

A Grammar of Modern Standard Balochi

Carina Jahani

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ABSTRACT

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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.

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*In memory of
my Swedish father*

John Einar Nilsson (1908–1994)

and

my Baloch father

Abdullah Jan Jamaldini (1922–2016)

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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 bāt!

Uppsala 15 November 2019,
Carina Jahani

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.

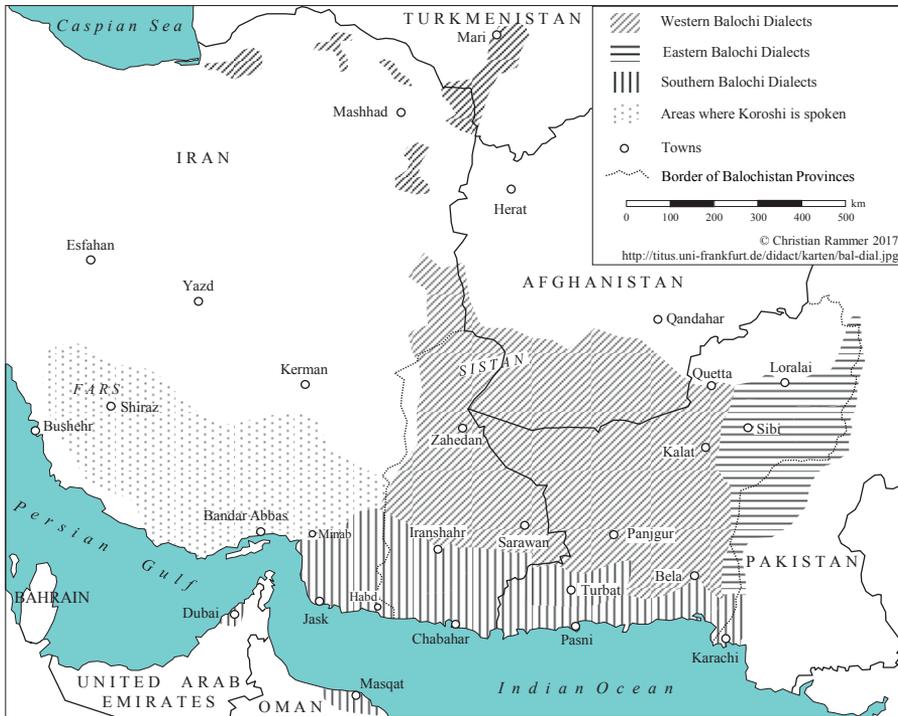


Figure 1. The Balochi language area with its broad dialect divisions

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.

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-

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، ل، ل، ا	* آ
برات، گیابان، ہیر، رُمب، کتاب	ب، ب، ج، ب، ب	بے
پت، باپاری، کپگ، شپ، لاپ	پ، پ، چ، پ، پ	پے
تھل، ہاترا، اؤشتگ، راست، مات	ت، ت، ت، ت، ت	تے
ٹال، لوٹگ، لینگ، پُٹ، چمُوٹ	ٹ، ٹ، ٹ، ٹ، ٹ	ٹے
جنک، بوجگ، پنجاہ، راج، بُنگیج	ج، ج، ج، ج، ج	جے
چون، روچگ، بچک، پنچ، روچ	چ، چ، چ، چ، چ	چے
خلیج، خمار، دسخت	خ، خ، خ، خ، خ	خے
دوست، بادشاہ، پدا، ہید، پاد	د، د، د، د، د	* دے
ڈٹول، سرڈگار، گڈسرا، گونڈ، چُنڈ	ڈ، ڈ، ڈ، ڈ، ڈ	* ڈے
روچ، ورگ، برات، دیر، کار	ر، ر، ر، ر، ر	* رے

ماژی، گُڑا، میڑ، ناچوڑ	ڑ، ڑ، ڑ، ڑ، ڑ	ڑے *
زندگ، دروازگ، پانزده، باز، چیر	ز، ز، ز، ز، ز	زے *
ژند، رُژن، بَژن	ژ، ژ، ژ، ژ، ژ	ژے *
سahat، دست، تُسگ، کَس، آس	س، س، س، س، س	سے
شپ، گوَشگ، لشکر، گیش، گوش	ش، ش، ش، ش، ش	شے
غثیرت، بالغ	غ، غ، غ، غ، غ	غے
فئون، فُتبال	ف، ف، ف، ف، ف	فے
کار، هرکس، بلکین، یک، تاک	ک، ک، ک، ک، ک	کے
گہار، اکن، بیگاہ، مُرگ، لوگ	گ، گ، گ، گ، گ	گے
لُنٹ، هالیگ، هَلک، گل، دل	ل، ل، ل، ل، ل	لے
مُندریک، اُمر، همساہگ، ہم، نام	م، م، م، م، م	مے
نون، باندا، کندگ، رُوگن، دان	ن، ن، ن، ن، ن	نے
بان، تان، مان	ن	نون غُٹہ
واب، باور، گوات	و، و، و، و، و	وے *
دور، نون، تمبو، دارو	او، و، و، و، و	اوے *
اؤشتگ، رُوچ، کڑہ، چو، گونڈو	او، و، و، و، و	اؤے *
اٹولی، رٹوگ، تتوار، کلٹو، هتو	اٹو، ٹو، ٹو، ٹو، ٹو	اٹوے *
هتور، ساهت، تھار، بیہ، مَوہ	ه، ه، ه، ه، ه	هے
یات، شریٹ، نیاما	ی، ی، ی، ی، ی	یے
ایمان، دیوال، شیر، ٹیککی، پاری	ای، ی، ی، ی، ی	ای
ایرھت، دیم، شیر، همے، وهده	ای، ی، ی، ی، ی	ای
اٹیپ، دٹیگ، سٹیل، کٹے، بٹے	اٹی، ٹی، ٹی، ٹی، ٹی	اٹے

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
آسپ، گرم، مرد، چه، کار کنت	ه، ه، ه	اَ (zabar/زَبَر)	ا، اَ	a
امبری، پت، زر، بله	ه، ه	اِ (zér/زَيْر)	ا، اِ	e
أرش، بَرز، سَهر، و	و، و	اُ (pésh/پیش)	ا، اُ	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
چیبیک، رب، سوت، پدر، گت، هَدُّ، چُک، لگگ، پستو، وش، مَر، چیر، هُزار، اُف، مَج، هَج، چَم، تَنیگ، زَر، بَلک	اَ (shadd/شَد)
گوات، برات، بَرز، مُندریگ، رُژن، بَرُن	اُ (sokun/سُکون)

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	Ā, 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, báleg
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	khali, 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	bán, tán, mán
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, dárú, 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	lacché ₂ nag, macch
dé	dd	paddar, hasadd
dhé	ddh	goddhag, haddh
fé	ff	off
gé	gg	laggag, saggag
jé	jj	pajjá _h , 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* آب '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* کار کنت 'he/she works'

i (long) as in *imán* ایمان ‘faith’, *diwál* دیوال ‘wall’, *shir* شیر ‘milk’, *théki* تھکی ‘gift’, *pári* پاری ‘last year’

é (long) as in *éraht* ایرھت ‘autumn’, *dém* دیم ‘face’, *shér* شیر ‘lion’, *hamé* ہمے ‘this very’, *wahdé* وھدے ‘when’

e (short) as in *embari* امبری ‘this year’, *pet* پت ‘father’, *zer* زر ‘sea’, *bale* بلہ ‘but’

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

ó (long) as in *óshtag* اوشٹگ ‘to stand up’, *róch* رُچ ‘day, sun’, *kóh* کُھ ‘mountain’, *chó* چُھ ‘like, like this, in this way’, *gwandhó* گُونڈُھ ‘small child’

o (short) as in *borz* بُرز ‘high’, *sohr* سُھر ‘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* اولی ‘first’, *rawag* رنُگ ‘to go’, *tawár* توار ‘voice, sound’, *kolaw* کلنو ‘message’, *haw* هنو ‘yes’

ay as in *ayb* ائیب ‘fault’, *dayag* دنُگ ‘to give’, *sayl* سنیل ‘sightseeing’, *kay* كے ‘who’, *bay* بے ‘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 ñ 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 (ñ)				
Taps		r		rh		
Lateral		l				
Approximants	w		y			

- p as in *pet* پت ‘father’, *pocch* پُچ ‘clothes’, *bápári* باپاری ‘trader’, *kapag* کپگ ‘to fall’, *shap* شپ ‘evening, night’, *láp* لاپ ‘stomach’, *chippok* چپک ‘chick’, *gapp* گپ ‘talk’
- b as in *brát* برات ‘brother’, *romb* رُمب ‘group’, *bér* بیز ‘revenge’, *habar* هبر ‘word, talk’, *gyábán* گیابان ‘desert’, *ketáb* کتاب ‘book’, *rabb* رب ‘Lord’, *dhobbah* دُبه ‘duty’
- t as in *tawár* تنوار ‘voice’, *tahl* تهل ‘bitter’, *háterá* هاترا ‘for, for the sake of’, *óshtag* اؤشتگ ‘to stand up’, *rást* راست ‘right, true’, *zutter* زوتتر ‘quicker, faster’, *sutt* سوت ‘profit, gain’
- d as in *dóst* دوست ‘friend’, *bádsháh* بادشاه ‘king’, *padá* پدا ‘later, afterwards’, *héd* هید ‘sweat’, *pád* پاد ‘leg, foot’, *paddar* پدر ‘clear, evident, visible’, *hasadd* هسد ‘envy, jealousy’
- th as in *thál* ثال ‘branch (of a tree)’, *lóthag* لوٹگ ‘to want’, *léthag* لئیگ ‘to roll over’, *poth* پُت ‘body-hair, fur’, *chawath* چنوٹ ‘sandal’, *patthag* پٹگ ‘to search, to look for’, *gatth* گٹ ‘busy’
- dh as in *dhawl* دُؤل ‘way, manner’, *sardhagár* سردگاری ‘region, land’, *godhsará* گُڈسرا ‘at last, finally’, *gwandh* گوندھ ‘small’, *chondh* چنڈھ ‘piece’, *goddhag* گُڈگ ‘to chop off, to cut off’, *haddh* هڈھ ‘bone’
- k as in *kár* کار ‘work’, *harkas* هرگس ‘everybody’, *balkén* بلکین ‘maybe’, *yak* یک ‘one’, *ták* تاک ‘leaf, page’, *kukkár* کوکار ‘shout, scream’, *chokk* چک ‘child’
- g as in *gohár* گهار ‘sister’, *agan* اگن ‘if’, *bégáh* بیگاہ ‘late afternoon/early evening’, *morg* مرگ ‘chicken’, *lóg* لوگ ‘house’, *laggag* لگگ ‘to bump into’, *saggag* سگگ ‘to endure’
- f as in *fawn* فنون ‘phone’, *fothál* فُتبال ‘football’ (these words can also be pronounced with a *p* instead of the *f*), *off* اُف ‘alas’
- s as in *sáhat* ساهت ‘hour’, *dast* دست ‘arm, hand’, *tosag* تُسگ ‘to faint’, *kas* کس ‘person’, *ás* اس ‘fire’, *passaw* پسنو ‘answer’, *bas* بس ‘enough’, *kass* کس ‘nobody’
- sh as in *shap* شپ ‘evening, night’, *gwashag* گووشگ ‘to say’, *lashkar* لشکر ‘army’, *gésh* گیش ‘more’, *gósh* گوش ‘ear’, *kasshag* کشگ ‘to pull, to draw’, *wassh* وشن ‘happy, well’
- z as in *zendag* زندگ ‘alive’, *darwázag* دروازگ ‘door’, *pánzdah* پانزده ‘fifteen’, *báz* باز ‘very, much’, *bazzag* بزگ ‘destitute, poor’, *mozz* مز ‘wages’, *chizz* چیز ‘thing’
- zh as in *zhand* ژند ‘tired, worn out’, *rozhn* رُژن ‘light’, *bazhn* بژن ‘woe’, *hozzhár* هژار ‘cautious, vigilant’

