسَ واننت.	'Our children study at school.'
Wati chokkán wata ródénán.	وتی چِکّان وتَ رۆدیٛنان.	'I raise my children myself.'
Má dér ent hamedá kára kanén.	ما دیٛر اِنت همِدا کارَ کنیٛن.	'We have been working here for a long time (and we are still working).'
Shomá kojá zendegia kanét?	شما کجا زندگیَٔ کنیٛت؟	'Where do you.PL live?'

141

III. habitual events.

É mardom har wahd habara kant.	اے مردم هر وهد هبرَ کنت.	'This person is always talking.'
Jomahay róchá kára nakanén.	جُمهئے روڑچا کارَ نکنێن.	'We don't work on Fridays (lit. day of Friday).'
Taw baré baré ketába geray?	تئو برے برے کتابَ گرئے؟	'Do you.SG sometimes buy books?'
Har róch wati chokkána gendán.	هر روڑچ وتی چِکّانَ گندان.	'I see my children every day.'

IV. future events that will most certainly take place, i.e. are spoken about with certainty.

Bándá tará pawna kanán.	باندا ترا پئونَ کنان.	'I will call you.SG tomorrow.'
Kammé dérá rasén.	کمّے دێرا رسێن.	'We will arrive a bit late.'
Man tai wadárá bán.	من تئیی ودارا بان.	'I will wait for you.SG.'
Démi sálá wati chokká sura dayán.	دێمی سالا وتی چِکّا سورَ دئیان.	'Next year I will marry off my child.'

V. past events in narration. In Balochi narration it is not uncommon to use the present-future for past events. This is not to be regarded as historical present, but rather as a narrative technique to bring the audience closer to the narration. It is more common in oral style narration than in the more formal written language. A narrative may start out in the past tense and then switch over to the present-future tense, or be narrated in the present-future tense from the beginning to the end. The following sentences are an extract from a story that shifts from the past to the present-future tense at the point where the actual storyline starts.

142

Hastat róché, hastat rózgáré, hastat bádsháhé o áiá yak sharrang o mahgónagén jeneké hastat ke námi cha béhabariá Konth Bibi at.	هستأت رۆچے ، هستأت رۆزگارے، هستأت بادشاهے و آیا یک شررنگ و مَهگۆنگین جنکے هستأت که نامی چه بیهَبریا کُنٹ بیبی اَت .	'Once upon a time there was a king and he had a beautiful daughter who was called Miss Tree-trunk because she did not talk at all.'
Bázéné áiay lóthók at.	بازینے آیئے لۆٹۆک اَت .	'Many [men] wanted [to marry] her.'
Bádsháhay jeneká hamé bay o shart eshtagat ke harkas áiá say randá pa habar dar byárit, hamá áiay marda bit.	بادشاهئے جنکا همے بئے و شَرت اِشتگأت که هرکَس آیا سئے رندا په هبر در بیاریت ، هما آیئے مردَ بیت .	'The king's daughter had made it a condition that whoever makes her talk three times will be her husband.'
Agan na, áiá sádé gwará dayant o bázárá chakkarénant.	اگن نه ، آیا سادے گَورا دئینت و بازارا چَکَّریننت .	'If [he does] not [succeed], a rope will be tied to him and he will be taken around in the marketplace.'
Bázéné átkagat o jenekesh pa habar dar nayáwortagat o sherr bar sare bázár butag o shotagatant.	بازینے آتکگأت و جنکِش په هبر در نئیاورتگأت و شِرّ بَر سَرِ بازار بوتگ و شتگاتنت .	'Many had come but had not succeeded in making the girl talk and had been disgraced in the marketplace and gone [their way].'
Tán yak róché molkay yak ápkasshé kayt o gwashit: "Man jeneká pa habar dara kárán."	تان یک رۆچے مُلکئے یک آپکشّے کئیت و گَوشیت: «من جنکا په هبر درَ کاران.»	'Then one day a water bearer came and said (lit. comes and says): "I will make the girl talk."'

4.4.2.1.3. Absence of the =a clitic

There are a number of instances where the *=a* clitic is absent. The most obvious of these is when there is no preceding word in the clause to which the clitic can be attached.

Narawant?	نرئونت؟	'Won't they go?'
Nazánán ché bit.	نزانان چے بیت.	'I don't know what will happen (lit. what will be).'

There are also several instances when the word preceding the verb cannot host the *=a* clitic. One such instance is when this word ends in *-á* (either belonging to the word or the oblique singular case suffix).

Kojá raway?	کجا رئوئے؟	'Where are you.SG going?'
Wati sangatáni gwará rawán.	وتی سنگتانی گَورا رئوان.	'I am going to my friends.'
É ketábá maná nadayay?	اے کتابا منا ندئیئے؟	'Won't you.SG give this book to me?'
Má tai hakká dayén.	ما تئی هکّا دئیێن.	'We will give you.SG what you deserve (lit. your right).'

Likewise, in the rare case that the preceding word ends in *-a*, the *=a* clitic is absent.

Taw wa zánay.	تئو وَہ زانئے.	'Well, <u>you</u>.SG know.'

Another instance is when the word preceding the verb is marked with the individuation clitic *=é*.

Pa ché choshén káré kant?	پہ چے چُشیٛن کارے کنت؟	'Why does she do such a thing (lit. deed)?'
Taw chizzé genday?	تئو چیزّے گندئے؟	'Do you.SG see anything?'
Róché kayt ke é lógá bahá kanén.	رۆچے کئیت کہ اے لۆگا بها کنیٛن.	'There will come a day when we sell this house.'

144

Conjunctions, such as *o* 'and', *ke* 'that, when, who.', *agan* 'if', *tán* 'as soon as' cannot host the *=a* clitic. (See Sections 5.5 and 5.6 for additional meanings of these conjunctions.)

Har rócha kayt o wárt.	هر رۆچ کئیت و وارت.	'He comes and eats every day.'
Harché ke kanay, pa deli bekan.	هرچے که کنئے پہ دلی بکن.	'Whatever you.SG do, do it from [your] heart.'
Agan lóthay, mana káyán.	اگن لۏئئے، منَ کایان.	'If you.SG want (and I assume you do), I will come.'
Tán gendit kár kammé grána bit, dama bárt.	تان گندیت کار کمّے گرانَ بیت، دمَ بارت.	'As soon as he sees that the work becomes a bit hard he gets tired.'

There are certain other words that also do not host the *=a* clitic, such as *ham* 'too', *taw* 'you.SG', *dega* 'other', *kay* 'who', and *ché* 'what'.

Man ham káyán gón.	من هم کایان گۏن.	'I will also come along.'
Taw nayáay?	تئو نئیائے؟	'Won't you.SG come?'
Má hamedá dárén bale é dega rawant.	ما همِدا دارێن بلہ اے دگہ رئونت.	'We will stay here but the others will go.'
É habará kay gwashit?	اے هبرا کئے گۏشیت؟	'Who says this (lit. this word?'
Ché warant?	چے ورنت؟	'What do they eat?'

4.4.2.2. Present-future subjunctive

The present-future subjunctive form is used for events and states that are described as uncertain in the present or future. The subjunctive is used to express an urge, a doubt, or an uncertain event in modal constructions denoting, for example, possibility, necessity, permission or obligation (cf. constructions with 'must', 'may', 'can' etc. in English) as well as in a number of subordinate clauses (see Section 5.6).

145

4.4.2.2.1. The form: intransitive and transitive verbs

The present-future subjunctive is formed by the prefix *be-/b-/by-* + the present-future stem + person-marking verb suffixes in affirmative forms, and in the negated forms by the prefix *ma-/may-* + the present-future stem + person-marking verb suffixes. Both *be-/b-/by-* and *ma-/may-* carry stress. They are normally attached to the stem in both the Balochi-Latin and Balochi-Arabic script, but there are some exceptions to this rule in Balochi-Arabic when the stem begins with a vowel. The prefix *be-/b-/by-* can be omitted, and is often omitted in complex verbs, but the negative prefix *ma-/may-* is never omitted. When *be-* is omitted, the stress falls on the last syllable of the verb stem.

The same irregularities that are found in the formation of the present-future indicative 3rd person singular form are also found in the present-future subjunctive form. The present-future subjunctive forms of a number of verbs are presented in Tables 88–117 with notes on irregularities in the pronunciation and writing of the prefixes.

Table 88. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bekanán*	بکنان	*bekanén*	بکنێن
2nd	*bekanay*	بکنئے	*bekanét*	بکنێت
3rd	*bekant*	بکنت	*bekanant*	بکننت

Table 89. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*makanán*	مکنان	*makanén*	مکنێن
2nd	*makanay*	مکنئے	*makanét*	مکنێت
3rd	*makant*	مکنت	*makanant*	مکننت

Table 90. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *gendag* 'to see'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*begendán*	بگندان	*begendén*	بگندێن
2nd	*begenday*	بگندئے	*begendét*	بگندێت
3rd	*begendit*	بگندیت	*begendant*	بگندنت

Table 91. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *gendag* 'to see'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*magendán*	مگندان	*magendén*	مگندێن
2nd	*magenday*	مگندئے	*magendét*	مگندێت
3rd	*magendit*	مگندیت	*magendant*	مگندنت

Table 92. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *barag* 'to take'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bebarán*	بیران	*bebarén*	ببریّن
2nd	*bebaray*	ببرئے	*bebarét*	ببریّت
3rd	*bebárt*	ببارت	*bebarant*	ببرنت

Table 93. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *barag* 'to take'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mabarán*	مبران	*mabarén*	مبریّن
2nd	*mabaray*	مبرئے	*mabarét*	مبریّت
3rd	*mabárt*	مبارت	*mabarant*	مبرنت

Table 94. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become' (note that the stem is reduced from *bay-* > *b-* in all persons)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bebán*	ببان	*bebén*	ببیّن
2nd	*bebay*	ببئے	*bebét*	ببیّت
3rd	*bebit*	ببیت	*bebant*	ببنت

Table 95. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become' (note that the stem is reduced from *bay-* > *b-* in all persons)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mabán*	مبان	*mabén*	مبیّن
2nd	*mabay*	مبئے	*mabét*	مبیّت
3rd	*mabit*	مبیت	*mabant*	مبنت

Table 96. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *gerag* 'to get'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*begerán*	بگران	*begerén*	بگریّن
2nd	*begeray*	بگرئے	*begerét*	بگریّت
3rd	*begipt*	بگیپت	*begerant*	بگرنت

Table 97. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *gerag* 'to get'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*magerán*	مگران	*magerén*	مگرێن
2nd	*mageray*	مگرئے	*magerét*	مگرێت
3rd	*magipt*	مگیپت	*magerant*	مگرنت

Table 98. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *dayag* 'to give'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bedayán*	بدئیان	*bedayén*	بدئیێن
2nd	*bedayay*	بدئیئے	*bedayét*	بدئیێت
3rd	*bedant*	بدنت	*bedayant*	بدئینت

Table 99. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *dayag* 'to give'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*madayán*	مدئیان	*madayén*	مدئیێن
2nd	*madayay*	مدئیئے	*madayét*	مدئیێت
3rd	*madant*	مدنت	*madayant*	مدئینت

Table 100. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*berawán*	برئوان	*berawén*	برئوێن
2nd	*beraway*	برئوئے	*berawét*	برئوێت
3rd	*berawt*	برئوت	*berawant*	برئونت

Table 101. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*marawán*	مرئوان	*marawén*	مرئوێن
2nd	*maraway*	مرئوئے	*marawét*	مرئوێت
3rd	*marawt*	مرئوت	*marawant*	مرئونت

Two common verbs with *á-* as their first sound, *árag* 'to bring' and *áyag* 'to come', take the prefix *by-* rather than *be-*. The negation of these verbs is *may-*.

Table 102. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *árag* 'to bring'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*byárán*	بياران	*byárén*	بياريٚن
2nd	*byáray*	بيارئے	*byárét*	بياريٚت
3rd	*byárit*	بياريت	*byárant*	بيارنت

Table 103. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *árag* 'to bring'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mayárán*	مئياران	*mayárén*	مئياريٚن
2nd	*mayáray*	مئيارئے	*mayárét*	مئياريٚت
3rd	*mayárit*	مئياريت	*mayárant*	مئيارنت

Table 104. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *áyag* 'to come'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*byáyán*	بيايان	*byáén*	بياٚين
2nd	*byáay*	بيائے	*byáét*	بياٚيت
3rd	*byayt*	بيئيت	*byáyant*	بياينت

Table 105. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *áyag* 'to come'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mayáyán*	مئيايان	*mayáén*	مئياٚين
2nd	*mayáay*	مئيائے	*mayáét*	مئياٚيت
3rd	*mayayt*	مئيئيت	*mayáyant*	مئياينت

There are a few verbs that begin with *ó-*. They take the prefix *b-* rather than *be-* in the affirmative form, and in the negated form they take the negation *ma-*.

Table 106. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bóshtán*	بۆشتان	*bóshtén*	بۆشتيٚن
2nd	*bóshtay*	بۆشتئے	*bóshtét*	بۆشتيٚت
3rd	*bóshtit*	بۆشتيت	*bóshtant*	بۆشتنت

Table 107. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maóshtán*	مەاۉشتان	*maóshtén*	مەاۉشتێن
2nd	*maóshtay*	مەاۉشتئے	*maóshtét*	مەاۉشتیت
3rd	*maóshtit*	مەاۉشتیت	*maóshtant*	مەاۉشتنت

There are also a few verbs that begin with short vowels. Two common verbs with *e-* as their first sound, *ellag* 'to allow, to let' and *eshkonag* 'to hear', take the prefix *b-* in the affirmative form, but behave differently from each other in the negated form. The forms of the verb *ellag* 'to allow, to let' are irregular whereas *eshkonag* 'to hear' takes the negation *ma-*.

Table 108. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bellán*	بلّان	*bellén*	بلّێن
2nd	*bellay*	بلّئے	*bellét*	بلّیت
3rd	*bellit*	بلّیت	*bellant*	بلّنت

Table 109. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maylán*	مئیلان	*maylén*	مئیلێن
2nd	*maylay*	مئیلئے	*maylét*	مئیلیت
3rd	*maylit*	مئیلیت	*maylant*	مئیلنت

Table 110. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *eshkonag* 'to hear'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*beshkonán*	بِشکنان	*beshkonén*	بِشکنێن
2nd	*beshkonay*	بِشکنئے	*beshkonét*	بِشکنیت
3rd	*beshkont*	بِشکنت	*beshkonant*	بِشکننت

Table 111. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *eshkonag* 'to hear'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maeshkonán*	مەاِشکنان	*maeshkonén*	مەاِشکنێن
2nd	*maeshkonay*	مەاِشکنئے	*maeshkonét*	مەاِشکنیت
3rd	*maeshkont*	مەاِشکنت	*maéshkonant*	مەاِشکننت

Other verbs beginning in a short vowel add the prefix *be-* rather than *b-*. The negation is *ma-*.

Table 112. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *enserag* 'to relax, to calm down'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*beenserán*	بەانسران	*beenserén*	بەانسرێن
2nd	*beenseray*	بەانسرئے	*beenserét*	بەانسرێت
3rd	*beenserit*	بەانسریت	*beenserant*	بەانسرنت

Table 113. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *enserag* 'to relax, to calm down'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maenserán*	مەانسران	*maenserén*	مەانسرێن
2nd	*maenseray*	مەانسرئے	*maenserét*	مەانسرێت
3rd	*maenserit*	مەانسریت	*maenserant*	مەانسرنت

Table 114. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *arhag* 'to get entangled, to dispute'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bearhán*	بەاژان	*bearhén*	بەاژێن
2nd	*bearhay*	بەاژئے	*bearhét*	بەاژێت
3rd	*bearhit*	بەاژیت	*bearhant*	بەاژنت

Table 115. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *arhag* 'to get entangled, to dispute'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maarhán*	مەاژان	*maarhén*	مەاژێن
2nd	*maarhay*	مەاژئے	*maarhét*	مەاژێت
3rd	*maarhit*	مەاژیت	*maarhant*	مەاژنت

A verb that begins with *w-* takes the prefix *b-* in the affirmative form, and the negation *ma-* in the negated form.

Table 116. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *warag* 'to eat, to drink'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bwarán*	بوران	*bwarén*	بورێن
2nd	*bwaray*	بورئے	*bwarét*	بورێت
3rd	*bwárt*	بوارت	*bwarant*	بورنت

Table 117. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *warag* 'to eat, to drink'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mawarán*	مئوران	*mawarén*	مئورێن
2nd	*mawaray*	مئورئے	*mawarét*	مئورێت
3rd	*mawárt*	مئوارت	*mawarant*	مئورنت

4.4.2.2.2. Uses of present-future subjunctive forms
The present-future subjunctive verb form is used:

I. to express exhortations in other persons than the 2nd person.

Mani hayálá máshomá molká berawén.	منی هئیالا ماشما مُلکا برئوێن.	'In my opinion we should go to Balochistan (lit. the land)'
Pa elájá Torbatá marawt, Karáchiá berawt.	په اِلاجا تربتا مرئوت، کراچیا برئوت.	'For medical treatment he should not go to Turbat, he should go to Karachi.'
Maróchi chásht mawarán.	مرۆچی چاشت مئوران.	'I should not eat lunch today.'
Jeházay sará Karáchiá berawant.	جهازئے سرا کراچیا برئونت.	'They should go to Karachi by air.'

152

II. to express doubt or hesitation.

É sapará bekanán?	اے سپرا بکنان؟	'Should I go on this journey?'
Á ketábán begerán yá magerán?	آ کتابان بگران یا مگران؟	'Should I buy those books or not?'
Wati sangatáni lógá berawén?	وتی سنگتانی لۆگا برئوێن؟	'Should we go home to our friends?'
Pa ché dars bwánét?	په چے درس بوانێت؟	'Why should you.PL study?'

III. to express a prohibition, mainly with the verb *bayag* 'to be, to become' in the phrase *chosh/chó mabit ke…* 'it should not happen that…'.

Chosh mabit.	چش مبیت.	'This should not happen.'
Chó mabit ke mardom áshóp bekanant.	چۆ مبیت که مردم آشۆپ بکننت.	'It should not so happen that people make a commotion.'

IV. after the modal verb *báyad (ent)* 'must, should, to have to' and *nabáyad (ent)* 'mustn't, should not' to express necessity or prohibition in the present or future. It is also possible to negate the copula *(naent)* or the verb following *báyad (ent)*.

Báyad wati mát o petay habarán bezurit.	باید وتی مات و پتئے هبران بزوریت.	'He should obey his parents.'
Báyad ent zutt cha edá dar bekapán.	باید اِنت زوتّ چه اِدا در بکپان.	'I must leave this place (lit. here) soon.'
Báyad ent é sapará beraway?	باید اِنت اے سپرا برئوئے؟	'Do you.SG have to make this journey?'
Nabáyad dróg bebanday.	نباید درۆگ ببندئے.	'You.SG mustn't lie.'
Nabáyad ent wati chokkán tahná bellit.	نباید اِنت وتی چگّان تهنا بلِّیت.	'He should not leave his children alone.'
Báyad naent wati chokkán tahná bellit.	باید نهاِنت وتی چگّان تهنا بلِّیت.	'He should not leave his children alone.'

Báyad wati chokkán tahná maylit.	بايد وتى چكّان تهنا مئيليت.	'He should not leave his children alone.'

V. after the adverb *balkén* 'perhaps, maybe' to express an uncertain event in the present or future.

Balkén é hál áyán berasit.	بلكێن اے هال آيان برسيت.	'Maybe this piece of news will reach them.'
Balkén byáén, balkén mayáén.	بلكێن بياێن، بلكێن مئياێن.	'Maybe we will come, maybe not.'
Bepatthén, balkén wati gárén méshá dar begéjén.	بپتّێن، بلكێن وتى گارێن مێشا در بگێجێن.	'Let's look around, maybe we will find our lost sheep.'
Balkén embarán molká shot makanén.	بلكێن اِمبران مُلكا شت مكنێن.	'Maybe we cannot go to Balochistan (lit. the land) this year.'
Áyáni sangat balkén gón áyán gón bebit.	آيانى سنگت بلكێن گۆن آيان گۆن ببيت.	'Maybe their friend will come along (lit. be) with them.'

The word *balkén* 'perhaps, maybe' can also, however, be followed by a present copula to denote a state or an action in the present, but also by a present-future indicative form to express more certainty about a present or future event.

Má hayál kort balkén dozzé.	ما هئيال كرت بلكێن دُزّے.	'We thought it might be a thief.'
Áyáni sangat balkén gón áyán gón ent.	آيانى سنگت بلكێن گۆن آيان گۆن اِنت.	'Maybe their friend is together with them.'
Balkén pa gréwagá kabray sará rawt.	بلكێن په گرێوگا كبرئے سرا رئوت.	'Maybe she goes to the grave to cry.' (Here there is no uncertainty about going to the grave; the uncertainty is about the crying.)

VI. in general relative clauses (clauses with 'whoever', 'whatever', etc.) referring to the present or future that may or may never take place.

Harkas shóház bekant, dara géjit.	هرکَس شۆهاز بکنت، درَ گێجیت.	'Whoever seeks will find.'
Harkas dróg mabandit, gón áiá sangatia kanán.	هرکَس درۆگ مبندیت، گۆن آیبا سنگتیَ کنان.	'I will make friends (lit. friendship) with whoever does not lie.'

VII. in subordinate clauses to express uncertain events in the present-future tense (also Section 5.5).

Man gón áyán gwasht ke Éráná marawant.	من گۆن آیان گۆشت که ایٚرانا مرئونت.	'I told them not to go to Iran.'
Agan belóthay, man tará barán gón.	اگن بلۆئئے، من ترا بران گۆن.	'If you.SG want, I will take you along.'
Mani gohár bándá kayt ke márá begendit.	منی گهار باندا کئیت که مارا بگندیت.	'My sister will come to see us tomorrow.'
Átkant tán márá cha é diwáná sahig bekanant.	آتکنت تان مارا چه اے دیوانا سهیگ بکننت.	'They came to inform us about this social gathering.'
Áiá wati chokk warnáiá sur dát tánke zemmahwár bebit.	آیبا وتی چِکّ ورنایبا سور دات تانکه زمّهوار ببیت.	'He married off his son at a young age so that he would become [more] responsible.'

4.4.2.3. Optative

The optative form is used to express wishes in the present or future, i.e. wishes that may come true but whose fulfilment is uncertain (irrealis).

4.4.2.3.1. The form: intransitive and transitive verbs
The optative is formed by adding the same variant of *be-/b-/by-* to the present-future stem as in the subjunctive, after which the suffix *-át* is inserted between the present-future stem and the person-marking verb suffixes. There is no person-marking verb suffix in the 3rd person singular in the optative form.

The optative is negated by replacing the *be-/b-/by-* prefix with the same form of the *ma-/may-* prefix as in the subjunctive. The optative, like the subjunctive, is stressed on the prefix. The irregularities of the 3rd person found in

the present-future indicative and subjunctive are not present in the optative. Optative forms of some selected verbs are presented in Tables 118–133.

Table 118. Affirmative optative forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bekanátán*	بكناتان	*bekanátén*	بكناتين
2nd	*bekanátay*	بكناتئے	*bekanátét*	بكناتيت
3rd	*bekanát*	بكنات	*bekanátant*	بكناتنت

Table 119. Negated optative forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*makanátán*	مكناتان	*makanátén*	مكناتين
2nd	*makanátay*	مكناتئے	*makanátét*	مكناتيت
3rd	*makanát*	مكنات	*makanátant*	مكناتنت

Table 120. Affirmative optative forms of *gendag* 'to see'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*begendátán*	بگنداتان	*begendátén*	بگنداتين
2nd	*begendátay*	بگنداتئے	*begendátét*	بگنداتيت
3rd	*begendát*	بگندات	*begendátant*	بگنداتنت

Table 121. Negated optative forms of *gendag* 'to see'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*magendátán*	مگنداتان	*magendátén*	مگنداتين
2nd	*magendátay*	مگنداتئے	*magendátét*	مگنداتيت
3rd	*magendát*	مگندات	*magendátant*	مگنداتنت

Table 122. Affirmative optative forms of *árag* 'to bring'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*byárátán*	بياراتان	*byárátén*	بياراتين
2nd	*byárátay*	بياراتئے	*byárátét*	بياراتيت
3rd	*byárát*	بيارات	*byárátant*	بياراتنت

Table 123. Negated optative forms of *árag* 'to bring'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mayárátán*	مئياراتان	*mayárátén*	مئياراتين
2nd	*mayárátay*	مئياراتئے	*mayárátét*	مئياراتيت
3rd	*mayárát*	مئيارات	*mayárátant*	مئياراتنت

Table 124. Affirmative optative forms of *áyag* 'to come' (*-y-* is inserted between the stem and the suffix *-át-* in all persons)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*byáyátán*	بياياتان	*byáyátén*	بياياتين
2nd	*byáyátay*	بياياتئے	*byáyátét*	بياياتيت
3rd	*byáyát*	بيايات	*byáyátant*	بياياتنت

Table 125. Negated optative forms of *áyag* 'to come' (*-y-* is inserted between the stem and the suffix *-át-* in all persons)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mayáyátán*	مئياياتان	*mayáyátén*	مئياياتين
2nd	*mayáyátay*	مئياياتئے	*mayáyátét*	مئياياتيت
3rd	*mayáyát*	مئيايات	*mayáyátant*	مئياياتنت

Table 126. Affirmative present-future optative forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become' (note that the stem is reduced from *bay-* > *b-* in all persons and that the be- prefix is often dropped)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*(be)bátán*	باتان/بباتان	*(be)bátén*	باتين/بباتين
2nd	*(be)bátay*	باتئے/بباتئے	*(be)bátét*	باتيت/بباتيت
3rd	*(be)bát*	بات/ببات	*(be)bátant*	باتنت/بباتنت

Table 127. Negated present-future optative forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become' (note that the stem is reduced from *bay-* > *b-* in all persons)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mabátán*	مباتان	*mabátén*	مباتين
2nd	*mabátay*	مباتئے	*mabátét*	مباتيت
3rd	*mabát*	مبات	*mabátant*	مباتنت

Table 128. Affirmative optative forms of *gerag* 'to get'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*begerátán*	بگراتان	*begerátén*	بگراتین
2nd	*begerátay*	بگراتئے	*begerátét*	بگراتیت
3rd	*begerát*	بگرات	*begerátant*	بگراتنت

Table 129. Negated optative forms of *gerag* 'to get'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*magerátán*	مگراتان	*magerátén*	مگراتین
2nd	*magerátay*	مگراتئے	*magerátét*	مگراتیت
3rd	*magerát*	مگرات	*magerátant*	مگراتنت

Table 130. Affirmative optative forms of *dayag* 'to give'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bedayátán*	بدئیاتان	*bedayátén*	بدئیاتین
2nd	*bedayátay*	بدئیاتئے	*bedayátét*	بدئیاتیت
3rd	*bedayát*	بدئیات	*bedayátant*	بدئیاتنت

Table 131. Negated optative forms of *dayag* 'to give'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*madayátán*	مدئیاتان	*madayátén*	مدئیاتین
2nd	*madayátay*	مدئیاتئے	*madayátét*	مدئیاتیت
3rd	*madayát*	مدئیات	*madayátant*	مدئیاتنت

Table 132. Affirmative optative forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*berawátán*	برئواتان	*berawátén*	برئواتین
2nd	*berawátay*	برئواتئے	*berawátét*	برئواتیت
3rd	*berawát*	برئوات	*berawátant*	برئواتنت

Table 133. Negated optative forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*marawátán*	مرئواتان	*marawátén*	مرئواتین
2nd	*marawátay*	مرئواتئے	*marawátét*	مرئواتیت
3rd	*marawát*	مرئوات	*marawátant*	مرئواتنت

4.4.2.3.2. Uses of optative forms

The optative form is used to express wishes that may or may not come true.

Balóchi zobán sabz bát.	بلۆچی زبان سبز بات.	'May the Balochi language prosper (lit. be green).'
Hodá tará chokké bedayát.	هدا ترا چکّے بدئیات.	'May God give you.SG a child.'
Cha gamán dur bátay.	چه گمان دور باتئے.	'May you.SG be free (lit. far away) from sorrows.'
Tai dozhmen pashal bátant.	تئیی دژمن پشل باتنت.	'May your.SG enemies be ashamed.'
Dozhmenáni molk hechbar ábád mabát.	دژمنانی مُلک هچبر آباد مبات.	'May the land of the enemies never prosper.'

4.4.2.4. Imperative

Imperative forms are used for commands to the hearer(s) (2nd person).

4.4.2.4.1. The form: intransitive and transitive verbs

The imperative is identical with the subjunctive in the 2nd person plural, but has no person-marking verb suffix in the 2nd person singular. For the verb *bayag* 'to be, to become', the full present-future stem is restored in the 2nd person singular imperative. Complex verbs, particularly with *kanag* 'to do' as the light verb, frequently drop the *be-/b-/by-* prefix in the affirmative imperative form. The imperative forms of a number of common verbs are presented in Table 134.

159

Table 134. Affirmative and negated imperative forms of some common verbs

| Verb | Affirmative imperative | | Negated imperative | |
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
kanag 'to do'	*bekan* بکن	*bekanét* بکنێت	*makan* مکن	*makanét* مکنێت
gendag 'to see'	*begend* بگند	*begendét* بگندێت	*magend* مگند	*magendét* مگندێت
árag 'to bring'	*byár* بیار	*byárét* بیارێت	*mayár* مئیار	*mayárét* مئیارێت
áyag 'to come'	*byá* بیا	*byáét* بیائت	*mayá* مئیا	*mayáét* مئیائت
óshtag 'to stand up'	*bósht* بۆشت	*bóshtét* بۆشتێت	*maósht* مەاۆشت	*maóshtét* مەاۆشتێت
ellag 'to allow, to let'	*bell* بِلّ	*bellét* بلّێت	*mayl* مئیل	*maylét* مئیلێت
barag 'to take'	*bebar* ببر	*bebarét* ببرێت	*mabar* مبر	*mabarét* مبرێت
warag 'to eat, to drink'	*bwar* بوَر	*bwarét* بورێت	*mawar* مئور	*mawarét* مئورێت
bayag 'to be, to become'	*bebay* ببئے	*bebét* ببێت	*mabay* مبئے	*mabét* مبێت
gerag 'to get'	*beger* بگر	*begerét* بگرێت	*mager* مگر	*magerét* مگرێت
dayag 'to give'	*beday* بدئے	*bedayét* بدئیێت	*maday* مدئے	*madayét* مدئیێت
rawag 'to go'	*beraw* برئو	*berawét* برئوێت	*maraw* مرئو	*marawét* مرئوێت

4.4.2.4.2. Uses of imperative forms

Imperative forms are used for commands to the hearer(s) (2nd person).

É ketábá bwán.	اے کتابا بوان.	'Read this book.'
Wati chokká besambál.	وتی چِکّا بسمبال.	'Look after your.SG child.'
Drachká magoddhét.	درچکا مگڈیت.	'Don't cut down the tree.'
Johd kanét zutter berasét.	جهد کنیت زوتتر برسیت.	'Try to come as soon as possible.'
É warákán dawr maday.	اے وراکان دئور مدئے.	'Don't throw away this food.'
Radén káré makan.	ردین کارے مکن.	'Don't do anything wrong.'

4.4.3. Verb forms based on the past stem

There are five verb forms based on the past stem. These are past perfective (simple past), past imperfective, past subjunctive, present perfect and past perfect. Unlike the present-future tense, there are no stem changes in any verb form in the past tense.

All verb forms based on the past stem have two conjugations. Intransitive verbs follow the same pattern as the verbs in the present-future tense; i.e. they use person-marking verb suffixes. Subject pronouns can be omitted because the suffix on the verb shows the person of the subject.

Transitive verbs follow the so-called "ergative" pattern, where the subject is in the oblique case and the verb agrees with the direct object in the direct case, or occasionally with an indirect object in the direct case. Agreement with a direct or indirect object only takes place in the 3rd person singular/plural. The verb does not agree with 1st or 2nd person direct/indirect objects, which are always in the object case.

The subject is either a noun, a pronoun or an enclitic pronoun. Since there is no agreement between the verb and the subject, the subject pronoun in the ergative construction is normally present either as a full pronoun (see Section 3.3.1) or an enclitic pronoun (see Section 3.3.3). In grammatical descriptions of ergative languages, subjects in the ergative construction are normally called agents and direct objects are called patients. For the sake of simplicity this terminology is not used here.

4.4.3.1. Past perfective (simple past)

The past perfective (simple past) verb form is used for past events that are viewed as a single, completed whole without any relation to the present time. This is the most common verb form in the past tense, and it is used in narration with actions on the event line (foregrounded events).

The past perfective (simple past) verb form for all verbs is negated by adding the prefix *na-/nay-*. The form *nay-* occurs if the verb begins with *á-*. In all other instances the negation is *na-*. The rules for writing the negation are found in Section 4.3.3. The affirmative forms are stressed on the last syllable of the stem, and the negated forms are stressed on the negation prefix.