- kh as in *khalij* خلیج ‘bay’, *khomár* خمار ‘drunk, intoxicated’, *daskhatt* دسخت ‘signature’ (these words can also be pronounced with an *h* or a *k* instead of the *kh*)
- gh as in *ghayrat* غنیرت ‘honour, dignity’, *bálegh* بالغ ‘adolescent, mature’ (these words can also be pronounced with a *g* instead of the *gh*)
- h as in *hawr* هور ‘rain’, *sáhat* ساهت ‘hour, clock, watch’, *tahár* تهار ‘dark’, *béh* بیه ‘origin, basis’, *móh* موه ‘opportunity’
- ch as in *chón* چون ‘how’, *róchag* روچگ ‘fasting’, *bachak* بچک ‘boy’, *panch* پنج ‘five’, *róch* روچ ‘day, sun’, *lacchénag* لچینگ ‘to attach’, *macch* مچ ‘date palm’
- j as in *jenek* جنک ‘girl’, *bójag* بوچگ ‘to untie’, *panjáh* پنجاه ‘fifty’, *ráj* راج ‘people, nation’, *bongéj* بنگیج ‘start’, *pajjár* پجار ‘recognition, identity’, *hojj* هچ ‘force’
- m as in *mondrik* مندریک ‘ring’, *omr* امر ‘life’, *hamsáheg* همسahگ ‘neighbour’, *ham* هم ‘also’, *nám* نام ‘name’, *kimmat* کیمت ‘price, value’, *chamm* چم ‘eye’
- n as in *nun* نون ‘now’, *bándá* باندا ‘tomorrow’, *kandag* کندگ ‘to laugh, laughter’, *rógen* روگن ‘oil’, *dán* دان ‘grain, rice (uncooked)’, *tonnig* تنیگ ‘thirsty’, *dhann* دنن ‘out, outside’
- ń (nun ghunna) as in *bán* بان ‘I will be/become’, *tán* تان ‘until’, *mán* مان ‘in’ (nun ghunna is used in poetry for metrical and rhyming purposes)
- r as in *róch* روچ ‘day, sun’, *warag* ورگ ‘to eat, to drink’, *brát* برات ‘brother’, *dér* دیر ‘late’, *kár* کار ‘work’, *korrag* کرگ ‘foal’, *zarr* زر ‘money, gold’
- rh as in *márhi* ماڑی ‘palace’, *gorhá* گڑا ‘then’, *merh* مڑ ‘fight’, *nájórh* ناجور ‘ill’
- l as in *lonth* لنت ‘lip’, *hálíg* هالیگ ‘empty’, *halk* هلک ‘village, encampment’, *gal* گل ‘happy’, *del* دل ‘heart’, *ballok* بلك ‘grandmother’, *lell* لیل ‘dumb’
- w as in *wáb* واب ‘sleep’, *báwar* باور ‘faith, belief’, *gwát* گوات ‘wind’
- y as in *yát* یات ‘memory’, *sharyat* شریعت ‘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 آب ‘water’, ér ایر ‘down’, arh اړ ‘conflict, dispute’
VCC	asp اسپ ‘horse’, óst اوست ‘hope, expectation’, árt آرت ‘flour’
CV	pa په ‘for’, ché چه ‘what’, do دو ‘two’
CVC	kár كار ‘work’, bér بېر ‘revenge’, pet پت ‘father’
CVCC	morg مرگ ‘bird’, dóst دوست ‘friend’, borz بُرز ‘high, tall’
CCV	tru ترو ‘aunt’, gré.wag گریوگ ‘to cry’, pré.nag پرینگ ‘to throw away’
CCVC	dráj دراج ‘long’, préb پریب ‘fraud, trick’, syáh سیاه ‘black’
CCVCC	grand گرنده ‘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:

bápáři ‘trader’, *chippok* ‘chick’, *habar* ‘word, talk’, *gyábán* ‘desert’, *ketáb* ‘book’, *dhobbah* ‘duty’, *tawár* ‘voice’, *bádasháh* ‘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 “ˈ” before the stressed syllable.

ˈChokk zutt mazana bant. چک زوت مزن بنت . ‘Children grow up quickly.’

Ke ˈtábé beger. کتابے بگر . ‘Buy a book.’

ˈÁpé, ˈcháé ˈmaná ˈnadayay? آپے، چاے منا ندئیے؟ ‘Won’t you.SG give me a (glass of) water, a (cup of) tea?’

Bálách o Há ˈni brát o go ˈhár atant. بالاج و هانی برات و گهار آنتت . ‘Balach and Hani were siblings (lit. brother and sister).’

Mani ham ˈkáréá mani bá ˈposhtá ha ˈbar kortag. منی همکاریا منی باپشتا هبر کرتگ . ‘One of my workmates has talked behind my back.’

Sur ka ˈnag shar ˈter ent yá sur naka ˈnag? سور کنگ شرتر انت 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.*



(*Á*) *wsh ent.* ‘He is well.’



(Taw) *kojá raway?*



(تتو) كجا رتوئے؟ '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 إنت. '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.



شهرتے کوچہ و دمکان هچكس گندگ نبوت و بازار انگت بند ات.

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



May delá báz lóthet ke shomará begendén.



مئے دلا باز لوئت كه شمارا بگندین.

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



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

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



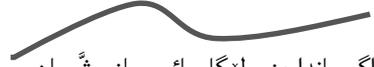
من زی مردمے دیست کہ دیم پہ تئی لؤگا پیداک ات.

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



Agan bándá mani lógá byáay, báz wassha bán.

Agan bándá mani lógá byáay, báz wassha bán.



اگن باندا منی لؤگا بیائے، باز وش بان.

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



Wahdé dém pa shahrá rawagá atán, wati sangaton distant.

Wahdé dém pa shahrá rawagá atán, wati sangaton distant.



وهدے دیم پہ شہرا رٹوگا اتان، وتی سنگٹن 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 (*'mátá/má'tá*, *'mátay/má'tay*). The object case, however, is stressed on the second to last (penultimate) syllable (*má'tará*). The plural forms of the oblique, object, genitive, and vocative cases are stressed on the syllable containing the *-án* suffix (*má'tán*, *má'táná*, *má'táni*, *má'tán*). 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	<i>mát</i>	مات	<i>mát</i>	مات
Oblique case	<i>mátá</i>	ماتا	<i>mátán</i>	ماتان
Object case	<i>mátará</i>	ماتارا	<i>mátáná</i>	ماتانا
Genitive case	<i>mátay</i>	ماتے	<i>mátáni</i>	ماتانی
Vocative case	<i>mát</i>	مات	<i>mátán</i>	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	<i>azhdiá</i>	اژديا	<i>azhdiá</i>	اژديا
Oblique case	<i>azhdiáyá</i>	اژديايا	<i>azhdiáyán</i>	اژديايان
Object case	<i>azhdiáyará</i>	اژدييارا	<i>azhdiáyáná</i>	اژديايانا
Genitive case	<i>azhdiáyay</i>	اژديايے	<i>azhdiáyáni</i>	اژدييانی
Vocative case	<i>azhdiá</i>	اژديا	<i>azhdiáyán</i>	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	<i>nabi</i>	نبي	<i>nabi</i>	نبي
Oblique case	<i>nabiá</i>	نبيا	<i>nabián</i>	نبيان
Object case	<i>nabiárá</i>	نبيارا	<i>nabiáná</i>	نبيانا
Genitive case	<i>nabiay</i>	نبييے	<i>nabiáni</i>	نبييانی
Vocative case	<i>nabi</i>	نبي	<i>nabián</i>	نبيان

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

	Singular		Plural	
Direct case	<i>shu</i>	شو	<i>shu</i>	شو
Oblique case	<i>shuá</i>	شوا	<i>shuán</i>	شوان
Object case	<i>shuárá</i>	شوارا	<i>shuáná</i>	شوانا
Genitive case	<i>shuay</i>	شويے	<i>shuáni</i>	شواني
Vocative case	<i>shu</i>	شو	<i>shuán</i>	شوان

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

	Singular		Plural	
	Direct case	<i>gwandhó</i>	گونڈو	<i>gwandhó</i>
Oblique case	<i>gwandhóá</i>	گونڈوا	<i>gwandhóán</i>	گونڈوان
Object case	<i>gwandhóárá</i>	گونڈوارا	<i>gwandhóáná</i>	گونڈوانا
Genitive case	<i>gwandhóáy</i>	گونڈوئے	<i>gwandhóáni</i>	گونڈوانی
Vocative case	<i>gwandhó</i>	گونڈو	<i>gwandhóán</i>	گونڈوان

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	<i>wájah</i>	واجه	<i>wájah</i>
Oblique case	<i>wájahá</i>	واجها	<i>wájahán</i>	واجهان
Object case	<i>wájahárá</i>	واجهارا	<i>wájaháná</i>	واجهانا
Genitive case	<i>wájaháy</i>	واجهئے	<i>wájaháni</i>	واجهانی
Vocative case	<i>wájah</i>	واجه	<i>wájahán</i>	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 (‘*mátayg/má'tayg*). The plural form (monosyllabic or polysyllabic) is stressed on the syllable containing the -án suffix (*má'tánig*).

Table 15. Nouns: attributive and predicative genitive form

<i>mátay</i> > <i>mátayg</i>	ماتے < ماتئیگ
<i>azhdiáyay</i> > <i>azhdiáyayg</i>	اژدیایے < اژدیایئیگ
<i>nabiay</i> > <i>nabiayg</i>	نبیے < نبیئیگ
<i>wájahay</i> > <i>wájahayg</i>	واجھے < واجھئیگ
<i>gwandhóay</i> > <i>gwandhóayg</i>	گونڈوئے < گونڈوئیگ
<i>mátáni</i> > <i>mátánig</i>	ماتانی < ماتانیگ
<i>azhdiáyáni</i> > <i>azhdiáyánig</i>	اژدیایانی < اژدیایانیگ
<i>nabiáni</i> > <i>nabiánig</i>	نبیانی < نبیانیگ
<i>wájaháni</i> > <i>wájahánig</i>	واجھانی < واجھانیگ
<i>gwandhóáni</i> > <i>gwandhóánig</i>	گونڈوانی < گونڈوانیگ

To denote a singular indefinite entity, a clitic called the “individuation clitic” is added as an enclitic 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*

<i>mát</i> > <i>máté</i>	مات < ماتے	‘mother’ > ‘a mother’
<i>shap</i> > <i>shapé</i>	شپ < شپے	‘night’ > ‘a night’
<i>kár</i> > <i>káré</i>	کار < کارے	‘job’ > ‘a job’
<i>wájah</i> > <i>wájahé</i>	واجه < واجھے	‘mister’ > ‘a mister’
<i>azhdiá</i> > <i>azhdiáé</i>	اژدیا < اژدیایے	‘dragon’ > ‘a dragon’
<i>tambu</i> > <i>tambué</i>	تمبو < تمبوے	‘tent’ > ‘a tent’
<i>bó</i> > <i>bóé</i>	بو < بوے	‘smell’ > ‘a smell’
<i>mocchi</i> > <i>mocchié</i>	مچی < مچیے	‘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

<i>mátéá, mátéay</i>	ماتیا، ماتییے	‘a mother’, ‘of a mother’
<i>wájahéá, wájahéay</i>	واجھیا، واجھیے	‘a mister’, ‘of a mister’
<i>azhdiáéá, azhdiáéay</i>	اژدیایا، اژدیایے	‘a dragon’, ‘of a dragon’
<i>shapéá, shapéay</i>	شپیا، شپیے	‘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’, *ázati* ‘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 رۆچيگين رتوگ
و آيگ منا دلسيآه كنت.

‘Your.PL going and
coming every day
bothers me.’

<i>Kár kanagay hobbi néstat.</i>	کار کنگئے هُبی نیست آت .	‘He was not fond of working.’
<i>Góshstay warag pa taw sharr naent.</i>	گوشته ورگ په تنو شُر نه آنت .	‘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.

<i>Shámay waragán tayár kan.</i>	شامے ورگان تیار کن .	‘Make the food for supper ready.’
<i>Mani nálagáni tawará kay gósha dárit.</i>	منی نالگانی توارا کئے گوش 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’, *bádasháh* ‘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.

<i>É ketáb grán ent.</i>	اے کتاب گران آنت .	‘This book is heavy/expensive/difficult.’
<i>É ketáb grán ant.</i>	اے کتاب گران آنت .	‘These books are heavy/expensive/difficult.’
<i>Á bachak wassh ent.</i>	آ بچک وش آنت .	‘That boy is well.’
<i>Á bachak wassh ant.</i>	آ بچک وش آنت .	‘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.

<i>Panch chokk átk.</i>	پنج چُک آتک .	‘Five children came.’
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<i>Mani panchén chokk átkant.</i>	منی پنچین چُک آتکنت.	‘My five children came.’
<i>Pa dah mardomá warák byár.</i>	پہ ده مردما وراک بیار.	‘Bring food for ten people.’
<i>Pa é dahén mardomán warák byár.</i>	پہ اے دھین مردمان وراک بیار.	‘Bring food for these ten people.’
<i>Say shahray námá begwash.</i>	سے شہرے ناما بگوش.	‘Say the names of three towns.’
<i>É sayén shahráni námán begwash.</i>	اے سئین شہرائی نامان بگوش.	‘Say the names of these three towns.’
<i>Dah oshter gár butag.</i>	ده اشتر گار بوتگ.	‘Ten camels have got lost.’
<i>Mani dahén oshter gár butagant.</i>	منی دھین اشتر گار بوتگانٹ.	‘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), -*ána* (object case) and -*áni* (genitive case)) in such instances. Nouns preceded by *lahtén* ‘some’ normally take singular case suffixes (-*á* (oblique case), -*ára* (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.)

<i>Bázén chokké edá átk.</i>	بازین چکے ادا آتک.	‘Many children came here.’
<i>Pári bázén jágahéá dhokkál kaptag.</i>	پاری بازین جاگھیا ڈکال کپتگ.	‘[I heard that] there was a famine in many places last year.’
<i>É róchán bázén jágahán zaminchandha bit.</i>	اے رُچان بازین جاگھان زمین چند بیت.	‘Nowadays there are earthquakes in many places.’

<i>Bázén mardom may kerrá áyagá ant.</i>	بازین مردم مئے کرا آیگا أنت.	‘Many people are coming to us.’
<i>Lahtén mardom cha Éráná ham átkag.</i>	لهتین مردم چه ایرانا هم آتکگ.	‘Some people have also come from Iran.’
<i>Lahtén dozzá maná dist.</i>	لهتین دژا 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.

<i>Ápa waray?</i>	آپ ورئے؟	‘Do you.SG want (lit. drink) water.’
<i>É ápán maréch.</i>	اے آپان مریچ.	‘Don’t throw this water out.’
<i>Ápé, cháé maná nadayay?</i>	آپے، چاے منا ندئیے؟	‘Won’t you.SG give me a [glass of] water, a [cup of] tea?’
<i>Mani mát maná báz mehra kant.</i>	منی مات منا باز مِهْرَ کنت.	‘My mother loves me very much.’
<i>Pa wati brát o gohárán hásén mehré bedár.</i>	په وتی برات و گھاران هاسین مِهْرے بدار.	‘Have (lit. keep) a spe- cial (kind of) love for your.SG brothers and sisters.’
<i>Hodáay mehráni sáhegá bemán.</i>	هُدائے مِهْرانی ساھگا 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.

*Yak róché mani é
kágadá bwán.*

یک رُچے 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 همکارِیا منی
باپشتا هبر کرتگ.

‘One of my workmates has
talked behind my back.’

Sharrén lógéá neshtag.

شرین لوگیا نشتگ.

‘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 چیزئے زورگا
لوگا پر بتران.

‘I need to return home to
pick something up.’

*Má borzén kóhéay sará
sar kaptén.*

ما برزین کوھئے 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.

<i>É ketáb grán ent.</i>	اے کتاب گران انت.	‘This book is heavy/expensive/difficult.’
<i>Á bachak wassh naant.</i>	آبچک وش نہ آنت.	‘Those boys are not well.’
<i>Bálách edá at.</i>	بالاچ ادا آت.	‘Balach was here.’
<i>Háni ódá naat.</i>	ہانی اوڈا نہ آت.	‘Hani was not there.’
<i>Bálách o Háni brát o gohár atant.</i>	بالاچ و ہانی برات و گھار آنتت.	‘Balach and Hani were siblings (lit. brother and sister).’
<i>Mani brát enshapia kayt.</i>	منی برات انشپی کثیت.	‘My brother will come tonight.’
<i>Chokk lógá shotant.</i>	چک لوگا شتنت.	‘The children went home.’
<i>Máhigir bójigéá swár butant.</i>	ماہیگیر بوجیگیا سوار بوتنت.	‘The fishermen got on a ship.’
<i>Pet kadi edá átk?</i>	پت کدی ادا 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.

<i>Mardé átk.</i>	مردے آتک.	‘A man came.’
<i>Mani sangaté maróchi molká rawt.</i>	منی سنگتے مردچی ملکا رتوت.	‘A friend of mine is going to Balochistan (lit. the land) today.’

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.

<i>Ballok shirán kojá chéra dant?</i>	بَلَك شيران كجا چيرَ دنت؟	‘Where does the grandmother hide the milk?’
<i>Chokk wati má t o petá gechéna nakanant.</i>	چك وتی مات و پتا گچینَ نكنتت.	‘Children don’t chose their parents.’
<i>Bádsháh wati wazirá gón wata bárt.</i>	بادشاه وتی وزیرا گون و تَ بارت.	‘The king takes his minister with him.’
<i>May sangat góshta nawarant.</i>	مے سنگت گُوشَتَ نشورنت.	‘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.

<i>Lógay poshtá bachaké layba kant.</i>	لُوكے پُشتا بچكے لئیبَ كنت.	‘A boy is playing behind the house.’
<i>Jeneké har róch may lógá sapá kant.</i>	جنكے هر رُوج مے لُوكا سپا كنت.	‘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.

<i>Chizzé genday?</i>	چيزے گندتے؟	‘Do you.SG see anything?’
<i>Kocheké gendán.</i>	كُچكے گندان.	‘I see a dog.’
<i>Kay choshén káré kant?</i>	كئے چشپین كارے كنت؟	‘Who does/will do such a thing?’
<i>Hech tawaré naeshkonán.</i>	هچ تتوارے نه اشكنان.	‘I don’t hear any sound.’
<i>Ketábé beger.</i>	كتابه بگر.	‘Buy a book.’

Taw káré nakanay.
Gorhá chiá átkagay?

تتو کارے نکنٹے . 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 کتاب گران .

‘I buy books (or a book).’

*É chokk har róch pocch
badala kant.*

اے چک ہر روج پیچ بدل
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
دیسٹ .

‘The girl saw her
mother at a distance.’

*Bachaká wati pocch
badal kortant.*

بچکا وتی پیچ بدل کرتنت .

‘The boy changed his
clothes.’

*Báláchá wati jan o
chokk molká ráh
dátant.*

بالاچا وتی جن و چک 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.)

<i>Maná pa zór áyáni kerrá borta nakanay.</i>	منا پہ زور آسانی کڑا برت نکنتے .	‘You.SG can’t take me to them by force.’
<i>Mani brátá é dhagár pa bahá zortag.</i>	منی براتا اے ڈگار پہ بہا زرتگ .	‘My brother has bought this plot of land.’
<i>Taw maná pa del dósta daráy?</i>	تتو منا پہ دل دوست دارے؟	‘Do you.SG love me from your heart?’
<i>Chokk pa gal o shádahi ráh geptant.</i>	چک پہ گل و شادھی راہ گپنتت .	‘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.

<i>Yak róché mani é kágadá bwán.</i>	یک رچے منی اے کاگدا بوان .	‘Read this letter of mine one day.’
<i>Sardár jáhé nesht o mardomi wati kerrá lóthetant.</i>	سردار جاھے نشت و مردمی وتی کڑا لوٹنتت .	‘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.

<i>É ketábá bwán.</i>	اے کتابا بوان .	‘Read this book.’
<i>É ketábán bwán.</i>	اے کتابان بوان .	‘Read these books.’
<i>Á bachaká drosta kanay?</i>	آبچکا درست کنے؟	‘Do you.SG recognize that boy?’

<i>Jenekán ham drosta kanay?</i>	جنکان هم درست کتنے؟	'Do you.SG recognize the girls as well?'
<i>Maróchi Háni Báláchá gendit.</i>	مروچی هانی بالاچا گندیت.	'Today Hani sees / will see / will meet Balach.'
<i>Bálách Hániá nagendit.</i>	بالاچ هانیا نگندیت.	'Balach does not see / will not see / will not meet Hani.'
<i>Á ostáyá genday?</i>	آ اُستایا گندے؟	'Do you.SG see that craftsman?'
<i>É náyán bwar.</i>	اے نابان بَوَر.	'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.

<i>Sardár har wahd waziréa wati kerrá nendárénit.</i>	سردار هروهد وزیریا وتی کَرَا نندارینیت.	'The tribal chief always places a minister at his side.'
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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'.

<i>Man é ketábá wati brátá dayán.</i>	من اے کتابا وتی براتا دئیان.	'I will give this book to my brother.'
<i>Taw pa ché wati chokkán zarra nadayay?</i>	تتو په چه وتی چکان زَر نَدئیے؟	'Why don't you.SG give your children money?'
<i>Man wati petá gwashán ke mayayt.</i>	من وتی پتا گوشان که مئیےیت.	'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.

<i>Man gón wati petá gwashán ke mayayt.</i>	من گون وتی پتا گوشان که مئیےیت.	'I will tell my father not to come.'
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III. as the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense.

<i>Maryamá kapót mohr dásht.</i>	مريما كپوت مَهر داشت.	‘Maryam held the dove firmly.’
<i>Mani brátá wati pocch badal nakortant.</i>	منی براتا وتی پُچ بدل نكرتنت.	‘My brother did not change his clothes.’
<i>Bakkálá zarr cháretant.</i>	بگالا زر چارتنت.	‘The grocer looked at the money.’
<i>É mardomán dah sáhat kár kortag.</i>	اے مردمان ده ساهت كار كرتگ.	‘These people have worked for ten hours.’
<i>May sangatán é bachak wati lógá bort.</i>	مئے سنگتان اے بچك وتی لوگا 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.

<i>Paséá mani ketáb wárt.</i>	پسیا منی كتاب وارت.	‘A goat/sheep ate my book.’
<i>Janénéá maná thékié dátág.</i>	جنینیا منا ٹیکے 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’.

<i>Bázén mardoméá cha marká torsit.</i>	بازین مردمیا چه مرکا ترسیت.	‘Many people are afraid of death.’
<i>Petá pa wati chokká zahira kant.</i>	پتا په وتی چكا زهیر كنت.	‘The father longs for his child.’
<i>Mani máta é káray sará bada kayt.</i>	منی ماتا اے كارے سرا بد كئیت.	‘My mother dislikes this (lit. this work).’

<i>Nádráhén mardoméá sharrén dáktaré pakár ent.</i>	نادراھین مردمیآ شَرین داکترے پکارِ انت .	‘A sick person needs a good doctor.’
<i>Mani brátá kwahnén ketábé dast kapt.</i>	منی براتا کوهنن کتابے دست کپت .	‘My brother found an old book.’
<i>May sangatán shayr o sháeri báz dóst ent.</i>	مے سنگتان شَیر و شایری باز دُوستِ انت .	‘Our friends like poetry very much.’
<i>Áiay brátá say chokk hast.</i>	آیے براتا سے چک هست .	‘His brother has three children.’
<i>É bánoká brahdárén pocch hastat.</i>	اے بانکا برهدارین پیچ هست آت .	‘This woman had beautiful clothes.’
<i>Mani chokkán pésará kocheké butag.</i>	منی چکان پیسرا کُچکے 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).

<i>Á ketábá pa Báláchá byár.</i>	آ کتابا په بالاچا بیار .	‘Bring that book for Balach.’
<i>Man gón Hániá gapp nakort.</i>	من گون هانیا گپ نکرت .	‘I did not talk with Hani.’
<i>Cha é bachaká josta kanén.</i>	چه اے بچکا جست کنین .	‘We will ask this boy (lit. from this boy).’
<i>É hál pa donyáyá sharr naent.</i>	اے هال په دنیا یا شَر نه انت .	‘This [piece of] news is not good for the world.’
<i>Mán sajjahén molká dhokkálé kapt.</i>	مان سَجَهین مُلکا دُکالے کپت .	‘There came a famine in the whole country.’
<i>Man pa tai dóstán warák payma kanán.</i>	من په تئی دُستان وراک پعیم کنان .	‘I will make food for your.SG friends.’
<i>Bálách gón mani brátán saporéá shot.</i>	بالاچ گون منی براتان سپریا 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.

<i>Cha chellién pashkéá</i> <i>chondhé derr o byár.</i>	چه چلیین پشکیا چنڈے دَر و بیار.	‘Tear off a piece from a dirty shirt and bring it.’
<i>Maryam pa chokkéá</i> <i>ométwár at.</i>	مریم پہ 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’).

<i>Man shahrá rawán.</i>	من شهرآ رتوان.	‘I go/will go to town.’
<i>Taw shahrá ay?</i>	تتو شهرآ ائے؟	‘Are you.SG in town?’
<i>Á lógá naent.</i>	آ لوگا نہ اِنَت.	‘She is not at home.’
<i>Má é sajjahén métagán</i> <i>shotagén.</i>	ما اے سَجھین میتگان شتگین.	‘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.

<i>Dega shahréá rawt.</i>	دگه شهریا رتوت.	‘She goes to another town.’
<i>Sharrén lógéá neshtag.</i>	شرین لوگیا نشتگ.	‘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.

<i>Bálách o Hániá</i> <i>gendán.</i>	بالاچ و هانیا گندان.	‘I see Balach and Hani.’
<i>Wati kár o kerdán</i> <i>sharra nakanay?</i>	وتی کار و کردان شرّ نکنئے؟	‘Won’t you.SG start doing right (lit. correct your actions and deeds)?’
<i>Tai brát o gohárán</i> <i>kojá dars wántag?</i>	تئی برات و گهاران کجا درس وانگ؟	‘Where have your.SG brothers and sisters studied?’

<i>Man gón wati brát o sangatán saporéá shotán.</i>	من گۆن وتی برات و سنگتان سپریا شتان.	‘I went on a journey with my brothers and friends.’
<i>Cha Bálách o Hániá jost bekan.</i>	چه بالاچ و هانیا جُست بکن.	‘Ask Balach and Hani.’
<i>É kerr o gwarán áp nést.</i>	اے کَر و گوران آپ نیست.	‘There is no water in this region.’
<i>É métag o bázará kass nést.</i>	اے میتگ و بازارا کس نیست.	‘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.

<i>Man wati jeneká é bachakára nadayán.</i>	من وتی جنکا اے بچکارا ندئیان.	‘I will not give my daughter to this boy (in marriage).’
<i>Bádsháh wati doén jenekán waziráni chokkáná dant.</i>	بادشاه وتی دوین 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.)

<i>Bachaká wati petará wasshén hálé dát.</i>	بچکا وتی پتارا وشین هالے دات.	‘The boy gave a piece of good news to his father.’
<i>Hákemá har sál wati mardomána thékia dát.</i>	هاکما هر سال وتی مردمانا ٹیکئی دات.	‘The ruler gave presents to his people every year.’

<i>Mátá wati chokkáná gwasht ke watá besambálét.</i>	ماتا وتی چُکَانا گوشت که وتا بسمبالیئت .	‘The mother told her children to take care of themselves (lit. yourselves).’
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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.