4.4.3.1.1. The form: intransitive verbs

The past perfective of intransitive verbs is formed by the past stem + person-marking verb suffixes for the past tense that agree in person and number with the subject.

Table 135. Affirmative past perfective forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*shotán*	شتان	*shotén*	شتێن
2nd	*shotay*	شتئے	*shotét*	شتيت
3rd	*shot*	شت	*shotant*	شتنت

Table 136. Negated past perfective forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nashotán*	نشُتان	*nashotén*	نشُتێن
2nd	*nashotay*	نشُتئے	*nashotét*	نشُتيت
3rd	*nashot*	نشُت	*nashotant*	نشُتنت

Table 137. Affirmative past perfective forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bután*	بوتان	butén	بوتێن
2nd	*butay*	بوتئے	butét	بوتيت
3rd	*but*	بوت	butant	بوتنت

Table 138. Negated past perfective forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nabután*	نبوتان	*nabutén*	نبوتێن
2nd	*nabutay*	نبوتئے	*nabutét*	نبوتێت
3rd	*nabut*	نبوت	*nabutant*	نبوتنت

Table 139. Affirmative past perfective forms of *áyag* 'to come', past stem *átk*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*átkán*	آتکان	*átkén*	آتکێن
2nd	*átkay*	آتکئے	*átkét*	آتکێت
3rd	*átk*	آتک	*átkant*	آتکنت

Table 140. Negated past perfective forms of *áyag* 'to come', past stem *átk*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nayátkán*	نئیاتکان	*nayátkén*	نئیاتکێن
2nd	*nayátkay*	نئیاتکئے	*nayátkét*	نئیاتکێت
3rd	*nayátk*	نئیاتک	*nayátkant*	نئیاتکنت

Table 141. Affirmative past perfective forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past stem *óshtát*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*óshtátán*	اۋشتاتان	*óshtátén*	اۋشتاتێن
2nd	*óshtátay*	اۋشتاتئے	*óshtátét*	اۋشتاتێت
3rd	*óshtát*	اۋشتات	*óshtátant*	اۋشتاتنت

Table 142. Negated past perfective forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past stem *óshtát*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*naóshtátán*	نەاۋشتاتان	*naóshtátén*	نەاۋشتاتێن
2nd	*naóshtátay*	نەاۋشتاتئے	*naóshtátét*	نەاۋشتاتێت
3rd	*naóshtát*	نەاۋشتات	*naóshtátant*	نەاۋشتاتنت

4.4.3.1.2. The form: transitive verbs

The past perfective of transitive verbs is formed by the past stem + person-marking verb suffixes for the past tense that agree in number with a 3rd person direct, or occasionally indirect, object, i.e. the 3rd person singular or the 3rd person plural verb suffix.

Table 143. Affirmative past perfective forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man kort/kortant*	من کرت/کرتنت	*má kort/kortant*	ما کرت/کرتنت
2nd	*taw kort/kortant*	تئو کرت/کرتنت	*shomá kort/kortant*	شما کرت/کرتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kort/kortant*	اِشیا/آیِا کرت/کرتنت	*eshán/áyán kort/kortant*	اِشان/آیان کرت/کرتنت

Table 144. Negated past perfective forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man nakort/ nakortant*	من نکرت/نکرتنت	*má nakort/ nakortant*	ما نکرت/نکرتنت
2nd	*taw nakort/ nakortant*	تئو نکرت/نکرتنت	*shomá nakort/ nakortant*	شما نکرت/نکرتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nakort/na-kortant*	اِشیا/آیِا نکرت/نکرتنت	*eshán/áyán nakort/nakortant*	اِشان/آیان نکرت/نکرتنت

Table 145. Affirmative past perfective forms of *barag* 'to take', past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man bort/ bortant*	من برت/برتنت	*má bort/ bortant*	ما برت/برتنت
2nd	*taw bort/ bortant*	تئو برت/برتنت	*shomá bort/ bortant*	شما برت/برتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá bort/bortant*	اِشیا/آیِا برت/برتنت	*eshán/áyán bort/bortant*	اِشان/آیان برت/برتنت

Table 146. Negated past perfective forms of *barag* 'to take', past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man nabort/ nabortant*	من نبرت/نبرتنت	*má nabort/ nabortant*	ما نبرت/نبرتنت
2nd	*taw nabort/ nabortant*	تئو نبرت/نبرتنت	*shomá nabort/ nabortant*	شما نبرت/نبرتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nabort/nabortant*	اِشیا/آییا نبرت/نبرتنت	*eshán/áyán nabort/nabortant*	اِشان/آیان نبرت/نبرتنت

Table 147. Affirmative past perfective forms of *árag* 'to bring', past stem *áwort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man áwort/áwortant*	من آورت/آورتنت	*má áwort/áwortant*	ما آورت/آورتنت
2nd	*taw áwort/áwortant*	تئو آورت/آورتنت	*shomá áwort/áwortant*	شما آورت/آورتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá áwort/áwortant*	اِشیا/آییا آورت/آورتنت	*eshán/áyán áwort/áwortant*	اِشان/آیان آورت/آورتنت

Table 148. Negated past perfective forms of *árag* 'to bring', past stem *áwort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	من نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت	*má nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	ما نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت
2nd	*taw nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	تئو نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت	*shomá nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	شما نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	اِشیا/آییا نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت	*eshán/áyán nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	اِشان/آیان نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت

Table 149. Affirmative past perfective forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man esht/ eshtant*	من اِشت/اِشتنت	*má esht/eshtant*	ما اِشت/اِشتنت
2nd	*taw esht/ eshtant*	تئو اِشت/اِشتنت	*shomá esht/ eshtant*	شما اِشت/اِشتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá esht/eshtant*	اِشیا/آیا اِشت/اِشتنت	*eshán/áyán esht/eshtant*	اِشان/آیان اِشت/اِشتنت

Table 150. Negated past perfective forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man naesht/ naeshtant*	من نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت	*má naesht/ naeshtant*	ما نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت
2nd	*taw naesht/ naeshtant*	تئو نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت	*shomá naesht/ naeshtant*	شما نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá naesht/ naeshtant*	اِشیا/آیا نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت	*eshán/áyán naesht/ naeshtant*	اِشان/آیان نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت

4.4.3.1.3. Uses of past perfective forms

Past perfective is used for past events that are viewed as a single, completed whole without any relation to the present time.

Wahdé taw maná lóthet, man zutt átkán.	وهدے تئو منا لۆٹت، من زوتّ آتکان.	'When you.SG called me, I came quickly.'
Taw zutt mazan butay.	تئو زوتّ مزن بوتئے.	'You.SG grew up quickly.'
Wati pocchi gwará kortant o dém pa shahrá shot.	وتی پُچّی گۆرا کرتنت و دیٛم پہ شهرا شت.	'He put on his clothes and went towards town.'
Má é habar naeshkot.	ما اے هبر نەاِشکت.	'We did not hear this (lit. this word).'
Shomá chiá é sapará wati sangat nabortant gón?	شما چیا اے سپرا وتی سنگت نبرتنت گۆن؟	'Why didn't you.PL take your friends along on this journey?'

166

Chokk drachkáni sará sar kaptant o baresh sest o wártant.	چُکّ درچکانی سرا سر کپتنت و برش سِست و وارتنت.	'The children climbed the trees and picked and ate their fruit.'

Past perfective can also be used to refer to present or future events. This happens in temporal or conditional clauses (see also Sections 5.6.3.1 and 5.6.3.4) where the main focus of the sentence is in the main clause. The event in the temporal or conditional clause must normally also take place before the event in the main clause. In these instances the main clause often has a verb in the imperative. Past perfective can also be used after *balkén* 'maybe, perhaps' for future time reference if the focus is on another action. The past perfective is thus used for an event that is past or low-focus in relation to the event in the main clause.

Agan kaséá tará bad o rad gwasht, áiay passawá maday.	اگن کسیّا ترا بد و رَد گوشت، آییئے پسّئوا مدئے.	'If someone says some bad things to you.SG, don't answer him.'
Wahdé edá rasetay, márá hál beday.	وهدے اِدا رستئے، مارا هال بدئے.	'Tell us when you.SG arrive here.'
Gón wati sangatá habar kan, balkén átk.	گۆن وتی سنگتا هبر کن، بلکێن آتک.	'Talk to your.SG friend, maybe he will come.'

It is also possible, however, and in fact more common to use the present-future indicative for certain events, or subjunctive for uncertain events, in temporal or conditional clauses that refer to the present or future.

Wahdé lógéá mehmána bét, óday waragán ayb madayet.	وهدے لۆگئا مهمانَ بێت، اۆدئے ورگان ائیب مدئیێت.	'When you.PL visit somebody, don't find fault with the food there (lit. when you.PL become guests in a house, don't give fault with the food of there).'
Agan belóthay, má edá pa wat lógé bandén.	اگن بلۆثئے، ما اِدا په وت لۆگے بندێن.	'If you.SG want, we will build a house for ourselves here.'

167

4.4.3.2. Past imperfective

The past imperfective verb form is used for past events that are viewed as ongoing, repeated, or habitual in the past, i.e. with a temporal structure of their own but lacking any relation to the present time. It is also used for past states.

The past imperfective verb form is negated by adding the prefix *na-/nay-* to the verb. The same rules apply to the negation of the past imperfective forms as those outlined for the past perfective forms (see Sections 4.3.3 and 4.4.3.1). The affirmative forms are stressed on the last syllable of the stem and the negated forms on the negation prefix.

4.4.3.2.1. The form: intransitive verbs

The past imperfective of intransitive verbs is formed by the clitic *=a* + past stem + person-marking verb suffixes for the past tense that agree in person and number with the subject. The function of the clitic *=a* is to show continuation (imperfectivity).

Table 151. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a shotán	شتان اَ=	=a shotén	شتێن اَ=
2nd	=a shotay	شتئے اَ=	=a shotét	شتیت اَ=
3rd	=a shot	شت اَ=	=a shotant	شتنت اَ=

Table 152. Negated past imperfective forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nashotán	نشُتان اَ=	=a nashotén	نشُتێن اَ=
2nd	=a nashotay	نشُتئے اَ=	=a nashotét	نشُتیت اَ=
3rd	=a nashot	نشُت اَ=	=a nashotant	نشُتنت اَ=

Table 153. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a bután	بوتان اَ=	=a butén	بوتێن اَ=
2nd	=a butay	بوتئے اَ=	=a butét	بوتیت اَ=
3rd	=a but	بوت اَ=	=a butant	بوتنت اَ=

Table 154. Negated past imperfective forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nabután	نبوتان ‎=ةَ	=a nabutén	نبوتێن ‎=ةَ
2nd	=a nabutay	نبوتئے ‎=ةَ	=a nabutét	نبوتێت ‎=ةَ
3rd	=a nabut	نبوت ‎=ةَ	=a nabutant	نبوتنت ‎=ةَ

Table 155. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *áyag* 'to come', past stem *átk*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a átkán	آتکان ‎=ةَ	=a átkén	آتکێن ‎=ةَ
2nd	=a átkay	آتکئے ‎=ةَ	=a átkét	آتکێت ‎=ةَ
3rd	=a átk	آتک ‎=ةَ	=a átkant	آتکنت ‎=ةَ

Table 156. Negated past imperfective forms of *áyag* 'to come', past stem *átk*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a nayátkán	نئیاتکان ‎=ةَ	=a nayátkén	نئیاتکێن ‎=ةَ
2nd	=a nayátkay	نئیاتکئے ‎=ةَ	=a nayátkét	نئیاتکێت ‎=ةَ
3rd	=a nayátk	نئیاتک ‎=ةَ	=a nayátkant	نئیاتکنت ‎=ةَ

Table 157. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past stem *óshtát*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a óshtátán	اۇشتاتان ‎=ةَ	=a óshtátén	اۇشتاتێن ‎=ةَ
2nd	=a óshtátay	اۇشتاتئے ‎=ةَ	=a óshtátét	اۇشتاتێت ‎=ةَ
3rd	=a óshtát	اۇشتات ‎=ةَ	=a óshtátant	اۇشتاتنت ‎=ةَ

Table 158. Negated past imperfective forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past stem *óshtát*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	=a naóshtátán	نەاۇشتاتان ‎=ةَ	=a naóshtátén	نەاۇشتاتێن ‎=ةَ
2nd	=a naóshtátay	نەاۇشتاتئے ‎=ةَ	=a naóshtátét	نەاۇشتاتێت ‎=ةَ
3rd	=a naóshtát	نەاۇشتات ‎=ةَ	=a naóshtátant	نەاۇشتاتنت ‎=ةَ

4.4.3.2.2. The form: transitive verbs

The past imperfective of transitive verbs is formed by the clitic *=a* + past stem + person-marking verb suffixes for the past tense that that agree in number with a 3rd person direct, or occasionally indirect, object, i.e. the 3rd person singular or the 3rd person plural verb suffix. Note that out of the full set of pronouns that function as subjects with transitive verbs in the past tense, only *man*

'I' and *áyán* 'they' take the clitic =*a*. The rest of the pronouns cannot host the clitic. Normally, however, there are other words between the subject pronoun and the verb that can host the clitic.

Table 159. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mana kort/kortant*	منَ کرت/کرتنت	*má kort/kortant*	ما کرت/کرتنت
2nd	*taw kort/kortant*	تئو کرت/کرتنت	*shomá kort/kortant*	شما کرت/کرتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kort/kortant*	اِشیا/آیِا کرت/کرتنت	*eshána/áyána kort/kortant*	اِشانَ/آیانَ کرت/کرتنت

Table 160. Negated past imperfective forms of kanag 'to do', past stem kort

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mana nakort/ nakortant*	منَ نکرت/ نکرتنت	*má nakort/ nakortant*	ما نکرت/ نکرتنت
2nd	*taw nakort/ nakortant*	تئو نکرت/ نکرتنت	*shomá nakort/ nakortant*	شما نکرت/ نکرتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nakort/ nakortant*	اِشیا/آیِا نکرت/نکرتنت	*eshána/áyána nakort/nakortant*	اِشانَ/آیانَ نکرت/نکرتنت

Table 161. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *barag* 'to take', past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mana bort/ bortant*	منَ برت/برتنت	*má bort/ bortant*	ما برت/برتنت
2nd	*taw bort/ bortant*	تئو برت/برتنت	*shomá bort/ bortant*	شما برت/برتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá bort/bortant*	اِشیا/آیِا برت/برتنت	*eshána/áyána bort/bortant*	اِشانَ/آیانَ برت/برتنت

Table 162. Negated past imperfective forms of *barag* 'to take', past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mana nabort/ nabortant*	منَ نبرت/نبرتنت	*má nabort/ nabortant*	ما نبرت/نبرتنت
2nd	*taw nabort/ nabortant*	تئو نبرت/نبرتنت	*shomá nabort/ nabortant*	شما نبرت/نبرتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nabort/ nabortant*	اِشیا/آیِا نبرت/نبرتنت	*eshána/áyána nabort/ nabortant*	اِشانَ/آیانَ نبرت/نبرتنت

Table 163. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *árag* 'to bring', past stem *áwort*

Per-son	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*mana áwort/ áwortant*	منَ آورت/آورتنت	*má áwort/ áwortant*	ما آورت/آورتنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw áwort/ áwortant*	تئو آورت/آورتنت	*shomá áwort/ áwortant*	شما آورت/آورتنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá áwort/áwortant*	اِشیا/آیبا آورت/آورتنت	*eshána/áyána áwort/áwortant*	اِشانَ/آیانَ آورت/آورتنت

Table 164. Negated past imperfective forms of *árag* 'to bring', past stem *áwort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*mana nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	منَ نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت	*má nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	ما نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	تئو نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت	*shomá nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	شما نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	اِشیا/آیبا نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت	*eshána/áyána nayáwort/ nayáwortant*	اِشانَ/آیانَ نئیاورت/ نئیاورتنت

Table 165. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*mana esht/ eshtant*	منَ اِشت/اِشتنت	*má esht/ eshtant*	ما اِشت/اِشتنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw esht/ eshtant*	تئو اِشت/اِشتنت	*shomá esht/ eshtant*	شما اِشت/اِشتنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá esht/eshtant*	اِشیا/آیبا اِشت/اِشتنت	*eshána/áyána esht/eshtant*	اِشانَ/آیانَ اِشت/اِشتنت

Table 166. Negated past imperfective forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mana naesht/ naeshtant*	منَ نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت	*má naesht/ naeshtant*	ما نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت
2nd	*taw naesht/ naeshtant*	تئو نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت	*shomá naesht/ naeshtant*	شما نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá naesht/ naeshtant*	اِشیا/آییا نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت	*eshána/áyána naesht/ naeshtant*	اِشانَ/آیانَ نەاِشت/ نەاِشتنت

4.4.3.2.3. Uses of past imperfective forms

Past imperfective is used for states and continuous, iterative or habitual events in the past tense without any relation to the present tense.

Pári mani brátá sajjahén Éráná tarr o garda kort.	پاری منی براتا سچّهێن اێرانا تڕ و گردَ کرت.	'Last year my brother was travelling around the whole of Iran.'
Cha man har róch bázén jostesha kort.	چه من هر رۆچ بازێن جُستِشَ کرت.	'They asked me a lot of questions every day.'
Áyán shap o róch shahrá negahpánia kort.	آیان شپ و رۆچ شهرا نگهپانیَ کرت.	'They kept watch in town day and night.'
Bádsháh shahr pa shahr o métag pa métaga tarret.	بادشاه شهر په شهر و مێتگ په مێتگَ تڕت.	'The king went around from town to town and from village to village.'

Past imperfective can also be used for counterfactual states and events. Counterfactual states and events are those that are never realized, such as unfulfilled wishes or conditions.

Agan morgé bebuténán, durdasta shotán.	اگن مُرگے ببوتێنان، دوردستَ شتان.	'If I had been a bird, I would have gone far away.'

172

4.4.3.2.4. Absence of the =a clitic

The =a clitic is absent in the past imperfective in the same cases as in the present-future indicative (see Section 4.4.2.1.3). In these cases, only the context will show if the verb form is the past imperfective or past perfective.

The most obvious case is when there is no preceding word in the clause to attach the clitic to.

Wárt o séresha kort.	وارت و سیرِشَ کرت.	'They kept eating and becoming full.'

The clitic is also absent when the word preceding the verb ends in *-á* (whether it belongs to the word or is the oblique singular case suffix).

Har sál molká shotant.	هر سال مُلکا شتنت.	'They went to Balochistan (lit. the land) every day.'

It is likewise absent when the word preceding the verb ends in *-a*.

Taw wa nagwasht?	تئو وَه نگوَشت؟	'You.SG didn't say [this], right?'

Another instance is when the word preceding the verb is marked with the individuation clitic *=é*.

Har haptag mazanén jashné gepti.	هر هپتگ مزنیٰن جشنے گپتی.	'He threw a big party every week.'
Bádshahá har sál pa wati sálgerahay dáragá bázén mehmáné lótháént.	بادشاها هر سال په وتی سالگِرهئے دارگا بازیٰن مهمانے لۆٹاینت.	'The king invited many guests every year to celebrate his birthday.'

Conjunctions, such as *o* 'and', *ke* 'that, when, who.', *agan* 'if', *tán* 'as soon as' cannot host the =a clitic. (See Sections 5.5 and 5.6 for additional meanings of these conjunctions.)

É chokk har róch cha eskulá jest o shot.	اے چُکَّ هر رۆچ چه اِسکولا جِست و شت.	'This child fled (lit. fled and went) from school every day.'

173

Mani brát har randá ke átk, pa man thékié áworti.	منی برات هر رندا که آتک، په من ٹیکیے آورتی.	'Every time that my brother came, he brought a gift for me.'

There are certain other words that also do not host the *=a* clitic, such as *ham* 'too', *taw* 'you.SG', *dega* 'other', *kay* 'who', and *ché* 'what'.

Tai habar áiá ham eshkot.	تئیی هبر آییا هم اِشکت.	'Also, he heard what you.SG said (lit. your words).'
Taw shotay?	تئو شتئے؟	'Did you.SG go (as a habit)?'
Á dega shotant.	آ دگه شتنت.	'The other [ones] went.'
May lógá bégáhán kay átk?	مئے لۆگا بیگاهان کئے آتک؟	'Who came to our home in the afternoons?'
Áyán har shap edá ché kort?	آیان هر شپ اِدا چے کرت؟	'What did they do here every night?'

4.4.3.3. Past subjunctive

The past subjunctive verb form is used for counterfactual states and events, such as unfulfilled wishes or conditions.

4.4.3.3.1. The form: intransitive verbs

The past subjunctive of intransitive verbs is formed by the subjunctive prefix *be-/b-/by-* + past stem + *én* + person-marking verb suffix that agree in person and number with the subject. It is negated by replacing the prefix *be-/b-/by-* with the negation prefix *ma-/may-*. Both the affirmative and the negated forms are stressed on the prefix. The *be-/b-/by-* prefix can be omitted, but not the *ma-/may-* prefix. When the *be-/b-/by-* prefix is omitted, the stress falls on the last syllable of the verb stem.

Table 167. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*beshoténán*	بشُتینان	*beshoténén*	بشُتینین
2nd	*beshoténay*	بشُتینئے	*beshoténét*	بشُتینیت
3rd	*beshotén*	بشُتین	*beshoténant*	بشُتیننت

174

Table 168. Negated past subjunctive forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mashoténán*	مشٹينان	*mashoténén*	مشٹينێن
2nd	*mashoténay*	مشٹينئے	*mashoténét*	مشٹينيت
3rd	*mashotén*	مشٹين	*mashoténant*	مشٹيننت

Table 169. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past stem *but* (this verb frequently drops the *be-* prefix in the affirmative past subjunctive form)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*(be)buténán*	ببوٹينان/بوٹينان	*(be)buténén*	ببوٹينێن/بوٹينێن
2nd	*(be)buténay*	ببوٹينئے/بوٹينئے	*(be)buténét*	ببوٹينيت/بوٹينيت
3rd	*(be)butén*	ببوٹين/بوٹين	*(be)bu-ténant*	ببوٹيننت/بوٹيننت

Table 170. Negated past subjunctive forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mabuténán*	مبوٹينان	*mabuténén*	مبوٹينێن
2nd	*mabuténay*	مبوٹينئے	*mabuténét*	مبوٹينيت
3rd	*mabutén*	مبوٹين	*mabuténant*	مبوٹيننت

Table 171. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *áyag* 'to come', past stem *átk* (when the verb begins with *á-*, the affirmative subjunctive prefix is *by-*)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*byátkénán*	بياتكينان	*byátkénén*	بياتكينێن
2nd	*byátkénay*	بياتكينئے	*byátkénét*	بياتكينيت
3rd	*byátkén*	بياتكين	*byátkénant*	بياتكيننت

Table 172. Negated past subjunctive forms of *áyag* 'to come', past stem *átk* (when the verb begins with *á-*, the negation is *may-*)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*mayátkénán*	مئياتكينان	*mayátkénén*	مئياتكينێن
2nd	*mayátkénay*	مئياتكينئے	*mayátkénét*	مئياتكينيت
3rd	*mayátkén*	مئياتكين	*mayátkénant*	مئياتكيننت

Table 173. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past stem *óshtát* (when the verb begins with *ó-*, the affirmative subjunctive prefix is *b-*)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*bóshtáténán*	بۆشتاتێنان	*bóshtáténén*	بۆشتاتێنێن
2nd	*bóshtáténay*	بۆشتاتێنئے	*bóshtáténét*	بۆشتاتێنێت
3rd	*bóshtátén*	بۆشتاتێن	*bóshtáténant*	بۆشتاتێننت

Table 174. Negated past subjunctive forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past stem *óshtát* (when the verb begins with *ó-*, the negation is *ma-*)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maóshtáténán*	مەاۆشتاتێنان	*maóshtáténén*	مەاۆشتاتێنێن
2nd	*maóshtáténay*	مەاۆشتاتێنئے	*maóshtáténét*	مەاۆشتاتێنێت
3rd	*maóshtátén*	مەاۆشتاتێن	*maóshtáténant*	مەاۆشتاتێننت

4.4.3.3.2. The form: transitive verbs

The past subjunctive of transitive verbs is formed by the subjunctive prefix *be-/b-/by-* + past stem + *én* + person-marking verb suffixes for the past tense that agree in number with a 3rd person direct, or occasionally indirect, object, i.e. the 3rd person singular or the 3rd person plural verb suffix.

The past subjunctive form is negated by replacing the prefix *be-/b-/by-* with the negation prefix *ma-/may-*. Both the affirmative and the negated forms are stressed on the prefix. The *be-/b-/by-* prefix can be omitted, but not the *ma-/may-* prefix. When the *be-/b-/by-* prefix is omitted, the stress falls on the last syllable of the verb stem.

Table 175. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man bekortén/ bekorténant*	من بکرتێن/ بکرتێننت	*má bekortén/ bekorténant*	ما بکرتێن/ بکرتێننت
2nd	*taw bekortén/ bekorténant*	تئو بکرتێن/ بکرتێننت	*shomá bekortén/ bekorténant*	شما بکرتێن/ بکرتێننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá bekortén/ bekorténant*	اِشیا/آییا بکرتێن/ بکرتێننت	*eshán/áyán bekortén/ bekorténant*	اِشان/آیان بکرتێن/ بکرتێننت

Table 176. Negated past subjunctive forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man makortén/ makorténant*	من مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	*má makortén/ makorténant*	ما مکرتین/ مکرتیننت
2nd	*taw makortén/ makorténant*	تئو مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	*shomá makortén/ makorténant*	شما مکرتین/ مکرتیننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá makortén/ makorténant*	اِشیا/آیِا مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	*eshán/áyán makortén/ makorténant*	اِشان/آیان مکرتین /مکرتیننت

Table 177. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *barag* 'to take', past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man bebortén/ beborténant*	من ببرتین/ ببرتیننت	*má bebortén/ beborténant*	ما ببرتین/ ببرتیننت
2nd	*taw bebortén/ beborténant*	تئو ببرتین/ ببرتیننت	*shomá bebortén/ beborténant*	شما ببرتین/ ببرتیننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá bebortén/ beborténant*	اِشیا/آیِا ببرتین/ ببرتیننت	*eshán/áyán bebortén/ beborténant*	اِشان/آیان ببرتین/ ببرتیننت

Table 178. Negated past subjunctive forms of *barag* 'to take', past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man mabortén/ maborténant*	من مبرتین/ مبرتیننت	*má mabortén/ maborténant*	ما مبرتین/ مبرتیننت
2nd	*taw mabortén/ maborténant*	تئو مبرتین/ مبرتیننت	*shomá mabortén/ maborténant*	شما مبرتین/ مبرتیننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá mabortén/ maborténant*	اِشیا/آیِا مبرتین/ مبرتیننت	*eshán/áyán mabortén/ maborténant*	اِشان/آیان مبرتین/ مبرتیننت

Table 179. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *árag* 'to bring', past stem *áwort* (when the verb begins with *á-*, the affirmative subjunctive prefix is *by-*)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man byáwortén/ byáworténant*	من بیاورتیٛن/ بیاورتیٛننت	*má byáwortén/ byáworténant*	ما بیاورتیٛن/ بیاورتیٛننت
2nd	*taw byáwortén/ byáworténant*	تئو بیاورتیٛن/ بیاورتیٛننت	*shomá byáwortén/ byáworténant*	شما بیاورتیٛن/ بیاورتیٛننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá byáwortén/ byáworténant*	اِشیا/آیٕیا بیاورتیٛن/ بیاورتیٛننت	*eshán/áyán byáwortén/ byáworténant*	اِشان/آیان بیاورتیٛن/ بیاورتیٛننت

Table 180. Negated past subjunctive forms of *árag* 'to bring', past stem *áwort* (when the verb begins with *á-*, the negation is *may-*)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man mayáwortén/ mayáworténant*	من مئیاورتیٛن/ مئیاورتیٛننت	*má mayáwortén/ mayáworténant*	ما مئیاورتیٛن/ مئیاورتیٛننت
2nd	*taw mayáwortén/ mayáworténant*	تئو مئیاورتیٛن/ مئیاورتیٛننت	*shomá mayáwortén/ mayáworténant*	شما مئیاورتیٛن/ مئیاورتیٛننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá mayáwortén/ mayáworténant*	اِشیا/آیٕیا مئیاورتیٛن/ مئیاورتیٛننت	*eshán/áyán mayáwortén/ mayáworténant*	اِشان/آیان مئیاورتیٛن/ مئیاورتیٛننت

Table 181. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past stem *esht* (contrary to other verbs beginning with a short vowel, this verb takes the affirmative subjunctive prefix *b-*, whereas other verbs take *be-*)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man beshtén/ beshténant*	من بِشتیٛن/ بِشتیٛننت	*má beshtén/ beshténant*	ما بِشتیٛن/ بِشتیٛننت
2nd	*taw beshtén/ beshténant*	تئو بِشتیٛن/ بِشتیٛننت	*shomá beshtén/ beshténant*	شما بِشتیٛن/ بِشتیٛننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá beshtén/ beshténant*	اِشیا/آیٕیا بِشتیٛن/ بِشتیٛننت	*eshán/áyán beshtén/ beshténant*	اِشان/آیان بِشتیٛن/ بِشتیٛننت

Table 182. Negated past subjunctive forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man maeshtén/ maeshténant*	من مهِاشتیِن/ مهِاشتیِننت	*má maeshtén/ maeshténant*	ما مهِاشتیِن/ مهِاشتیِننت
2nd	*taw maeshtén/ maeshténant*	تئو مهِاشتیِن/ مهِاشتیِننت	*shomá maeshtén/ maeshténant*	شما مهِاشتیِن/ مهِاشتیِننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá maeshtén/ maeshténant*	اِشیا/آیِا مهِاشتیِن/ مهِاشتیِننت	*eshán/áyán maeshtén/ maeshténant*	اِشان/آیان مهِاشتیِن/ مهِاشتیِننت

4.4.3.3.3. Uses of past subjunctive forms

The past subjunctive verb form is used for counterfactual states and events, such as unfulfilled wishes and conditions, or for other states and events that are imagined and thus never occur in the real world.

Taw báyad ent é chokk besambáletén.	تئو بایِد اِنت اے چُکّ بسمبالتیِن.	'You.SG should have taken care of this child.'
Agan cha man jostet bekortén, man tará gwashtagat.	اگن چه من جُستِت بکرتیِن، من ترا گوَشتگﮧَت.	'If you.SG had asked me, I would have told you.'
Agan é mard tachkén mardomé butén, gón shomá drógi nabastagat.	اگن اے مرد تچکیِن مردمے بوتیِن، گوَن شما درۆگی نبستگﮧَت.	'If that man had been a genuine person, he would not have lied to you.PL.'
Sharter at agan á mayátkénant.	شرتر ﮧَت اگن آ مئیاتکیِننت.	'It would have been better if they had not come.'
Drégatá má molká beshoténén.	درێگﮧتا ما مُلکا بشُتیِنیِن.	'I wish we would have gone to Balochistan (lit. the land).'

179

The past subjunctive form is also used in general relative clauses that may or may not have happened in the past.

Harkas pa gendoká byátkén, áiá wasshátka kort.	هرکَس پہ گَنڈُکا بیاتکین، آیا وشّآتکَ کرت.	'He welcomed whoever came to see him.'
Harkasá belóthetén, shotia kort.	هرکَسا بلؤٹتین، شتیَ کرت.	'Whoever wanted [to go] could go.'

The past subjunctive can also be used for subtle suggestions, often together with the 2nd person singular present-future indicative form *genday* 'you see', which has lost its actual meaning of 'seeing' in this context.

Genday beshoténay sharr at.	گَندئے بشُتینئے شَرّ اَت.	'It would be a good idea if you were to go.'

4.4.3.4. Present perfect

The present perfect verb form is used for states and events in the past that have a relation to the present. It consists of the past participle (see Section 4.2) + the present form of the copula (see Section 4.4.1). In the 3rd person singular there is no copula. In the Balochi-Arabic script, the copula is attached to the past participle in the 1st and 2nd persons, but separated from the verb stem without a space in the 3rd person plural. The present perfect form is negated by the addition of the negative prefix *na-/nay-*, which is attached to the past participle. The affirmative form is stressed on the last syllable of the past participle, and the negated form is stressed on the negative prefix.

4.4.3.4.1. The form: intransitive verbs

With intransitive verbs, the copula agrees in person and number with the subject of the sentence.

Table 183. Affirmative present perfect forms of *rawag* 'to go', past participle *shotag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*shotagán*	شتگان	*shotagén*	شتگین
2nd	*shotagay*	شتگئے	*shotagét*	شتگیت
3rd	*shotag*	شتگ	*shotagant*	شتگاَنت

Table 184. Negated present perfect forms of *rawag* 'to go', past participle *shotag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nashotagán*	نشُتگان	*nashotagén*	نشُتگێن
2nd	*nashotagay*	نشُتگئے	*nashotagét*	نشُتگێت
3rd	*nashotag*	نشُتگ	*nashotagant*	نشُتگ‌اَنت

Table 185. Affirmative present perfect forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past participle *butag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*butagán*	بوتگان	*butagén*	بوتگێن
2nd	*butagay*	بوتگئے	*butagét*	بوتگێت
3rd	*butag*	بوتگ	*butagant*	بوتگ‌اَنت

Table 186. Negated present perfect forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past participle *butag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nabutagán*	نبوتگان	*nabutagén*	نبوتگێن
2nd	*nabutagay*	نبوتگئے	*nabutagét*	نبوتگێت
3rd	*nabutag*	نبوتگ	*nabutagant*	نبوتگ‌اَنت

Table 187. Affirmative present perfect forms of *áyag* 'to come', past participle *átkag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*átkagán*	آتکگان	*átkagén*	آتکگێن
2nd	*átkagay*	آتکگئے	*átkagét*	آتکگێت
3rd	*átkag*	آتکگ	*átkagant*	آتکگ‌اَنت

Table 188. Negated present perfect forms of *áyag* 'to come', past participle *átkag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nayátkagán*	نئیاتکگان	*nayátkagén*	نئیاتکگێن
2nd	*nayátkagay*	نئیاتکگئے	*nayátkagét*	نئیاتکگێت
3rd	*nayátkag*	نئیاتکگ	*nayátkagant*	نئیاتکگ‌اَنت

Table 189. Affirmative present perfect forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past participle *óshtátag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*óshtátagán*	اۆشتاتگان	*óshtátagén*	اۆشتاتگێن
2nd	*óshtátagay*	اۆشتاتگئے	*óshtátagét*	اۆشتاتگێت
3rd	*óshtátag*	اۆشتاتگ	*óshtátagant*	اۆشتاتگ‌اَنت

Table 190. Negated present perfect forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past participle *óshtátag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*naóshtátagán*	نه‌اۆشتاتگان	*naóshtátagén*	نه‌اۆشتاتگێن
2nd	*naóshtátagay*	نه‌اۆشتاتگئے	*naóshtátagét*	نه‌اۆشتاتگێت
3rd	*naóshtátag*	نه‌اۆشتاتگ	*naóshtátagant*	نه‌اۆشتاتگ‌اَنت

4.4.3.4.2. The form: transitive verbs

With transitive verbs, the verb agrees with a 3rd person direct, or occasionally indirect, object; i.e. there is no copula for the 3rd person singular, and the copula (*ant*) is present for the 3rd person plural, written separately from the past participle without a space in the Balochi-Arabic script.

Table 191. Affirmative present perfect forms of *kanag* 'to do', past participle *kortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man kortag/ kortagant*	من کرتگ/ کرتگ‌اَنت	*má kortag/ kortagant*	ما کرتگ/ کرتگ‌اَنت
2nd	*taw kortag/ kortagant*	تئو کرتگ/ کرتگ‌اَنت	*shomá kortag/ kortagant*	شما کرتگ/ کرتگ‌اَنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kortag/ kortagant*	اِشیا/آیا کرتگ/ کرتگ‌اَنت	*eshán/áyán kortag/ kortagant*	اِشان/آیان کرتگ/ کرتگ‌اَنت

Table 192. Negated present perfect forms of *kanag* 'to do', past participle *kortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man nakortag/ nakortagant*	من نکرتگ/ نکرتگ‌اَنت	*má nakortag/ nakortagant*	ما نکرتگ/ نکرتگ‌اَنت
2nd	*taw nakortag/ nakortagant*	تئو نکرتگ/ نکرتگ‌اَنت	*shomá nakortag/ nakortagant*	شما نکرتگ/ نکرتگ‌اَنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nakortag/ nakortagant*	اِشیا/آییا نکرتگ/ نکرتگ‌اَنت	*eshán/áyán nakortag/ nakortagant*	اِشان/آیان نکرتگ/ نکرتگ‌اَنت

Table 193. Affirmative present perfect forms of *barag* 'to take', past participle *bortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man bortag/ bortagant*	من برتگ/ برتگ‌اَنت	*má bortag/ bortagant*	ما برتگ/ برتگ‌اَنت
2nd	*taw bortag/ bortagant*	تئو برتگ/ برتگ‌اَنت	*shomá bortag/ bortagant*	شما برتگ/ برتگ‌اَنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá bortag/ bortagant*	اِشیا/آییا برتگ/ برتگ‌اَنت	*eshán/áyán bortag/ bortagant*	اِشان/آیان برتگ/ برتگ‌اَنت

Table 194. Negated present perfect forms of *barag* 'to take', past participle *bortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man nabortag/ nabortagant*	من نبرتگ/ نبرتگ‌اَنت	*má nabortag/ nabortagant*	ما نبرتگ/ نبرتگ‌اَنت
2nd	*taw nabortag/ nabortagant*	تئو نبرتگ/ نبرتگ‌اَنت	*shomá nabortag/ nabortagant*	شما نبرتگ/ نبرتگ‌اَنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nabortag/ nabortagant*	اِشیا/آییا نبرتگ/ نبرتگ‌اَنت	*eshán/áyán nabortag/ nabortagant*	اِشان/آیان نبرتگ/ نبرتگ‌اَنت

Table 195. Affirmative present perfect forms of *árag* 'to bring', past participle *áwortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*man áwortag/ áwortagant*	من آورتگ/ آورتگ‌اَنت	*má áwortag/ áwortagant*	ما آورتگ/ آورتگ‌اَنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw áwortag/ áwortagant*	تئو آورتگ/ آورتگ‌اَنت	*shomá áwortag/ áwortagant*	شما آورتگ/ آورتگ‌اَنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá áwortag/ áwortagant*	اِشیا/آییا آورتگ/ آورتگ‌اَنت	*eshán/áyán áwortag/ áwortagant*	اِشان/آیان آورتگ/ آورتگ‌اَنت

Table 196. Negated present perfect forms of *árag* 'to bring', past participle *áwortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*man nayáwortag/ nayáwortagant*	من نئیاورتگ/ نئیاورتگ‌اَنت	*má nayáwortag/ nayáwortagant*	ما نئیاورتگ/ نئیاورتگ‌اَنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw nayáwortag/ nayáwortagant*	تئو نئیاورتگ/ نئیاورتگ‌اَنت	*shomá nayáwortag/ nayáwortagant*	شما نئیاورتگ/ نئیاورتگ‌اَنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá nayáwortag/ nayáwortagant*	اِشیا/آییا نئیاورتگ/ نئیاورتگ‌اَنت	*eshán/áyán nayáwortag/ nayáwortagant*	اِشان/آیان نئیاورتگ/ نئیاورتگ‌اَنت

Table 197. Affirmative present perfect forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past participle *eshtag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*man eshtag/ eshtagant*	من اِشتگ/ اِشتگ‌اَنت	*má eshtag/ eshtagant*	ما اِشتگ/ اِشتگ‌اَنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw eshtag/ eshtagant*	تئو اِشتگ/ اِشتگ‌اَنت	*shomá eshtag/ eshtagant*	شما اِشتگ/ اِشتگ‌اَنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá eshtag/ eshtagant*	اِشیا/آییا اِشتگ/ اِشتگ‌اَنت	*eshán/áyán eshtag/ eshtagant*	اِشان/آیان اِشتگ/ اِشتگ‌اَنت

Table 198. Negated present perfect forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past participle *eshtag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man naeshtag/ naeshtagant*	من نەاِشتگ/ نەاِشتگ‌اَنت	*má naeshtag/ naeshtagant*	ما نەاِشتگ/ نەاِشتگ‌اَنت
2nd	*taw naeshtag/ naeshtagant*	تئو نەاِشتگ/ نەاِشتگ‌اَنت	*shomá naeshtag/ naeshtagant*	شما نەاِشتگ/ نەاِشتگ‌اَنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá naeshtag/ naeshtagant*	اِشیا/آیا نەاِشتگ/ نەاِشتگ‌اَنت	*eshán/áyán naeshtag/ naeshtagant*	اِشان/آیان نەاِشتگ/ نەاِشتگ‌اَنت

4.4.3.4.3. Uses of present perfect forms

The present perfect verb form is used for states and events in the past that have a relation to the present. This relation can be an unbroken continuity of relevance from a past state or event to the present time.

Man átkagán ke tará begendán.	من آتکگان که ترا بگندان.	'I have come to see you.SG.'
Maróchi man é sajjahén kár sarjam kortagant. Dega kojám kár pasht kaptag?	مرۆچی من اے سجّهێن کار سرجم کرتگ‌اَنت. دگه کجام کار پَشت کپتگ؟	'I have finished all these jobs today. What other job is left to do?'
Pas tatkag o shotagant.	پس تتکگ و شتگ‌اَنت.	'The sheep/goats have run away (lit. run and gone).'
Sad bandig maróchi cha zendána ázát butag.	سد بندیگ مرۆچی چه زندانا آزات بوتگ.	'One hundred prisoners have been released from the prison today.'
Shomá chiá é mestág pa má nayáwortag?	شما چیا اے مستاگ په ما نئیاورتگ؟	'Why have you.PL not brought us this piece of good news?'
Mir Chákará wati zendá pa Balóch rájá mazanén hezmaté kortag.	میر چاکرا وتی زندا په بلۏچ راجا مزنێن هزمتے کرتگ.	'Mir Chakar did a great service to the Baloch nation during his life.'

185

If, however, the state is still ongoing, the present-future verb form is used (see also Section 4.4.2.1.2).

Má dér ent hamedá kára kanén.	ما دیر اِنت هَمِدا کارَ کنیٚن.	'We have been working here for a long time (and we are still working).'
Báz wahd ent ke maná zánant.	باز وهد اِنت که منا زاننت.	'They have known me for a long time.'
Chont wahd ent ke é chokk nájórh ent?	چنت وهد اِنت که اے چِکّ ناجوٚرڑ اِنت؟	'How long has this child been ill?'

The present perfect can also be used to create a different relation between the past and the present, a kind of discontinuity which indicates that the speaker has not experienced the state/event first-hand, has some doubt about it, or does not want to involve himself/herself; i.e. this form can have an evidential meaning showing that the source of the information is someone else, that it is inferred information, or that it is information to which the speaker wants to keep a distance.

May brát maróchi shahrá shotagant, bale áyáni kár nabutag. Randá márá hálesh dát ke má marawén.	مئے برات مروٚچی شهرا شتگاَنت، بله آیانی کار نبوتگ. رندا مارا هالِش دات که ما مرئوٸن.	'Our brothers went to town today but they did not succeed in doing what they wanted (lit. their work did not become) (information given by the brothers). Afterwards they told us not to go.'
Chó ke mana zánán, é mardom ostádé butag.	چوٚ که مِنَ زانان، اے مردم استادے بوتگ.	'As far as I know, this person was a teacher.'
Lahténay hayál hamesh ent ke é ketábay nebisók hechbar darmolká nashotag.	لهتیٚنئے هئیال هِمش اِنت که اے کتابئے نبیسوٚک هچبر درمُلکا نَشتگ.	'Some believe that the writer of this book never went abroad.'
É ábádi cha mazanén hár o hirrópéá wayrán butag.	اے آبادی چه مزنیٚن هار و هیرّوٚپٸا وئیران بوتگ.	'This village was destroyed by a great

186

		flood.' (The speaker did not witness it.)
Báláchá doén jásus chér dátant o gón bádsháhay kásedán gwasht: "Haw, do mardom mani lógá átkag, bale man nazántag cha kojá átkagant. Nun dar kaptagant."	بالاچا دوێن جاسوس چێر داتنت و گۆن بادشاهئے کاسدان گَوَشت: «هئو، دو مردم منی لۆگا آتکگ، بله من نزانتگ چه کجا آتکگگ‌اَنت. نون در کپتگگ‌اَنت	'Balach hid the two spies and told the king's messengers: "Yes, two people came home to me but I did not know from where they came. (The speaker keeps a distance to this information.) Now they have gone."'

The present perfect is used after *balkén* 'maybe, perhaps' to express doubt or uncertainty about past events.

Balkén man pésará é mardom distag.	بلکێن من پێسرا اے مردم دیستگ.	'I may have met (lit. seen) this person before.'
Balkén mani pet lógá átkag.	بلکێن منی پت لۆگا آتکگ.	'Maybe my father has come home.'

4.4.3.5. Past perfect

The past perfect verb form is used for states and events in the past with a relation to a later point of reference in the past. It consists of the past participle (see Section 4.2) + the past form of the copula (see Section 4.4.1). In the Balochi-Arabic script, the copula is written separately from the verb stem without a space in all persons. The past perfect form is negated by attaching the negative prefix *na-/nay-* to the past participle. The affirmative form is stressed on the last syllable of the past participle, and the negated form is stressed on the negative prefix.

4.4.3.5.1. The form: intransitive verbs

With intransitive verbs, the copula agrees in person and number with the subject of the sentence.

Table 199. Affirmative past perfect forms of *rawag* 'to go', past participle *shotag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*shotagatán*	شتگاتان	*shotagatén*	شتگاتین
2nd	*shotagatay*	شتگاتئے	*shotagatét*	شتگاتیت
3rd	*shotagat*	شتگاَت	*shotagatant*	شتگاتنت

Table 200. Negated past perfect forms of *rawag* 'to go', past participle *shotag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nashotagatán*	نَشتگاتان	*nashotagatén*	نَشتگاتین
2nd	*nashotagatay*	نَشتگاتئے	*nashotagatét*	نَشتگاتیت
3rd	*nashotagat*	نَشتگاَت	*nashotagatant*	نَشتگاتنت

Table 201. Affirmative past perfect forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past participle *butag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*butagatán*	بوتگاتان	*butagatén*	بوتگاتین
2nd	*butagatay*	بوتگاتئے	*butagatét*	بوتگاتیت
3rd	*butagat*	بوتگاَت	*butagatant*	بوتگاتنت

Table 202. Negated past perfect forms of *bayag* 'to be, to become', past participle *butag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nabutagatán*	نبوتگاتان	*nabutagatén*	نبوتگاتین
2nd	*nabutagatay*	نبوتگاتئے	*nabutagatét*	نبوتگاتیت
3rd	*nabutagat*	نبوتگاَت	*nabutagatant*	نبوتگاتنت

Table 203. Affirmative past perfect forms of *áyag* 'to come', past participle *átkag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*átkagatán*	آتکگاتان	*átkagatén*	آتکگاتین
2nd	*átkagatay*	آتکگاتئے	*átkagatét*	آتکگاتیت
3rd	*átkagat*	آتکگاَت	*átkagatant*	آتکگاتنت

Table 204. Negated past perfect forms of *áyag* 'to come', past participle *átkag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nayátkagatán*	نئیاتککگاتان	*nayátkagatén*	نئیاتککگاتین
2nd	*nayátkagatay*	نئیاتککگاتئے	*nayátkagatét*	نئیاتککگاتیت
3rd	*nayátkagat*	نئیاتککگأَت	*nayátkagatant*	نئیاتککگاتنت

Table 205. Affirmative past perfect forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past participle *óshtátag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*óshtátagatán*	اۏشتاتگاتان	*óshtátagatén*	اۏشتاتگاتین
2nd	*óshtátagatay*	اۏشتاتگاتئے	*óshtátagatét*	اۏشتاتگاتیت
3rd	*óshtátagat*	اۏشتاتگأَت	*óshtátagatant*	اۏشتاتگاتنت

Table 206. Negated past perfect forms of *óshtag* 'to stand up', past participle *óshtátag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*naóshtátagatán*	نهاۏشتاتگاتان	*naóshtátagatén*	نهاۏشتاتگاتین
2nd	*naóshtátagatay*	نهاۏشتاتگاتئے	*naóshtátagatét*	نهاۏشتاتگاتیت
3rd	*naóshtátagat*	نهاۏشتاتگأَت	*naóshtátagatant*	نهاۏشتاتگاتنت

4.4.3.5.2. The form: transitive verbs

With transitive verbs, the copula agrees with a 3rd person direct, or occasionally indirect, object, i.e. 3rd person singular or plural copula.

Table 207. Affirmative past perfect forms of *kanag* 'to do', past participle *kortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man kortagat/ kortagatant*	من کرتگأَت/ کرتگاتنت	*má kortagat/ kortagatant*	ما کرتگأَت/ کرتگاتنت
2nd	*taw kortagat/ kortagatant*	تئو کرتگأَت/ کرتگاتنت	*shomá kortagat/ kortagatant*	شما کرتگأَت/ کرتگاتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kortagat/ kortagatant*	اِشیا/آییا کرتگأَت/ کرتگاتنت	*eshán/áyán kortagat/ kortagatant*	اِشان/آیان کرتگأَت/ کرتگاتنت

Table 208. Negated past perfect forms of *kanag* 'to do', past participle *kortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*man nakortagat/ nakortagatant*	من نکرتگأَت/ نکرتگاتنت	*má nakortagat/ nakortagatant*	ما نکرتگأَت/ نکرتگاتنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw nakortagat/ nakortagatant*	تئو نکرتگأَت/ نکرتگاتنت	*shomá nakortagat/ nakortagatant*	شما نکرتگأَت/ نکرتگاتنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá nakortagat/ nakortagatant*	اِشیا/آیبا نکرتگأَت/ نکرتگاتنت	*eshán/áyán nakortagat/ nakortagatant*	اِشان/آیان نکرتگأَت/ نکرتگاتنت

Table 209. Affirmative past perfect forms of *barag* 'to take', past participle *bortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*man bortagat/ bortagatant*	من برتگأَت/ برتگاتنت	*má bortagat/ bortagatant*	ما برتگأَت/ برتگاتنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw bortagat/ bortagatant*	تئو برتگأَت/ برتگاتنت	*shomá bortagat/ bortagatant*	شما برتگأَت/ برتگاتنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá bortagat/ bortagatant*	اِشیا/آیبا برتگأَت/ برتگاتنت	*eshán/áyán bortagat/ bortagatant*	اِشان/آیان برتگأَت/ برتگاتنت

Table 210. Negated past perfect forms of *barag* 'to take', past participle *bortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*man nabortagat/ nabortagatant*	من نبرتگأَت/ نبرتگاتنت	*má nabortagat/ nabortagatant*	ما نبرتگأَت/ نبرتگاتنت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw nabortagat/ nabortagatant*	تئو نبرتگأَت/ نبرتگاتنت	*shomá nabortagat/ nabortagatant*	شما نبرتگأَت/ نبرتگاتنت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá nabortagat/ nabortagatant*	اِشیا/آیبا نبرتگأَت/ نبرتگاتنت	*eshán/áyán nabortagat/ nabortagatant*	اِشان/آیان نبرتگأَت/ نبرتگاتنت

Table 211. Affirmative past perfect forms of *árag* 'to bring', past participle *áwortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man áwortagat/ áwortagatant*	من آورتگـأَت/ آورتگاتنت	*má áwortagat/ áwortagatant*	ما آورتگـأَت/ آورتگاتنت
2nd	*taw áwortagat/ áwortagatant*	تئو آورتگـأَت/ آورتگاتنت	*shomá áwortagat/ áwortagatant*	شما آورتگـأَت/ آورتگاتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá áwortagat/ áwortagatant*	إشيا/آيیا آورتگـأَت/ آورتگاتنت	*eshán/áyán áwortagat/ áwortagatant*	إشان/آيان آورتگـأَت/ آورتگاتنت

Table 212. Negated past perfect forms of *árag* 'to bring', past participle *áwortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man nayáwortagat/ nayáwortagatant*	من نئياورتگـأَت/ نئياورتگاتنت	*má nayáwortagat/ nayáwortagatant*	ما نئياورتگـأَت/ نئياورتگاتنت
2nd	*taw nayáwortagat/ nayáwortagatant*	تئو نئياورتگـأَت/ نئياورتگاتنت	*shomá nayáwortagat/ nayáwortagatant*	شما نئياورتگـأَت/ نئياورتگاتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nayáwortagat/ nayáwortagatant*	إشيا/آيیا نئياورتگـأَت/ نئياورتگاتنت	*eshán/áyán nayáwortagat/ nayáwortagatant*	إشان/آيان نئياورتگـأَت/ نئياورتگاتنت

Table 213. Affirmative past perfect forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past participle *eshtag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man eshtagat/ eshtagatant*	من اِشتگـأَت/ اِشتگاتنت	*má eshtagat/ eshtagatant*	ما اِشتگـأَت/ اِشتگاتنت
2nd	*taw eshtagat/ eshtagatant*	تئو اِشتگـأَت/ اِشتگاتنت	*shomá eshtagat/ eshtagatant*	شما اِشتگـأَت/ اِشتگاتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá eshtagat/ eshtagatant*	إشيا/آيیا اِشتگـأَت/ اِشتگاتنت	*eshán/áyán eshtagat/ eshtagatant*	إشان/آيان اِشتگـأَت/ اِشتگاتنت

Table 214. Negated past perfect forms of *ellag* 'to allow, to let', past participle *eshtag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man naeshtagat/ naeshtagatant*	من نەاِشتگـﺄَت/ نەاِشتگـاتنت	*má naeshtagat/ naeshtagatant*	ما نەاِشتگـﺄَت/ نەاِشتگـاتنت
2nd	*taw naeshtagat/ naeshtagatant*	تئو نەاِشتگـﺄَت/ نەاِشتگـاتنت	*shomá naeshtagat/ naeshtagatant*	شما نەاِشتگـﺄَت/ نەاِشتگـاتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá naeshtagat/ naeshtagatant*	اِشیا/آیبا نەاِشتگـﺄَت/ نەاِشتگـاتنت	*eshán/áyán naeshtagat/ naeshtagatant*	اِشان/آیان نەاِشتگـﺄَت/ نەاِشتگـاتنت

4.4.3.5.3. Uses of past perfect forms

The past perfect verb form is used for states and events in the past that stand in a relation to a later point of reference in the past. The state or event may still be ongoing at the later reference point, but does not have to.

Hamá mardom ke pésará mani gendagá átkagat, padá átk.	هما مردم که پێسرا منی گندگا آتکگـﺄَت، پدا آتک.	'The person who had come to see me before now came again.'
Choshén dhawldárén poll pésará hechbar nadistagaton.	چشێن ڈئولدارێن پُلّ پێسرا هچبر ندیستگـاﺄَن.	'I had not seen such a beautiful flower ever before.'
Sardárá póstén kamarbandé lánká bastagat.	سردارا پۆستێن کمربندے لانکا بستگـﺄَت.	'The tribal chief had a leather belt tied around his waist.'
Dah sál at ke áiay kár paym nabutagat.	ده سال اَت که آیبئے کار پئیم نبوتگـﺄَت	'Her issue (lit. work) had not been solved for ten years.'

If the state was still ongoing at the later reference point, the simple past verb form can also be used, particularly with the copula.

Sáláni sál at ke áiay bágá kocheké mán at.	سالانی سال اَت که آیبئے باگا کُچکے مان اَت.	'For years and years there had been a dog in his garden (and it was still there).'

The past perfect is also used for counterfactual states and events in the main clause after a counterfactual conditional clause, and for other counterfactual states and events about which there is no doubt.

Agan byátkénay, wassh butagatán.	اگن بیاتکینئے، وشّ بوتگاتان.	'I would have been happy if you.SG had come.'
Agan má jost makortén, hechbar nazántagaten.	اگن ما جُست مکرتین، هچبر نزانتگاتِن.	'If we had not asked, we would never had known.'
Agan taw bezántén é sapar sakk dráj ent, gorhá nashotagatay?	اگن تئو بزانتین اے سپر سکّ دراج اِنت، گۏا نَشتگاتئے؟	'Wouldn't you.SG have gone if you had known that this journey is very long?'

4.4.4. Passive voice

Passive voice is used in Balochi mainly when the subject is unknown or not mentioned. The direct object of the active clause becomes the subject of the passive clause, which means that the subject of a passive sentence does not perform the action of the verb. Passive voice can, however, also be used with an agent, i.e. the doer of the action, which is then expressed by means of a postpositional phrase. The postposition used in this construction is *dastá* 'by the hand of'.

Active voice:

Man kassá nagendán.	من کسّا نگندان.	'I don't see anyone.'
Kayá é ketáb nebeshtag?	کئیا اے کتاب نبشتگ؟	'Who has written this book?'
Dozhmenay lashkará may sepáhig koshtant.	دژمنئے لشکرا مئے سپاهیگ کُشتنت.	'The army of the enemy killed our soldiers.'

Passive voice:

Kass gendaga nabit.	کسّ گندگ نبیت.	'Nobody is seen.'
É ketáb kojá nebisag butag?	اے کتاب کجا نبیسگ بوتگ؟	'Where was this book written?'

193

| *May sepáhig dozhmenay lashkaray dastá koshag butant.* | مئے سپاهیگ دژمنئے لشکرئے دستا کُشگ بوتنت. | 'Our soldiers were killed by (lit. by the hand of) the army of the enemy.' |

Passive voice is formed by the infinitive + a finite form of the verb *bayag* 'to be, to become'. A finite verb form is marked for tense, aspect, mood and person. It is negated by adding the negation *na-/ma-* to the finite form of *bayag*. The passive voice has the same verb forms as the active voice except for the imperative, which cannot be used in the passive voice. Optative passive forms are also rare. Since the finite verb in the passive construction is intransitive, all passive forms follow the pattern of intransitive verbs. In Tables 215–222 the passive forms of the verb *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want', are given. They are followed by examples of this verb and other verbs in the passive voice.

Table 215. Present-future indicative passive forms of *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*lóthaga bán/nabán*	لۏٹگَ بان/نبان	*lóthaga bén/nabén*	لۏٹگَ بێن/نبێن
2nd	*lóthaga bay/nabay*	لۏٹگَ بئے/نبئے	*lóthaga bét/nabét*	لۏٹگَ بێت/نبێت
3rd	*lóthaga bit/nabit*	لۏٹگَ بیت/نبیت	*lóthaga bant/ nabant*	لۏٹگَ بنت/نبنت

Taw pa é jashná lóthaga bay.	تئو په اے جشنا لۏٹگَ بئے.	'You.SG will be invited to this party.'
Agan é drachk bar madant, goddhaga bit.	اگن اے درچک بر مدنت، گُڈّگَ بیت.	'If this tree does not produce fruit it will be cut down.'
Áyáni nékén kár zánaga bant.	آیانی نێکێن کار زانگَ بنت.	'Their good deeds will be known.'
Dozz sepáhigáni dastá zutt geraga bit.	دُزّ سپاهیگانی دستا زوتّ گرگَ بیت.	'The thief will be caught quickly by the soldiers.'
Má pa é kárá mayárig kananga nabén.	ما په اے کارا مئیاریگ کننگ نبێن.	'We will not be accused of this (lit. this deed).'

194

Table 216. Present-future subjunctive passive forms of *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*lóthag bebán/ mabán*	لۆٹگ بیان/ مبان	*lóthag bebén/ mabén*	لۆٹگ ببێن/ مبێن
2nd	*lóthag bebay/ mabay*	لۆٹگ ببئے/ مبئے	*lóthag bebét/ mabét*	لۆٹگ ببێت/ مبێت
3rd	*lóthag bebit/ mabit*	لۆٹگ ببيت/ مبيت	*lóthag bebant/ mabant*	لۆٹگ ببنت/ مبنت

Taw balkén pa é jashná lóthag bebay.	تئو بلکێن پہ اے جشنا لۆٹگ ببئے.	'Maybe you.SG will be invited to this party.'
Agan é kár kanag mabit, sakk bada bit.	اگن اے کار کنگ مبيت، سکّ بدَ بيت.	'It will be very bad if this job is not done.'
Báyad ent lóg bahá kanag bebit.	بايد اِنت لۆگ بها کنگ ببيت.	'The house must be sold.'
É mardomá choshén radén káré nakortag ke koshag bebit.	اے مردما چُشێن ردێن کارے نکرتگ کہ کُشگ ببيت.	'This person has not done such a wrong thing (lit. deed) that he should be killed.'
Wati mát o petá ezzat beday tán mayárig kanag mabay.	وتی مات و پتا اِزّت بدئے تان مئیاریگ کنگ مبئے.	'Respect your.SG parents in order not to be blamed.'

Table 217. Optative passive forms of *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want' (the *be-* prefix is normally dropped in the affirmative optative passive form)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*lóthag bátán/ mabátán*	لۆٹگ باتان/ مباتان	*lóthag bátén/ mabátén*	لۆٹگ باتێن/ مباتێن
2nd	*lóthag bátay/ mabátay*	لۆٹگ باتئے/ مباتئے	*lóthag bátét/ mabátét*	لۆٹگ باتێت/ مباتێت
3rd	*lóthag bát/ mabát*	لۆٹگ بات/ مبات	*lóthag bátant/ mabátant*	لۆٹگ باتنت/ مباتنت

Á mardom koshag mabát.	آ مردم کُشگ مبات.	'Wish that this person will not be killed.'

195

| *Dozhmen cha molká dar kanag bátant.* | دژمن چہ مُلکا در کنگ باتنت. | 'May the enemies be pushed out of Balochistan (lit. the land).' |

Table 218. Past perfective passive forms of *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*lóthag bután/ nabután*	لۆٹگ بوتان/ نبوتان	*lóthag butén/ nabutén*	لۆٹگ بوتین/ نبوتین
2nd	*lóthag butay/ nabutay*	لۆٹگ بوتئے/ نبوتئے	*lóthag butét/ nabutét*	لۆٹگ بوتێت/ نبوتێت
3rd	*lóthag but/ nabut*	لۆٹگ بوت/ نبوت	*lóthag butant/ nabutant*	لۆٹگ بوتنت/ نبوتنت

Taw pa é jashná lóthag butay?	تئو پہ اے جشنا لۆٹگ بوتئے؟	'Were you.SG invited to this party?'
Drachk goddhag but.	درچک گڈّگ بوت.	'The tree was cut down.'
Maná maróchi mókal dayag nabut ke habar bekanán.	منا مرۆچی مۆکل دئیگ نبوت کہ ھبر بکنان.	'No chance was given to me to speak today.'
Dozz sepáhigáni dastá zutt gerag but.	دُزّ سپاھیگانی دستا زوتّ گِرگ بوت.	'The thief was quickly caught by the soldiers.'
Á róchá ketáb bahá kanag nabutant.	آ رۆچا کتاب بھا کنگ نبوتنت.	'The books were not sold that day.'

Table 219. Past imperfective passive forms of *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*lóthaga bután/ nabután*	لۆٹگَ بوتان/نبوتان	*lóthaga butén/ nabutén*	لۆٹگَ بوتین/نبوتین
2nd	*lóthaga butay/ nabutay*	لۆٹگَ بوتئے/نبوتئے	*lóthaga butét/ nabutét*	لۆٹگَ بوتێت/نبوتێت
3rd	*lóthaga but/ nabut*	لۆٹگَ بوت/نبوت	*lóthaga butant/ nabutant*	لۆٹگَ بوتنت/نبوتنت

Taw har wahd lóthaga butay nayátkay.	تئو هر وهد لۆئگ بوتئے نئیاتکئے.		'Whenever you.SG were invited you did not come.'
Maná mókal dayaga nabut ke habar bekanán.	منا مۆکل دئیگ نبوت که هبر بکنان.		'No chance was given to me to speak (on repeated occasions).'
Ketáb bahá kanaga nabut.	کتاب بها کنگ نبوت.		'The book was not sold (on repeated occasions).'
Dhanná gwázi kanaga nabut.	ڈنّا گوازی کنگ نبوت.		'It was impossible to play outdoors.'

Table 220. Past subjunctive passive forms of *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want' (the *be-* prefix is normally dropped in the past subjunctive passive)

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*lóthag buténán/ mabuténán*	لۆئگ بوتێنان/ مبوتێنان	*lóthag buténén/ mabuténén*	لۆئگ بوتێنێن/ مبوتێنێن
2nd	*lóthag buténay/ mabuténay*	لۆئگ بوتێنئے/ مبوتێنئے	*lóthag buténét/ mabuténét*	لۆئگ بوتێنێت/ مبوتێنێت
3rd	*lóthag butén/ mabutén*	لۆئگ بوتێن/ مبوتێن	*lóthag buténant/ mabuténant*	لۆئگ بوتێننت/ مبوتێننت

Wassh at ke pa é jashná lóthag buténay.	وشّ اَت که په اے جشنا لۆئگ بوتێنئے.		'It would have been good if you.SG had been invited to this party.'
Agan dozz zutt gerag mabuténant, balkén dega jáhé ham dozziesh kortagat.	اگن دُزّ زوتّ گَرگ مبوتێننت، بلکێن دگه جاهے هم دُزّیاِش کرتگاَت.		'If the thieves had not been caught quickly, maybe they would have stolen [from] somewhere else too.'
Drégatá é ketáb hechbar nebisag mabutén.	درێگتا اے کتاب هچبر نبیسگ مبوتێن.		'How good [it would be] if this book had never been written.'