<i>Hákemá har sál wati mardom thékia dátant.</i>	هاکما هر سال وتی مردم تیکئی دانتت .	‘The ruler gave presents to his people every year.’
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<i>Mátá wati chokk gwashtant ke watá besambálét.</i>	ماتا وتی چُکَ گوشتنت که وتا بسمبالیئت .	‘The mother told her children to take care of themselves (lit. yourselves).’
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The verb *gwashag* ‘to say’ can also be constructed with the preposition *gón* ‘to, with’ and a noun in the oblique case.

<i>Mátá gón wati chokkán gwasht ke watá besambálét.</i>	ماتا گون وتی چُکَانا گوشت که وتا بسمبالیئت .	‘The mother told her children to take care of themselves (lit. yourselves).’
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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.

<i>É lógay darwázag haráb ent.</i>	اے لوگئے دروازگ هراب إنت.	'The door of this house is broken.'
<i>Á shahray nám Pahrah ent.</i>	آ شهړئے نام پهړه إنت.	'The name of that town is Pahrah.'
<i>Chokkay pet edá naent.</i>	چکئے پت ادا نه إنت.	'The child's father is not here.'
<i>Gókay gósht grán ent.</i>	گۆکئے گوشت گران إنت.	'Beef (lit. cow's meet) is expensive.'
<i>Pasay rang syáh ent.</i>	پسئے رنگ سیاہ إنت.	'The colour of the sheep is black.'
<i>É ketábáni kimmat grán ent.</i>	اے کتابانی کیمت گران إنت.	'The price of these books is high (lit. expensive).'
<i>Chokkáni nám Chákar o Mirán ent.</i>	چکائی نام چاکر و میران إنت.	'The children's names are Chakar and Miran.'
<i>Man shapay awali pásá wapsán.</i>	من شپئے اتولی 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.

<i>Gégén móhéay shóházá bay.</i>	گیگین مؤهئے شوهازا بئے.	'Look out for (lit. be in search of) a good opportunity.'
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*Shomá sharrén
mardoméay mehmán
butagét.*

شما شَرِّینِ مردمیئے مهمان
بو تگیت .

‘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.

لُوگئے تها کَسْ نیست .

‘There is nobody in the
house.’

*Chokk drachkání sará
sar kaptant.*

چَکْ درچکانی سرا سر کپتنت .

‘The children climbed
the trees.’

*Man watá sengéay
poshtá chér dát.*

من وتا سنگیئے پُشتا چپیر
دات .

‘I hid behind a stone.’

*Mirán shahray
némagá shot.*

میران شهرئے نیمگا شت .

‘Miran went towards
town.’

*É habará wati
sangatáni démá
makan.*

اے هبرا وتی سنگتانی دیمَا
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 پتے نام میر کمبر
انت .

‘The name of this
girl’s father is Mir
Kambar.’

*Mardománi drógáni
gósh dárág wassh
naent.*

مردمانی دروگانی گوش دارگ
وَشْ نہانت .

‘Listening to people’s
lies is not good.’

*Lógay darwázagay
démá bozé.*

لُوگئے دروازگئے دیمَا بُوئے .

‘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 برزین کوهیئے
سرا برت .

‘My father took me up
on a high mountain.’

*Man pa taw goláméay
dhawlá kár kortag.*

من په تھو گلامیئے ڈھولا کار
کرتگ .

‘I have worked like a
slave for you.SG.’

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.

<i>Mirán o Hániay mát edá naent.</i>	میران و ہانیئے مات ادا نہانت .	‘Miran’s and Hani’s mother is not here.’
<i>É shahr o métagáni mardóm azgár ant?</i>	اے شہر و میتگانى مردم ازگار أنت؟	‘Are the people of these towns and villages rich?’
<i>Wati mát o petay gwará átk.</i>	وتى مات و پتئے گورا آتک .	‘She came to her parents (lit. mother and father).’
<i>Mani brát o goháráni sará zahr at.</i>	منى برات و گھارانى سرا زھر آت .	‘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 my children’s’), the suffix *-g* is optionally added to the genitive form. This suffix is always present when the following word begins with a vowel.

<i>É ketáb mani chokkánig ant.</i>	اے کتاب منى چكائىگ أنت .	‘These books are my children’s.’
<i>É ramag sardárayg ent.</i>	اے رمگ سردارئيگ إنت .	‘This flock (of sheep and goats) is the tribal chief’s.’
<i>Jenek zargaray(g) but.</i>	جنك زرگرئىے / زرگرئيگ بوت .	‘The girl became the goldsmith’s.’
<i>É molk Balócháni(g)a bit.</i>	اے مُلك بلوچانىے / بلوچانىگ بيت .	‘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 ‘the children’s book is here’).

<i>Mani chokkáni ketáb gár butant.</i>	منی چكائی كتاب گار بوتنت .	‘My children’s books were lost.’
<i>Sardáray ramag sakk mazan ent.</i>	سردارئے رمگ سگ مز انت .	‘The tribal chief’s flock is very big.’
<i>Zargaray jenek edá naent.</i>	زرگرئے جنك ادا نه انت .	‘The goldsmith’s daughter is not here.’
<i>Balóchani molk zébaén molké.</i>	بلوچانی ملك زبیاين ملكے .	‘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.

<i>Wati ketábá mawán, wati brátaygá bwán.</i>	وتی كتابا مئوان، وتی براتیگا بوان .	‘Don’t read your.SG book, read your brother’s.’
<i>Mani pocch cha chokkánigán garmter ant.</i>	منی پچ چه چكائیگان گرمتر انت .	‘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.

<i>Má pa sardáraygi átkén.</i>	ما په سردارئیگی آتکین .	‘We came for the sake of the tribal chief.’
<i>Pa chokkánigi é kárá bekan.</i>	په چكائیگی 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.

<i>Oo bánok! Edá byá.</i>	او بانک! ادا بیا.	‘Dear lady, come here.’
<i>Sangatán! Mani habarán gósh bedárét.</i>	سنگتان! منی هیران گوش بداریت.	‘Friends, listen to what I have to say (lit. my words).’
<i>Oo Hodá! Mani dwáyá gósh bedár.</i>	او هدا! منی دوايا گوش بدار.	‘O God, listen to my prayer.’
<i>Hodáwandá! Mani sará rahm kan.</i>	هداوند! 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
<i>warná</i>	ورنا	<i>warnáén</i>	ورناین	‘young’
<i>pir</i>	پیر	<i>pirén</i>	پیرین	‘old’
<i>ráhat</i>	راहत	<i>ráhatén</i>	راهتین	‘comfortable’
<i>mazan</i>	مزن	<i>mazanén</i>	مزین	‘big’
<i>kasán</i>	کسان	<i>kasánén</i>	کسانین	‘small’
<i>lokk</i>	لُک	<i>lokkén</i>	لُکین	‘short’
<i>wassh</i>	وَش	<i>wasshén</i>	وَشین	‘happy’
<i>zendag</i>	زندگ	<i>zendagén</i>	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	
<i>warná</i>	ورنا	<i>warnáter</i>	ورناتر	<i>warnáterén</i>	ورناترین
<i>pir</i>	پیر	<i>pirter</i>	پیرتر	<i>pirterén</i>	پیرترین
<i>ráhat</i>	راحت	<i>ráhatter</i>	راحتتر	<i>ráhatterén</i>	راحتترین
<i>mazan</i>	مزن	<i>master</i>	مستر	<i>masterén</i>	مسترین
<i>kasán</i>	کسان	<i>kaster</i>	کستر	<i>kasterén</i>	کسترین
<i>lokk</i>	لُک	<i>lokter</i>	لُکتر	<i>lokterén</i>	لُکترین
<i>wassh</i>	وَش	<i>washter</i>	وَشتر	<i>washterén</i>	وَشترین
-	-	<i>gehter</i>	گهتر	<i>gehterén</i>	گهترین
<i>zendag</i>	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 red, his house was big);
- attributive position, i.e. together with the noun (e.g. the red car, his big house).

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

<i>Ketáb mazan ent.</i>	کتاب مزن انت.	‘The book is big.’
<i>É poll sohr ent.</i>	اے پُل سهر انت.	‘This flower is red.’
<i>Mani jámag sabz ent.</i>	منی جامگ سبز انت.	‘My dress is green.’
<i>Áiay chokk kasán ant.</i>	آییے چک کسان انت.	‘Her children are small.’
<i>É kár grán ant.</i>	اے کار گران انت.	‘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).

<i>Man mazanén ketábé gept.</i>	من مزنین کتابے گپت.	‘I bought a big book.’
<i>É sohrén pollé.</i>	اے سهرین پُلے.	‘This is a red flower.’
<i>Sabzén jámagá gwará kan.</i>	سبزین جامگا گورا کن.	‘Put on the green dress.’
<i>É kasánén chokkán besambál.</i>	اے کسانین چکان بسمبال.	‘Take care of these small children.’
<i>Mará gránén káresh dát.</i>	مارا گرانین کارش دات.	‘They gave us difficult jobs.’

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

<i>Cha é paymén mardomán watá dur bedár.</i>	چہ اے پیئیمین مردمان و تا دور بدار.	‘Keep away from this kind of people.’
<i>Oo mani dorrén chokk!</i>	او منی دُرین چک!	‘Hey, my wonderful (lit. pearl) child!’
<i>Áiá teláhén mondriké dastá at.</i>	آییا تلاھین مُندریکے دستا ات.	‘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’.

<i>Áiay máat cha mani mátá master ent.</i>	آیئے مات چہ منی ماتا مستر انت.	‘His mother is older (lit. bigger) than my mother.’
<i>Mani kár cha tai kára sakter ent.</i>	منی کار چہ تئی کارا سکت انت.	‘My job is more difficult than your.SG job.’
<i>É ketáb cha á ketábá ásánter ent.</i>	اے کتاب چہ آکتا با آسانتر انت.	‘This book is easier than that book.’

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

<i>Maná ásánterén ketábé beday.</i>	منا آسانترین کتابے بدئے.	‘Give me an easier book.’
<i>Shomará gránterén kára dant.</i>	شمارا گرانترین کار 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.

<i>Ásánterén ketáb esh ent.</i>	آسانترین کتاب ایش انت.	‘This is the easiest book.’
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<i>Mani kasterén brát átkag.</i>	منی کسترین برات آتکگ.	‘My youngest (lit. smallest) brother has come.’
<i>Wati géshterén wahdá lógá gwázénán.</i>	وتی گیشترین وهدا لوگا گوازینان.	‘I spend most of my time at home.’
<i>Sharterén kár esh ent ke molká beraway.</i>	شرترین کار ایش انت که ملکا 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 Nán* ‘than all Ns’.

<i>É ketáb cha sajjahénán ásánter ent.</i>	اے کتاب چه سجهینان آسانتر انت.	‘This book is the easiest one (lit. easier than all).’
<i>É bachak cha drostigénán cháláakter ent.</i>	اے بچک چه درستیگینان چالاکتر انت.	‘This boy is the most clever one (lit. more clever than all).’
<i>Mani mát cha donyáay sajjahén mátán gehter ent.</i>	منی مات چه دنیاے سجهین ماتان گهتر انت.	‘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.

<i>É warnáyá genday?</i>	اے ورنایا گندئے؟	‘Do you.SG see this young [person]?’
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<i>É dód o rabédag may pirénánig ant.</i>	اے دود و ریڈگ مئے پیرتانیگ آنت .	‘These traditions are those of our forefathers (lit. old).’
<i>Wahdé mani hamráhán dist ke ráh dur ent per tarretant.</i>	وهدے منی همراهان دیست کہ راہ دور انت پر ترتنت .	‘When my fellow-travellers (lit. accompanying) saw that the road was long, they returned.’
<i>Néžgáráni komaká tayár bebét.</i>	نیزگارانی کما تیار بیبت .	‘Be prepared to help the poor.’
<i>Wati keshtagénáni delgóshdáriá bekan.</i>	وتی کشتگینانی دلگوشداریا بکن .	‘Take care of the things you.SG have sown/planted (lit. of your sown (plural)).’
<i>Harkas ke mazania lóhith býad ent sajjahénáni hezmatkár bebit.</i>	هرکس کہ مزنی لوئیت باید انت سجهینانی هزمتکار بیبت .	‘Whoever wants to be great (lit. greatness) must be the servant of all.’
<i>Lahtén sháma nakant.</i>	لهتین شام 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).

<i>Zutt byá.</i>	زوت بیا .	‘Come quickly.’
<i>Bándá bázará rawán.</i>	باندازاراروان .	‘I will go to the marketplace tomorrow.’
<i>Balóchestán cha edá báz dur ent.</i>	بلوچستان چه ادا باز دور انت .	‘Balochistan is very far from here.’
<i>Sakk dér butag.</i>	سک دیر بوتگ .	‘It has got very late.’

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.

<i>Dér dérá pawna kant.</i>	دیر دیرا پاونَ کنت .	‘She doesn’t call very often (lit. she calls late late).’
<i>Zut zutt byá.</i>	زوت زوتَ بیا .	‘Come quickly.’ (The person has already started coming.)
<i>Man kam kammá é ketábá wánán.</i>	من کم کما اے کتابا وانان .	‘I will read this book little by little.’

Adverbs occasionally take the attributive suffix *-én*.

<i>Taw sakkén radén káré kortag.</i>	تتو سکین ردین کارے کرتگ .	‘You.SG did something very wrong (lit. a very wrong deed).’
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In many instances adverbial expressions are constructed by means of the preposition *pa* ‘for, to, in’ and an abstract noun.

<i>Tai brát pa wasshi o salámati lógá rasetag.</i>	تئی برات په وشی و سلامتی لوگا رستگ .	‘Your.SG brother has come home safe and sound (lit. in happiness and safety).’
<i>Pa trondi dapjákesht kort.</i>	په ترندی دپجاکش کرت .	‘They quarrelled 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*.

<i>Báyad ent zutter byátkénay.</i>	باید انت زوت تر بیاتکینئے .	‘You.SG should have come earlier.’
<i>Géshter kukkári kort.</i>	گیشتر کوکاری کرت .	‘He shouted louder (lit. more).’
<i>Man cha sajjahénán pésar ódá rasetán.</i>	من چه سجهینان پيسر اودا 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.

*Bádasháhá pa eday
mardomán bázén
sharrén káré kortag.*

بادشاها په ادے مردمان بازين
شَرينَ كارے کرتگ .

‘The king has done many good things for the people from here.’

*Óday rawagá rand
shomay kerrá káyán.*

اودے رتوگا رند شمئے كرا
كايان .

‘When I have gone there I will come to you.PL.’

*Bándátay gamá maróchi
mawar.*

بانداتے گما مرؤچی مشور .

‘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 > he came, this is Mary’s book > this is her book, the children saw their mother > they saw her. 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	<i>man</i>	من
2SG	<i>taw</i>	تتو
1PL default	<i>má</i>	ما
1PL inclusive	<i>máshomá (másho 'má)</i>	ماشما
2PL	<i>shomá (sho 'má)</i>	شما

Table 21. Personal pronouns: object case

Person	Object	
1SG	<i>maná ('maná)</i>	منا
2SG	<i>tará ('tará)</i>	ترا
1PL default	<i>márá ('márá)</i>	مارا
1PL inclusive	<i>máshomárá (másho 'mára)</i>	ماشمارا
2PL	<i>shomárá (sho 'márá)</i>	شمارا

Table 22. Personal pronouns: genitive case

Person	Genitive	
1SG	<i>mani (ma 'ni)</i>	منی
2SG	<i>tai (ta 'i)</i>	تئی
1PL default	<i>may</i>	مئی
1PL inclusive	<i>mayshomay (maysho 'may)</i>	مئی شمئی
2PL	<i>shomay (sho 'may)</i>	شمئی

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

Person	Direct		Oblique	
3SG	<i>á</i>	آ	<i>áiá (á 'iá)</i>	آییا
3PL	<i>á</i>	آ	<i>áyán (á 'yán)</i>	آیان

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

Person	Object		Genitive	
3SG	<i>áiárá (á 'iárá)</i>	آییارا	<i>áiay (á 'iay)</i>	آییئے
3PL	<i>áyáná (á 'yáná)</i>	آیانا	<i>áyáni (á 'yáni)</i>	آیانی

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

Person	Direct		Oblique	
3SG	<i>é, esh</i>	اے، ایش	<i>eshiá (e 'shiá)</i>	إشیا
3PL	<i>é, esh</i>	اے، ایش	<i>eshán (e 'shán)</i>	إشان

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

Person	Object		Genitive	
3SG	<i>eshiárá (e 'shiárá)</i>	إشیارا	<i>eshiay (e 'shiay)</i>	إشیئے
3PL	<i>esháná (e 'sháná)</i>	إشانا	<i>esháni (e 'sháni)</i>	إشانی

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 syllable as the attributive genitive case form.

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

<i>mani > manig</i>	منی < منیگ	<i>may > mayg</i>	مئی < مئیگ
<i>tai > taig</i>	تئی < تئیگ	<i>shomay > shomayg</i>	شمئی < شمئیگ
<i>áiay > aíayg</i>	آییئے < آییئیگ	<i>áyáni >áyánig</i>	آیانی < آیانیگ
<i>eshiay > eshiayg</i>	إشیئے < إشیئیگ	<i>esháni > eshánig</i>	إشانی < إشانیگ

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) <i>edá án.</i>	(من) ادا آن.	‘I am here.’
(Taw) <i>kojá ay?</i>	(تتو) کجا ائے؟	‘Where are you.SG?’
(Má) <i>maróchi nayaén.</i>	(ما) مروچی نثیاین.	‘We will not come today.’
<i>Máshomá báyad yakdomiá komak bekanén.</i>	ماشما باید یکدومیا کُکم بکنین.	‘We must help each other.’
(Shomá) <i>pa ché nayatkét?</i>	(شما) پہ جے نثیاتکیت؟	‘Why didn’t you.PL come?’
<i>Má báz kár kort bale shomá hech kar nakort.</i>	ما باز کار کرت بلہ شما ہیچ کار نکرت.	‘We worked a lot but you.PL did not do anything (lit. any work).’
<i>Man wa é gappá nazánán.</i>	من وہ اے گپا نزانان.	‘I don’t know this issue (lit. speech).’

II. as the object of a preposition.

<i>É jámagá pa man bedóch.</i>	اے جامگا پہ من بدوچ.	‘Sew this dress for me.’
<i>Cha taw zarra nagerén.</i>	چہ تتو زر نگرین.	‘We won’t ask you.SG to pay (lit. we won’t take money from you).’

<i>Cha shomá josta nakanén.</i>	چه شما جست نکتین.	‘We don’t ask you.PL (lit. from you).’
<i>Man tán bándá gón taw dárán.</i>	من تان باندا گون تئو داران.	‘I will stay with you.SG until tomorrow.’
<i>Chokk cha má pésará ráh kaptant.</i>	چک چه ما پیسرا راه کپتنت.	‘The children set out before us.’
<i>Pa máshomá waráki grástag.</i>	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.

<i>Tai má tará lóthit.</i>	تشیی مات ترا لوثیت.	‘Your.SG mother calls you.’
<i>Mará nadisti.</i>	مارا ندیستی.	‘She did not see us.’
<i>Pulis máshomará edá nagendit.</i>	پولیس ماشمارا ادا نگندیت.	‘The police will not see us here.’
<i>Man shomará wati lógá barán.</i>	من شمارا وتی لوگا بران.	‘I will take you.PL to my house.’
<i>Mani petá maná hechbar eskulá ráh nadátag.</i>	منی پتا منا هچبر اسکولا راه ناداتگ.	‘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’.

<i>Taw chiá pésará é ketáb maná nadát?</i>	تئو چیا پیسرا اے کتاب منا نادات؟	‘Why didn’t you.SG give me this book before?’
<i>Tará zarra nadayán.</i>	ترا زرّ ندئیان.	‘I won’t give you.SG money.’

<i>Man shomárá nagwasht ke býad ent býáét?</i>	من شمارا نگوشت که باید إنت بیایت؟	‘Didn’t I tell you.PL that you have to come?’
<i>Agan nókén hálé hast, márá begwash.</i>	اگن نوکین هالے هست، مارا بگوشت.	‘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.)

<i>Tará gón má che kár ent?</i>	ترا گون ما چه کار إنت؟	‘What business do you.SG have with us?’
<i>Maná pa wati gohárá zahira kant.</i>	منا په وتی گهارا زهیر کنت.	‘I long for for my sister.’
<i>Máshomárá komak pakár ent.</i>	ماشمارا کمک پکار إنت.	‘We need help.’
<i>Márá pa é kárá wahd néstat.</i>	مارا په اے کارا وهد نیستات.	‘We didn’t have time for this job.’
<i>Shomárá máhig dósta bit?</i>	شمارا ماهیگ دوست بیت؟	‘Do you.PL like fish?’
<i>Maná torset.</i>	منا ترست.	‘I was scared.’
<i>Tará may hayál gwar naent?</i>	ترا مئے هئیال گور نه إنت؟	‘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.

<i>Mani gohár molká shot.</i>	منی گهارا ملکا شت.	‘My sister went to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Tai brát may lógá nayátkag.</i>	تئی برات مئے لؤگا نشیاتکگ.	‘Your.SG brother has not come home to us.’

<i>Man shomay habará nazurán.</i>	من شَمَّے هیرا نَزوران .	‘I won’t listen to you.PL (lit. take your word).’
<i>Mayshomay master kay ent?</i>	مئے شَمَّے مستر کئے اِنْت؟	‘Who is the leader among us (lit. our greater)?’
<i>May molk wasshén molké.</i>	مئے مُلک و شَّین مُلکے .	‘Our country is a good country.’

II. as the object of a postposition.

<i>Kadi mani gwará káay?</i>	کدی منی گورا کائے؟	‘When will you.SG come to me?’
<i>Tai kashá nanendán.</i>	تئی کشا نِنندان .	‘I won’t sit beside you.SG.’
<i>Mayshomay nyámá dozzé hast.</i>	مئے شَمَّے نیاما دُزے هست .	‘There is a thief among us.’
<i>É bádsháh shomay sará hokumat korta nakant.</i>	اے بادشاه شَمَّے سرا هکومت کَرْت نکنت .	‘This king cannot rule over you.PL.’
<i>May báposhtá hechbar habar makan.</i>	مئے باپشتا هچبر هیر 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.

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

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

<i>May ketáb gár butant.</i>	مئے کتاب گار بوتنت .	‘Our books were lost.’
<i>Tai pas kojá ant?</i>	تئی پیس کجا آنت؟	‘Where are your.SG sheep/goats.’
<i>May molk zébáén molké.</i>	مئے مُلک زیباین 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.

<i>Wati ketábá mawán, maygá bwán.</i>	وتی کتابا مٹوان، مٹیگا بوان .	‘Don’t read your.SG book, read ours.’
<i>É pocch cha manigán garmter ant.</i>	اے پُچّ چہ منیگان گرمتر آنت .	‘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.)

<i>May(g) o áyáni kár yakk ent.</i>	مئے / مٹیگ و آیانی کار یکّ انت .	‘Our [job] and their job are the same (lit. one).’
<i>Mani(g) o tai brát yakdomiá drosta kanant.</i>	منی / منیگ و تئی برات یکدومیا درست 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.

<i>Má pa taigi átkén.</i>	ما پہ تئیگی آتکین .	‘We came for your.SG sake.’
<i>Pa maygi é kárá bekan.</i>	پہ 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) <i>wati molká rawt.</i>	(آ) وتی مُلکا رثوت.	‘She will go to her homeland.’
(Á) <i>shahrá narawant.</i>	(آ) شهرآ نرثونت.	‘They won’t go to town.’
(Á) <i>báz kára kant.</i>	(آ) باز کارَ کنت.	‘He works a lot.’
(É) <i>wati chokkán sharra nasambálant.</i>	(اے) وتی چکَّان شرَّ نسَمبآلنت.	‘They don’t take good care of their children.’
(Á) <i>wati molká shot.</i>	(آ) وتی مُلکا شت.	‘She went to her homeland.’
(É) <i>shahrá nashotant.</i>	(اے) شهرآ نَشَتنت.	‘They did not go to town.’
(Á) <i>wassh butant.</i>	(آ) وشَّ بوتنت.	‘They got well.’
(Á) <i>hechbar edá nabutag.</i>	(آ) هچبر ادا نبوتگ.	‘He has never been here.’

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

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

Áyáni sangatá á sahig kortant. آيانی سنگتا آ سهيگ 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 bázará mabar. آياا گون وت بازارا مبر. 'Don't take him with you.SG to the marketplace.'

Áyán kojá rawána kanét? آيان كجا رثوان كنيت؟ 'Where do you.PL send them?'

Shomá báyaad eshán besambálét. شما بايد اشان بسمباليت. 'You.PL must take care of them.'

Má eshiá nagendén. ما اشيا نكندين. '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. آياا گوشت كه ما مياين. 'She told us not to come.'

Áyán báz kár kort. آيان باز كار كرت. 'They worked a lot.'

Eshán angat warák nawártag. اشان انگت وراك نوارتگ. 'They have not yet had food.'

Áiá wati chokk chiá eskulá ráh nadátant? آياا وتی چك چيا اسكولا 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 گون آياا گوشت كه بييت. 'I told him (lit. with him) to come.'

<i>Tai kolaw pa áyán narasetag.</i>	تئی کلنو په آیان نرستگ .	‘They have not got your.SG message (lit. your message has not reached to them).’
<i>Wati jostá cha eshiá bekan.</i>	وتی جُستا چه اِشیا بکن .	‘Ask her (lit. from her) your.SG question.’
<i>Zarrán cha eshiá pach gerét.</i>	زَران چه اِشیا پِچ گِرِیت .	‘Take back the money from him.’
<i>Badal gón áyán delgósh at.</i>	بدل گون آیان دلگوش ات .	‘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).

<i>Áiá chokk néstat.</i>	آییا چک نیست ات .	‘He did not have any children.’
<i>Eshán mazanén lógé hast.</i>	اِشان مزین لوگے هست .	‘They have a big house.’
<i>Áyán arzánen góké dastá kapt.</i>	آیان ارزانین گوکے دستا کپت .	‘They got hold of a cheap cow.’
<i>Áiá chokk báz dóst ent.</i>	آییا چک باز دُست اِنت .	‘He likes children very much.’
<i>Áyán torset.</i>	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’.

<i>Eshíá kágad o kalamé beday.</i>	اِشیا کاگد و کلمے بدئے .	‘Give her a pen and paper (lit. paper and a pen).’
<i>Mani pet áyán zarra dant.</i>	منی پت آیان زر دنت .	‘My father will give them money.’
<i>Man áiá gwashán ke mayayt.</i>	من آییا گوشان که مئییت .	‘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.