Table 221. Present perfect passive forms of *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*lóthag butagán/ nabutagán*	لۆٹگ بوتگان/ نبوتگان	*lóthag butagén/ nabutagén*	لۆٹگ بوتگێن/ نبوتگێن
2nd	*lóthag butagay/ nabutagay*	لۆٹگ بوتگئے/ نبوتگئے	*lóthag butagét/ nabutagét*	لۆٹگ بوتگێت/ نبوتگێت
3rd	*lóthag butag/ nabutag*	لۆٹگ بوتگ/ نبوتگ	*lóthag butagant/ nabutagant*	لۆٹگ بوتگأنت/ نبوتگأنت

Taw pa é jashná lóthag butagay.	تئو پہ اے جشنا لۆٹگ بوتگئے.	'You.SG have been invited to this party.'
É ketáb Balóchi zobáná nebisag butag.	اے کتاب بلۆچی زبانا نبیسگ بوتگ.	'This book is (lit. has been) written in the Balochi language.'
Mazanén ganjé edá chér dayag butag.	مزنێن گنجے اِدا چێر دئیگ بوتگ.	'A big treasure has been hidden here.'
Lógay bonred mohr ér kanag nabutag.	لۆگئے بنرد مُهر ایٔر کنگ نبوتگ.	'The foundation of the house has not been laid firmly.'

Table 222. Past perfect passive forms of *lóthag* 'to call, to invite, to want

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*lóthag butagatán/ nabutagatán*	لۆٹگ بوتگاتان/ نبوتگاتان	*lóthag butagatén/ nabutagatén*	لۆٹگ بوتگاتێن/ نبوتگاتێن
2nd	*lóthag butagatay/ nabutagatay*	لۆٹگ بوتگاتئے/ نبوتگاتئے	*lóthag butagatét/ nabutagatét*	لۆٹگ بوتگاتێت/ نبوتگاتێت
3rd	*lóthag butagat/ nabutagat*	لۆٹگ بوتگأَت/ نبوتگأَت	*lóthag butagatant/ nabutagatant*	لۆٹگ بوتگاتنت/ نبوتگاتنت

Taw pa é jashná lóthag butagatay. Shotay?	تئو پہ اے جشنا لۆٹگ بوتگاتئے. شتئے؟	'You.SG had been invited to that party. Did you go?'

Agan é mardá hón makortén, ázát kanag butagat.	اگن اے مردا هۆن مکرتیٚن، آزات کنگ بوتگَأت.	'If this man had not committed murder, he would have been set free.'
É théki mará dayag butagat, bale má gár dát.	اے ٹیٚکی مارا دئیگ بوتگَأت، بله ما گار دات.	'This gift had been given to us, but we lost [it].'

It is also possible to use the 3rd person plural verb form when the subject is unknown or not mentioned. This strategy, however, is less common in the written language than using the passive construction.

Agan taw dozzi bekanay, tará jélá ráha dayant.	اگن تئو دُزّی بکنئے، ترا جیٚلا راۀ دئینت.	'If you.SG steal, you will be sent to prison.'
Agan taw dozzi bekanay, jélá ráh dayaga bay.	اگن تئو دُزّی بکنئے، جیٚلا راه دئیگَ بئے.	
Delgósh kan ke tai mál o hastiá mabarant.	دلگۆش کن که تئیی مال و هستیا مبرنت.	'Take care that your.SG riches will not be snatched away.'
Delgósh kan ke tai mál o hasti barag mabit.	دلگۆش کن که تئیی مال و هستی برگ مبیت.	

4.4.5. Periphrastic constructions

Periphrastic constructions make use of independent words instead of inflections to denote a grammatical structure. There are a number of periphrastic constructions in Balochi that are formed by means of a non-finite verb form (infinitive, present participle or past participle) + a finite form of an auxiliary verb. It is the transitivity of the auxiliary verb that determines whether the construction is intransitive or transitive.

4.4.5.1. Progressive construction

There is a progressive construction in Balochi that occurs in the present and past tenses. The progressive form is used for events that are ongoing at the present time or were so at a certain time in the past. It consists of the infinitive in the oblique case form + present or past forms of the copula. It is negated by adding *na-* either to the oblique infinitive or to the copula, in which case the negation is more strongly emphasized. The main stress falls on the final syllable of the present participle. Since the finite verb is intransitive, this periphrastic construction is intransitive.

199

The present progressive form consists of the infinitive in the oblique case form + present forms of the copula. The affirmative and negated present progressive forms of *kanag* 'to do' are presented in Tables 223–225.

Table 223. Affirmative present progressive forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanagá án*	کنگا آن	*kanagá én*	کنگا این
2nd	*kanagá ay*	کنگا ائے	*kanagá ét*	کنگا اِیت
3rd	*kanagá ent*	کنگا اِنت	*kanagá ant*	کنگا اَنت

Table 224. Negated present progressive forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nakanagá án*	نکنگا آن	*nakanagá én*	نکنگا این
2nd	*nakanagá ay*	نکنگا ائے	*nakanagá ét*	نکنگا اِیت
3rd	*nakanagá ent*	نکنگا اِنت	*nakanagá ant*	نکنگا اَنت

Table 225. Alternative negated present progressive forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanagá naán*	کنگا نہآن	*kanagá naén*	کنگا نہاین
2nd	*kanagá naay*	کنگا نہائے	*kanagá naét*	کنگا نہاِیت
3rd	*kanagá naent*	کنگا نہاِنت	*kanagá naant*	کنگا نہاَنت

The present progressive form is used for present ongoing events. It is not used for ongoing states.

Man annun gón wati gohárá habar kanagá án.	من اَنّون گۆن وتی گهارا هبر کنگا آن.	'I am talking to my sister right now.'
Chokk dhanná gwázi kanagá ant.	چِکّ ڈنّا گوازی کنگا اَنت.	'The children are playing outdoors.'
Pa ché dars nawánagá ay?	په چے درس نئوانگا ائے؟	'Why are you.SG not studying?'
Má shomárá mayárig kanagá naén, watá mayárig kanagá én.	ما شمارا مئیاریگ کنگا نہاین، وتا مئیاریگ کنگا این.	'We are not blaming you.PL, we are blaming ourselves.'

The present progressive form can also be used for inchoative events, i.e. things that are about to take place. This marks the immediacy and certainty of the event.

Man bándá Karáchiá rawagá án.	من باندا کراچیا رئوگا آن.	'I am going to Karachi tomorrow.'

The present progressive construction can also combine the infinitive in the oblique case form with the verb *bayag* 'to be, to become' in the present-future form. Alongside its progressive meaning, this form can also have an evidential meaning, i.e. that the speaker is making an assumption or drawing a conclusion about an event that may be going on.

Mani brát nun kár kanagá bit.	منی برات نون کار کنگا بیت.	'[I think] my brother is working now.'
Chokk lógá naant, dhanná layb kanagá bant.	چُکّ لۆگا نهأنت، ڈنّا لئیب کنگا بنت.	'The children are not at home, they are out playing, [it seems].'

The past progressive form consists of the infinitive in the oblique case form + past forms of the copula. Affirmative and negated past progressive forms of *kanag* 'to do' are presented in Tables 226–228.

Table 226. Affirmative past progressive forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanagá atán*	کنگا اتان	*kanagá atén*	کنگا اتێن
2nd	*kanagá atay*	کنگا اتئے	*kanagá atét*	کنگا اتێت
3rd	*kanagá at*	کنگا اَت	*kanagá atant*	کنگا اتنت

Table 227. Negated past progressive forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nakanagá atán*	نکنگا اتان	*nakanagá atén*	نکنگا اتێن
2nd	*nakanagá atay*	نکنگا اتئے	*nakanagá atét*	نکنگا اتێت
3rd	*nakanagá at*	نکنگا اَت	*nakanagá atant*	نکنگا اتنت

Table 228. Alternative negated past progressive forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*kanagá naatán*	کنگا نهاتان	*kanagá naatén*	کنگا نهاتین
2ⁿᵈ	*kanagá naatay*	کنگا نهاتئے	*kanagá naatét*	کنگا نهاتیت
3ʳᵈ	*kanagá naat*	کنگا نهأَت	*kanagá naatant*	کنگا نهاتنت

The past progressive form is used for events that were ongoing at some specific time in the past, e.g. when another event took place. It is not used for ongoing past states.

Wahdé dém pa shahrá rawagá atán, wati sangaton dist.	وهدے دیّم په شهرا رئوگا اتان، وتی سنگتُن دیست.	'When I was walking towards town, I met my friend.'
Chokk sajjahén róchá dhanná gwázi kanagá atant.	چُکّ سجّهیّن رۆچا ڈنّا گوازی کنگا اتنت.	'The children were playing outdoors the whole day.'
Zi pa ché dars nawánagá atay?	زی په چے درس نئوانگا اتئے؟	'Why were you.SG not studying yesterday?'
Taw mani habarán gósh dáragá naatay.	تئو منی هبران گۆش دارگا نهاتئے.	'You.SG were not listening to what I said (lit. my words).'

The past progressive form can also be used for inchoative events in the past tense, i.e. events about take place in the past, to mark the immediacy and certainty of the event. However, in this context the past tense of the future time reference construction (see Section 4.4.5.4) is normally preferred.

Man zi Karáchiá rawagá atán bale taw maná naesht.	من زی کراچیا رئوگا اَتان بله تئو منا نهاِشت.	'I was determined to go to Karachi yesterday, but you did not let me.'

Other progressive constructions are also used in various regions of Balochistan. They can be used in the written language as well. One such construction uses *goláésh* 'busy, engaged' + copula present/past, and another uses the infinitive in the oblique case form + *gatth* 'busy, engaged' + copula present/past. These constructions are normally only used in the affirmative form. The construction that combines the present-future indicative of *dárag* 'to keep' with the present-future indicative of the main verb has been copied from Persian, and is thus not a Balochi construction.

Taw kárá goláésh ay?	تئو کارا گلایش ائے؟	'Are you.SG busy working?'
Má waragá goláésh atén.	ما ورگا گلایش اتین.	'We were busy eating.'
May mát warák addh kanagá gatth at.	مئے مات وراک اڈّ کنگا گَتّ اَت.	'Our mother was busy cooking food.'
Shomá annun ketáb wánagá gatth ét?	شما انّون کتاب وانگا گَتّ اِنت؟	'Are you.PL busy reading now?'

4.4.5.2. Iterative constructions

Iterative constructions are used for habitually repeated events in the present or past. The iterative construction in Balochi consists of the present participle in -*án* + present or past forms of the copula. This form can only be negated on the copula. The main stress falls on the final syllable of the present participle. Since the finite verb is intransitive, this periphrastic construction is intransitive.

The present-future iterative form consists of the present participle in -*án* + present forms of the copula. The affirmative and negated present iterative forms of *kanag* 'to do' are presented in Tables 229–230.

Table 229. Affirmative present iterative forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanán án*	کنان آن	*kanán én*	کنان این
2nd	*kanán ay*	کنان ائے	*kanán ét*	کنان اِیت
3rd	*kanán ent*	کنان اِنت	*kanán ant*	کنان اَنت

Table 230. Negative present iterative forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanán naán*	کنان نهآن	*kanán naén*	کنان نهاین
2nd	*kanán naay*	کنان نهائے	*kanán naét*	کنان نهاِیت
3rd	*kanán naent*	کنان نهاِنت	*kanán naant*	کنان نهاَنت

The present iterative form is used for habitually repeated events that are still occurring.

Kár démá rawán ent.	کار دیما رئوان اِنت.	'The work keeps moving forward.'
Mardom márá rad dayán ant.	مردم مارا رد دئیان اَنت.	'People repeatedly fool us.'

203

| *Poshtá kenzán naent,* | پُشتا کنزان نهِانت، | 'He does not keep |
| *démá rawán ent.* | دیٚما رئوان اِنت. | backing away, he keeps going forward.' |

The past iterative form consists of the present participle + past forms of the copula. The past iterative affirmative and negated forms of *kanag* 'to do' are presented in Tables 231–232.

Table 231. Affirmative past iterative forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanán atán*	کنان اتان	*kanán atén*	کنان اتیٚن
2nd	*kanán atay*	کنان اتئے	*kanán atét*	کنان اتیٚت
3rd	*kanán at*	کنان اَت	*kanán atant*	کنان اتنت

Table 232. Negated past iterative forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanán naatán*	کنان نهاتان	*kanán naatén*	کنان نهاتیٚن
2nd	*kanán naatay*	کنان نهاتئے	*kanán naatét*	کنان نهاتیٚت
3rd	*kanán naat*	کنان نهاَت	*kanán naatant*	کنان نهاتنت

The past iterative form is used for habitually repeated events in the past.

| *Má pasáni randá* | ما پسانی رندا رئوان اتیٚن. | 'We kept following our |
| *rawán aten.* | | flock (of sheep and goats).' |

| *Shér gókán derrán* | شیٚر گوٚکان درّان اتنت. | 'The lions kept tearing |
| *atant.* | | the cows.' |

| *Poshtá kenzán naat,* | پُشتا کنزان نهاَت، | 'He did not keep |
| *démá rawán at.* | دیٚما رئوان اَت. | backing away, he kept going forward.' |

There is another iterative construction that focuses on the endpoint of an action. When this construction is used, the completion of the action is implied. It consists of the present participle in *-án* + a finite form of the verb *kanag* 'to do'. The negated forms add the negation *na-* to finite forms of the verb *kanag* 'to do'. In the affirmative form, the main stress falls on the final syllable of the present participle, and in the negated form the main stress falls on the negation prefix. Since the finite verb is transitive, this periphrastic construction is transitive.

The present-future indicative form of the endpoint-iterative construction consists of the present participle of the main verb and the present-future indicative form of the verb *kanag* 'to do'. The affirmative and negated present-future indicative forms of the endpoint-iterative of *démá rawag* 'to go on, to go forth' are presented in Tables 233–234.

Table 233. Affirmative present-future endpoint iterative forms of *démá rawag* 'to go on, to go forth'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*démá rawána kanán*	دێما رئوانَ کنان	*démá rawána kanén*	دێما رئوانَ کنێن
2nd	*démá rawána kanay*	دێما رئوانَ کنئے	*démá rawána kanét*	دێما رئوانَ کنێت
3rd	*démá rawána kant*	دێما رئوانَ کنت	*démá rawána kanant*	دێما رئوانَ کننت

Table 234. Negated present-future endpoint iterative forms of *démá rawag* 'to go on, to go forth'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*démá rawána nakanán*	دێما رئوانَ نکنان	*démá rawána nakanén*	دێما رئوانَ نکنێن
2nd	*démá rawána nakanay*	دێما رئوانَ نکنئے	*démá rawána nakanét*	دێما رئوانَ نکنێت
3rd	*démá rawána nakant*	دێما رئوانَ نکنت	*démá rawána nakanant*	دێما رئوانَ نکننت

The present/future endpoint-iterative form is used for habitually repeated events in the present or future that are supposed to lead up to an endpoint.

Man é kárá démá barána kanán.	.من اے کارا دێما برانَ کنان	'I will bring this work forward [to the end].'
Má hechbar poshtá kenzána nakanén.	.ما هچبر پُشتا کنزانَ نکنێن	'We will never back off [until we reach our goal].'

The past endpoint-iterative form consists of the present participle of the main verb and the past imperfective form of the verb *kanag* 'to do'. The affirmative and negated past endpoint-iterative forms of *démá rawag* 'to go on, to go forth' are presented in Tables 235–236.

Table 235. Affirmative past endpoint iterative forms of *démá rawag* 'to go on, to go forth'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*man démá rawána kort*	من دێما رئوانَ کرت	*má démá rawána kort*	ما دێما رئوانَ کرت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw démá rawána kort*	تئو دێما رئوانَ کرت	*shomá démá rawána kort*	شما دێما رئوانَ کرت
3ʳᵈ	*áiá démá rawána kort*	آیا دێما رئوانَ کرت	*áyán démá rawána kort*	آیان دێما رئوانَ کرت

Table 236. Negated past endpoint iterative forms of *démá rawag* 'to go on, to go forth'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*man démá rawána nakort*	من دێما رئوانَ نکرت	*má démá rawána nakort*	ما دێما رئوانَ نکرت
2ⁿᵈ	*taw démá rawána nakort*	تئو دێما رئوانَ نکرت	*shomá démá rawána nakort*	شما دێما رئوانَ نکرت
3ʳᵈ	*áiá démá rawána nakort*	آیا دێما رئوانَ نکرت	*áyán démá rawána nakort*	آیان دێما رئوانَ نکرت

The past endpoint-iterative form is used for habitually repeated events in the past that led up to an endpoint.

Mani hamkárán wati kár démá barána kort.	منی همکاران وتی کار دێما برانَ کرت.	'My co-workers kept working [to the end].'
Má hechbar poshtá kenzána nakort.	ما هچبر پُشتا کنزانَ نکرت.	'We never backed off [until we reached our goal].'

The endpoint-iterative construction can also occur with other forms of the verb *kanag* 'to do'.

Omét ent mani hamkár wati kárá démá barán bekanant.	اُمێت اِنت منی همکار وتی کارا دێما بران بکننت.	'Hopefully my co-workers will keep on working [to the end].'
Wati kárá démá barán bekan.	وتی کارا دێما بران بکن.	'Keep on working [to the end].'

| *Agan áyán sharr wati kár démá barán bekortén, kár nun halletagat.* | اگن آیان شرّ وتی کار دیّما بران بکرتین، کار نون هلّتگ‌اَت. | 'If they had kept working well, the job would have been finished by now.' |

4.4.5.3. Ability

To express ability Balochi uses a periphrastic construction formed by the past stem of the main verb + finite forms of the auxiliary verb *kanag* 'to do'. It is negated by adding *na-* to the finite form of *kanag*. In the affirmative form, the main stress falls on the last syllable of the past stem of the main verb. In the negated form it falls on the negative prefix. This construction is common in the present-future indicative and subjunctive, and in the past perfective and subjunctive. Since *kanag* 'to do' is a transitive verb, the construction is transitive.

The present-future indicative form of the ability construction denotes present or future definite ability or lack of ability. The present-future subjunctive form denotes present or future potential ability or lack of ability.

Affirmative and negative ability forms of *rawag* 'to go' and *kanag* 'to do' are presented in Tables 237–252.

Table 237. Affirmative present-future indicative ability forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*shota kanán*	شتَ کنان	*shota kanén*	شتَ کنین
2nd	*shota kanay*	شتَ کنئے	*shota kanét*	شتَ کنیت
3rd	*shota kant*	شتَ کنت	*shota kanant*	شتَ کننت

Table 238. Negated present-future indicative ability forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*shota nakanán*	شتَ نکنان	*shota nakanén*	شتَ نکنیٚن
2nd	*shota nakanay*	شتَ نکنئے	*shota nakanét*	شتَ نکنیٚت
3rd	*shota nakant*	شتَ نکنت	*shota nakanant*	شتَ نکننت

Table 239. Affirmative present-future indicative ability forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*korta kanán*	کرتَ کنان	*korta kanén*	کرتَ کنین
2nd	*korta kanay*	کرتَ کنئے	*korta kanét*	کرتَ کنیت
3rd	*korta kant*	کرتَ کنت	*korta kanant*	کرتَ کننت

Table 240. Negated present-future indicative ability forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*korta nakanán*	كرتَ نكنان	*korta nakanén*	كرتَ نكنيٚن
2ⁿᵈ	*korta nakanay*	كرتَ نكنئے	*korta nakanét*	كرتَ نكنيٚت
3ʳᵈ	*korta nakant*	كرتَ نكنت	*korta nakanant*	كرتَ نكننت

Man maróchi shahrá shota nakanán.	من مرۆچی شهرا شتَ نكنان.	'I cannot go to town today.'
Shomá wati sangatán dista nakanét?	شما وتی سنگتان دیستَ نكنيٚت؟	'Can't you.PL meet your friends?'
Mani brát márá molká rasénta kant.	منی برات مارا ملكا رسيٚنتَ كنت.	'Our brother can take us to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Má é kárá korta nakanén.	ما اے كارا كرتَ نكنيٚن.	'We cannot do this (lit. this work).'

Table 241. Affirmative present-future subjunctive ability forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*shot bekanán*	شت بكنان	*shot bekanén*	شت بكنيٚن
2ⁿᵈ	*shot bekanay*	شت بكنئے	*shot bekanét*	شت بكنيٚت
3ʳᵈ	*shot bekant*	شت بكنت	*shot bekanant*	شت بكننت

Table 242. Negated present-future subjunctive ability forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*shot makanán*	شت مكنان	*shot makanén*	شت مكنيٚن
2ⁿᵈ	*shot makanay*	شت مكنئے	*shot makanét*	شت مكنيٚت
3ʳᵈ	*shot makant*	شت مكنت	*shot makanant*	شت مكننت

Table 243. Affirmative present-future subjunctive ability forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kort bekanán*	کرت بکنان	*kort bekanén*	کرت بکنێن
2nd	*kort bekanay*	کرت بکنئے	*kort bekanét*	کرت بکنێت
3rd	*kort bekant*	کرت بکنت	*kort bekanant*	کرت بکننت

Table 244. Negated present-future subjunctive ability forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kort makanán*	کرت مکنان	*kort makanén*	کرت مکنێن
2nd	*kort makanay*	کرت مکنئے	*kort makanét*	کرت مکنێت
3rd	*kort makant*	کرت مکنت	*kort makanant*	کرت مکننت

Agan man maróchi shahrá shot makanán, taw mani gwará byá.	اگن من مرۆچی شهرا شت مکنان، تئو منی گورا بیا.	'Come to me if I cannot go to town today.'
Balkén mani mát mani gwará átk bekant.	بلکێن منی مات منی گورا آتک بکنت.	'Maybe my mother can come to me.'
Márá sój beday tán má ham é kárá kort bekanén.	مارا سۆج بدئے تان ما هم اے کارا کرت بکنێن.	'Teach us so that we too will be able to do this (lit. this work).'

In the past tense of the ability construction, the verb does not agree with the subject. When the main verb is an intransitive verb, such as *rawag* 'to go', there is no object to agree with either, which means that the verb is always in the 3rd person singular. When the main verb is a transitive verb, such as *kanag* 'to do', the verb agrees with the direct object.

The past perfective form of the ability construction denotes ability or lack of ability on a specific occasion.

Table 245. Affirmative past perfective ability forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man shot kort*	من شت کرت	*má shot kort*	ما شت کرت
2nd	*taw shot kort*	تئو شت کرت	*shomá shot kort*	شما شت کرت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá shot kort*	اِشیا/آییا شت کرت	*eshán/áyán shot kort*	اِشان/آیان شت کرت

Table 246. Negated past perfective ability forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man shot nakort*	من شت نکرت	*má shot nakort*	ما شت نکرت
2nd	*taw shot nakort*	تئو شت نکرت	*shomá shot nakort*	شما شت نکرت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá shot nakort*	اِشیا/آیِا شت نکرت	*eshán/áyán shot nakort*	اِشان/آیان شت نکرت

Table 247. Affirmative past perfective ability forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man kort kort/ kortant*	من کرت کرت/ کرتنت	*má kort kort/ kortant*	ما کرت کرت/ کرتنت
2nd	*taw kort kort/ kortant*	تئو کرت کرت/ کرتنت	*shomá kort kort/ kortant*	شما کرت کرت/کرتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kort kort/kortant*	اِشیا/آیِا کرت کرت/کرتنت	*eshán/áyán kort kort/kortant*	اِشان/آیان کرت کرت/کرتنت

Table 248. Negated past perfective ability forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man kort nakort/ nakortant*	من کرت نکرت/ نکرتنت	*má kort nakort/ nakortant*	ما کرت نکرت/ نکرتنت
2nd	*taw kort nakort/ nakortant*	تئو کرت نکرت/نکرتنت	*shomá kort nakort/ nakortant*	شما کرت نکرت/ نکرتنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kort nakort/ nakortant*	اِشیا/آیِا کرت نکرت/نکرتنت	*eshán/áyán kort nakort/ nakortant*	اِشان/آیان کرت نکرت/نکرتنت

Shomá sharhá shot kort.	شما شهرا شت کرت.	'You.PL could go to town.'
Chokkán chiá átk nakort?	چکّان چیا آتک نکرت؟	'Why couldn't the children come?'
Man é sajjahén ketáb wánt nakortant.	من اے سجّهین کتاب وانت نکرتنت.	'I could not read all these books.'
Taw zi báz kár kort nakort.	تئو زی باز کار کرت نکرت.	'You.SG couldn't work much yesterday.'

210

If the ability/non-ability is of an ongoing or habitual kind, the past imperfective form is used. The past imperfective form of the ability construction can also denote something that was possible but did not happen.

Shomá shahrá shota kort.	شما شهرا شتَ کرت.	'You.PL could go to town (repeatedly).'
Chokká pári hech dars wánta nakort.	چکَّا پاری هچ درس وانتَ نکرت.	'The child couldn't study at all last year.'
Taw shota kort. Chiá nashotay?	تئو شتَ کرت. چیا نَشتئے؟	'You.SG could have gone. Why didn't you go?'

The past subjunctive form of the ability construction denotes past, present, or future counterfactual ability, i.e. things that could not or cannot be done.

Table 249. Affirmative past subjunctive ability forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man shot bekortén*	من شت بکرتین	*má shot bekortén*	ما شت بکرتین
2nd	*taw shot bekortén*	تئو شت بکرتین	*shomá shot bekortén*	شما شت بکرتین
3rd	*eshiá/áiá shot bekortén*	اِشیا/آییا شت بکرتین	*eshán/áyán shot bekortén*	اِشان/آیان شت بکرتین

Table 250. Negated past subjunctive ability forms of *rawag* 'to go', past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man shot makortén*	من شت مکرتین	*má shot makortén*	ما شت مکرتین
2nd	*taw shot makortén*	تئو شت مکرتین	*shomá shot makortén*	شما شت مکرتین
3rd	*eshiá/áiá shot makortén*	اِشیا/آییا شت مکرتین	*eshán/áyán shot makortén*	اِشان/آیان شت مکرتین

211

Table 251. Affirmative past subjunctive ability forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man kort bekortén/ bekorténant*	من کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت	*má kort bekortén/ bekorténant*	ما کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت
2nd	*taw kort bekortén/ bekorténant*	تئو کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت	*shomá kort bekortén/ bekorténant*	شما کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kort bekortén/ bekorténant*	اِشیا/آیا کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت	*eshán/áyán kort bekortén/ bekorténant*	اِشان/آیان بکرتین/ بکرتیننت

Table 252. Negated past subjunctive ability forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*man kort makortén/ makorténant*	من کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	*má kort makortén/ makorténant*	ما کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت
2nd	*taw kort makortén/ makorténant*	تئو کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	*shomá kort makortén/ makorténant*	شما کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kort makortén/ makorténant*	اِشیا/آیا کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	*eshán/áyán kort makortén/ makorténant*	اِشان/آیان مکرتین/ مکرتیننت

Agan áiá átk makortén, maná zarur háli dátagat.	اگن آیا آتک مکرتین، منا زرور هالی داتگـأَت.	'He would have informed me if he couldn't come.'
Agan man wánt bekortén, maná sharrén káré rasetagat.	اگن من وانت بکرتین، منا شرّین کارے رستگـأَت.	'If I had been able to study, I would have got a good job (lit. a good job would have arrived to me).'
Drégatá taw molká shot bekortén.	درێگتا تئو مُلکا شت بکرتین.	'How good [it would be] if you.SG would have been able to go to Balochistan (lit. the land).'

212

The ability construction can also occur in the present perfect and past perfect forms.

Zi sajjahén róchá áiá bázárá shot nakortag.	زی سجّهیٚن رۆچا آیا بازارا شت نکرتگ.	'Yesterday he [reportedly] could not go to the marketplace for the whole day.'
Áyán warag wárt nakortag.	آیان ورگ وارت نکرتگ.	'[As I was told] they couldn't eat (lit. eat food).'
Agan mani chamm sharr buténant, man báz ketáb wánt kortagat.	اگن منی چمّ شرّ بوتیٚننت، من باز کتاب وانت کرتگاَت.	'If my eyes were fine, I would have been able to read many books.'

There is another ability construction that is commonly used in some dialects of Balochi spoken in Western (Iranian) Balochistan. This construction employs the verb *twánag* (past stem *twánt*) 'to be able to' + present-future subjunctive forms of the main verb. *Twánag* 'to be able to' is conjugated as a transitive verb.

Má twánén byáén.	ما توانیٚن بیاێن.	'We can come.'
Áyán natwánt edá lógé addh bekanant.	آیان نتوانت اِدا لۆگے اذّ بکننت.	'They could not build a house here.'

4.4.5.4. Future time reference

The most common ways of expressing future time reference are by means of the present-future indicative (for certain events and states, see Section 4.4.2.1) and the present-future subjunctive (for uncertain events and states, see Section 4.4.2.2). But there is also a periphrastic construction that expresses only future time. It is used in contexts where there is a prediction about the future. This construction is formed by the verbal adjective + finite forms of the present copula. It can also be used with the past copula. It then refers to foretold states and events in the past. The negative prefix is normally added to the verbal adjective, but can alternatively be added to the copula to emphasize the negation. The construction is stressed on the last syllable of the verbal adjective. Since the finite verb is intransitive, the periphrastic construction is intransitive.

Affirmative and negated future time reference forms of *rawag* 'to go' and *kanag* 'to do' are presented in Tables 253–264.

213

Table 253. Affirmative future time reference forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*rawagi án*	رئوگی آن	*rawagi én*	رئوگی این
2nd	*rawagi ay*	رئوگی ائے	*rawagi ét*	رئوگی ایت
3rd	*rawagi ent*	رئوگی اِنت	*rawagi ant*	رئوگی اَنت

Table 254. Negated future time reference forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*narawagi án*	نرئوگی آن	*narawagi én*	نرئوگی این
2nd	*narawagi ay*	نرئوگی ائے	*narawagi ét*	نرئوگی ایت
3rd	*narawagi ent*	نرئوگی اِنت	*narawagi ant*	نرئوگی اَنت

Table 255. Alternative negated future time reference forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*rawagi naán*	رئوگی نہآن	*rawagi naén*	رئوگی نہاین
2nd	*rawagi naay*	رئوگی نہائے	*rawagi naét*	رئوگی نہایت
3rd	*rawagi naent*	رئوگی نہاِنت	*rawagi naant*	رئوگی نہاَنت

Table 256. Affirmative future time reference forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanagi án*	کنگی آن	*kanagi én*	کنگی این
2nd	*kanagi ay*	کنگی ائے	*kanagi ét*	کنگی ایت
3rd	*kanagi ent*	کنگی اِنت	*kanagi ant*	کنگی اَنت

Table 257. Negated future time reference forms of *kanag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*nakanagi án*	نکنگی آن	*nakanagi én*	نکنگی این
2nd	*nakanagi ay*	نکنگی ائے	*nakanagi ét*	نکنگی ایت
3rd	*nakanagi ent*	نکنگی اِنت	*nakanagi ant*	نکنگی اَنت

Table 258. Alternative negated future time reference forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*kanagi naán*	کنگی نہآن	*kanagi naén*	کنگی نہاین
2nd	*kanagi naay*	کنگی نہائے	*kanagi naét*	کنگی نہایت
3rd	*kanagi naent*	کنگی نہاِنت	*kanagi naant*	کنگی نہاَنت

This construction is used to denote foretold future.

Má sajjahén cha é donyáyá rawagi én.	ما سجّهین چه اے دنیایا رئوگی این.	'We are all to leave this world.'
Tai wáhag purah nabayagi ent.	تئیی واهگ پوره نبئیگی اِنت.	'What you.SG want (lit. your wish) is impossible to fulfil (lit. not to become fulfilled).'
É kár kanagi naent.	اے کار کنگی نہاِنت.	'This (lit. this work) is not to be done.'

This construction can also be used for events that are just about to take place.

Má ápá bokkagi én.	ما آپا بکّگی این.	'We are about to drown.'
Chokk kapagi ent.	چکّ کپگی اِنت.	'The child is about to fall.'