<i>Man gón áíá gwashán ke mayayt.</i>	من گون آيا گوشان كه مئييت .	‘I will tell him not to come.’
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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.

<i>Man wati jeneká áíará dayán.</i>	من وتي جنكا آييارا دتيان .	‘I will give him my daughter (in marriage).’
<i>Bádsháh wati doén jenekán esháná dant.</i>	بادشاه وتي دوين جنكان اشانان 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.)

<i>Petá eshiará hech mirásé nadát.</i>	پتا اشييارا هچ ميراسه ندات .	‘The father did not give him any inheritance.’
<i>Man áyáná thékié dát.</i>	من آيانا تيكه دات .	‘I gave them a gift.’
<i>Bádsháhá é habar áyáná nagwasht.</i>	بادشاهاه اے هبر آيانا نگوشت .	‘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.

<i>Man á thékié dátant.</i>	من آتيكهي داتنت .	‘I gave them a gift.’
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The verb *gwashag* ‘to say’ can also be constructed with the preposition *gón* ‘to, with’ and the pronoun in the oblique case.

<i>Má gón áiá gwasht ke wati mátay gendagá berawt.</i>	ما گون آييا گوشت که وتی ماته گندگا برئوت .	‘We told him to go and visit his mother.’
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3.3.1.2.4. Genitive case

The genitive case of 3rd person pronouns is used:

I. as a genitive attribute.

<i>Áiay pet bázará shot.</i>	آيیے پت بازارا شت .	‘His father went to the marketplace.’
<i>Áyáni brát may lógá nayátkag.</i>	آيانی برات مئے لوگا نثیاتکگ .	‘Their brother has not come home to us.’
<i>Man eshiay habarán sarpada nabán.</i>	من اشيے هيران سريد نبان .	‘I don’t understand what he says (lit. his words).’
<i>Taw áyáni sangat distagant?</i>	تو آيانی سنگت ديستگ أنت ؟	‘Have you.SG seen/met their friends?’

II. as the object of a postposition.

<i>Man áiay poshtá óshátatagatán.</i>	من آيیے پشتا اوشتاتگ آتان .	‘I was standing behind her.’
<i>Áyáni kasha jágah néstat.</i>	آيانی کشا جاگه نيستات .	‘There was no room beside them.’
<i>Maná eshání sará bazzag but.</i>	منا اشانى سرا بزرگ بوت .	‘I felt sorry for them.’
<i>Drachk annuna kapit, áiay chérá maóshst.</i>	درچک انون کپيت، آيیے چيرا مه اوشت .	‘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.

<i>É ketáb áyánig ant.</i>	اے کتاب آیانیک اُنت .	‘These books are theirs.’
<i>Chokk áiyag ant?</i>	چک آییگ اُنت؟	‘Are the children hers?’
<i>Sajjahén lóg eshiayg ent.</i>	سجھین لوگ ایشیگ اُنت .	‘The whole house is his.’

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

<i>Áyáni ketáb gár butant.</i>	آیانی کتاب گار بوتنت .	‘Their books were lost.’
<i>Áiy chokk edá ant?</i>	آییے چک ادا اُنت؟	‘Are her children here?’
<i>Eshiy lóg mazan ent.</i>	ایشیے لوگ مزن اُنت .	‘His house is big.’

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

<i>May lóg cha áyánigá master ent.</i>	مے لوگ چہ آیانیگا ماستر اُنت .	‘Our house is bigger than theirs.’
<i>Wati ketábá mawán, áiyagá bwán.</i>	وتی کتابا مَوان، آییگا 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.

<i>Pa áiyagi ódá beraw.</i>	پہ آییگی اُدا برؤو .	‘Go there for his sake.’
<i>Man pa áyanigi é kár kort.</i>	من پہ 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’.)

<i>Nun gapp esh ent ke kass nazánt chón bekant.</i>	نون گپّ إش إنت كه كسّ نزانت چۆن بکنت.	‘Now the issue (lit. talk) is (lit. is this) that nobody knows what to do.’
<i>Esh ant mani pet o mát.</i>	إش أنت منی پت و مات.	‘These are my parents (lit. father and mother).’
<i>Mani wáhag esh at.</i>	منی واهگ إش ات.	‘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.

<i>Á mardomá genday? Cha hamáíá watá dur bedár.</i>	آ مردما گندئے؟ چه هماییا و تا دور بدار.	‘Do you.SG see that person? Keep away from him.’
<i>Man cha taw hameshiá lóthán.</i>	من چه تئو همیشیا لوئان.	‘I want this from you.SG.’
<i>Mani hamkárán zánt ke man hamáyáni b́arawá habar kanagá án.</i>	منی همکاران زانت كه من همایانی بارئوا هبر كنگا آن.	‘My co-workers knew that I was talking about <u>them</u> .’
<i>Cha hameshán yakkéá dozzi kortag.</i>	چه همیشان یكّیا دُزّی كرتگ.	‘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.

3.3.2.2.1. Proximal deixis

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

<i>É ketáb grán ent.</i>	اے کتاب گران انت .	‘This book is heavy/ difficult/expensive.’
<i>É kára makan.</i>	اے کارا مکن .	‘Don’t do this (lit. this job).’
<i>É chokkáni mát mani dazgohár ent.</i>	اے چکائی مات منی دزگھار انت .	‘These children’s mother is my friend.’
<i>Taw pa ché é mazanén lóg nazort?</i>	تھو پہ چے اے مزین لوگ نرت؟	‘Why didn’t you.SG buy (lit. take) this big house?’
<i>Maróchi é pocchán gwará kan.</i>	مرچی اے پچان گورا 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’.

<i>Á ketáb arzán ent.</i>	آ کتاب ارزان انت .	‘That book is cheap.’
<i>Á kára bekan.</i>	آ کارا بکن .	‘Do that (lit. that job).’
<i>Á chokkáni pet mani dóst ent.</i>	آ چکائی پت منی دوست انت .	‘Those children’s father is my friend.’
<i>Taw pa ché á kasánén lóg zort?</i>	تھو پہ چے آ کسانین لوگ زرت؟	‘Why did you.SG buy (lit. take) that small house?’
<i>Maróchi á pocchán gwará makan.</i>	مرچی آ پچان گورا مکن .	‘Don’t put on those clothes today.’

Demonstrative determiners, like demonstrative pronouns, can be further emphasized with the proclitic *ham*= ‘the very’, which is not stressed.

<i>Hamé kára bekan.</i>	ہمے کارا بکن .	‘Do this very job.’
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<i>Hamá paymá at ke taw maná gwashtagat.</i>	ہما پیما ات کہ تئو منا گوشتگات.	‘It was the very way you.SG had told me.’
<i>Man cha áyán hamé jost kort.</i>	من چہ آیان ہمے جست کرت.	‘I asked them this very question.’
<i>Hamá pasán bedósh.</i>	ہما پسان بدوش.	‘Milk those sheep/goats.’

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

<i>Chokkáni é kár sharr naat.</i>	چکانی اے کار شر نہأت.	‘This thing that the children did (lit. the children’s this deed) was not good.’
<i>É chokkáni kár sharr naat.</i>	اے چکانی کار شر نہأت.	‘The thing that these children did (lit. these children’s deed) was not good.’
<i>Shomay é habarán maná tawréntag.</i>	شمئے اے ہیران منا تئوریتنگ.	‘These words of yours.PL (lit. your these words) have offended me.’
<i>Tai á pésarigén mehr kojá ent?</i>	تئی آ پیسریگین مہر کجا انت؟	‘Where is that love you.SG used to have (lit. your that former love)?’
<i>May sangatáni é nókén lóg sakk mazan ent.</i>	مئے سنگتانی اے نوکین لوگ سک مزن انت.	‘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	= <i>on</i>	ـُنْ=
2SG	= <i>et</i>	ـِتْ=
3SG	= <i>i</i>	ـِى=
1PL	= <i>en</i>	ـِنْ=
2PL	= <i>ó</i>	ـِزْ=
3PL	= <i>esh</i>	ـِشْ=

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	<i>lógon</i>	لُوْگُنْ
2SG	<i>lógét</i>	لُوْگِيتْ
3SG	<i>lógí</i>	لُوْگِىْ
1PL	<i>lógen</i>	لُوْگِينْ
2PL	<i>lógó</i>	لُوْگُوْ
3PL	<i>lógesh</i>	لُوْگِيشْ

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	<i>Hodáon</i>	هُدَاْأُنْ
2SG	<i>Hodáet</i>	هُدَاْإِتْ
3SG	<i>Hodái</i>	هُدَاْإِىْ
1PL	<i>Hodáen</i>	هُدَاْإِنْ
2PL	<i>Hodáó</i>	هُدَاْإُوْ
3PL	<i>Hodáesh</i>	هُدَاْإِشْ

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	<i>saráon</i>	سراون	<i>saráon</i>
2SG	<i>saráet</i>	سراات	<i>sarayt</i>
3SG	<i>sarái</i>	سراایی	<i>saray</i>
1PL	<i>saráen</i>	سراان	<i>sarayn</i>
2PL	<i>saráó</i>	سرااو	<i>saráó</i>
3PL	<i>saráesh</i>	سرااش	<i>saraysh</i>

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	<i>wájahon</i>	واجهان
2SG	<i>wájahet</i>	واجهات
3SG	<i>wájahi</i>	واجهای
1PL	<i>wájahen</i>	واجهان
2PL	<i>wájahó</i>	واجهاو
3PL	<i>wájahesh</i>	واجهاش

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	<i>zébáion</i>	زببایی اُن
2SG	<i>zébáiet</i>	زببایی ات
3SG	<i>zébáii</i>	زببایی ای
1PL	<i>zébáien</i>	زببایی ان
2PL	<i>zébáió</i>	زببایی او
3PL	<i>zébáiesh</i>	زببایی اش

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	<i>chéon</i>	چے اُن
2SG	<i>chéet</i>	چے ات
3SG	<i>chéi</i>	چے ای
1PL	<i>chéen</i>	چے ان
2PL	<i>chéó</i>	چے او
3PL	<i>chéesh</i>	چے اش

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	<i>bayon</i>	بے اُن
2SG	<i>bayet</i>	بے ات
3SG	<i>bayi</i>	بے ای
1PL	<i>bayen</i>	بے ان
2PL	<i>bayó</i>	بے او
3PL	<i>bayesh</i>	بے اش

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	<i>shuon</i>	شوأن
2SG	<i>shuet</i>	شوات
3SG	<i>shui</i>	شویی
1PL	<i>shuen</i>	شوان
2PL	<i>shuó</i>	شواؤ
3PL	<i>shuesh</i>	شواش

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	<i>bóon</i>	بوأن
2SG	<i>bóet</i>	بوات
3SG	<i>bói</i>	بویی
1PL	<i>bóen</i>	بوآن
2PL	<i>bóó</i>	بوؤ
3PL	<i>bóesh</i>	بوّاش

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. دئیانش . 'I will give [it] to them.'

Péshi bedár. پیشی 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. زوَرُن چه تئیگا گیش إنت . '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. پشتایش چیر بے . 'Hide behind them.'

Sarái sar makap. سرایی سر مکپ . 'Don't climb it (e.g. a tree).'

Chérái bázén zarré ér at. چیرایی بازین زرے ایر ات . '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 گون آییآ ڈیک 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.

<i>Ketábon gón at.</i>	کتابن گون ات.	‘I had the book with me.’
<i>Torseten.</i>	ترستین.	‘We got scared.’
<i>Chokki nest.</i>	چُکئی نیست.	‘He has no children.’
<i>É warákó dósta bit?</i>	اے وراکو دوست 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.

<i>Wati brát o goháron distant.</i>	وتی برات و گهاژن دیستنت.	‘I saw my sisters and brothers.’
<i>É nókén pocchet kadi geptant?</i>	اے نوکین پُچت کدی گپتنت؟	‘When did you.SG buy these new clothes?’
<i>Zekki zort o wati drostigén rógeni áiay tahá mán kortant.</i>	زکی زرت و وتی درستینگین روگنی آییے تھا مان کرتنت.	‘She took the skin-bag and poured all her ghee into it.’
<i>Lahtén mardomesh pésará gechén kortagat.</i>	لهتین مردمش پیسرا گچین کرتگات.	‘They had selected a few people in advance.’
<i>Mani habaró báwar nakort.</i>	منی هبرو باور نکرت.	‘You.PL did not believe what I said (lit. my word).’
<i>Chokken hará swár kort.</i>	چکن 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.

<i>Morád pád átk, kukkár kort o gwashti: “Mani ketáb gár ent”.</i>	مُراد پاد آتک، کوکار کرت و گوشتی: «منی کتاب گار انت».	‘Morad stood up and shouted (lit. shouted and said): “My book is missing.”’
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Maná mazanén zarré
dát o gwashti:
“*Saparéá beraw.*”

منا مزین زرے دات و
گوشتی: «سپریا 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.

چہ ہما مردمان جُستین
کرت.

‘We asked those
people.’

Lógay poshtá drachkesh
kesht.

لوگئے پُشتا درچکش
کشت.

‘They planted trees
behind the house.’

II. The enclitic pronoun does not attach to adverbs.

Padá jostesh kort.

پدا جُستیش کرت.

‘They asked once
more.’

Anágat wati chokkay
tawáron eshкот.