Table 259. Affirmative past future time reference forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*rawagi atán*	رئوگی اتان	*rawagi atén*	رئوگی اتین
2ⁿᵈ	*rawagi atay*	رئوگی اتئے	*rawagi atét*	رئوگی اتیت
3ʳᵈ	*rawagi at*	رئوگی اَت	*rawagi atant*	رئوگی اتنت

Table 260. Negated past future time reference forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*narawagi atán*	نرئوگی اتان	*narawagi atén*	نرئوگی اتین
2ⁿᵈ	*narawagi atay*	نرئوگی اتئے	*narawagi atét*	نرئوگی اتیت
3ʳᵈ	*narawagi at*	نرئوگی اَت	*narawagi atant*	نرئوگی اتنت

Table 261. Alternative negated past future time reference forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*rawagi naatán*	رئوگی نہاتان	*rawagi naatén*	رئوگی نہاتین
2ⁿᵈ	*rawagi naatay*	رئوگی نہاتئے	*rawagi naatét*	رئوگی نہاتیت
3ʳᵈ	*rawagi naat*	رئوگی نہاَت	*rawagi naatant*	رئوگی نہاتنت

Table 262. Affirmative past future time reference forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*kanagi atán*	کنگی اتان	*kanagi atén*	کنگی اتین
2ⁿᵈ	*kanagi atay*	کنگی اتئے	*kanagi atét*	کنگی اتیت
3ʳᵈ	*kanagi at*	کنگی اَت	*kanagi atant*	کنگی اتنت

Table 263. Negated past future time reference forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*nakanagi atán*	نکنگی اتان	*nakanagi atén*	نکنگی اتین
2ⁿᵈ	*nakanagi atay*	نکنگی اتئے	*nakanagi atét*	نکنگی اتیت
3ʳᵈ	*nakanagi at*	نکنگی اَت	*nakanagi atant*	نکنگی اتنت

Table 264. Alternative negated past future time reference forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*kanagi naatán*	کنگی نەاتان	*kanagi naatén*	کنگی نەاتین
2ⁿᵈ	*kanagi naatay*	کنگی نەاتئے	*kanagi naatét*	کنگی نەاتیت
3ʳᵈ	*kanagi naat*	کنگی نەاَت	*kanagi naatant*	کنگی نەاتنت

This construction is used to denote past foretold future.

May sangat áyagi atant.	مئے سنگت آیگی اتنت.	'Our friends were to come.'
Tai wáhag purah nabayagi at.	تئیی واهگ پوره نبئیگی اَت.	'What you.SG wanted (lit. your wish) was impossible (lit. not to be fulfilled).
É kár kanagi naat.	اے کار کنگی نەاَت.	'This (lit. this work) was not to be done.'

This construction can also be used for events that were just about to take place but were prevented.

Má ápá bokkagi atén.	ما آپا بکّگی اتین.	'We were about to drown.'
Chokk kapagi at bale man dásht.	چکّ کپگی اَت بله من داشت.	'The child was about to fall, but I caught him.'

216

4.4.5.5. Necessity/intention

Necessity or intention is expressed in a way that is similar to the future time construction. The only difference between the two constructions is that the subject in the future time construction is in the direct case, whereas the subject in the necessity/intention construction is in the oblique case for nouns and 3rd person pronouns and in the object case for 1st and 2nd person pronouns. This is, in fact, a non-canonical subject construction (see Section 4.4.6).

The construction is found with both a present and a past copula to express necessity/intention in the present-future or past tense. The copula is always in the 3rd person and agrees with the formal subject (the semantic direct object), if there is one. If there is no formal subject, which is always the case with intransitive verbs, the verb is invariably in the 3rd person singular. The negative prefix is normally added to the verbal adjective, but can alternatively be added to the copula to emphasize the negation.

The necessity/intention construction with the present-future copula denotes states and events in the present or future that may or may not take place. With the past copula it refers to states and events in the past, which may or may not have taken place. The negated form denotes either a negated intention or a prohibition in the present-future or past tense.

Affirmative and negated necessity/intention forms of *rawag* 'to go' and *kanag* 'to do' are presented in Tables 265–276.

Table 265. Affirmative present-future necessity/intention forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná rawagi ent*	منا رئوگی اِنت	*márá rawagi ent*	مارا رئوگی اِنت
2nd	*tará rawagi ent*	ترا رئوگی اِنت	*shomárá rawagi ent*	شمارا رئوگی اِنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá rawagi ent*	اِشیا/آییا رئوگی اِنت	*eshán/áyán rawagi ent*	اِشان/آیان رئوگی اِنت

Table 266. Negated present-future necessity/intention forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná narawagi ent*	منا نرئوگی اِنت	*márá narawagi ent*	مارا نرئوگی اِنت
2nd	*tará narawagi ent*	ترا نرئوگی اِنت	*shomárá rawagi ent*	شمارا نرئوگی اِنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá narawagi ent*	اِشیا/آییا نرئوگی اِنت	*eshán/áyán narawagi ent*	اِشان/آیان نرئوگی اِنت

Table 267. Alternative negated present-future necessity/intention forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná rawagi naent*	منا رئوگی نهاِنت	*márá rawagi naent*	مارا رئوگی نهاِنت
2nd	*tará rawagi naent*	ترا رئوگی نهاِنت	*shomárá rawagi naent*	شمارا رئوگی نهاِنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá rawagi naent*	اِشیا/آیبا رئوگی نهاِنت	*eshán/áyán rawagi naent*	اِشان/آیان رئوگی نهاِنت

Table 268. Affirmative present-future necessity/intention forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná kanagi ent*	منا کنگی اِنت	*márá kanagi ent*	مارا کنگی اِنت
2nd	*tará kanagi ent*	ترا کنگی اِنت	*shomárá kanagi ent*	شمارا کنگی اِنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kanagi ent*	اِشیا/آیبا کنگی اِنت	*eshán/áyán kanagi ent*	اِشان/آیان کنگی اِنت

Table 269. Negated present-future necessity/intention forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná nakanagi ent*	منا نکنگی اِنت	*márá nakanagi ent*	مارا نکنگی اِنت
2nd	*tará nakanagi ent*	ترا نکنگی اِنت	*shomárá nakanagi ent*	شمارا نکنگی اِنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nakanagi ent*	اِشیا/آیبا نکنگی اِنت	*eshán/áyán nakanagi ent*	اِشان/آیان نکنگی اِنت

Table 270. Alternative negated present-future necessity/intention forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná kanagi naent*	منا کنگی نهاِنت	*márá kanagi naent*	مارا کنگی نهاِنت
2nd	*tará kanagi naent*	ترا کنگی نهاِنت	*shomárá kanagi naent*	شمارا کنگی نهاِنت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kanagi naent*	اِشیا/آیبا کنگی نهاِنت	*eshán/áyán kanagi naent*	اِشان/آیان کنگی نهاِنت

Márá maróchi kár kanagi ent.	مارا مرۉچی کار کنگی اِنت.	'We have to work today.'
Maná pelmé cháragi ent.	منا پِلمے چارگی اِنت.	'I intend to watch a film.'
Mani brátá molká rawagi ent.	منی براتا مُلکا رئوگی اِنت.	'My brother has to (or: intends to) go to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Shomárá é gapp nagwashagi ent.	شمارا اے گپّ نگوَشگی اِنت.	'You.PL should not say this (lit. this talk).'
Chokkán dars wánagi ent.	چکّان درس وانگی اِنت.	'The children must study.'
Tará wati brát shahrá rasénagi ant.	ترا وتی برات شهرا رسینگی اَنت.	'You.SG need to take your brothers to town.'
Márá sáhat doá warag waragi ent.	مارا ساهت دوا ورگ ورگی اِنت.	'We are planning to eat at two o'clock.'

Table 271. Affirmative past necessity/intention forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná rawagi at*	منا رئوگی اَت	*márá rawagi at*	مارا رئوگی اَت
2nd	*tará rawagi at*	ترا رئوگی اَت	*shomárá rawagi at*	شمارا رئوگی اَت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá rawagi at*	اِشیا/آیا رئوگی اَت	*eshán/áyán rawagi at*	اِشان/آیان رئوگی اَت

Table 272. Negated past necessity/intention forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná narawagi at*	منا نرئوگی اَت	*márá narawagi at*	مارا نرئوگی اَت
2nd	*tará narawagi at*	ترا نرئوگی اَت	*shomárá narawagi at*	شمارا نرئوگی اَت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá narawagi at*	اِشیا/آیا نرئوگی اَت	*eshán/áyán narawagi at*	اِشان/آیان نرئوگی اَت

219

Table 273. Alternative negated past necessity/intention forms of *rawag* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná rawagi naat*	منا رئوگی نهأت	*márá rawagi naat*	مارا رئوگی نهأت
2nd	*tará rawagi naat*	ترا رئوگی نهأت	*shomárá rawagi naat*	شمارا رئوگی نهأت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá rawagi naat*	اِشیا/آیِا رئوگی نهأت	*eshán/áyán rawagi naat*	اِشان/آیان رئوگی نهأت

Table 274. Affirmative past necessity/intention forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná kanagi at*	منا کنگی أت	*márá kanagi at*	مارا کنگی أت
2nd	*tará kanagi at*	ترا کنگی أت	*shomárá kanagi at*	شمارا کنگی أت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kanagi at*	اِشیا/آیِا کنگی أت	*eshán/áyán kanagi at*	اِشان/آیان کنگی أت

Table 275. Negated past necessity/intention forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná nakanagi at*	منا نکنگی أت	*márá nakanagi at*	مارا نکنگی أت
2nd	*tará nakanagi at*	ترا نکنگی أت	*shomárá nakanagi at*	شمارا نکنگی أت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nakanagi at*	اِشیا/آیِا نکنگی أت	*eshán/áyán nakanagi at*	اِشان/آیان نکنگی أت

Table 276. Alternative negated past necessity/intention forms of *kanag* 'to do'

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná kanagi naat*	منا کنگی نهأت	*márá kanagi naat*	مارا کنگی نهأت
2nd	*tará kanagi naat*	ترا کنگی نهأت	*shomárá kanagi naat*	شمارا کنگی نهأت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá kanagi naat*	اِشیا/آیِا کنگی نهأت	*eshán/áyán kanagi naat*	اِشان/آیان کنگی نهأت

Tará may lógá áyagi at. Chiá nayátkay?	ترا مئے لۆگا آیگی اَت. چیا نئیاتکئے؟	'You.SG were to come to our home. Why didn't you come?'
Agan tará narawagi at chiá maná hál nadát?	اگن ترا نرئوگی اَت چیا منا هال ندات؟	'If you.SG were not going to go, why didn't [you] tell me?'
Márá é kár kanagi naat bale pa taigi kort.	مارا اے کار کنگی نہاَت بلہ پہ تئییگی کرت.	'We were not supposed to do this (lit. this deed), but [we] did it for you.SG.'
Maná bázárá rawagi at, paméshká shomay kerrá átk nakort.	منا بازارا رئوگی اَت، پیمئشکا شمئے کڑا آتک نکرت.	'I had to go to the marketplace, therefore I could not come to you.PL.'

Necessity can also be expressed by means of an infinitive in the direct case form followed by a finite form of the verb *kapag* 'to fall'. The subject in this construction is non-canonical (see also Section 4.4.6) and the thing to be done is the formal subject of the sentence in the direct case.

Márá shahrá rawaga kapit.	مارا شهرا رئوگَ کپیت.	'We have to go to town.'
Chokká bázén ketábé wánaga kapit.	چُکّا بازێن کتابێئے وانگَ کپیت.	'The child has to read a lot of books.'
Mátay nájórhiay sawabá maná lógá áyag kapt.	ماتئے ناجۆڑیئے سئوبا منا لۆکا آیگ کپت.	'I had to come home because of my mother's illness.'
Tará hechbar zarr wám kanag kaptag?	ترا هچبر زرّ وام کنگ کپتگ؟	'Have you ever had to borrow money?'

4.4.5.6. Inchoative (ingressive) constructions
Inchoative constructions mark the starting point of an event. The most common inchoative construction consists of an oblique infinitive followed by finite forms of the verb *laggag* 'to bump into'. This construction is intransitive, since the verb *laggag* 'to bump into' is intransitive. There are also other verbs that can be used to denote the starting point, e.g. *bená kanag*, *bendát kanag*, *bongéj kanag*, *shoru kanag* 'to start'. Since *kanag* 'to do' is a transitive verb,

these inchoative constructions are also transitive. With these verbs, the infinitive is in the direct case. (See also Section 4.4.5.1 for the use of the progressive construction for inchoative events.)

Mani ján cha gwahrá larzagá lagget.	منی جان چه گَوَهرا لرزَگا لگَّت.	'My body started shaking of cold.'
Mani brát démi máhá Karáchiá dars wánagá laggit.	منی برات دیّمی ماها کراچیا درس وانگا لگِّیت.	'My brother will start studying in Karachi next month.'
Mani yak sangatéá ketáb nebisag bendát kortag.	منی یک سنگتیا کتاب نبیسگ بندات کرتگ.	'A friend of mine has started writing books.'
Taw kadi Angrézi wánag bongéja kanay?	تئو کدی اَنگریّزی وانگ بُنگَیّجَ کنئے؟	'When will you start studying English?'

4.4.6. Impersonal verbs (verbs with non-canonical subjects)

Like the necessity/intention construction (see Section 4.4.5.5), there are a number of other verbs that take a non-canonical (dative) subject. Verbs that take non-canonical subjects are here called impersonal verbs. The non-canonical (dative) subject of an impersonal verb is often the experiencer rather than the agent (e.g. 'it seems to me…', 'it occurred to us…').

   With nouns and 3rd person pronouns, the oblique case form of the noun is used as a non-canonical subject, and with 1st and 2nd person pronouns the object case form is used. The verb either agrees with the formal subject (the semantic direct object), if there is one, or takes the 3rd person singular form. One of the most important impersonal constructions in Balochi is that of ownership or ownership-like relations, 'to have'.

4.4.6.1. Non-canonical subjects in ownership relations

There is no verb 'to have' in Balochi. Ownership or ownership-like relations are constructed with the verb of existence (*hast* 'there is' and *nést* 'there is not', *hastat* 'there was', *néstat* 'there was not') and a non-canonical subject 'to me there is/was (not)'. There are also present-future and past subjunctive forms, as well as present perfect and past perfect forms, of the ownership construction with a non-canonical subject. This construction mainly uses the verb in the 3rd person singular.

   Affirmative and negated ownership construction forms are presented in Tables 277–288.

Table 277. Affirmative present indicative ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*maná hast(ent)*	منا هست/هست‌ِانت	*mará hast(ent)*	مارا هست/هست‌ِانت
2ⁿᵈ	*tará hast(ent)*	ترا هست/هست‌ِانت	*shomará hast(ent)*	شمارا هست/هست‌ِانت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá hast(ent)*	اِشیا/آیبا هست/ هست‌ِانت	*eshán/áyán hast(ent)*	اِشان/آیان هست/ هست‌ِانت

Table 278. Negated present indicative ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*maná nést(ent)*	منا نیست/نیست‌ِانت	*mará nést(ent)*	مارا نیست/نیست‌ِانت
2ⁿᵈ	*tará nést(ent)*	ترا نیست/نیست‌ِانت	*shomará nést(ent)*	شمارا نیست/نیست‌ِانت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá nést(ent)*	اِشیا/آیبا نیست/ نیست‌ِانت	*eshán/áyán nést(ent)*	اِشان/آیان نیست /نیست‌ِانت

Tará chokk hast?	ترا چِکّ هست؟	'Do you.SG have children?'
Mani brátá zarr nést.	منی براتا زرّ نیست.	'My brother has no money.'
Shomárá báz pocch hast.	شمارا باز پُچّ هست.	'You.PL have a lot of clothes.'
Áyán edá hech syád nést.	آیان اِدا هچ سیاد نیست.	'They don't have a single relative here.'

Table 279. Affirmative past ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1ˢᵗ	*maná hastat*	منا هست‌اَت	*mará hastat*	مارا هست‌اَت
2ⁿᵈ	*tará hastat*	ترا هست‌اَت	*shomárá hastat*	شمارا هست‌اَت
3ʳᵈ	*eshiá/áiá hastat*	اِشیا/آیبا هست‌اَت	*eshán/áyán hastat*	اِشان/آیان هست‌اَت

223

Table 280. Negated past ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná néstat*	منا نیستءَت	*márá néstat*	مارا نیستءَت
2nd	*tará néstat*	ترا نیستءَت	*shomárá néstat*	شمارا نیستءَت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá néstat*	اِشیا/آیا نیستءَت	*eshán/áyán néstat*	اِشان/آیان نیستءَت

Tará á wahdi chokk hastat?	ترا آ وهدی چِکّ هستءَت؟	'Did you.SG have children at that time?'
Mani brátá zarr néstat.	منی براتا زرّ نیستءَت.	'My brother had no money.'
Shomárá pésará báz pocch hastat.	شمارا پیسرا باز پُچّ هستءَت.	'You.PL had a lot of clothes previously.'
Áyán edá hech syád néstat.	آیان اِدا هچ سیاد نیستءَت.	'They didn't have a single relative here.'

Table 281. Affirmative present-future subjunctive ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná bebit*	منا ببیت	*márá bebit*	مارا ببیت
2nd	*tará bebit*	ترا ببیت	*shomárá bebit*	شمارا ببیت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá bebit*	اِشیا/آیا ببیت	*eshán/áyán bebit*	اِشان/آیان ببیت

Table 282. Negated present-future subjunctive ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná mabit*	منا مبیت	*márá mabit*	مارا مبیت
2nd	*tará mabit*	ترا مبیت	*shomárá mabit*	شمارا مبیت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá mabit*	اِشیا/آیا مبیت	*eshán/áyán mabit*	اِشان/آیان مبیت

Agan tará mardénchokké bebit, áiay námá Dódá bekan.	اگن ترا مردینچِکّے ببیت، آییئے ناما دۆدا بکن؟	'If you.SG get a son, call him (lit. make his name) Doda.'
Balkén mani brátá pa é sapará zarr bebit.	بلکین منی براتا په اے سپرا زرّ ببیت.	'Maybe my brother will have money for this journey.'
Báyad shomárá báz pocch bebit.	باید شمارا باز پُچّ ببیت.	'You.PL should have a lot of clothes.'

224

| *Agan áyán edá hech syádé mabit, pa áyán grána bit.* | اگن آیان اِدا هیچ سیادے مبیت، پَه آیان گرانَ بیت. | 'If they don't have a single relative here, it will be hard for them.' |

Table 283. Affirmative past subjunctive ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná (be)butén*	منا ببوتێن/بوتێن	*márá (be)butén*	مارا ببوتێن/بوتێن
2nd	*tará (be)butén*	ترا ببوتێن/بوتێن	*shomárá (be)butén*	شمارا ببوتێن/بوتێن
3rd	*eshiá/áiá (be)butén*	اِشیا/آیا ببوتێن/بوتێن	*eshán/áyán (be)butén*	اِشان/آیان ببوتێن/بوتێن

Table 284. Negated past subjunctive ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná mabutén*	منا مبوتێن	*márá mabutén*	مارا مبوتێن
2nd	*tará mabutén*	ترا مبوتێن	*shomárá mabutén*	شمارا مبوتێن
3rd	*eshiá/áiá mabutén*	اِشیا/آیا مبوتێن	*eshán/áyán mabutén*	اِشان/آیان مبوتێن

Table 285. Affirmative present perfect ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná butag*	منا بوتگ	*márá butag*	مارا بوتگ
2nd	*tará butag*	ترا بوتگ	*shomárá butag*	شمارا بوتگ
3rd	*eshiá/áiá butag*	اِشیا/آیا بوتگ	*eshán/áyán butag*	اِشان/آیان بوتگ

Table 286. Negated present perfect ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná nabutag*	منا نبوتگ	*márá nabutag*	مارا نبوتگ
2nd	*tará nabutag*	ترا نبوتگ	*shomárá nabutag*	شمارا نبوتگ
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nabutag*	اِشیا/آیا نبوتگ	*eshán/áyán nabutag*	اِشان/آیان نبوتگ

225

Table 287. Affirmative past perfect ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná butagat*	منا بوتگـأَت	*márá butagat*	مارا بوتگـأَت
2nd	*tará butagat*	ترا بوتگـأَت	*shomárá butagat*	شمارا بوتگـأَت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá butagat*	اِشيا/آيا بوتگـأَت	*eshán/áyán butagat*	اِشان/آيان بوتگـأَت

Table 288. Negated past perfect ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	*maná nabutagat*	منا نبوتگـأَت	*márá nabutagat*	مارا نبوتگـأَت
2nd	*tará nabutagat*	ترا نبوتگـأَت	*shomárá na-butagat*	شمارا نبوتگـاِت
3rd	*eshiá/áiá nabutagat*	اِشيا/آيا نبوتگـأَت	*eshán/áyán nabutagat*	اِشان/آيان نبوتگـاِت

Agan maná zarr bebutén garibáná dátagat.	اگن منا زرّ ببوتێن گريبانا داتگـأَت.	'If I had money I would have given it to the poor.'
Drégatá áiá wánagay shawk bebutén.	درێگتا آيا وانگئے شئوک ببوتێن.	'How good [it would be] if he had had an interest in studying.'
É wájahá pésará bázén málé butag, bale nun nézgár ent.	اے واجها پێسرا بازێن مالے بوتگ، بله نون نيزگار اِنت.	'This man [reportedly] had a lot of livestock formerly, but now he is poor.'
Márá tai suray hech hál o habaré nabutag.	مارا تئيى سورئے هچ هال و هبرے نبوتگ.	'We have not had any information about your.SG wedding.'
Maná kollag butagat. Paméshká átkon nakort.	منا كُلَگ بوتگـأَت. پميشكا آتكُن نكرت.	'I had caught a cold. Therefore I could not come.'
Áiá tán dah sálá chokk nabutagat bale padá buti.	آيا تان ده سالا چُكّ نبوتگـأَت بله پدا بوتى.	'He had not got a child yet at that time, but then he got [children].'

226

4.4.6.2. Other impersonal verbs with a non-canonical subject

Some common impersonal verbs are *torsag* 'to be afraid, to be scared' (can also be constructed with a normal subject), *laggag* 'to bump into', *zahir kanag/bayag* 'to long for', *bad áyag* 'to dislike', *pakár bayag* 'to need', *dast kapag* 'to find (suddenly and unexpectedly), to get hold of', *bazzag bayag* 'to feel sorry for', and *dóst bayag* 'to like, to love'. These are constructed with non-canonical subjects, i.e. nouns and 3rd person pronouns in the oblique form and 1st and 2nd person pronouns in the object case. The verb agrees with the direct object, if there is one. If not, the verb is in the 3rd person singular.

Sentences with non-canonical subjects.

Chokkán báza torsit.	چکّان بازَ ترسیت.	'The children are very scared.'
Tará nalaggit ke má déra kanén?	ترا نلگّیت که ما دیرَ کنین؟	'Doesn't it seem to you (lit. doesn't it bump into you) that we are late?'
Maná pa wati gohárá zahira kant.	منا په وتی گهارا زهیرَ کنت.	'I miss my sister (lit. to me longing does for my sister).'
Taw maná báz dóst ay.	تئو منا باز دؤست ائے.	'I love you.SG very much (lit. you are much loved to me).'
Áiá mazanén zarré pakár at.	آییا مزنین زرّے پکار اَت.	'She needed a large (sum of) money (lit. to her a large sum of money was needed).'
Tará mani sará bazzag bát.	ترا منی سرا بزّگ بات.	'May you.SG have mercy on me.'
Balkén é lóg shomárá dóst mabit.	بلکین اے لؤگ شمارا دؤست مبیت.	'Maybe you.PL won't like this house.'
Márá é ketáb pakára nabit.	مارا اے کتاب پکارَ نبیت.	'We will not need this book.'

There is also a verb meaning 'to like, to love' that is not constructed with a non-canonical subject, namely *dóst dárag*. This verb is transitive and takes the subject in the direct case in the present-future tense and in the oblique case in the past tense.

Man tará báz dósta dárán.	من ترا باز دۆستَ داران.	'I love you.SG very much.'
Mátá pa ché wati chokk dóst nadásht?	ماتا په چے وتی چُکّ دۆست نداشت؟	'Why didn't the mother love her child?'

4.4.7. Stative-dynamic verbs

There are a number of verbs in Balochi that can denote both a state and a dynamic change of state. These verbs are *óshtag,* past stem *óshtát* 'to stand up / to stand', *nendag,* past stem *nesht* 'to sit down / to sit', and *wapsag,* past stem *wapt* 'to lie down / to be lying' and their synonyms. These verbs denote dynamic change of state in the present-future indicative, past perfective, and past imperfective forms.

Edá benendén?	اِدا بنندیٚن؟	'Should we sit down here?'
Kadia wapsay?	کدیَ وپسئے؟	'When will you.SG go to bed?'
Zeminay sará nesht.	زمینئے سرا نِشت.	'She sat down on the floor.'
Mári ke dist, cha torsá óshtát.	ماری که دیست، چه ترسا اۏشتات.	'He stood still out of fear when he saw the snake.'

In the present perfect and past perfect forms, these verbs indicate a state. In the present perfect it is an ongoing state in the present, and in the past perfect it is a past state.

Taw mani wadárá óshtátagatay?	تئو منی ودارا اۏشتاتگاتئے؟	'Were you.SG standing [and] waiting for me?'
Man edá waptagán.	من اِدا وپتگان.	'I am lying here.'
Mani gohár kojá óshtátag?	منی گهار کجا اۏشتاتگ؟	'Where is my sister standing?'
Pa ché wati brátay kerrá naneshtag?	په چے وتی براتئے کرّا نَنشتگ؟	'Why is he not sitting beside his brother?'

| *Má cháret bale chokk wati jágahá nawaptagat.* | ما چارت بله چُکّ وتی جاگها نئوپتگ‌اَت. | 'We looked but the child was not lying in his (normal) place.' |
| *Shomá parzónagay sará neshtagatét?* | شما پرزۏنگے‌ سرا نِشتگ‌اتیت؟ | 'Were you.PL sitting at the table (consisting of a tablecloth spread out on the floor)?' |

In the present-future subjunctive and imperative forms, these verbs can denote both a state and a dynamic change of state.

| *Hamedá bósht.* | همِدا بۏشت. | 'Stand up right here. / Keep standing right here.' |
| *É korsiay sará manend, haráb ent.* | اے کرسیئے‌ سرا منند، هراب اِنت. | 'Don't sit down on this chair, it is broken. / Don't keep sitting on this chair, it is broken.' |

5. Syntax

5.1. Constituent order in the phrase

Balochi is a language that normally places determiners before the head word. This applies to:

I. adjective attributes, which normally precede the noun.

Márá mazanén lógé hastat.	مارا مزنێن لۆگے هستاَت.	'We had a big house.'
Masterén bachakay nám kay ent?	مسترێن بچکئے نام کئے اِنت؟	'What is the name of the oldest child?'
É wasshén molké.	اے وشّێن مُلکے.	'This is a good country.'
Bánórá sohrén pocch gwará at.	بانۆرا سهرێن پچّ گورا اَت.	'The bride was wearing red clothes.'
Gránén káré may démá ent.	گرانێن کارے مئے دێما اِنت.	'We have a difficult job before us.'

However, if the adjective attribute is emphasized it can be placed after the noun.

Káré mazanén taw kortag.	کارے مزنێن تئو کرتگ.	'You.SG have done a great thing (lit. deed).'

II. genitive attributes, which normally precede the noun.

Pollay rang sohr ent.	پُلّئے رنگ سُهر اِنت.	'The colour of the flower is red.'
Ketábáni kimmat báz at.	کتابانی کیمّت باز اَت.	'The price of the books was high (lit. much).'

231

May mát molká shotag.	مئے مات مُلکا شتگ.	'Our mother has gone to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Shomay chokk mazan butagant?	شمئے چکّ مزن بوتگ‌اَنت؟	'Have your.PL children grown up?'
Esháni zend wassh gwazagá at.	اِشانی زند وشّ گوَزگا اَت.	'Their life was going along well.'

However, if the genitive attribute is emphasized, it can be placed after the noun.

Chónén wasshén zendé at, esháni.	چۆنێن وشّێن زندے اَت، اِشانی.	'How good their life was.'

A genitive attribute precedes an adjective attribute.

Chokkáni nókén ketábáni kimmat báz at.	چکّانی نۆکێن کتابانی کیمّت باز اَت.	'The price of the children's new books was high (lit. much).'
Tai masterén bachakay nám kay ent?	تئیی مسترێن بچکئے نام کئے اِنت؟	'What is the name of your.SG oldest child?'

III. demonstrative and indefinite determiners, which are always placed before the noun.

Á bachak mani chokk naent.	آ بچک منی چکّ نه‌اِنت.	'That boy is not my child.'
É róchán taw ché kanagá ay?	اے رۆچان تئو چے کنگا ائے؟	'What are you.SG doing these days?'
Gón wat hech chizz mayár.	گۆن وت هچ چیزّ مئیار.	'Don't bring anything with you.SG.'
Har némagá ke becháray, é molk ábád ent.	هر نێمگا که بچارئے، اے مُلک آباد اِنت.	'In any direction you.SG may look, this country is cultivated/ fertile.'

232

É drachk báyad ent goddhag bebit.	اے درچک باید اِنت گُڈّگ ببیت.	'This tree must be chopped down.'
Man á molkán nashotagán.	من آ مُلکان نَشتگان.	'I have not been to those countries.'
Chont sáhat kár bekanén?	چُنت ساهت کار بکنیٚن؟	'How many hours did the job take?'

Demonstrative determiners precede adjective attributes and indefinite determiners, but follow genitive attributes.

Á mazanén ketábá maná beday.	آ مزنیٚن کتابا منا بدئے.	'Give me that big book.'
É bázén zarrán taw ché kanay?	اے بازیٚن زرّان تئو چے کنئے؟	'What are you.SG going to do with all this money?'
É kasánén chokká besambál.	اے کسانیٚن چُکّا بسمبال.	'Take care of this small child.'
Hamá mazanén darwázagay dapá óshtátagatán ke dém pa bágá pacha bit.	هما مزنیٚن دروازگئے دپا اۆشتاتگاتان که دیٚم په باگا پچَ بیت.	'I was standing in front of that big door which opens towards the garden.'
Chokkáni é kár sharr naat.	چکّانی اے کار شرّ نہ‌اَت.	'This thing that the children did (lit. the children's this deed) was not good.'
É chokkáni kár sharr naat.	اے چکّانی کار شرّ نہ‌اَت.	'The thing that these children did (lit. these children's deed) was not good.'

IV. cardinal and ordinal numerals, which are always placed before the noun.

Say róchá lógá atán.	سئے رۆچا لۆگا اَتان.	'I was at home for three days.'
Cháromi róchá dar kaptán.	چارمی رۆچا در کپتان.	'On the fourth day I went out.'

233

Tai doén brát kojá ant?	تئیی دوێن برات کجا اَنت؟	'Where are your.SG two brothers?'
May awali lóg Pahrahá at.	مئے ائولی لۆگ پهرَها اَت.	'Our first home was in Pahrah.'

V. the indefinite adjectives *bázén* 'many' and *lahtén* 'some', which precede another adjective.

Bádsháhá pa eday mardomán bázén sharrén káré kortag.	بادشاها پَه اِدئے مردمان بازێن شَّرێن کارے کرتگ.	'The king has done many good things for the people here.'
Lahtén radén kári ham kortag.	لهتێین ردێن کاری هم کرتگ.	'He has also done some wrong things.'

VI. adverbs, which are placed before the head word (an adjective, verb, or adverb).

É kár báz grán ent.	اے کار باز گران اِنت.	'This job is very difficult.'
Sakk téza rawt.	سکّ تیزَ رئوت.	'He walks very fast.'
May chokk sakk báz ketába wánant.	مئے چِکّ سکّ باز درسَ واننت.	'Our children read very much.'

5.2. Constituent order in the clause

The basic clause-constituent order in Balochi is Subject-Object-Verb.

Chokk wati sangatána gendant.	چِکّ وتی سنگتانَ گندنت.	'The children see their friends.'
Mani pet ketáb wánagá ent.	منی پت کتاب وانگا اِنت.	'My father is reading books/a book.'
Róchá wati bránz sheng o tálán kortant.	رۆچا وتی برانز شنگ و تالان کرتنت.	'The sun spread its rays.'

234

In a few constructions, the preposition *gón* 'with' can follow the verb.

| *Taw chiá nayáay gón?* | تئو چیا نئیائے گۆن؟ | 'Why don't you come along?' |
| *Márá bar gón.* | مارا بر گۆن. | 'Take us with [you].' |

The default order of direct and indirect objects varies depending on whether they contain new or old information. If the direct object has already been introduced and is definite, it normally precedes the indirect object.

| *Man wati lógay kelitán tará dayán.* | من وتی لۆگئے کلیتان ترا دئیان. | 'I will give you.SG the keys to my house.' |
| *Ostádá chiá wati ketáb márá nadát?* | اُستادا چیا وتی کتاب مارا ندات؟ | 'Why didn't the teacher give us his book?' |

If the direct object is indefinite, i.e. contains new information, it usually follows the indirect object.

Báyad ent molkay hákemá song o máliát bedayén.	باید اِنت مُلکئے هاکما سُنگ و مالیات بدئیین.	'We need to pay (lit. give) the ruler of the country taxes.'
Shomá maná ché dayét?	شما منا چے دئییت؟	'What will you.PL give me?'
Maná mókal beday, tai zarrána dayán.	منا مۆکل بدئے، تئیی زرّانَ دئیان.	'Give me a postponement [and] I will give your.SG money [back].'

There are, however, instances that deviate from the main rules, e.g. for emphasis.

| *Harché ke márá hast, shomárá dayén.* | هرچے که مارا هست، شمارا دئیین. | 'We will give you.PL whatever we have.' |

The default position of adpositional phrases is directly after the subject phrase. They thus normally occur as early as possible in the clause, after the subject.