اناگت وتی چکئے تھواؤن
یشکت.

‘Suddenly I heard my
child’s voice.’

Zi káron nakort.

زی کارن 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 ٹیکئی ایش دات؟

‘Did they give you.PL
this gift?’

Márá zarri dát.

مارا زرّی دات.

‘He gave us money.’

Tará borti gón?

ترا برتی گون؟

‘Did he take you.SG
along?’

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

<i>Mazanén radé jatagi.</i>	مزنین رده جتگی.	‘He has made a big mistake.’
<i>Jané gepti.</i>	جنے گپتی.	‘He got married (lit. he took a wife).’
<i>Chónén passawé dátesh?</i>	چونین پستوے 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*.)

<i>É passawá madayi.</i>	اے پستوا مدئیے ای.	‘Don’t give him this answer.’
<i>Watmánwatá shawr o saláhen kort.</i>	وتمانوتا شور و سلاهن 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	
<i>wat</i>	وت	<i>watá / watárá</i> (<i>wa 'tá / wa 'tárá</i>)	وتا / وتارا	<i>wati</i> (<i>wa 'ti</i>)	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.

<i>Man wat gón shomá gón atán.</i>	من وت گون شما گون اتان.	‘I myself was with you.PL.’
<i>Bárén, taw wata káay gón?</i>	بارین، تئو وت کائے گون؟	‘Will you yourself come along?’
<i>Wat shomay gendagá kayt.</i>	وت شمئے گندگا کئیت.	‘He himself will come to see you.’
<i>Má wat molká rawén.</i>	ما وت ملکا رتوین.	‘We ourselves will go to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Shomá wat chokkán warák bedayét.</i>	شما وت چگان وراک بدئیت.	‘Give the children food yourselves.’
<i>May sangat wat nókén lógé bandagá ant.</i>	مئے سنگت وت نوکین لوگے بندگا أنت.	‘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).

<i>Má wat é kára korta nakanén, shomá býad ent mára komak bekanét.</i>	ما وت اے کارا کرت نکنین، شما باید انت مارا کُماک بکنیت.	‘We cannot do this (lit. this work) ourselves, you have to help us.’
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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.

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

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).

<i>Man tará gón wat hamráha nakanán.</i>	من ترا گۆن وت همراه نکانان.	‘I won’t take you.SG with me.’
<i>Pa wat bázén málé ambár makan.</i>	په وت بازین مالے امبار مکن.	‘Don’t store up a lot of wealth for yourself.’
<i>Báláchá lóthet mardomán cha wat razá bekant.</i>	بالاچا لوٹت مردمان چه وت رزا بکنت.	‘Balach wanted to make people satisfied with him.’
<i>Á hamé ketábá pa wat gechéna kant.</i>	آهمے کتابا په وت گچین کنت.	‘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.

<i>Betach o watá berakkén.</i>	بتیچ و وتا برکین.	‘Run and save yourself.’
<i>Watá molká raséntesh.</i>	وتا ملکا رسینتیش.	‘They took themselves to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Watá ádénkay tahá cháreton.</i>	وتا آدینکے تها چارتن.	‘I looked at myself in a mirror.’
<i>Háni watá cha badén mardomán dura dárít.</i>	هانى وتا چه بدین مردمان دور 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.

<i>Cha watá pésar, lahtén mardomi shahrá ráh dát.</i>	چه وتا پیسر، لهتین مردمی شهره راه دات.	‘Before [going] himself, he sent some people to town.’
<i>Man pa watá hecch nakatthettag.</i>	من په وتا هچ نکتتگ.	‘I have not gained anything for myself.’

The object case form *watára* 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*.

<i>Man wat watára</i> (<i>watá</i>) <i>cha é baláhá</i> <i>rakként.</i>	من وت و تارا (وتا) چه اے بلاھا رکینت.	‘I myself saved myself from this calamity.’
<i>Á wat báyad ent</i> <i>watára (watá) cha</i> <i>badiá dur bedárit.</i>	آوت باید انت و تارا (وتا) چه بدیا دور بداریت.	‘He himself must stay away (lit. keep himself far) from what is bad.’
<i>Shomá wat watára</i> (<i>watá</i>) <i>táwán dayagá</i> <i>ét.</i>	شما وت و تارا (وتا) تاوان دئیگا ایت.	‘You yourselves are harming yourselves.’
<i>Betach o watára</i> (<i>watá</i>) <i>berakkén.</i>	بتچ و تارا (وتا) برکین.	‘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.

<i>Man wati ketábá wánán.</i>	من وتی کتابا وانان.	‘I read my book.’
<i>Wati pocchesh badal</i> <i>nakortant.</i>	وتی پچش بدل نکرتنت.	‘They didn’t change their clothes.’
<i>Má wati mátá edá</i> <i>nagendén.</i>	ما وتی ماتا ادا نگندین.	‘We don’t see our mother here.’
<i>Salmán wati molká</i> <i>yalaha nakant.</i>	سلمان وتی مُلکا یله نکنت.	‘Salman won’t leave his homeland.’

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

<i>Wati bárawá ché</i> <i>gwashay?</i>	وتی بارئوا چه گوشے؟	‘What are your claims about yourself (lit. what do you say about yourself)?’
<i>É pocchán wati nyámá</i> <i>bahr kanét.</i>	اے پچان وتی نیاما بھر کنیت.	‘Share these clothes between yourselves.’

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.

<i>Man o mani chokka káén.</i>	من و منی چکگ کاین.	‘I and my children will come.’
<i>Bádsáh o áiy wazir gár ant.</i>	بادشاه و آییے وزیر گار أنت.	‘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.

<i>É lóg áyáni watig ent.</i>	اے لوگ آیانی وتیگ انت.	‘This house is their own.’
<i>Man wati mál o melkatá watiga nazánán.</i>	من وتی مال و ملکتا وتیگ نزانان.	‘I don’t regard (lit. know) my belongings as my own.’
<i>É dhagár may wati(g) but.</i>	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.

<i>Hechbar pa watigi zend magwázén.</i>	هچبر په وتیگی زند مگوازین.	‘Never live for yourself (i.e. a selfish life).’
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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 گون
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.*

گون وتا مهربان ببیت .

‘Be kind to each
other.’

*Á watmánwat nátepak
butant.*

آ وت مان وت ناتپاک بوتنت .

‘They came to be at
odds with each other.’

*Shomá watmánwatá ché
gwashagá ét?*

شما وت مان وتا چه گوشگا
ایت؟

‘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 “ˈ” before the stressed syllable):

Table 41. Interrogative pronouns

Direct case		Oblique case		Object case		Genitive case	
<i>kay</i>	کے	<i>kayá</i> (kaˈyá)	کئیا	<i>kayará</i> (kaˈyará)	کئیارا	<i>kai</i> (kaˈi)	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?

تتو کئے ائے؟

‘Who are you.SG?’

Maróchi kay kayt?

مروچی کئے کئیت؟

‘Who will come
today?’

*Kay chokká waráka
dant?*

کئے چکا وراک دنت؟

‘Who will feed the
child?’

*Kay cha máshomá
mehrabanter ent?*

کئے چه ماشما مهربانتر انت؟

‘Who is kinder than us.’
(‘Us’ here includes both
the speaker and the
listeners.)

Kay shot?

کئے شت؟

‘Who went?’

The oblique case form is used:

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

<i>Kayá tawára kanay?</i>	کئیا تئوار کئئے؟	‘Whom are you.SG calling?’
<i>Kayá gón wata barant?</i>	کئیا گون وئ برنت؟	‘Whom are they taking with them?’
<i>Bachak kayá jant?</i>	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.)

<i>Wati jeneká kayá bedayán?</i>	وتی جنکا کئیا بدئیان؟	‘To whom should I give my daughter (in marriage)?’
<i>É thékiá kayá dayay?</i>	اے ئیکیا کئیا دئئے؟	‘To whom will you.SG give this gift?’
<i>Wati mál o hastiet kayá dát?</i>	وتی مال و هستیات کئیا دات؟	‘To whom did you.SG give your possessions?’

III. as the object of a preposition.

<i>Gón kayá é habará begwashán?</i>	گون کئیا اے هبرا بگوشان؟	‘To whom should I say this (lit. this word)?’
<i>Taw wati lóg cha kayá geptag?</i>	تئو وتی لوگ چه کئیا گپتگ؟	‘From whom did you.SG buy your house?’
<i>Pa kayá watá pajjárénit?</i>	په کئیا وئا پجارینیت؟	‘To whom will he introduce himself?’

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

<i>Kayá é kár kortag?</i>	کئیا اے کار کرتگ؟	‘Who did this (lit. this work)?’
<i>Kayá tará jat?</i>	کئیا ترا جت؟	‘Who hit you.SG?’

*Kayá may sajjahén
shir wártagant?*

کئیا مئے سجھین شیر
وارتگ أنت؟

‘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 پیمین لؤگے 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 kayará
dát?*

وتی جنکی کئیا رات دات؟

‘To whom did he give
his daughter (in
marriage)?’

*Wati mál o hastiet
kayará dát?*

وتی مال و هستی ات کئیا رات
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 kayará
bedayán?*

وتی جنکا کئیا رات 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 کئی چک انت؟

‘Whose child is this?’

Kai ketáb gár but?

کئی کتاب گار بوت؟

‘Whose book was
lost?’

*Kai lóg cha maygá
master ent?*

کئی لؤگ چه مئیگا مستر
انت؟

‘Whose house is bigger
than ours?’

II. as the object of a postposition.

<i>Kai sará zahr geptagay?</i>	کئی سرا زھر گپتگے؟	‘With whom have you.SG got angry?’
<i>Kai bárawá habar kanagá ay?</i>	کئی بارئوا هبر کنگا اے؟	‘Whom are you.SG talking about?’
<i>Kai kerrá neshtagatét?</i>	کئی کرا نشتگاتیت؟	‘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.

<i>É ketáb kaig ent?</i>	اے کتاب کئیگ انت؟	‘Whose book is this?’
<i>É zamin kai(g) but?</i>	اے زمین کئی/کئیگ 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.

<i>Má ché bekanén?</i>	ما چے بکنین؟	‘What are we to do?’
<i>Cha é ketábay wánagá ché sarpada bay?</i>	چه اے کتابے وانگا چے سرپد بے؟	‘What do you.SG understand by (lit. from) reading this book?’
<i>Áyán tai bárawá ché gwasht?</i>	آیان تئی بارئوا چے گوشت؟	‘What did they say about you.SG?’
<i>Pa ché nayáay?</i>	په چے نئیائے؟	‘Why won’t you.SG come?’
<i>Ché but?</i>	چه بوت؟	‘What happened?’

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

<i>Taw che chizzay</i> <i>wadárá ay?</i>	تھو چہ چیڑے ودارا اے؟	‘What are you.SG waiting for?’
<i>Shomárá gón man che kár ent?</i>	شمارا گون من چہ کار انت؟	‘What do you.PL have to do with me?’
<i>É arhá che paymá begiss’hénán?</i>	اے اڑا چہ پیما بگیشینان؟	‘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	
<i>harkas</i>	ھرکس	<i>harkasá</i>	ھرکسا	<i>harkasay</i>	ھرکسے
<i>hechkas</i>	ھچکس	<i>hechkasá</i>	ھچکسا	<i>hechkasay</i>	ھچکسے
<i>kass</i>	کس	<i>kassá</i>	کسا	<i>kassay</i>	کسے

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. *de’ga*, *de’garé*) and on the syllable containing the oblique plural suffix *-án* whenever applicable (e.g. *dega’rán*). 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	<i>dega</i>	دگه	<i>degará</i>	دگرا	<i>degaray</i>	دگرے
SG with the =é clitic	<i>degaré</i>	دگرے	<i>degaréa</i>	دگرےا	<i>degaréay</i>	دگرےے
PL	<i>dega</i>	دگه	<i>degarán</i>	دگران	<i>degaráni</i>	دگرانی
PL with the =a clitic	<i>degara</i>	دگر	-	-	-	-

There is also an object form, *degaréára*, *degarána*.

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’).

<i>Harkas byayt sharr ent.</i>	هرکس بیعت، شر انت.	‘It is good whoever comes.’
<i>Hechkas maróchi nayátkag.</i>	هیچکس مرۆچی نییاتکگ.	‘Nobody has come today.’
<i>Kass habara nakant.</i>	کس هبر نکنت.	‘Nobody says anything (lit. speaks).’
<i>É kárán degara kanant.</i>	اے کاران دگر کننت.	‘Others do these things.’
<i>Degaré átk.</i>	دگرے آتک.	‘Someone else came.’
<i>Á dega shotant.</i>	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.

<i>Cha mani sangatán harkasá belótháén.</i>	چه منی سنگتان هرکسا بلوثاین.	‘Invite all of my friends.’
<i>Hechkasá nagendagá án.</i>	هیچکسا نگندگا آن.	‘I am not seeing anyone.’

Kassá mabar gón.

كسا مبر گون .

‘Don’t take anyone along.’

Degaréá byár.

دگرنا بيار .

‘Bring someone else.’

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

Wati jeneká hechkasá nadayán.

وتى جنكا هچكسا ندتيان .

‘I will not give my daughter (in marriage) to anyone.’

É kočeká harkasá dayay, beday.

اے كچكا هرگسا دئيے ،
بدئيے .

‘Give this dog to anyone (lit. to whomever you.SG give this dog, give).’