Balóchestánay wasshén nedárag cha wábá washter ent.	بلۏچستانئے وشّیٚن ندارگ چه وابا وشتر اِنت.	'[Looking at] the beautiful scenery of Balochistan is better than sleeping.'
Sajjahén mardom gárhiay tahá wáb kaptant.	سجّهیٚن مردم گاڑیئے تها واب کپتنت.	'All the people fell asleep in the car.'
Chokk gón wati petá habar kanagá at.	چکّ گۏن وتی پتا هبر کنگا اَت.	'The child was speaking with his father.'
Mazanén kocheké mani démá átk.	مزنیٚن کُچکے منی دیٚما آتک.	'A big dog came in front of me.'
Mani chamm pa yak zébáén drachkéá kapt.	منی چمّ په یک زیٚبایٚن درچکیا کپت.	'My eyes (lit. eye) fell on a beautiful tree.'

Adpositional phrases can, however, also be placed before the subject or directly before the verb.

Cha é sajjahén mardománi gendagá hayrán bután.	چه اے سجّهیٚن مردمانی گندگا هئیران بوتان.	'I was surprised to see all these people.'
Áiay poshtá dega do say morg átk o nesht.	آییئے پُشتا دگه دو سئے مرگ آتک و نِشت.	'Behind it another two [or] three birds came and sat down.'
Báyad ent watá pa saparéá tayár bekanén.	بايد اِنت وتا په سپرێا تيار بکنیٚن.	'We need to prepare ourselves for a journey.'

In nominal clauses adpositional phrases are invariably placed before the subject.

Lógay poshtá mazanén bágé.	لۏگئے پُشتا مزنیٚن باگے.	'[There is] a big garden behind the house.'
Bágay delgáhá drachké.	باگئے دلگاها درچکے.	'In the middle of the garden there is a tree.'

236

Temporal adverbials (adverbials that express time) are often the point of departure for a clause, in which case they are placed at the beginning of the clause. The point of departure is the starting point for a statement at the same time as it anchors it in the context.

Maróchi tuppána bit.	مرۏچی توپّانَ بیت.	'There will be a storm today.'
Randá man lógá shotán.	رندا من لۏگا شتان.	'Then I went home.'
Démi haptagá man tai mehmán án.	دێمی هپتگا من تئیی مهمان آن.	'I will come to you.SG (lit. be your guest) next week.'
Má nazánén ke bandá ché bit.	ما نزانین که باندا چے بیت.	'We don't know what is going to happen tomorrow.'

Temporal clauses can also be placed after the subject.

Taw zi kojá shotay?	تئو زی کجا شتئے؟	'Where did you.SG go yesterday?'
Chokkán embari sharr dars nawántag.	چکّان اِمبری شرّ درس نئوانتگ.	'The children have not studied well this year.'

Adverbials of manner (adverbials that describe how an action is performed) are often the point of departure for a clause, in which case they are placed at the beginning of the clause.

Gón wati hamsarókán mehrabán bay. É paymá taw ham washnáma bay o tai pet o mát ham.	گۏن وتی همسرۏکان مِهربان بئے. اے پئیما تئو هم وشنامَ بئے و تئیی پت و مات هم.	'Be kind to your.SG age-mates. In this way both you and your parents (lit. father and mother) will get a good reputation.'

Less marked adverbials of manner are normally placed after the subject, at the beginning of the predicate phrase.

237

Márá hamé dhawlá kanagi ent ke taw gwashay.	مارا همے ڈئولا کنگی اِنت که تئو گوَشئے.	'We need to do as you.SG say.'
Nabáyad zutt zahr begeray.	نباید زوٹ زهر بگرئے.	'You.SG mustn't get angry quickly.'
Drostigén poll pa ásáni bahá kanag butant.	درستیگێن پُلّ په آسانی بها کنگ بوتنت.	'All the flowers were sold easily.'

Adverbials that denote a location or goal are normally placed just before the verb. In less formal style, they may even follow the verb, but this is uncommon in the standard written language.

Taw kadi bázárá shotay?	تئو کدی بازارا شتئے؟	'When did you.SG go to the marketplace?'
Chokk sajjahén róchá eskulá butagant.	چُکّ سجّهێن رۆچا اِسکولا بوتگأنت.	'The children have been at school the whole day.'
Má hamé métagá neshtagén.	ما همے مێتگا نِشتگێن.	'We live (lit. sit) in this village.'
Dém pa shahrá rahádag bután.	دێم په شهرا رهادگ بوتان.	'I set out for town.'

It is not uncommon to have several adverbials in the same clause. Temporal adverbials often precede other adverbials.

Zi némrochá hamé shahrá anágat zaminchandhé but.	زی نێمرۆچا همے شهرا اناگت زمینچنڈّے بوت.	'Yesterday at noon there was suddenly an earthquake in this town.'
Randá é sajjahén mardom pa eshtápi wati lógán per tarretant.	رندا اے سجّهێن مردم په اشتاپی وتی لۆگان پِر تڑّتنت.	'Afterwards all these people returned to their homes in a hurry.'

238

5.3. Pronoun dropping

Balochi is a pro-drop language. This means that a pronoun can be dropped if it denotes the subject of the clause. Subject pronouns in the present-future tense of any verb, and in the past tense of intransitive verbs, are normally dropped if there is no change of subject from the previous clause.

Chokk zi sohbá eskulá shotant o dém pa bégáhá per tarretant.	چُکّ زی سهبا اِسکولا شتنت و دێم پَه بێنگاها پِر تَرّتنت.	'The children went to school yesterday morning and [they] returned towards the afternoon.'
Mani sangat maróchia kayt o tán bándá dárit.	منی سنگت مرۆچیَ کئیت و تان باندا داریت.	'My friend will come today and [he] will stay until tomorrow.'

In the past tense of transitive verbs, the verb agrees with the direct object, and a subject pronoun is normally present. If the subject is the same as in the previous clause, or if it is evident from the context, its minimal representation is by means of an enclitic pronoun.

Mani pet shahrá shot o cha ódá pa man pocchi gept.	منی پت شهرا شت و چه اژدا پَه من پُچّی گِپت.	'My father went to town and bought clothes for me from there.'
Ó brátán! Chiá é ketábó nawánt?	او براتان! چیا اے کتابۆ نئوانت؟	'Dear brothers! Why didn't you.PL read this book?'

However, it is not uncommon to drop the enclitic subject pronoun in the past tense of transitive verbs, particularly in the 1st and 2nd persons. This can only be done when the subject is evident from the context.

Agan tará narawagi at chiá maná hál nadát?	اگن ترا نرئوگی اَت چیا منا هال ندات؟	'If you.SG were not going to go, why didn't [you] tell me?'
Márá é kár kanagi naat bale pa taigi kort.	مارا اے کار کنگی نهاَت بله پَه تئییگی کرت.	'We were not supposed to do this (lit. this work), but [we] did it for you.SG.'

Direct object pronouns can also be omitted if they are evident from the context. This is particularly common with transitive verbs in the past tense, where the verb agrees with the direct object.

Tai brát átkagant, man distagant.	تئی برات آتککَأنت، من دیستگَأنت.	'Your.SG brothers have come, I have seen [them].'
Mardomé cha shahrá pédák at, man wati lógá bort.	مردمے چه شهرا پیَداک اَت، من وتی لوگا برت.	'A person was coming from town, I took [him] to my house.'
Man é pollá wati lógá barán o wati bágá keshán.	من اے پلُّ وتی لوگا بران و وتی باگا کِشان.	'I will take this flower home and plant [it] in my garden.'

Indirect object pronouns can be omitted if a transitive verb in the past tense agrees with the indirect object.

Má á chokk wati lógá áwortant o kammé warák dátant.	ما آ چُکَّ وتی لوگا آورتنت و کمّے وراک داتنت.	'We brought these children home and gave [them] some food.'

Genitive attributes are often omitted if they are easily retrievable from the context. This is especially common to avoid repetition of the same pronoun in a clause.

Wahdé sangatán áiay nájórhiay hál eshkot, áiay gwará átkant.	وهدے سنگتان آییئے ناجوڑیئے هال اِشکت، آییئے گورا آتکنت.	'When [his] friends heard that he was ill, they came to him.'
Chokk gón mátá habar kanagá at.	چِکَّ گوَن ماتا هبر کنگا اَت.	'The child was talking to [his] mother.'
Áyáni é kár petá dóst naat.	آیانی اے کار پتا دوَست نهأت.	'[Their] father did not like what they did (lit. this their work).'

5.4. Nominal clauses

The most common type of nominal clause is where the complement of the subject consists of a noun with the individuation clitic =*é*, with or without any adjective attributes, and describes the subject as belonging to a generic class. Then there is no copula in the 3rd person singular affirmative form (see also Section 4.4.1).

É bánok Balóché?	اے بانک بلۆچے؟	'Is this lady a Baloch?'
May sangat dáktaré.	مئے سنگت داکترے.	'Our friend is a doctor.'

There is also a special clause type with a number of adpositions and preverbs, e.g. *gón* 'with', *mán* 'in', *per* 'on', *gwará* 'on', which also omits the copula in affirmative sentences and questions in the present tense. These constructions take a non-canonical subject (see Section 4.4.6.1).

Tará zarr gón?	ترا زرّ گۆن؟	'Do you.SG have money on you.'
Maná pa taw lahtén ketáb gón.	منا په تئو لهتین کتاب گۆن.	'I have some books with me for you.'
É kópá chá mán?	اے کۆپا چا مان؟	'Is there tea in this cup?'
É mardomá bázén sharrié mán.	اے مردما بازێن شڑیے مان.	'This person has many good qualities.'
Harkasá gósh per, gósh bedárit.	هرکَسا گۆش پِر، گۆش بداریت.	'Whoever has ears (lit. on) should listen.'

5.5. Coordination

Clauses in Balochi are conjoined by means of coordinating conjunctions. The most common of these is *o* 'and', which is encliticized to the first of the two clauses it combines. (There is normally a short pause after *o* 'and' in the spoken language.) It normally has a conjunctive function ('and') but it can also be used for disjunctive purposes ('but'). The conjunction *bale* 'but' is the more common one used for disjunction. Another coordinating conjunction is *yá* 'or'. The two latter conjunctions belong prosodically to the second clause, which means that the pause between the clauses occurs before them.

Má cha Pahrahá dar kaptén o dém pa Wáshá shotén.	ما چه پهرَها در کپتین و دێم په واشا شتین.	'We set out from Pahrah and went towards Wash.'

É zarrán bezur o beraw.	اے زَرّان بزور و برئو.	'Take this money and go.'
Ostáyá lógé bast o padá wati pagári gept.	أُستايا لۆگے بست و پدا وتی پگاری گپت.	'The craftsman built a house and then he got his wages.'
Man é ketábána gerán o padá wánánesh.	من اے کتابانَ گران و پدا وانانِش.	'I will buy these books and then read them.'
Man nóki átkagán o taw nuna raway?	من نوکی آتکگان و تئو نونَ رئوئے؟	'I have just come, but are you going right now?'
Shomay kerrá káyán bale báza nanendán.	شمئے کّرا کایان بله باز نَنِندان.	'I will come to [visit] you.PL but I won't stay long.'
Kár báz ent bale kass kára nakant.	کار باز اِنت بله کسّ کارَ نکنت.	'There is a lot of work, but nobody works.'
Taw pa é diwáná dáray yá raway?	تئو په اے دیوانا دارئے یا رئوئے؟	'Will you.SG stay for this social gathering or will you go?'

5.6. Subordination

A subordinate clause is part of the main clause. The three main types of subordinate clauses that occur in Balochi are nominal complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses. The most common subordinating conjunction is *ke*, which is used in all three types of subordinate clauses. There are other subordinating conjunctions as well, which are used in adverbial clauses. For many types of semantic relations that can be expressed by means of a subordinate clause, Balochi can also use a construction with a non-finite verb form, which precedes the main verb.

5.6.1. Nominal complement clauses

There are two types of nominal complement clauses in Balochi: predicative complements (cf. English 'it is obvious <u>that he will come</u>' (and direct object complements (cf. English 'I have heard <u>that he will come</u>'). They normally follow the main clause and are linked to it either without any other overt marker of subordination than rising intonation, or with the subordinating conjunction *ke*.

5.6.1.1. Predicative complement clauses

A predicative complement clause occurs with the verb *bayag* 'to be, to become' or with the copula. It functions as a complement to the subject of the clause.

Sharter hamesh ent ke má molká berawén.	شرتر همِش اِنت که ما ملکا برئوێن.	'It is better that we go to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Mani wáhag hamé butag ke shomárá begendán.	منی واهگ همے بوتگ که شمارا بگندان.	'My desire has been to see you.PL.'
Zánaga nabit taw mani brát ay.	زانگَ نبیت تئو منی برات اَئے.	'Nobody will know (lit. it will not be known) that you.SG are my brother.'

5.6.1.2. Direct object complement clauses

A direct object complement clause functions as the direct object of the main clause. After a speech verb the complement clause is normally reported in the form of direct speech without any modification of pronouns or verb forms in the actual or imagined speech act.

Petá gwasht: "Oo mani chokk! Cha é kárá mators."	پتا گَوشت: «او منی چکّ! چه اے کارا مترس.»	'The father said: "My child, don't be afraid of this job."'
Janá gwasht: "Nun gapp chi ent?"	جنا گَوشت: «نون گَپّ چی اِنت؟»	'The wife asked: "What is the problem (lit. talk) now?"'

It is also possible, however, to change the person of the verb from the direct speech.

Mani gohárá gón man gwasht ke báyad mátay kerrá berawán.	منی گهارا گؤن من گَوشت که باید ماتئے کرّا برئوان.	'My sister told me that I had to go to [our] mother.'

243

In nominal complement clauses after verbs of cognition and perception, as with direct speech, the verb form reflects the direct cognition or perception.

Má hayál kort á molká narawt.	ما هئيال کرت آ ملکا نرئوت.	'We thought that he would not go to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Áiá dist ke hawr gwáragá ent.	آيیا ديست که هئور گوارگا اِنت.	'She saw that it was raining.'
Shomá eshkotag é mardom koshag butag?	شما اِشکتگ اے مردم کُشگ بوتگ؟	'Have you.PL heard that this person has been killed?'
Man lóthet ke taw géshter bedáshtén.	من لوڈت که تئو گێشتر بداشتێن.	'I would have wanted you.SG to stay longer.'

Nominal complement clauses take the present-future subjunctive verb form if there is some uncertainty about whether or not the event in the complement clause will take place. For counterfactual events the past subjunctive form is used. If there is no uncertainty about the event in the complement clause, a non-subjunctive form is used.

Man dist ke chokk áyagá ent.	من ديست که چُکَّ آيگا اِنت.	'I saw that the child was coming.'
Taw zánay ke man bándá káyán.	تئو زانئے که من باندا کايان.	'You.SG know that I will come tomorrow.'
Má lóthet ke may sangat byáyant.	ما لوڈت که مئے سنگت بیاينت.	'We wanted our friends to come.'
Mani brátá shawr kortag molká berawt.	منی براتا شئور کرتگ مُلکا برئوت.	'My brother has decided to go to Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Mani delá lóthet ballok enshapi may lógá byátkén.	منی دلا لوڈت بلَّک انشپی مئے لوگا بیاتکێن.	'I would have wanted grandmother to come home to us tonight.'

A nominal complement clause can sometimes be replaced by a non-finite verb construction with an oblique infinitive that precedes the main clause.

Man zi wati pet karkénk mocch kanagá dist.	من زی وتی پت کرکینک مُچّ کنگا دیست.	'Yesterday I saw [that] my father [was] gathering oysters.'

5.6.2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses give additional information about a head noun or pronoun. In fact, they combine two separate clauses with a common noun/pronoun (e.g. 'you see the man' and 'the man is my father' > 'the man who you see is my father'). The word to which a relative clause refers back, normally a noun or a pronoun, is called the antecedent (cf. English 'the man who you see is my father'). Relative clauses are introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ke*. There are no relative pronouns in Balochi.

5.6.2.1. Types of relative clauses

There are two types of relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses define and restrict the antecedent and cannot be omitted. Descriptive relative clauses give additional information about the antecedent and can be omitted.

In restrictive relative clauses the antecedent is modified by a demonstrative determiner, *hamé*, *hamá*, *é*, or *á*).

Hamá mardom ke ódá óshtátag mani brát ent.	هما مردم که اژدا اژشتاتگ منی برات اِنت.	'The person who is standing over there is my brother.'
Hamá kárán bekan ke tará kanagi ant.	هما کاران بکن که ترا کنگی اَنت.	'Do those things that you.SG have to.'
Má á mardomay habarán báwara kanén ke pésará gón má drógi nabastag.	ما آ مردمئے هبران باوَر کنین که پیٚسرا گوٚن ما دروٚگی نبستگ.	'We believe the words of that person who has not lied to us previously.'

In the case of an open restriction, an indefinite pronoun can introduce or take the place of the antecedent, and if a noun is the antecedent, it is often marked by the individuation clitic =é.

Har macché ke ná nayárit goddhaga bit.	هر مچّے که نا نئاریت گڈّگَ بیت.	'Any date palm that does not bring forth dates will be cut down.'
Harkas ke may lógá kayt báyad ent wati kawshán dar bekant.	هرکَس که مئے لۆگا کئیت باید اِنت وتی کئوشان در بکنت.	'Whoever comes to our house must take off his shoes.'
Har chokké ke wassh dars bwánit wati pet o mátá sarperáza kant.	هر چُکّے که وشّ درس بوانیت وتی پت و ماتا سرپراز کنت.	'Any child who studies well will make his parents proud.'

In descriptive relative clauses there is no specific marking of the antecedent.

Mani pet ke námi Mir Hammal ent molká neshtag.	منی پت که نامی میر همّل اِنت مُلکا نِشتگ.	'My father, whose name is Mir Hammal, lives in Balochistan (lit. the land).'
Chokkáni eskul ke dah sál pésará addh kanag butag dóshi bon gept.	چکّانی اِسکول که ده سال پئیسرا اڈّ کنگ بوتگ دۆشی بن گپت.	'The children's school which was built ten years ago caught fire last night.'

5.6.2.2. The syntactic role of the antecedent in the relative clause

The antecedent can have several different syntactic functions in the relative clause. Depending on the function, it may or may not be necessary to refer back to the antecedent with a personal or enclitic pronoun in the relative clause. When the antecedent has the role of the subject of a verb in the present-future tense in the relative clause, no pronoun is needed to refer back to the antecedent. The same applies if the antecedent has the role of the subject of an intransitive verb in the past tense in the relative clause.

Áiay chamm panchén moshkáni sará kapt ke garhóay tahá mortagatant.	آییئے چمّ پنچِین مُشکانی سرا کپت که گَرْوئے تها مرتگ‌اَتنت.	'His eye fell on the five mice, that had died in the pot.'
Man gón á mardomán dhik wárt ke cha sardáray diwáná pédák atant.	من گَون آ مردمان ڈیک وارت که چه سردارئے دیوانا پیِداک اتنت.	'I met the people who were coming back from the tribal chief's social gathering.'
Mardomé ké dáemá dróga bandit sharrén sangaté naent.	مردمے که دایما درَوْگَ بندیت شرّیِن سنگتے نہ‌اِنت.	'A person who constantly lies is not a good friend.'

When the antecedent has the role of the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense in the relative clause, it is necessary to have a personal or enclitic pronoun that refers back to the antecedent in the relative clause if it is not in the oblique case in a preceding main clause, i.e. only if there is a verb that demands another case marking on the antecedent before the relative clause; otherwise there is no such need.

É hamá chokk at ke mani ketábi zort o bort.	اے هما چکّ اَت که منی کتابی زرت و برت.	'This was the child who took my book.'
Á mardomá ke dróg bastag báyad sezá dayag bebit.	آ مردما که درَوْگ بستگ باید سزا دئیگ ببیت.	'The person who lied must be punished.'

When the antecedent has the role of the direct or indirect object of a transitive verb in the relative clause and of subject in the main clause, no pronoun is normally needed in the relative clause to refer back to the antecedent. The antecedent takes the case marking that is appropriate in the clause that most closely follows it.

Á mardá ke mana gendán tai brát wa naent?	آ مردا که مِنَ گِندان تئیی برات وه نہ‌اِنت؟	'The man whom I see is not your.SG brother, right?'
Hamá ketáb ke taw bahá zortag wasshén ketábé.	هما کتاب که تئو بها زرتگ وشّیِن کتابے.	'The book that you.SG bought is a good book.'

É warákán ke má har rócha warén washtám naant.	اے وراکان که ما هر رۆچّ ورێن وشتام نهَ اَنت.	'The food that we eat every day is not tasty.'
Hamé kár ke áyán kortag gránén káré.	همے کار که آیان کرتگ گرانێن کارے.	'The job they have done is a hard job.'
Hamá mardomá ke taw zarra dayay mani sangat ent.	هما مردما که تئو زرّ دئیے منی سنگت اِنت.	'The man that you.SG give money to is my friend.'
Hamá chokkán ke má har róch waraga dayén sakk garib ant.	هما چکّ که ما هر رۆچّ ورگَ دئیین سکّ گریب اَنت.	'The children that we give food to every day are very poor.'

However, if the antecedent has the role of the direct or indirect object both in the main clause and the relative clause, and the relative clause follows the verb of the main clause, a pronoun is needed in the relative clause to refer back to it.

Taw á chokká genday ke mania gendán?	تئو آ چُکّا گندئے که منیَ گندان؟	'Do you.SG see the child whom I see?'
Mani sangat á ketábá zarur bahá zurant ke mani bráti nebisagá ent.	منی سنگت آ کتابا زرور بها زورنت که منی براتی نبیسگا اِنت.	'My friends will definitely buy the book that my brother is writing.'
Hamá pasán bándá bahá kanén ke taw áyáná káh dát.	هما پسان باندا بها کنین که تئو آیانا کاه دات.	'Tomorrow we will sell the sheep/goats that you.SG fed.'

If the antecedent has the role of the direct or indirect object both in the main clause and the relative clause, and the relative clause precedes the verb of the main clause, a pronoun is needed in the main clause to refer back to it.

Hamá pasáná ke taw káh dát bándá baháesha kanén.	هما پسانا که تئو کاه دات باندا بهاِاشَ کنین.	'Tomorrow we will sell the sheep/goats that you.SG fed.'
Káré ke mana kanán, taw padá áiá makan.	کارے که منَ کنان، تئو پدا آیِا مکن.	'Don't redo a job that I have done (lit. do).'

When the antecedent has the role of an adverbial in the relative clause, no pronoun is needed to refer back to the antecedent.

Á róchá ke taw shahrá shotay, man jáhé nashotán.	آ رۆچا که تئو شهرا شتئے، من جاهے نَشتان.	'The day when you.SG went to town, I did not go anywhere.'
Hamá damáná ke é hál márá raset, má lóga shotén.	هما دمانا که اے هال مارا رست، ما لۆگا شتین.	'The very moment that this piece of news reached us, we went home.
Á sálá ke dhokkál kapt, bázén mardomé mort.	آ سالا که ڈکّال کپت، بازین مردمے مرت.	'The year when there was a famine, many people died.'

When the antecedent has the role of object of an adposition in the relative clause, it is necessary to have a personal or enclitic pronoun or an adverb in the relative clause that refers back to the antecedent. This applies to objects of both prepositions and postpositions.

Hamé lóg ke dozz eshiay poshtá chér butagant mani brátay lóg ent.	همے لۆگ که دُزّ اِشیئے پُشتا چیر بوتگأنت منی براتئے لۆگ اِنت.	'The house that the thieves were hiding behind is my brother's house.'
Á chokk ke taw pa áiá ketáb wánt angat habar korta nakant.	آ چُکّ که تئو په آییا کتاب وانت انگت هبر کرتَ نکنت.	'The child to whom you.SG read a book cannot speak yet.'
Taw hamá shahrá rawagá ay ke má cha ódá pédák én.	تئو هما شهرا رئوگا اۓ که ما چه اۆدا پیداک اِین.	'You.SG are going to the town from which we are coming right now.'
Á mardomá genday ke áiay bagalá chokké hast?	آ مردما گندئے که آییئے بگلا چُکّے هست؟	'Do you.SG see the person who has a child in his arms?'

249

When the antecedent is a genitive attribute in the relative clause, it is necessary to have a personal or enclitic pronoun in the relative clause that refers back to the antecedent.

Hamá bachak ke námi Mirán ent tai chokk ent?	هما بچک که نامی میران اِنت تئیی چُکّ اِنت؟	'Is the boy whose name is Miran your.SG son?'
Á mardom ke áyáni lóg zi sotk wat rakketant.	آ مردم که آیانی لۆگ زی ستک وت رکّتنت.	'The poeple whose house burned down yesterday were rescued.'
Mani hamá sangat bándá kayt ke áiáy mát nájórh ent.	منی هما سنگت باندا کئیت که آییئے مات ناجۆڑ اِنت.	'That friend of mine whose mother is ill will come tomorrow.'

5.6.2.3. Case marking of the antecedent

When the antecedent has the same syntactic role in both the main clause and the relative clause, there is no conflict in the case marking of it. If it is the subject of an intransitive verb or a transitive verb in the present-future tense, it takes the direct case. This also applies if it is an indefinite direct object in both clauses.

É bachak ke gón taw habar kanagá ent mani brát ent.	اے بچک که گۆن تئو هبر کنگا اِنت منی برات اِنت.	'The boy who is talking to you.SG is my brother.'
Hamá kas maróchi shot ke zi may kerrá átkagat.	هما کس مرۆچی شت که زی مئے کڑا آتکگءَت.	'The person who had come to us yesterday went today.
Á chokk wati zendá kámyába bant ke mát o petay habaróna zurant.	آ چکّ وتی زندا کامیابَ بنت که مات و پتئے هبرانَ زورنت.	'Those children who obey (lit. take the words of) their parents will be successful in their lives.'
Káré ke mana kanán, taw padá makani.	کارے که منَ کنان، تئو پدا مکنی.	'Don't redo a job that I have done (lit. do).'

When the antecedent is a definite direct object of a transitive verb in the present-future tense both in the main clause and in the relative clause, it takes the oblique case. It also takes the oblique case if it is a locational adverb of an intransitive verb or the object of a preposition in both clauses.

Taw á chokká genday ke mania gendán?	تئو آ چُکّا گندئے که منیَ گندان؟	'Do you.SG see the child whom I see?'
Mani sangat á ketábá zarur bahá zurant ke mani bráti nebisagá ent.	منی سنگت آ کتابا زرور بها زورنت که منی براتی نبیسگا اِنت.	'My friends will definitely buy the book that my brother is writing.'
Taw hechbar hamá shahrá shotagay ke mani pet o mát ódá rawant?	تئو هچبر هما شهرا شتگئے که منی پت و مات اؤدا رئونت؟	'Have you.SG ever been to that town which my parents are going to?'
Man cha hamá mardomá ke taw pa áiá káré dar gétkagat eshkot ke dega molkéá rawt.	من چه هما مردما که تئو په آیا کارے در گیتککگاَت اِشکت که دگه ملکیا رئوت.	'I heard from that person whom you.SG found a job for that he is going to another country.'

When the antecedent has subject or direct object roles that ask for different case markings in the relative clause and the main clause, it takes the case marking that is appropriate in the clause that most closely follows it.

Hamá mardom dóshi gerag but ke má har róch áiá bázárá gendén.	هما مردم دؤشی گرگ بوت که ما هر رؤچ آیا بازارا گندیٰن.	'That person whom we see in the marketplace every day was arrested last night.'
Hamé chokkán ke edá layba kort randá kojá shotant?	همے چکّان که اِدا لئیبَ کرت رندا کجا شتنت؟	'Where did the children who played here go afterwards?'
Á drachká magoddh ke bázén baré dant.	آ درچکا مگُدّ که بازیٰن برے دنت.	'Don't cut down the tree which gives much fruit.'

Gón hamá mardomá habar kan ke bándá cha molká kayt.	گۆن هما مردما هبر کن که باندا چه مُلکا کئیت.	'Talk to the person who comes from Balochistan (lit. the land) tomorrow.'
Á hamá lógay poshtá chér butagat ke may lógay nazziká ent.	آ هما لۆگئے پُشتا چێر بوتگاَت که مئے لۆگئے نزّیکا اِنت.	'He had hidden behind the house that is close to our house.'
Hamá mardomárá ke taw ketáb dát mani brát ent.	هما مردمارا که تئو کتاب دات منی برات اِنت.	'The man that you.SG gave the book to is my brother.'

When the antecedent is the object of a preposition or a postposition in the main clause, it takes the case marking required in the main clause even if it has a different syntactic role in the immediately following clause.

Cha mani é sangatá ke nun pédák ent wati jostán bekan.	چه منی اے سنگتا که نون پێداک اِنت وتی جُستان بکن.	'Ask this friend of mine who is coming now your.SG questions.'
É mardomay sará ke nun pédák ent barósá makan.	اے مردمئے سرا که نون پێداک اِنت برۆسا مکن.	'Don't trust this person who is coming now.'

When the antecedent is the object of a preposition or a postposition in the relative clause, there is a pronoun that takes the case marking required by the preposition (oblique case) or the postposition (genitive case) inside the relative clause. The antecedent takes the case marking that is required by its role in the main clause. If the antecedent is not the subject of the main clause, there is a tendency to bring the verb of the main clause before the relative clause.

Á bánok ke man gón áiá habar kanagá atán mayshomay syád ent.	آ بانک که من گۆن آییا هبر کنگا اتان مئےشمئے سیاد اِنت.	'The woman I was talking to is a relative of ours.'
Hamá parzónagá chest kan ke áiay sará waráké pasht nakaptag.	هما پرزۆنگا چِست کن که آییئے سرا وراکے پَشت نکپتگ.	'Remove the tablecloth on which there is no food left.'

252

When the antecedent has the role of a genitive attribute in the relative clause, there is a full pronoun in the genitive case or an enclitic pronoun within the relative clause. The antecedent takes the case marking that is required by its role in the main clause. If the antecedent is not the subject of the main clause, there is a tendency to bring the verb of the main clause before the relative clause.

Á bánok ke man gón áiay chokká habar kanagá atán mayshomay syád ent.	آ بانک که من گۆن آییئے چکّا هبر کنگا اتان مئےشمئے سیاد اِنت.	'The woman whose child I was talking to is a relative of ours.'
Hamá mardomá tawár kan ke námi Mir Kambar ent.	هما مردما تئوار کن که نامی میر کمبر اِنت.	'Call the person whose name is Mir Kambar.'

5.6.2.4. Internal relative clauses

Instead of a relative clause with the head noun outside the clause, Balochi can form a so-called internal relative clause where the head noun is inside the clause. This internal relative clause consists of a non-finite verb form used as an adjective that defines or restricts the head noun; i.e. it has the same function as a full relative clause with a finite verb.

Cha molká átkagén má do mardom én.	چه مُلکا آتککگین ما دو مردم این.	'We are two people who have come from Balochistan (lit.we are two from the land come persons).'
Cha wati kortagén kárá pashómán án.	چه وتی کرتگین کارا پشۆمان آن.	'I am regretful of what I did (lit. I am regretful from my done deed).'
Man á diwánay neshtagén mardom distant.	من آ دیوانئے نِشتگین مردم دیستنت.	'I saw the people who were present at that social gathering (lit. I saw the in that social gathering sitting people).'

253

5.6.3. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial (or adjunct) clauses express the same types of semantic relations as adverbs, e.g. temporal, causal, purpose or conditional relations. Some types of adverbial clauses normally follow the main clause, whereas others precede it.

Instead of a subordinate clause with a finite verb, Balochi sometimes employs constructions with a non-finite form of the verb. This construction precedes the main verb (see Sections 5.6.3.1, 5.6.3.2, 5.6.3.3, 5.6.3.7 and 5.6.3.8).

5.6.3.1. Temporal clauses

One adverbial clause type that occurs frequently is the temporal clause. Temporal clauses often employ the conjunction *wahdé* 'when', sometimes followed by the subordinator *ke.* There is no discernable difference in meaning between clauses that do and do not contain *ke*. It is also possible to signal a temporal clause with only *ke,* in which case *ke* normally follows the first phrase of the subordinate clause. Temporal clauses with *wahdé* (*ke*) and *ke* normally precede the main clause, but if they are emphasized they follow the main clause.

Wahdé dém pa shahrá rawagá at, wati bráti dist.	وهدے دیّم په شهرا رئوگا اَت، وتی براتی دیست.	'He saw his brother when he was on his way to town.'
Wahdé káay, hórigá sangatáni lógá rawén.	وهدے کائے، هۆریگا سنگتانی لۆگا رئوێن.	'When you.SG come we will go visit (lit. home to) [our] friends together.'
Wahdé ke ostáda kayt, báyad sajjahén chokk bóshtant.	وهدے که استاذَ کئیت، باید سجّهێن چُکّ بۆشتنت.	'When the teacher comes, all the children have to stand up.'
May mehmán ke shotant, má dém pa shomay lógá átkén.	مئے مهمان که شتنت، ما دیّم په شمئے لۆگا آتکێن.	'When our guests went, we came to (lit. towards) your.PL house.'
Kár ke hallit kárgar wati shahrána rawant.	کار که هلّیت کارگر وتی شهرانَ رئونت.	'When the work is finished the workers will go [home] to their own towns.'
Man nóki lógá átkagatán ke mátá maná tawár kort.	من نۆکی لۆگا آتکگﷻاَتان که ماتا منا تئوار کرت.	'I had just come home when my mother called me.'

254

Ather temporal conjunctions also express specific temporal relations, e.g. *tán*, *tánke* 'until, as long as', *cha eshiá pésar ke* 'before', *cha eshiá rand ke* 'after'. Temporal clauses with *tán/tánke* precede or follow the main clause depending on whether they logically happen before or after it. The temporal relations 'before' and 'after' are, however, normally expressed by means of a non-finite construction that precedes the finite verb (see below).

Tán kár nahalletag kass wati lógá marawt.	تان کار نهلّتگ کسّ وتی لؤگا مرئوت.	'Nobody should go home until the work is finished.'
Hamedá bedár tán man byáyán.	هِمِدا بدار تان من بیایان.	'Stay here until I come.'
Cha eshiá pésar ke mehmán byáyant, lógá berópén.	چه اِشیا پیٔسر که مهمان بیاینت، لؤگا برؤپیٔن.	'Let's sweep the house before the guests come.'

Temporal clauses without a specific time reference are often introduced by *har wahdé* (*ke*) 'whenever'. If it is uncertain whether the event in the temporal clause will occur at all, the verb in the main clause takes the present-future subjunctive form.

Har wahdé maná tawár bekanay, mana káyán.	هر وهدے منا تئوار بکنئے، منَ کایان.	'I will come whenever you.SG call me.' (But maybe you will not call me at all.)
Har wahdé mani peta rawt, man ham rawán.	هر وهدے منی پِتَ رئوت، من هم رئوان.	'I will go whenever my father goes.' (My father will go at some point.)

It is also possible to use the past perfective form to refer to present or future events in temporal clauses that take place before the event in the main clause and/or are less emphasized in the context than the event in the main clause (see also Section 4.4.3.1.3).

Wahdé edá rasetay, márá hál beday.	وهدے اِدا رستئے، مارا هال بدئے.	'Tell us when you.SG arrive here.'

A non-finite verb construction with an oblique infinitive sometimes takes the place of a temporal clause. In the construction with the preposition *gón* 'with' there is an element of both time and cause.

Sajjahén róchá kár kanagá rand may brát sáhat dahá lógá átk.	سجّهین رۆچا کار کنگا رند مئے برات ساهت دها لۆگا آتک.	'After having worked the whole day our brother came home at ten o'clock.'
Mehmánáni áyag o shám kanagá rand má ham sháma kanén.	مهمانانی آیگ و شام کنگا رند ما هم شامَ کنین.	'After the guests have come and had dinner we will also have dinner.'
Wati saparay rawagá pésar pa wat garmén pocch beger.	وتی سپرئے رئوگا پیٚسر په وت گرمیٚن پُچّ بگر.	'Buy warm clothes for yourself before you go on the journey.'
Gón tai gendagá báz gal bután.	گۆن تئیی گندگا باز گل بوتان.	'I was very happy when I saw you (lit. with your seeing).'

5.6.3.2. Causal clauses
Causal clauses give the background reason for the main clause. Common conjunctions introducing a causal clause are *chiá ke, parchá ke, chó ke, ke* 'because, since'. Causal clauses generally follow the main clause, but if they start with *chó ke* they precede the main clause. The verb in causal clauses is in the indicative form.

May sangat maróchi nayáyant, parchá ke nájórh butagant.	مئے سنگت مرۆچی نئیاینت، پرچا که ناجۆڑ بوتگ‌اَنت.	'Our friends won't come today, because they have fallen ill.'
Mardom pa del kára nakanant, chiá ke áyán sharrén pagára narasit.	مردم په دل کارَ نکننت، چیا که آیان شرّیٚن پگارَ نرسیت.	'The people don't work wholeheartedly because they don't receive good wages.'
Chó ke taw waráka nawaray, man tará dáktaray kerrá barán.	چۆ که تئو وراکَ نئورئے، من ترا داکترئے کرّا بران.	'I will take you.SG to the doctor since you don't eat.'
Mani démá sharmendag ent ke gón man drógi bastag.	منی دیٚما شرمندگ اِنت که گۆن من درۆگی بستگ.	'He is embarrassed in front of me since he has lied to me.'

A causal relation can also be expressed in the form of a conditional clause introduced by *agan* 'if' with an indicative verb form (see also Section 5.6.3.4). Such clauses normally precede the main clause.

Agan áiá mani chokk jatag, man ham áiay chokká janán.	اگن آییا منی چُکّ جتگ، من هم آییئے چُکّا جنان.	'If (=since) he has beaten my child, I will beat his child.'
Agan kára nakanay, tará zarra narasit.	اگن کارَ نکنئے، ترا زرّ نرسیت.	'If (=since) you.SG don't work, you won't get any money.'

A causal relation can also be expressed by a non-finite verb construction with the infinitive in the genitive case followed by the postposition *sawabá* 'because, due to' or the preposition *cha* 'from' and the infinitive in the oblique case.

É bandig dozzi kanagay sawabá bandijáhá kaptag.	اے بندیگ دُزّی کنگئے سئوبا بندیجاها کپتگ.	'This prisoner has been imprisoned because of theft.'
Balóch bayagay sawabá áiá báz sakki dist.	بلوچ بئیگئے سئوبا آییا باز سکّی دیست.	'He suffered a lot because he was a Baloch.'
Pet cha wati chokkay dars wánagá báz gal but.	پت چه وتی چُکّئے درس وانگا باز گل بوت.	'The father became very happy because his son (lit. child) studied.'

5.6.3.3. Purpose (final) clauses

Purpose (or final) clauses express the purpose of the main clause. Since they do not state whether this purpose is achieved or not, they express an uncertain event. The verb in a purpose clause is therefore always in the subjunctive form. The most common conjunctions in purpose clauses are *ke* or *tán* 'in order that, so that', but *tánke* is also found. Purpose clauses follow the main clause.

Má átkagén ke shomárá begendén.	ما آتکگێن که شمارا بگندێن.	'We have come to see you.PL.'
Bándá ostáé kárén tán sonduká beborrit.	باندا اُستاے کارێن تان سندوکا بِبرّیت.	'Tomorrow we will bring a craftsman to cut open the locker.'

Dokkáná shotant tán kammé warák begerant.	دکّانا شتنت تان کمّے وراک بگرنت.	'They went to the shop to buy some food.'
Bázéné watá dindár pésha dárit tánke mardom áyán satá bekanant.	بازینے وتا دیندار پیشَ داریت تانکه مردم آیان ستا بکننت.	'Many show a religious face in order that people may praise them.'

Purpose can also be expressed by a non-finite verb construction with the preposition *pa* 'for' or with only an oblique case form of the infinitive.

É mardomán pa wati sangatáni komak kanagá hech káré nakort.	اے مردمان په وتی سنگتانی کمک کنگا هچ کارے نکرت.	'These people did nothing to help their friends.'
Má chokkáni wánénagá bázén johdé kort.	ما چکّانی وانینگا بازین جُهدے کرت.	'We went to a great deal of effort to educate the children.'

5.6.3.4. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses put a condition on the main clause. They are introduced by the conjunction *agan* 'if' and normally precede the main clause. Conditional clauses can either be potential, indicating the possibility of their being fulfilled, or impossible (counterfactual), if there is no possibility that they will be fulfilled. For conditions that may be fulfilled in the present or future, present-future subjunctive, past perfective, and present-future indicative verb forms can be used in the conditional clause.

If the verb in the conditional clause is in the present subjunctive form, the condition may be fulfilled, but it is also possible that it will not be fulfilled.

Agan mani pet byayt, mani mát ham kayt.	اگن منی پت بیئیت، منی مات هم کئیت.	'If my father comes, my mother will come as well.'
Agan mani passawá madayay, gón taw zahra bán.	اگن منی پسّئوا مدئیئے، گؤن تئو زهرَ بان.	'If you.SG don't answer me, I will get angry with you.'
Agan áyán komak bekanét, kár zutta hallit.	اگن آیان کمک بکنیت، کار زوتّ هلّیت.	'If you.PL help them, the job will be finished soon.'

258

Agan hawr begwárit, *mardom gala gerant.*	اگن ہئور بگواریت، مردم گَلَ گرنت.	'If it rains, people will become happy.'

It is also possible to use the past perfective form for conditions that may or may not be fulfilled if the condition has to take place before the event in the main clause, or if it is less emphasized in the context than the event in the main clause (see also Section 4.4.3.1.3).

Agan kári kort, áiay *mozzá beday.*	اگن کاری کرت، آییئے مزّا بدئے.	'If he works (lit. worked), give [him] his wages.'
Agan tai brát cha wati *radén kárá pashomán* *but, bebakshi.*	اگن تئیی برات چہ وتی ردیٰن کارا پشۆمان بوت، ببکشی.	'Forgive your.SG brother if he feels sorry for his wrongdoing.'
Agan áyán zarr pakár *but, maná hál bedayant.*	اگن آیان زرّ پکار بوت، منا ہال بدئینت.	'They should tell me if they need money.'

If the verb in the conditional clause is in the present-future indicative, the likelihood of the condition being fulfilled is high.

Agan káay, zutt byá.	اگن کائے، زوتّ بیا.	'Come quickly if you.SG are coming.' (It is likely that you are coming.)
Agan áyáni dela lóthit, *shapá edá dáshta* *kanant.*	آگن آیانی دلَ لۆثیت، شپا اِدا داشتَ کننت.	'If they want to, they can spend the night here.' (It seems they want to.)

If the verb in the clause beginning with *agan* 'if' is in the indicative, *agan* 'if' can also introduce a causal clause (see Section 5.6.3.2) or a concessive clause (see Section 5.6.3.5) rather than a conditional clause.

259

For conditions in the past which may or may not have been fulfilled, and the speaker does not know which, present perfect is used in the conditional clause.

Agan taw mani sámán bortant, kojá éret kortagant?	اگن تئو منی سامان برتگ‌اَنت، کجا اِیرِت کرتگ‌اَنت؟	'If you.SG have taken my tools, where have you put them?'
Agan chokk átkagant, gorhá pa áyán warák tayár kan.	اگن چُکّ آتکگ‌اَنت، گڑا پہ آیان وراک تئیار کن.	'If the children have come, then prepare food for them.'

If the condition is counterfactual, i.e. if the event has not occurred in the past or will not occur in the future, past subjunctive is used in the conditional clause. The main clause has either a past perfect or a past imperfective verb form, both of which express counterfactual events. The past copula can also be used in the main clause.

Agan chokk byátkénant, wassha bután.	اگن چُکّ بیاتکیننت، وشَّ بوتان.	'If the children had come, I would have been happy.'
Agan é mardá radén káré bekortén, man shomay habar gósh dáshtagat.	اگن اے مردا ردِین کارے بکرتین، من شمئے ہبر گؤش داشتگ‌اَت.	'If this man had done something wrong, I would have listened to what you.PL had to say (lit. your words).'
Agan ketábé begepténet, washter at.	اگن کتابے بگِپتینِت، وشتر اَت.	'It would have been better if you.SG had bought a book.'

5.6.3.5. Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses express a concept that speaks against the statement in the main clause. The conjunctions used to introduce concessive clauses include *bell ke, bell toré, satar, harchont* (*ke*), and *chónáhá* 'even though, although'. They normally precede the main clause, which then often begins with *bale* 'but' or *bale angat* 'but still'. They can also follow the main clause.

Bell toré mani pet béezzat kanag but, bale angat ham hechkasi béezzat nakort.	بِلّ تُرے منی پت بے‌اِزَّت کنگ بوت، بلہ انگت هم هچکَسی بے‌اِزَّت نکرت.	'Even though my father was offended, he did not offend anyone.'

Taw satar belóthay mana nayáyán.	.تئو سَتَر بلوٹئے منَ نئیایان	'Even if you want [me to], I will not come.'
Bell ke harkas dróg bebandit, man rásténa gwashán.	بِلّ که هرکَس درۆگ بِبندیت، من راستیٛنَ گوَشان.	'Even if everybody lies, I will tell the truth.'
Shomá maná molká dém dát, harchont man rawag nalóthet.	شما منا مُلکا دیٛم دات، هرچنت من رئوگ نلوٹت.	'You.PL sent me to Balochistan (lit. the land), even though I did not want to go.'
Harchont ke shomá márá pajjáha nayárét, bale má shomárá pajjáha kárén.	هرچنت که شما مارا پجّاہَ نئیاریٛت، بله ما شمارا پجّاہَ کاریٛن.	'Even if you.PL don't recognize us, we recognize you.'
Chónáhá drógén sháhed pa gwáhi dayagá pád átkant, bale kassá áyáni habar báwar nakortant.	چۆناها درۆگیٛن شاهد په گواهی دئیگا پاد آتکنت، بله کسّا آیانی هبر باور نکرتنت.	'Although false witnesses came forward to give testimony, nobody believed what they said (lit. their words).'

A concessive relation can also be expressed in the form of a conditional clause introduced by *agan* 'if' with an indicative verb form (see also Section 5.6.3.4). Such clauses normally precede the main clause, which then often begins with *bale* 'but' or *bale angat* 'but still',

Agan cha hawr o róchá mani hónáni póleng shoshtagant, bale pashómániay thapp angat tázag o ázag ant.	اگن چه هئور و رۆچا منی هۆنانی پۆلنگ ششتگ‌اَنت، بله پِسۆمانیئے ٹپّ انگت تازگ و آزگ اَنت.	'If (=even though) my stains of blood have been washed away by rain and the sun, still the wounds of regret are fresh.'

5.6.3.6. Consecutive clauses

A consecutive clause describe a consequence of the main clause. A consecutive clause follows the main clause. A word is inserted in the main clause, e.g. *anchosh* 'so much', *anchén/anchoshén* 'such a', which signals the fact that a consecutive clause is following. The consecutive clause is connected to the main clause by the general subordinator *ke*. If the consecutive clause is certain, it has an indicative verb form; if it is uncertain, the verb is in the subjunctive.

261

É jenek anchosh zébá at ke bádsháhay chokk eshiay áshek but.	اے جنک انچش زیّبا اَت که بادشاہئے چُکّ اِشیئے آشک بوت.	'This girl was so beautiful that the prince (lit. king's son) fell in love with her.'
Anchén káré bekan ke zánag bebit taw mani chokk ay.	انچین کارے بکن که زانگ ببیت تئو منی چُکّ اَئے.	'Do something (lit such a deed) that will make it evident (lit. it will be known) that you.SG are my child.'
Garmi anchosh ent ke dhanná gwázi kanaga nabit.	گرمی انچش اِنت که ڈنّا گوازی کنگَ نبیت.	'It is so hot that it is impossible to play outdoors.'

5.6.3.7. Replacive clauses

Replacive clauses describe an alternative event, which does not happen, that is replaced by another event, which does happen. In Balochi a replacive construction is non-finite and employs the postposition *badalá* 'instead of'. It precedes the finite verb in the clause.

Máhig waragay badalá, maróchi morga warén.	ماہیگ ورگئے بدلا، مرۆچی مرگَ ورێن.	'Instead of eating fish, we will eat chicken today.'
Kár kanagay badalá, baré baré árám kan.	کار کنگئے بدلا، برے برے آرام کن.	'Instead of working, take it easy now and then.'
Mani habaray zuragay badalá, molká shotant.	منی ہبرئے زورگئے بدلا، مُلکا شتنت.	'Instead of listening to my advice (lit. word), they went to Balochistan (lit. the land).'

5.6.3.8. Comparative clauses

Comparative clauses express a comparison. When the two elements compared are of different degrees, Balochi uses the preposition *cha* 'from, than' + an oblique infinitive to express the element of comparison.

Á cha gósh dáragá géshter habara kant.	آ چه گۆش دارگا گێشتر ہبرَ کنت.	'She speaks more than she listens.'

É ketáb cha mani bahá zortagén ketábá arzánter ent.	اے کتاب چه منی بها زرتگێن کتابا ارزانتر اِنت.	'This book is cheaper than the one I bought.'

When two elements of the same or a similar degree are compared, Balochi uses two finite clauses linked with *haminchok* 'as much, this much'. If two actions are compared, two *haminchok* are required; if qualities are compared, one *haminchok* is needed.

Á haminchok ke nebeshtaha kant, haminchok wánit ham.	آ همینچک که نبشتهَ کنت، همینچک وانیت هم.	'He reads as much as he writes.'
Má maróchi haminchok gal én ke zi butagén.	ما مروٝچی همینچک گَل اێن که زی بوتگێن.	'We are as happy today as we were yesterday.'
Man haminchok zahr án ke taw ay.	من همینچک زهر آن که تئو اێے.	'I am as angry as you.SG [are].'

6. Word formation

There are a number of productive word-formation prefixes and suffixes in Balochi. New words are also formed through compounding.

The final consonant in a CC-cluster has a tendency to drop (e.g. *dast* 'hand' + *shód* 'wash' > *dasshód* 'basin for washing hands'), and geminate consonants tend to degeminate before a suffix (e.g. *porr* 'full' + *zór* 'strength' > *porzór* 'strong'). Homorganic consonants (consonants articulated at the same place in the mouth, such as "p/b", "s/z") can also undergo assimilation (e.g *bad* 'bad' + *nám* 'name' > *bannám* 'infamous'). There is also a tendency for *á* to be shortened to *a* (e.g. *máh* 'moon'+ *gónag* 'kind, sort' > *mahgónag* 'moonlike, beautiful'). The examples below illustrate such mergers, assimilations and reductions.

6.1. Word formation with prefixes

In this section, some of the more productive derivational prefixes in Balochi are described along with their functions. Derivational prefixes are not stressed. The stress remains on the final syllable of the noun/adjective.

In the Balochi-Latin script all derivational prefixes are attached to the second part of the word. In the Balochi-Arabic script, all the prefixes are written together with the second part of the word unless they end with the same sound as the second part begins with, or if the second part begins with a vowel. In these two instances, the prefix is written separately from the following part, though without a space.

bad-

The prefix *bad-* 'bad' is attached to nouns (N) and forms adjectives with the meaning 'with a bad N, of bad N'. Some of these adjectives also function as nouns.

badkár بدکار 'evildoing, evildoer'   < *kár* کار 'work'

badwáh بدواه 'with evil intent, evil-wishing'   < *wáhag* واهگ 'to wish'

badkesmat بدکسمت 'unfortunate'   < *kesmat* کسمت 'fortune, destiny'

bannám بنّام 'infamous, notorious'   < *nám* نام 'name'

bé-

The prefix *bé-* 'without' is attached to a nouns (N) to derive an adjective with the meaning 'void of N, lacking N'.

bétawár بیتئوار 'speechless'   < *tawár* تئوار 'voice'

béwas بیوس 'helpless'   < *was* وس 'power, strength'

békár بیکار 'idle, jobless'   < *kár* کار 'work'

bégonáh بیگناه 'free from guilt, sinless'   < *gonáh* گناه 'guilt, sin'

bégwáh بیگواه 'invisible, lost'   < *gwáh* گواه 'witness'

bébahá بیبها 'priceless, invaluable'   < *bahá* بها 'price'

békesás بیکساس 'immeasurable'   < *kesás* کساس 'measure, size'

betáhir بیتاهیر 'worried, lacking peace' < *táhir* تاهیر 'peace, rest, repose'

266

bon-

The prefix *bon-* 'fundamental, basic' is attached to a noun (N) to derive a new noun with the meaning 'fundamental, basic, original N'.

bongapp بُنگپّ 'preliminaries, initial idea'   < *gapp* گپّ 'talk, speech'

bonpirok بُنپیرک 'patriarch, forefather'   < *pirok* پیرک 'grandfather'

bonhesht بُنهِشت 'cornerstone, first stone laid as the foundation of a house'   < *hesht* هِشت 'brick'

bonjáh بُنجاه 'capital'   < *jáh* جاه 'place'

bonred بُنرِد 'fundament of a house'   < *red* رِد 'row'

ham-

The prefix *ham-* 'also, too' is attached to a noun (N) or adjective (A) to derive a noun or adjective with the meaning 'N/A together with others'.

hamtawár همتئوار 'unanimous, with one voice'   < *tawár* تئوار 'voice'

hamkár همکار 'co-worker'   < *kár* کار 'work'

hammolki هممُلکی 'fellow countryman'   < *molk* مُلک 'country' + *-i* ی forming adjectives (see Section 6.2).

hamdróshom همدرۆشم 'of the same shape, like'   < *dróshom* درۆشم 'shape, form'

hamdel همدل 'united, of one heart'   < *del* دل 'heart'

hamdap همدپ 'unanimous, saying the same thing'   < *dap* دپ 'mouth'

hamshawr همشئور 'of the same opinion, taking the same decision'   < *shawr* شئور 'opinion, decision'

kam-

The prefix *kam-* 'little' is attached to a noun (N) to derive an adjective with the meaning 'of little N, with little N'.

kamzát كمزات 'of lowly descent'   < *zát* زات 'origin'

kamsharap كمشرپ 'dishonoured, of little honour'   < *sharap* شرپ 'honour'

kamdid كمديد 'with weak eyesight'   < *did* ديد 'eyesight'

kamnehád كمنهاد 'of low value'   < *nehád* نهاد 'value'

kamezzat كماِزّت 'dishonoured, of little honour'   < *ezzat* اِزّت 'honour'

ná-

The negative prefix *ná-* is attached to a noun (N) or adjective (A) to derive an adjective with the meaning 'of no N/A, with no N/A'.

náárám ناآرام 'worried, restless'   < *árám* آرام 'calm, at peace'

náensáp ناانِساپ 'unfair, unjust'   < *ensáp* اِنساپ 'justice, fairness'

nájórh ناجوڑ 'sick'   < *jórh* جوڑ 'well'

nákár ناكار 'void, nullified, of no use'   < *kár* كار 'work'

násarpad ناسرپد 'not understanding'   < *sarpad* سرپد 'understanding'

náparmán ناپرمان 'disobedient'   < *parmán* پرمان 'command'

na-

The negative prefix *na-* is attached to a noun (N) to derive an adjective with the meaning 'of no N, with no N'.

nazánt نزانت 'lacking knowledge'   < *zánt* زانت 'knowledge'

namannók نمنّوک 'disobedient, one who does not accept something, one who does not surrender'   < *mannók* منّوک 'obedient, one who surrenders'

nék-

The prefix *nék-* 'good' is attached to a noun (N) to derive an adjective with the meaning 'of good N, with a good N'.

nékbaht نیکبهت 'fortunate'   < *baht* بهت 'fortune, fate'

néknám نیکنام 'of good reputation'   < *nám* نام 'name'

nékkár نیککار 'charitable, doer of good deeds'   < *kár* کار 'work, deed'

ném-

The prefix *ném-* 'half' is attached to a noun (N), adjective (A), or the present-future stem of a verb (V) to derive a noun or adjective with the meaning 'of half N/A/V'. Sometimes the noun or adjective formed with *ném-* has acquired a secondary meaning.

némwáb نیمواب 'half asleep'   < *wáb* واب 'sleep'

némróch نیمرۆچ 'noon'   < *róch* رۆچ 'sun, day'

némgrád نیمگراد 'half-cooked'   < *grádag* گرادگ 'to cook'

némtamán نیمتمان 'half-done, incomplete'   < *tamán* تمان 'complete'

por-

The prefix *por-* 'full of' (< *porr* 'full') is attached to a noun (N) to derive an adjective with the meaning 'of much N, full of N'.

porarzesh پُرارزش 'valuable'   < *arzesh* ارزش 'value'

porzór پُرزۆر 'strong'   < *zór* زۆر 'strength'

porbarkat پُربرکت 'full of prosperity, blessed'   < *barkat* برکت 'blessing'

porjósh پُرجۆش 'intense, full of enthusiasm'   < *jósh* جۆش 'boiling, fervour'

pormehr پُرمِهر 'loving'   < *mehr* مِهر 'love'

portawár پُرتئوار 'famous'   < *tawár* تئوار 'voice, sound'

269

wash-

The prefix *wash-* (from *wassh* 'good, well, happy') is attached to a noun (N) to derive an adjective with the meaning 'with a good N, of good N, with a happy N'. Some of these adjectives also function as nouns.

washdel وشدل 'happy'	< *del* دل 'heart'
washnám وشنام 'well-reputed'	< *nám* نام 'name'
washbaht وشبهت 'fortunate, lucky'	< *baht* بهت 'luck, fortune'
washbó وشبۆ 'sweet-smelling'	< *bó* بۆ 'smell'
washtawár وشتئوار 'sweet-singing'	< *tawár* تئوار 'voice'

6.2. Word formation with suffixes

This section describes some of the more productive derivational suffixes and their functions. All the derivational suffixes carry stress, which means that the final syllable of the derived noun/adjective/adverb is stressed.

In the Balochi-Latin script all derivational suffixes are attached to the first component of the word. In the Balochi-Arabic script, all suffixes are attached to the first component of the word unless they begin with the same sound as the first component ends with. In this case, the suffix is written separately, but without a space between it and the previous part.

-ák

The suffix *-ák* is attached to present-future stems of verbs and forms verbal adjectives or nouns.

sóchák سۆچاک 'hot (about food)'	< *sóchag* سۆچگ 'to burn'
gerák گراک 'customer'	< *gerag* گرگ 'to take, to buy'
warák وراک 'food'	< *warag* ورگ 'to eat'
póshák پۆشاک 'clothes'	< *póshag* پۆشگ 'to dress (tr.), to cover'

270

-ánk

The suffix *-ánk* is added to past stems of verbs to form abstract nouns, which sometimes have taken on a concrete meaning. There are also formations with the suffix *-ánk*, mainly neologisms (recently coined words), that are not based on past stems of verbs. The suffix *-ánk* can also be added to present-future stems of verbs and form verbal adjectives.

gwashtánk گوَشتانک 'speech'	< *gwashag, gwasht* گوَشت ،گوَشگ 'to say'
nebeshtánk نبشتانک 'writing, written document'	< *nebisag, nebesht* نبشت ،نبیسگ 'to write'
rajánk رجانک 'translation'	< *rajag, ratk* رتک ،رجگ 'to dye' (i.e. to change the colour of something)
chamshánk چمشانک 'look'	< *chamm* چمَ 'eye'
padánk پدانک 'ladder, staircase'	< *pad* پد 'footstep'
lakoshánk لکُشانک 'slippery'	< *lakoshag, lakosht* لکُشت ،لکُشگ 'to slip'

-áwar

The suffix *-áwar*, an older form of the present-future stem of the verb *árag* 'to bring' (the present-future stem of this verb in Modern Standard Balochi is *ár*), is attached to nouns (N) and forms adjectives with the meaning of 'containing N, bringing N'.

zóráwar زوْراور 'strong'	< *zór* زوْر 'strength'
bahtáwar بهتاور 'fortunate, lucky'	< *baht* بهت 'fortune, luck'
námáwar ناماور 'famous'	< *nám* نام 'name'
deláwar دلاور 'brave'	< *del* دل 'heart'

-aká

The suffix *-aká* forms adverbs and is added to a number of words, which sometimes undergo phonological modification.

tahnaká تهنکا 'alone, by oneself'   < *tahná* تهنا 'lonely, alone'

chappaká چپّکا 'wrongly, in the wrong order'   < *chapp* چپّ 'left'

payádaká پئیادکا 'on foot'   < *pád* پاد 'foot'

chónaká چۆنکا 'how'   < *chón* چۆن 'how'

-alok

The suffix *-alok* is added to adjectives or nouns and forms diminutives, which normally function as nouns.

gwandhalok گونڈُلک 'small child'   < *gwandh* گونڈ 'small'

kammalok کمّلُک 'very little, just a little'   < *kam* کم 'little'

áskalok آسکلُک 'fawn'   < *ásk* آسک 'deer'

-band

The suffix *-band*, the present-future stem of the verb *bandag*, *bast* 'to tie, to close, to construct', is added to nouns (N) that form complex predicates with this verb and also to other verbs to make up new nouns that denote 'tying up N, fixing N'. These nouns have sometimes taken on secondary meanings.

drógband درۆگبند 'liar'   < *dróg* درۆگ 'lie'

chárband چاربند 'quatrain, four lined poem'   < *chár* چار 'four' بند

bánband بانبند 'construction worker'   < *bán* بان 'room'

ragband رگبند 'breakfast'   < *rag* رگ 'vein'

chamband چمبند 'illusionist'   < *chamm* چمّ 'eye'

rahband رهبند 'rules, regulations, orthography'   < *ráh* راه 'path, way'

-bar

The suffix *-bar*, the present-future stem of the verb *barag*, *bort* 'to take', is added to nouns (N) to make up new nouns that denote 'a person taking N'. There are sometimes phonological modifications of the N.

delbar دلبر 'beloved'   < *del* دل 'heart'

rahbar رهبر 'leader'   < *ráh* راه 'road'

paygambar پئیگمبر 'prophet'   < *paygám* پئیگام 'message'

-bój

The suffix *-bój*, the present-future stem of the verb *bójag*, *bótk* 'to open', is added to nouns (N) to make up new nouns that denote 'opening N'. These nouns have sometimes taken on secondary meanings.

dazbój دزبۆج 'servant'   < *dast* دست 'hand'

dabbój دبّۆج 'the evening meal that breaks   < *dap* دپ 'mouth'
the fast every evening during Ramadan'

-dán

The suffix *-dán* is added to nouns (N) and creates a new noun denoting 'receptacle of N, storage for N'.

atrdán اتردان 'flask of perfume'   < *atr* اتر 'perfume'

káhdán کاهدان 'manger'   < *káh* کاه 'hay'

kalamdán کلمدان 'pen-stand'   < *kalam* کلم 'pen'

mesdán مسدان 'urinary bladder'   < *mes* مس 'urine'

-dár

The suffix *-dár*, the present-future stem of the verb *dárag, dásht* 'to keep, to protect', is added to nouns (N) and creates a new noun or an adjective denoting 'keeper of N, holding N, having N'.

sardár سردار 'tribal chief, headman'　　< *sar* سر 'head'

zemindár زميندار 'landowner'　　< *zemin* زمين 'land'

kelitdár كليتدار 'treasurer'　　< *kelit* كليت 'key'

ogdahadár اُگدهدار 'obliged, compelled'　　< *ogdah* اُگده 'duty, obligation'

brahdár برهدار 'beautiful'　　< *bráh* براه 'beauty, splendour'

wapádár وپادار 'faithful, trustworthy'　　< *wapá* وپا 'solidarity, trust'

támdár تامدار 'tasty'　　< *tám* تام 'taste'

dindár ديندار 'religious'　　< *din* دين 'religion'

sáhdár ساهدار 'living creature'　　< *sáh* ساه 'soul, breath'

sharapdár شرپدار 'honourable'　　< *sharap* شرپ 'honour'

wámdár وامدار 'indebted'　　< *wám* وام 'debt, loan'

-endag

The suffix *-endag* is added to present-future stems of verbs (V) or nouns (N) and creates an adjective denoting a person who has the quality of the V/N.

sharmendag شرمنگ 'ashamed'　　< *sharm* شرم 'shame'

wánendag وانندگ 'literate'　　< *wánag* وانگ 'to read

pahmendag پهمندگ 'intelligent'　　< *pahm* پهم 'understanding, reason'

274

-esh

The suffix -*esh* is added to present-future stems of verbs (V) and creates abstract nouns. Sometimes they have taken on a concrete meaning. There are also a number of loanwords ending in -*esh* that reflect Persian present-future stems.

bakshesh بَكشش 'gift, forgiveness'	< *bakshag* بَكشگ 'to give, to forgive'
arzesh ارزش 'value'	< *karzag* كرزگ (historically *arzag*) 'to be worth, to have value'
ázmáesh آزمایش 'test'	< Pe. *ázmudan, ázmá-* 'to test, to try'
kóshesh كۆشش 'striving, attempt'	< Pe. *kóshidan, kósh-* 'to strive, to attempt'

-esht

The suffix -*esht* is added to present-future stems of verbs (V) and creates abstract nouns. It is basically the same formation as that with -*esh*. The suffix -*esht* has been rather productive in forming neologisms.

máresht مارشت 'feeling'	< *márag* مارگ 'to feel'
zánesht زانشت 'knowledge'	< *zánag* زانگ 'to know'
tawresht تئورشت 'pain'	< *tawrag* تئورگ 'to ache'
háresht هارشت 'itching'	< *hárag* هارگ 'to itch'
sáchesht ساچشت 'creation'	< *sáchag* ساچگ 'to create, to make'

-gáh

The suffix -*gáh* is added to nouns (N) and creates a new noun denoting 'place of N'.

panáhgáh پناهگاه 'refuge, place of refuge'	< *panáh* پناه 'shelter, protection'
parasteshgáh پرستشگاه 'place of worship'	< *parastesh* پرستش 'worship'
charágáh چراگاه 'pasture'	< *charag* چرگ 'to graze'
ordugáh اُردوگاه 'encampment'	< *ordu* اُردو 'troops, army'

275

-gár

The suffix *-gár* is added to words belonging to different word classes and forms adjectives, which may have taken on the role of a noun. Some of the words in this category are formed from Persian verb stems, which indicates that they are Persian loanwords.

nézgár نیزگار 'poor'	< *nést* نیست 'non-existing'
azgár ازگار 'rich'	< *ast* است 'existing'
parwardegár پروردگار 'God'	< Pe. *parwardan, parwar-* 'to sustain'

-ger

The suffix *-ger*, the present-future stem of the verb *gerag*, *gept* 'to take, to acquire, to buy', is added to nouns (N) and denotes 'someone making use of N, someone handling N'.

sázger سازگر 'musician'	< *sáz* ساز 'instrument'
ózhnáger اۆژناگر 'swimmer'	< *ózhnág* اۆژناگ 'swimming'
sawdáger سئوداگر 'businessman'	< *sawdá* سئودا 'merchandise'
ezmger اِزمگر 'artist'	< *ezm* اِزم 'craft, art'

-gir

The suffix *-gir*, which reflects the present-future stem of the Persian verb *gereftan, gir-* 'to take', is added to nouns (N) and forms adjectives or nouns denoting 'taking N, collecting N'. Some of the words in *-gir* have also acquired secondary meanings.

máhigir ماهیگیر 'fisherman'	< *máhig* ماهیگ 'fish'
randgir رندگیر 'follower'	< *rand* رند 'footstep'
dazgir دزگیر 'arrested'	< *dast* دست 'hand'
napasgir نپسگیر 'choking'	< *napas* نپس 'breath'
delgir دلگیر 'sad, sorrowful'	< *del* دل 'heart'
máliátgir مالیاتگیر 'tax-collector'	< *máliát* مالیات 'tax'

-i

The suffix *-i* has two important functions. When the new word is an abstract noun, it is formed from an adjective, or occasionally from another noun. When the new word is an adjective of origin, it is normally formed from a noun, but occasionally from words belonging to other word classes.

Examples of the formation of abstract nouns:

تهنایی *tahnái* 'loneliness'   < تهنا *tahná* 'lonely, alone'

سردی *sardi* 'cold (n.)'   < سرد *sard* 'cold (adj.)'

گرمی *garmi* 'heat'   < گرم *garm* 'warm, hot'

مزنی *mazani* 'size, greatness'   < مزن *mazan* 'big, great'

وشّی *wasshi* 'joy, happiness'   < وشّ *wassh* 'happy'

آزاتی *ázáti* 'freedom'   < آزات *ázát* 'free'

سیادی *syádi* 'relation'   < سیاد *syád* 'relative'

گریبی *garibi* 'poverty'   < گریب *garib* 'poor'

آجزی *ájezi* 'weakness'   < آجز *ájez* 'weak'

آسانی *ásáni* 'ease'   < آسان *ásán* 'easy'

پراهی *práhi* 'width'   < پراه *práh* 'wide'

Examples of the formation of adjectives of origin, e.g. place of origin or material:

háki هاکی 'made of soil'   < *hák* هاک 'soil'

námi نامی 'famous'   < *nám* نام 'name'

sengi سنگی 'of stone'   < *seng* سنگ 'stone'

dhanni ڈنّی 'outsider, belonging to   < *dhann* ڈنّ 'outside'
the outside'

Balóchi بلۆچی 'Balochi'   < *Balóch* بلۆچ 'a Baloch'

Éráni ایٚرانی 'Iranian'   < *Érán* ایٚران 'Iran'

jesmi جسمی 'physical'   < *jesm* جسم 'body'

ruhi روهی 'spiritual'   < *ruh* روه 'spirit'

-ig

The suffix *-ig* is attached to nouns and derives adjectives, which sometimes
have taken on the meaning of nouns.

shodig شُدیگ 'hungry'   < *shod* شُد 'hunger'

tonnig تُنّیگ 'thirsty'   < *tonn* تُنّ 'thirst'

aslig اَسلیگ 'original, true'   < *asl* اَسل 'origin'

chappig چِپّیگ 'turned over'   < *chapp* چِپّ 'left'

morádig مرادیگ 'desirous, zealous'   < *morád* مراد 'wish, desire'

bandig بندیگ 'imprisoned, prisoner'   < *band* بند 'prison' (< *bandag* 'to tie')

kawlig کئولیگ 'ready to be sacri-   < *kawl* کئول 'promise'
ficed, dedicated'

nadrig ندریگ 'ready to be sacrificed,   < *nadr* ندر 'sacrifice'
dedicated'

dapig دپیگ 'lid'   < *dap* دپ 'mouth'

-jan

The suffix *-jan*, which is the present-future stem of the verb *janag*, *jat* 'to hit, to strike, to play (an instrument)', is added to nouns (N) and forms a new noun denoting a person 'hitting, striking, playing N' or, occasionally, an adjective meaning 'struck by N'.

sázjan سازجن 'musician'

< *sáz* ساز 'musical instrument'

sepatjan سِپتجن 'a female singer of sepat songs'

< *sepat* سِپت 'a praise song for a mo-ther and her new born child'

dazjan دزجن 'touched and thereby spoiled (of food)'

< *dast* دست 'hand'

-kár

The suffix *-kár* is added to nouns (N), adjectives (A), or present-future stems of verbs (V) and forms nouns or adjectives that denote 'a person doing N/A/V' or 'the quality of doing N/A/V'.

kalamkár کلمکار 'writer'

< *kalam* کلم 'pen'

daynkár دئینکار 'indebted'

< *dayn* دئین 'debt'

shamóshkár شمؤشکار 'forgetful'

< *shamóshag* شمؤشگ 'to forget'

gonahkár گنهکار 'sinner'

< *gonáh* گناه 'sin'

pahrézkár پهرێزکار 'righteous, pious'

< *pahréz* پهرێز 'abstaining, caution'

rónkár رؤنکار 'harvester'

< *rón* رؤن 'harvest'

badkár بدکار 'evildoer'

< *bad* بد 'bad, evil'

hezmatkár هزمتکار 'servant'

< *hezmat* هزمت 'service'

komakkár کمککار 'helper'

< *komak* کمک 'help'

rajánkár رجانکار 'translator'

< *rajánk* رجانک 'translation'

prébkár پرێبکار 'deceiver'

< *préb* پرێب 'deception'

wájahkár واجہکار 'master'

< *wájah* واجہ 'sir, master'

-mand

The suffix -*mand* is added to nouns (N) and forms adjectives describing animate beings who have the quality of N. Sometimes these adjectives have taken on the role of nouns.

honarmand هنرمند 'artistic'   < *honar* هنر 'art'

twánmand توانمند 'able, strong'   < *twán* توان 'ability'

wázmand وازمند 'needy, destitute, desirous'   < *wást* واست 'need, desire'

sóbmand سۆیمند 'victorious'   < *sób* سۆب 'victory'

zórmand زۆرمند 'strong, powerful'   < *zór* زۆر 'power'

hóshmand هۆشمند 'intelligent'   < *hósh* هۆش 'intelligence'

ezzatmand اِژّتمند 'honourable'   < *ezzat* اِژّت 'honour'

hastómand هستۆمند 'rich'   < *hasti* هستی 'riches'

aglmand اگلمند 'wise'   < *agl* آگل 'reason, mind'

-nák

The suffix -*nák* is added to nouns (N) and forms adjectives denoting 'full of N'. Sometimes the meaning of the adjective is slightly modified.

torsnák ترسناک 'scaring'   < *tors* ترس 'fear'

gorunák گۆوناک 'proud'   < *gorur* گۆور 'pride'

dardnák دردناک 'painful'   < *dard* درد 'pain'

bazhnák بژناک 'dreadful'   < *bazhn* بژن 'pity'

gamnák گمناک 'sad, sorrowful'   < *gam* گم 'sorrow'

budnák بودناک 'able, capable'   < *bud* بود 'ability, capability'

-ó

The suffix *-ó* is attached to nouns (N) or adjectives (A) and forms a noun denoting 'having the properties of N/A', i.e. something that is like N without being N. Sometimes the new noun acquire a slightly different meaning.

brató براتۆ 'foster brother, stepbrother'		< *brát* برات 'brother'
mátó ماتۆ 'stepmother'		< *mát* مات 'mother'
chokkó چُکّۆ 'stepchild'		< *chokk* چُکّ 'child'
gwandhó گونڈۆ 'little child'		< *gwandh* گونڈ 'small'
gwátó گواتۆ 'fan'		< *gwát* گوات 'wind'

-óger

The suffix *-óger* is added to present-future stems of verbs and denotes a person doing the verb action.

mannóger منّۆگر 'follower'	< *mannag* منّگ 'to accept, to obey'
zánóger زانۆگر 'scholar'	< *zánag* زانگ 'to know'
pendhóger پنڈۆگر 'beggar'	< *pendhag* پنڈگ 'to beg'

-ók

The suffix *-ók* is attached to present-future stems of verbs and forms agent nouns or occasionally adjectives. See also Section 4.2.4.

wánók وانۆک 'reader'	< *wánag* وانگ 'to read'
eshkonók اشکنۆک 'listener, hearer'	< *eshkonag* اشکنگ 'to hear'
nebisók نبیسۆک 'writer'	< *nebisag* نبیسگ 'to write'
chárók چارۆک 'person in an audience, one who watches'	< *chárag* چارگ 'to watch'
pajjárók پجّارۆک 'acquaintance'	< *pajjárag* پجّارگ 'to recognize'
áyók آیۆک 'coming'	< *áyag* آیگ 'to come'

-ok

The suffix *-ok* is added to different types of words and forms diminutives, which in addition to small size also can denote endearment and function as nouns or adjectives.

brátok براتُک 'little brother'   < *brát* برات 'brother'

kammok کمُّک 'just a little'   < *kamm* کمّ 'little'

borrok برُّک 'circumcision'   < *borrag* برَّگ 'to cut'

petok پتُک 'dear father'   < *pet* پت 'father'
(loving way of addressing a father)

-pán(k)

The suffix *-pán(k)* is added to nouns (N) and forms new nouns denoting 'keeper of N'.

démpán دێمپان 'defender, protector'   < *dém* دێم 'face'

bágpán باگپان 'gardener'   < *bág* باگ 'garden'

negahpán نگهپان 'protector'   < Pe. *negah/negáh* 'look, watching'

pilpán پیلپان 'elephant handler'   < *pil* پیل 'elephant'

shopánk شپانک 'shepherd'   < *shap* شپ 'night'

-wár

The suffix *-wár*, which is the present-future stem of the verb *warag*, *wárt* 'to eat, to drink, to consume' with a lengthening of the vowel, is added to nouns (N) and forms adjectives denoting 'having N' or a slightly modified meaning.

gamwár گموار 'caring'   < *gam* گم 'sorrow'

zemmahwár زمّهوار 'obliged, cons-trained'   < *zemmah* زمّه 'duty, obligation'

ométwár اُمێتوار 'hopeful'   < *omét* اُمێت 'hope'

dardwár دردوار 'useful'   < *dard* درد 'pain, trouble'

mennatwár منّتوار 'thankful'   < *mennat* منّت 'request, begging'

6.3. Compound words

Joining two words in a compound, sometimes with assimilations, is a means of creating new words in Balochi. In fact, most of the items described as word-forming prefixes in Section 6.1 are separate words with their own meaning, for instance *bon* 'basis, foundation', *ham* 'too, as well', *kam* 'little', *ném* 'half', and *wassh* 'happy, joyful'. These and other productive word-forming nouns/adjectives/adverbs are frequently attached to another word to form a compound. Many words with *á* as their only vowel undergo a shortening of this vowel to *a* when they form new words. Formations with *dast* 'hand' undergo assimilation to *daz-* or *das-*. Other assimilation also take place in compound words. All compound nouns/adjectives are stressed on their final syllable.

deljam دلجم 'certain, reassured' < *del* دل 'heart' + *jam* جم 'collected'

delsyáh دلسیاه 'troubled' < *del* دل 'heart + *syáh* سیاه 'black'

dapják دپجاک 'dispute' < *dap* دپ 'mouth' + *ják* جاک 'shouting, screaming, clamour'

mahgónag مهگۏنگ 'moonlike, beautiful' < *máh* ماه 'moon' + *gónag* گۏنگ 'kind, sort'

rahshón رهشۏن 'guide' < *ráh* راه 'road' + *shón* شۏن 'showing'

rahmdel رهمدل 'merciful' < *rahm* رهم 'mercy' + *del* دل 'heart'

dazgohár دزگهار 'a girl's female friend' < *dast* دست 'hand' + *gohár* گهار 'sister'

dazgatth دزگتّ 'busy' < *dast* دست 'hand' + *gatth* گتّ 'busy'

diwánjáh دیوانجاه 'meeting place' < *diwán* دیوان 'meeting, social gathering' + *jáh* جاه 'place'

árámjáh آرامجاه 'grave' < *árám* آرام 'peace' + *jáh* جاه 'place'

Yakshambeh یکشمبه 'Sunday' < *yak* یک 'one' + *Shambeh* شمبه 'Saturday'

yakdomi یکدومی 'each other' < *yak* یک 'one' + *domi* دومی 'the second'

zendáp زنداپ 'elixir, water of life' < *zend* زند 'life' + *áp* آپ 'water'

A compound word with *syah* (< *syáh* 'black') as its first element is separated from the second element in the Balochi-Arabic script, but without a space.

syahmár سیهمار 'viper'   < *syáh* سیاه 'black' + *már* مار 'snake'

syahróch سیهرۆچ 'unfortunate, unlucky, miserable'   < *syáh* سیاه 'black' + *róch* رۆچ 'day'

syahgwát سیهگوات 'storm'   < *syáh* سیاه 'black' + *gwát* گوات 'wind'

Compounds with two complete words that only infrequently serve as elements in compound words are written with the two words separated in the Balochi-Arabic script, but without a space.

mardénchokk مردێنچُکّ 'boy'   < *mardén* مردێن 'male' + *chokk* چُکّ 'child'

janénádam جنێنآدم 'woman'   < *janén* جنێن 'female' + *ádam* آدم 'person'

kóhdámon کۆهدامن 'hillside'   < *kóh* کۆه 'mountain' + *dámon* دامن 'lap'

sengmarmar سنگمرمر 'marble'   < *seng* سنگ 'stone' + *marmar* مرمر 'marble'

áspaym آسپئیم 'like fire'   < *ás* آس 'fire' + *paym* پئیم 'form, likeness'

parmánbardár پرمانبردار 'obedient'   < *parmán* پرمان 'order, command' + Pe. *bar dáshtan* 'to pick up, to take'

Verb stems can be productive in forming compound words. If the compound word is relatively short and/or is a commonly occurring word, it is preferably written as one word in the Balochi-Arabic script, but if the compound word is long and/or relatively scarce or constructed ad hoc, the two elements should preferably be written separately, though without a space.

ásgwár آسگوار 'extremely hot'	< آس *ás* 'fire' + گوارگ *gwárag* 'to pour down, to rain'
dasshód دسشۆد 'basin for washing hands'	< دست *dast* 'hand' + شۆدگ *shódag* 'to wash'
dazdóch دَزدۆچ 'embroidery'	< دست *dast* 'hand' + دۆچگ *dóchag* 'to sew'
espétpósh اسپێتپۆش 'dressed in white'	< اسپێت *espét* 'white' + پۆشگ *póshag* 'to dress, to cover'

References

A large number of grammatical descriptions of different Balochi dialects and of the sociolinguistic situation in Balochistan have been invaluable prerequisites for suggesting norms for written Balochi. Some grammatical descriptions of other languages have also been of help and inspiration. Though they are not referred to in the text, I have made use of the following books during the writing of this grammatical description.

Addleton, Jonathan (1986). "The importance of Regional Languages in Pakistan." *Al-Mushir*, 28/2, pp. 55–80.

Ahangar, Abbas Ali (2007). "A Description of the Verbal System in Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin." *Orientalia Suecana*, 56, pp. 5–24.

Axenov, Serge (2000). "Balochi Orthography in Turkmenistan." In: Jahani, Carina (ed.) (2000), pp. 71–78.

Axenov, Serge (2006). *The Balochi Language of Turkmenistan. A Corpus-based Grammatical Description* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 10]. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Baranzehi, Adam Nader (2003). "The Sarawani dialect of Balochi and Persian influence on it." In: Jahani, Carina and Agnes Korn (eds), *The Baloch and Their Neighbours. Ethnic and Linguistic Contact in Balochistan in Historical and Modern Times*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, pp. 75–111.

Barjasteh Delforooz, Behrooz (2010). *Discourse Features in Balochi of Sistan. Oral Narratives* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 15]. Revised version. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Online at: http://uu.divaportal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:345413 (accessed 11 March 2019).

Barker, Muhammad A., and Aqil Khan Mengal (1969). *A Course in Baluchi,* vol. 1–2. Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University.

Bashir, Elena (2008). "Some Transitional Features of Eastern Balochi: An Areal and Diachronic Perspective." In: Jahani, Korn, and Titus (eds) (2008), pp. 45–82.

Buddruss, Georg (1988). *Aus dem Leben eines jungen Balutschen, von ihm selbst erzählt* [Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 48/4]. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Carleton, Neil, and Valerie Carleton (1987). *A Dialect Survey of Baluchi*. Karachi. (Unpublished manuscript.)

Collett, Nigel A. (1986). *A Grammar, Phrase Book and Vocabulary of Balochi (as Spoken in the Sultanate of Oman)*. 2nd ed. [Camberley]: [N. A. Collett].

Dames, M. Longworth (1891). *A Text Book of the Balochi Language Consisting of Miscellaneous Stories, Legends, Poems and Balochi-English Vocabulary*. Lahore: Punjab Government Press.

Elfenbein, Josef (1966). *The Baluchi Language. A Dialectology with Texts* [Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, 27]. London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland.

Elfenbein, Josef (1989). "Baluchistan III: Baluchi language and literature." In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 3, pp. 633–644.

Elfenbein, Josef (1990). *An Anthology of Classical and Modern Balochi Literature,* vol. 1–2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Elfenbein, Josef (2000). *Unofficial and Official Efforts to Promote Balochi in Roman Script.* In: Jahani, Carina (ed.) (2000), pp. 79–88.

Farrell, Tim (1990). *Basic Balochi. An Introductory Course* [Baluchistan Monograph Series, 1]. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Farrell, Tim (1995). "Fading Ergativity? A Study of Ergativity in Balochi." In: Bennett, David C., Theodora Bynon, and B. George Hewitt (eds) *Subject, Voice and Ergativity. Selected Essays*. London: SOAS, University of London, pp. 218–243.

Farrell, Tim (2000). "Mother Tongue Education and the Health and Survival of the Balochi Language." In: Jahani, Carina (ed.) (2000), pp. 19–32.

Farrell, Tim (2003). "Linguistic Influences on the Balochi Spoken in Karachi." In: Jahani, Carina, and Agnes Korn (eds) (2003), pp. 169–210.

Geiger, Wilhelm (1889). "Dialektspaltung im Balūčī." *Abhandlungen der I. Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 18/I, pp. 65–92.

Geiger, Wilhelm (1891). "Lautlehre des Balūčī." *Abhandlungen der I. Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 19/II, pp. 397–464.

Gilbertson, George W. (1923). *The Balochi Language. A Grammar and Manual.* Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons.

Grierson, George A. (1921). "Balōchī." In: Grierson, George A. (ed.), *Linguistic Survey of India X: Specimens of Languages of the Eranian Family.* Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, pp. 327–451.

Jahani, Carina (1989). *Standardization and Orthography in the Balochi Language* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 1]. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Jahani, Carina (2000). "Language Attitudes and Language Maintenance among Iranian Baloch in Sweden." In: Jahani, Carina (ed.) (2000), pp. 33–58.

Jahani, Carina (ed.) (2000). *Language in Society – Eight Sociolinguistic Essays on Balochi* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 3]. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Jahani, Carina (2003). "The Case System in Iranian Balochi in a Contact Linguistic Perspective." In: Jahani and Korn (eds) (2003), pp. 113–132.

Jahani, Carina (2005). "State Control and its Impact on Language in Balochistan." In: Rabo, Annika, and Bo Utas (eds) *The Role of the State in West Asia* [Transactions of the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 14], Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, pp. 151–163.

Jahani, Carina (2008). "Restrictive Relative Clauses in Balochi and the Marking of the Antecedent: Linguistic Influence from Persian?" In: Jahani, Korn, and Titus (eds) (2008), pp. 139–166.

Jahani, Carina (2013). "The Balochi Language and Languages in Iranian Balochistan." *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 4/2, pp. 153–167.

Jahani, Carina (2015). "Complex Predicates and the Issue of Transitivity: The Case of Southern Balochi." In: Szántó, Iván (ed.), *From ʿAṣl to Zā'id: Essays in Honour of Éva M. Jeremiás.* Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, pp. 79–105.

Jahani, Carina (2017). "Prospectivity in Persian and Baloch and the Preterite for Non-past Events." In: Korn, Agnes and Irina Nevskaya (eds), *Prospective and Proximative in Turkic, Iranian and Beyond.* Wiesbaden: Reichert, pp. 261–275.

Jahani, Carina, Serge Axenov, Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz, and Maryam Nourzaei (2010). "Impersonal Constructions in Balochi." *Orientalia Suecana*, 59, pp. 168–181. Online at: http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:405396/FULLTEXT01.pdf (accessed 10 May 2019).

Jahani, Carina, Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz, and Maryam Nourzaei (2012). "Non-canonical Subjects in Balochi." In: Aghaei, Behrad, and M. R. Ghanoonparvar (eds), *Iranian Languages and Culture: Essays in Honor of Gernot Ludwig Windfuhr.* Costa Mesa: Mazda, pp. 196–218. Online at: http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:561223/FULLTEXT02.pdf (accessed 11 March 2019).

Jahani, Carina, and Agnes Korn (2003). *The Baloch and Their Neighbours: Ethnic and Linguistic Contact in Balochistan in Historical and Modern Times.* Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Jahani, Carina, and Agnes Korn (2009). "Balochi." In: Windfuhr, Gernot (ed.) (2009), pp. 634–692.

Jahani, Carina, Agnes Korn, and Paul Titus (2008). *The Baloch and Others: Linguistic, historical and socio-political perspectives on Pluralism in Balochistan.* Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Korn, Agnes (2005). *Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi. Studies in Balochi Historical Phonology and Vocabulary* [Beiträge zur Iranistik, 26]. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Korn, Agnes (2008a). "The Nominal System of Balochi: How Many Grammars?" In: Jahani, Carina, Agnes Korn and Paul Titus (eds), *The Baloch and Others. Linguistic, Historical and Socio-Political Perspectives in Pluralism in Balochistan.* Wiesbaden: Reichert, pp. 167–194.

Korn, Agnes (2008b). "A New Locative Case in Turkmenistan Balochi." *Iran and the Caucasus*, 12, pp. 83–99.

Korn, Agnes (2008c). "Marking of Arguments in Balochi Ergative and Mixed Constructions." In: Karimi, Simin, Vida Samiian, and Donald Stilo (eds), *Aspects of Iranian Linguistics*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 249–276.

Korn, Agnes (2009) "The Ergative System in Balochi from a Typological Perspective." *Iranian Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 1, pp. 43–79.

Korn, Agnes (2017). "Verbal Nouns in Balochi." In: Petit, Daniel, Georges-Jean Pinault, and Claire Le Feuvre (eds), *Verbal Adjectives and Participles in Indo-European Languages /Adjectifs verbaux et participes dans les langues indo-européennes.* Bremen: Hempen, pp. 119–140.

Lazard, Gilbert (1992). *A Grammar of Contemporary Persian.* Translated into English by Shirley A. Lyon, Costa Mesa and New York: Mazda Publishers.

Levinsohn, Stephen H. (2015). *Self-instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis*. Online at: https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/68643 (accessed 7 October 2019)

Mahmoodi Bakhtiari, Behrooz (2003). "Notes on the Tense System in Balochi and Standard Persian." In: Jahani and Korn (eds) (2003), pp. 133–145.

Marston, E. W. (1877). *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Mekranee Beloochee Dialect*. Bombay: Education Society's Press.

Mockler, Edward (1877). *A Grammar of the Baloochee Language, as it is Spoken in Makrān (Ancient Gedrosia), in the Persi-Arabic and Roman Characters*, London: Henry S. King & Co.

Nawata, Tetsuo (1981). *Baluchi* [Asian and African Grammatical Manuals, 17b]. Tokyo: University of Foreign Studies.

Nourzaei, Maryam (2017). *Participant Reference in Three Balochi Dialects. Male and Female Narrations of Folktales and Biographical Tales* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 31]. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Online at:
http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1069126/FULLTEXT01.pdf
Appendix A, Text Corpus. Online at:
http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1069126/ATTACHMENT01.pdf
Appendix B–D. Online at:
http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1069126/ATTACHMENT02.pdf
(accessed 11 March 2019).

Nourzaei, Maryam, and Carina Jahani (2013). "The Distribution and Role of the Verb Clitic =*a/a*= in Different Balochi Dialects." *Orientalia Suecana,* 61 (2012), pp. 170–186. Online at:
http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:657405/FULLTEXT02.pdf
(accessed 11 March 2019).

Nourzaei, Maryam, Carina Jahani, Erik Anonby, and Abbas Ali Ahangar (2015). *Koroshi. A Corpus-based Grammatical Description* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 13]. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Online at:
http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:810250/FULLTEXT01.pdf
(accessed 11 March 2019).

Obrtelova, Jaroslava (2019). *From Oral to Written. A Text-linguistic Study of Wakhi Narratives* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 35]. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Online at:
http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1306274/FULLTEXT01.pdf
(accessed 25 June 2019).

Okati, Farideh (2012). *The Vowel Systems of Five Iranian Balochi Dialects.* [Studia Linguistica Upsaliensia, 13, and Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 20] Online at:
http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:564554/FULLTEXT02.pdf
(accessed 11 March 2019).

Pierce, E. (1874). "A Description of the Mekranee-Beloochee Dialect." In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay), 11, pp. 1–98.

Rahmani, Hamed (2019). *An Evidence-based New Analysis of Persian Word Prosody.* Amsterdam: LOT.

Rossi, Adriano V. (1979). "Phonemics in Balōčī and Modern Dialectology." In: Gnoli, Gherardo, and Adriano V. Rossi (eds), Iranica. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Rzehak, Lutz (2003). "Some Thoughts and Material on Balochi in Afghanistan." In: Jahani and Korn (eds) (2003), pp. 259–276.

Sokolov, Sergej N. (1956). "Grammatičeskij očerk jazyka beludžej Sovetskogo Sojuza." *Trudy Instituta Jazykoznanija*, 6, pp. 57–91.

Sokolova, Valentina P. (1953). "Beludžskij jazyk." In: Sokolova, Valentina P., *Očerki po fonetike iranskix jazykov.* Moscow and Leningrad: Nauka, pp. 7–77.

Spooner, Brian (1967). "Notes on the Baluchī spoken in Persian Baluchistan." *Iran*, 5, pp. 51–71.

Spooner, Brian (2012). "Balochi: Towards a Biography of the Language." In: Schiffman, Harold F. (ed.), *Language Policy and Language Conflict in Afghanistan and Its Neighbors. The Changing Politics of Language Choice.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 319–336.

Windfuhr, Gernot (ed.) (2009). *The Iranian Languages.* London and New York: Routledge.

The following two sources contain additional material in Modern Standard Balochi:

www.lingfil.uu.se/forskning/the-balochi-language-project/
Grammar lessons, online books, conference reports. Last accessed 15 November 2019.

https://balochidictionary.webonary.org/
An online Balochi-English dictionary. Last accessed 15 November 2019.

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS
Studia Iranica Upsaliensia
Editors: Carina Jahani and Bo Utas

1. CARINA JAHANI, Standardization and Orthography in the Balochi Language. 1989.
2. JUDITH JOSEPHSON, The Pahlavi Translation Technique as Illustrated by *Hōm Yašt*. 1997.
3. CARINA JAHANI, Language in Society — Eight Sociolinguistic Essays on Balochi. 2000.
4. SHOKOUFEH TAGHI, The Two Wings of Wisdom. Mysticism and Philosophy in the *Risālat uṭ-ṭair* of Ibn Sina. 2000.
5. ASHK DAHLÉN, Deciphering the meaning of revealed law. The Surūshian paradigm in Shi'i epistemology. 2001.
6. HASHEM AHMADZADEH, Nation and Novel. A Study of Persian and Kurdish Narrative Discourse. 2003.
7. FOROGH HASHABEIKY, Persian Orthography. Modification or Changeover? (1850–2000). 2005.
8. MEHRDAD FALLAHZADEH, Persian Writing on Music. A study of Persian musical literature from 1000 to 1500 A.D. 2005.
9. HELENA BANI-SHORAKA, Language Choice and Code-Switching in the Azerbaijani Community in Tehran. A conversation analytic approach to bilingual practices. 2005.
10. SERGE AXENOV, The Balochi Language of Turkmenistan. A corpus-based grammatical description. 2006.
11. MINOO SHAHIDI, A Sociolinguistic Study of Language Shift in Mazandarani. 2008.
12. JOHN R. ROBERTS, A Study of Persian Discourse Structure. 2009.
13. MARYAM NOURZAEI, CARINA JAHANI, ERIK ANONBY & ABBAS ALI AHANGAR, Koroshi. A Corpus-based Grammatical Description. 2015.
14. DARIUSH KARGAR, Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma. Iranian Conceptions of the Other World. 2009.
15. BEHROOZ BARJASTEH DELFOROOZ, Discourse Features in Balochi of Sistan (Oral Narratives). 2010.
16. ERIK ANONBY & PAKZAD YOUSEFIAN, Adaptive Multilinguals. A Survey of Language on Larak Island. 2011.
17. ANDERS WIDMARK, Voices at the Borders, Prose on the Margins. Exploring the Contemporary Pashto Short Story in a Context of War and Crisis. 2011.
18. MEHRDAD FALLAHZADEH & MAHMOUD HASSANABADI, S̲h̲ams al-aṣvāt, The Sun of Songs by Ras Baras. 2012.
19. V.S. RASTORGUEVA et al., The Gilaki Language. 2012.
20. FARIDEH OKATI, The Vowel Systems of Five Iranian Balochi Dialects. 2012.
21. GUITI SHOKRI, CARINA JAHANI & HOSSEIN BARANI, When Tradition Meets Modernity. Five Life Stories from the Galesh Community in Ziarat, Golestan, Iran. 2013.
22. FRANZ WENNBERG, On the Edge. The Concept of Progress in Bukhara during the Rule of the Later Manghits. 2013.
23. ALI MUHADDIS (Ed.), A Historical Poem on the Attack on Iran by the Afghans. Written by Nadīm Mashhadī in 1137 A.H. (1724/5 A.D.). 2014.
24. ERIK ANONBY & ASHRAF ASADI, Bakhtiari Studies. Phonology, Text, Lexicon. 2014.
25. ALI HASSOURI (Ed.), Jām-e Jahān-nemā-ye 'Abbāsi. The Abbasid "Planetarium Cup". On the Benefits of Wine. Written by: Qāẓi ebn Kāšef al-Din Moḥammad. 2014.
26. FOROGH HASHABEIKY (Ed.), International *Shāhnāme* Conference. The Second Millennium. (Conference Volume). 2014.
27. PADIDEH PAKPOUR, Identity Construction. The Case of Young Women in Rasht. 2015.

28. BEHROOZ SHEYDA, Traces of Time. The Image of the Islamic Revolution, the Hero and Martyrdom in Persian Novels Written in Iran and in Exile. 2016.
29. SHOKOUFEH TAGHI, A Typology and Classification of Three Literary Genres. Songs, Folktales, and Initiation Tales in Iranian Oral Literature and their Educational Function. 2016.
30. FARHAD SHAKELY, The Modern Kurdish Short Story. 2016.
31. MARYAM NOURZAEI, Participant Reference in Three Balochi Dialects. Male and Female Narrations of Folktales and Biographical Tales. 2017.
32. JAROSLAVA OBRTELOVÁ, Narrative Structure of Wakhi Oral Stories. 2017.
33. MAHMOUD HASSANABADI, ROUBIK JAHANI & CARINA JAHANI, A Unified Gospel in Persian. An old variant of the Gospels along with exegetical comments. Written by: Yahyā Ibn Ayvaz-e Tabrīzī-ye Armanī. 2018.
34. ERIK ANONBY & ASHRAF ASADI, Bakhtiari Studies II: Orthography. 2018.
35. JAROSLAVA OBRTELOVÁ, From Oral to Written. A Text-linguistic Study of Wakhi Narratives. 2019.
36. CARINA JAHANI, A Grammar of Modern Standard Balochi. 2019.