É mondriká kassá maday?

اے مندريكا كسا مدئيے .

‘Don’t give this ring to anyone.’

The object case form *kassará* ‘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/kassará nadát.

من وتى كتاب هچكسا/كسارا
ندات .

‘I did not give my book to anyone.’

Chokká wati ketáb hechkasá/kassará nadát.

چكا وتى كتاب
هچكسا/كسارا نادات .

‘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?

تو په چيے وتى جنك دگرنارا
داتگ؟

‘Why did you.SG give your daughter to a stranger (lit. another)?’

May mardomán wati mál o melkat degaráná dát.

مئي مردمان وتى مال و
ملكت دگرانا دات .

‘Our people gave their riches to others.’

III. as the object of a preposition.

<i>Cha harkasá jost korta kanay.</i>	چہ ہرکسا جُست کرت کئیے .	‘You.SG can ask anyone.’
<i>Gón hechkasá habar makan.</i>	گُون ہچکسا ہبر مکن .	‘Don’t talk to anyone.’
<i>Tai habar pa kassá pakká naatant.</i>	تئی ہبر پہ کسا پکا نہ اتنت .	‘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.

<i>Harkasá yak chizzé gwasht.</i>	ہرکسا یک چیزے گوشت .	‘Everybody said something (i.e. people said different things).’
<i>Hechkasá habar nazort.</i>	ہچکسا ہبر نزت .	‘Nobody obeyed (lit. took word).’
<i>Kassá maróchi Mirán nadistag.</i>	کسا مروچی 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).

<i>Harkasá chizzé hast, komak bekant.</i>	ہرکسا چیزے هست، کُمک بکنت .	‘Whoever has something (lit. a thing) should help.’
<i>Hechkasá natorset.</i>	ہچکسا نترست .	‘Nobody got scared.’
<i>Kassá é kár dósta nabit.</i>	کسا اے کار دُوست نَبیت .	‘Nobody likes this job.’

The genitive case form is used:

I. as a genitive attribute.

<i>Harkasay hakká beday.</i>	هر كسے هكا بدے .	‘Give everyone what is fair (lit. give everybody’s right).’
<i>Kassay kárá kár madár.</i>	كسے كارا كار مدار .	‘Don’t interfere in anyone’s business (lit. don’t have work in anyone’s work).’

II. as the object of a postposition.

<i>Hechkasay sará zahr nabut?</i>	هچكسے سرا زهر نبوت؟	‘Didn’t he get angry with anyone?’
<i>Harkasay poshtá habara kant.</i>	هر كسے پشتا هبر كنت .	‘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.

<i>É ketáb harkasayg ent, bebárti.</i>	اے كتاب هر كسےيگ انت، بيارتی .	‘To whomever this book belongs (lit. whoever’s this book is), let him take it.’
<i>Lóg degaréayg ent.</i>	لوگ دگرےيگ انت .	‘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.

<i>Dega mardomé byár.</i>	دگه مردمے بيار .	‘Bring another person.’
<i>Man é ketáb nawántag, dega ketábé wántag.</i>	من اے كتاب نتوانتگ، دگه كتابے وانتگ .	‘I have not read this book, I have read another book.’

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.

<i>Harché lóthay, belóth.</i>	هرچے لوٹھے، بلوٹ.	‘Ask for whatever you.SG want.’
<i>Harché ke shomará pa waragá dátesh, bwarét.</i>	هرچے کہ شمارا پہ ورگا داتش، بوڑیت.	‘Eat whatever they give (lit. gave) you.PL.’
<i>Harché mardomay delá bebit, hamá cha áiyay dapá dara kayt.</i>	هرچے مردمئے دلا بیبت، هما چہ آییئے دپا در 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.

<i>Bázéné nájórh but.</i>	بازینے ناچوڑ بوت.	‘Many fell ill.’
<i>Bázénéá mani habar báwar kortant.</i>	بازینیا منی هبر باور کرتنت.	‘Many believed what I said (lit. my words).’
<i>Man cha bázénéá eshkotag ke á nayayt.</i>	من چہ بازینیا ایشکتگ کہ آ نئیئیت.	‘I have heard from many that he will not come.’
<i>É chálákén mardom bázénéá rada dant.</i>	اے چالاکین مردم بازینیا رد دنت.	‘This cunning person fools many.’
<i>Bázénéay lóg wayrán but.</i>	بازینئے لوگ وئیران بوت.	‘Many [people]’s houses were destroyed.’
<i>Bázénéay sará bohtáma janant.</i>	بازینئے سرا بهتام جننت.	‘They accuse many.’

<i>Lahtén hechbar sura nakant.</i>	لهتین هچبر سور نکنت .	‘Some never marry.’
<i>Lahténá cha edá dar kan.</i>	لهتینا چه ادا در کن .	‘Send some away from here.’
<i>Gón lahténá mehrabán at, bale gón dega lahténá na.</i>	گۆن لهتینا مهربان ات ، بله گۆن دگه لهتینا نه .	‘He was kind to some but not to others.’
<i>Lahténá maná passaw dát nakort.</i>	لهتینا منا پسئو دات نکرت .	‘Some could not answer me.’
<i>Lahténay kár wassh naatant.</i>	لهتینئے کار وش نهاتنت .	‘What some did was not (lit. the work of some were not) good.’
<i>Lahténáni sará kandeti o lahténi jat.</i>	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.

<i>Har habaré ke tai delá ent begwash.</i>	هر هبرے که تئی دلا انت بگوش .	‘Say whatever (lit. every word that) is on (lit. in) your.SG heart.’
<i>Har haptén brát chátá kaptant.</i>	هر هپتین برات چاتا کپتنت .	‘All the seven brothers fell into the well.’
<i>Mardom cha har némagá átkant.</i>	مردم چه هر نیمگا آتکنت .	‘People came from all directions.’
<i>Hech ráhé nagendán.</i>	هچ راهے نگندان .	‘I don’t see any way [out].’
<i>Hech omét néstat.</i>	هچ أمیت نیستات .	‘There was no hope.’

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

<i>Maná pa wati wámáni dayagá hecch néstent.</i>	منا په وتی وامانی دئیگا هچ نیستانت .	‘I have nothing to pay my debts with.’
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Hecch sarpada nabay?

هچ سڙپد نبيے؟

‘Do you.SG understand nothing?’

É molká hecch majall.

اے مُلکا هچ 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.*

ميران گون 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 آييا جُست نكانان.

‘I won’t ask him.’

*Mán á ketábá hech
radié nést.*

مان آ کتابا هچ رديے نيست.

‘There is no mistake in that book.’

*Drógbandáni zobán
chó thélá charp ent.*

دروگبندانی زبان چو تيلّا
چرپ انت.

‘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).

<i>Taw pa rásti sharrén mardomé ay.</i>	تتو په راستی شَرِّین مردمے اے .	‘You.SG are really (lit. for truth) a good person.’
<i>Ensán cha azal tán abad sargardán ent.</i>	انسان چه ازل تان ابد سرگردان انت .	‘The human race (lit. a human) is straying for ever.’
<i>Hazár sál pa Hodáyá chó yak róché, chó shapay yak pásé.</i>	هزار سال په هُدايا چو يک رؤچے، چو شپئے يک 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).

<i>Abéd cha man o taw edá kass nést.</i>	ایبد چه من و تتو ادا کس نیست .	‘There is nobody here except you.SG and me.’
<i>Abéd cha gréwagá dega káré korta nakanán.</i>	ایبد چه گریوگا دگه کارے کرت 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
<i>tahá</i>	تھا	'in, into'
<i>tóká</i>	تو کا	'in, into'
<i>poshtá</i>	پشتا	'behind, after'
<i>démá</i>	دیمہ	'in front of, against'
<i>chérá</i>	چیرا	'under'
<i>háterá</i>	ہاترا	'because of, for the sake of'
<i>kerrá</i>	کڑا	'beside, at the side of'
<i>nyámá</i>	نیاما	'between, among'
<i>sará</i>	سرا	'on'
<i>sarborá</i>	سربرا	'on top of'
<i>sawabá</i>	سببوا	'because of, for the sake of'
<i>redá</i>	ردا	'according to'
<i>randá</i>	رندا	'after'
<i>dém pa démá</i>	دیم پہ دیمہ	'opposite, face to face with'
<i>gwará</i>	گورا	'beside, at the side of'
<i>némagá</i>	نیمگا	'towards'
<i>kashá</i>	کشا	'beside, at the side of'
<i>dastá</i>	دستا	'to, into, into the hands of'
<i>bárawá</i>	بارتوا	'about'
<i>helápá</i>	ہلاپا	'against'
<i>dhawlá</i>	ڈھولا	'like'
<i>paymá</i>	پیمہ	'like'
<i>warhá</i>	وڑا	'like'

The object of a postposition takes the genitive case.

<i>Lógay poshtá machkadagé.</i>	لوگئے پشتا مچکدگے .	‘Behind the house there is a date palm grove.’
<i>Mani kerrá benend.</i>	منی کرا بنند .	‘Sit down beside me.’
<i>Sajjahénáni démá gón man jangi kort.</i>	سجھینانی دیما گون من جنگی کرت .	‘He had a fight with me in front of everybody.’
<i>Bádasháh wati tahtay sará neshtag.</i>	بادشاہ وتی تھتے سرا نشستگ .	‘The king is sitting on his throne.’
<i>Man wati ostáday dastay chérá kára kanán.</i>	من وتی اُستادے دستے چیرا کار 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.

<i>Parzónagay saray neshtagén mardom mani pajjárók atant.</i>	پرزونگے سرے نشستگین مردم منی پجَارُوك اتنت .	‘The people sitting at the tablecloth (spread out on the floor) were my acquaintances.’
<i>Tai pádáni chéray chérgéj dazgwáp ent.</i>	تئی پادانی چیرے چیرگیج دزگوپ انت .	‘The mat under your.SG feet is handmade.’
<i>Lógay poshtay drachk dóshi kapt.</i>	لوگئے پشتے درچک دوشی 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.

<i>Bálách cha mardománi nyámá pédák at.</i>	بالاچ چه مردمانی نیاما پیداک آت .	‘Balach turned up from among the people.’
<i>Cha drachkay poshtá márá chárágá ent.</i>	چه درچکئے پشتا مارا چارگا انت .	‘She is looking at us from behind the tree.’
<i>Wati ketábá cha mizzay sará bezur.</i>	وتی کتابا چه میڑئے سرا بزور .	‘Take your.SG book from (lit. from on) the table.’
<i>Cha é ketábá abéd, dega ketábé edá hast?</i>	چه اے کتابا ابید، دگہ کتابے ادا 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	<i>sepr</i>	سپر	30	<i>si</i>	سی
1	<i>yak</i>	یک	31	<i>si o yak</i>	سی و یک
2	<i>do</i>	دو	32	<i>si o do</i>	سی و دو
3	<i>say</i>	سے	40	<i>chel</i>	چل
4	<i>chár</i>	چار	50	<i>panjáh</i>	پنجاه
5	<i>panch</i>	پنچ	60	<i>shast</i>	شست
6	<i>shash</i>	شش	70	<i>haptád</i>	ہفتاد
7	<i>hapt</i>	ہفت	80	<i>hashtád</i>	ہشتاد
8	<i>hasht</i>	ہشت	90	<i>nawad</i>	نہود
9	<i>noh</i>	نہ	100	<i>yaksad, sad</i>	یکسد، سد
10	<i>dah</i>	دہ	101	<i>sad o yak</i>	سد و یک
11	<i>yázdah</i>	یازدہ	110	<i>sad o dah</i>	سد و دہ
12	<i>dwázdah</i>	دوازدہ	120	<i>sad o bist</i>	سد و بیست
13	<i>sézdah</i>	سیزدہ	200	<i>dosad</i>	دوسد
14	<i>chárdah</i>	چارده	300	<i>sésad</i>	سیسسد
15	<i>pánzdah</i>	پانزدہ	400	<i>chársad</i>	چارسد
16	<i>shánzdah</i>	شانزدہ	500	<i>panchsad</i>	پنچسد
17	<i>habdah</i>	ہیدہ	600	<i>shashsad</i>	ششسد
18	<i>hazhdah</i>	ہزدہ	700	<i>haptasad</i>	ہفتسد
19	<i>nózdah</i>	نوزدہ	800	<i>hashtasad</i>	ہشتسد
20	<i>bist</i>	بیست	900	<i>nohsad</i>	نہسد
21	<i>bist o yak</i>	بیست و یک	1 000	<i>hazár</i>	ہزار
22	<i>bist o do</i>	بیست و دو	2 000	<i>do hazár</i>	دو ہزار
23	<i>bist o say</i>	بیست و سے	5 000	<i>panch hazár</i>	پنچ ہزار
24	<i>bist o char</i>	بیست و چار	10 000	<i>dah hazár</i>	دہ ہزار
25	<i>bist o panch</i>	بیست و پنچ	100 000	<i>yak lakk</i>	یک لک
26	<i>bist o shash</i>	بیست و شش	1 000 000	<i>yak milyun</i>	یک میلیون
27	<i>bist o hapt</i>	بیست و ہفت	10 000 000	<i>yak korórh</i>	یک کروڑ

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

<i>Yak chokké átk.</i>	یک چکے آتک.	‘One child came.’
<i>Panch mardoma kayt.</i>	پنچ مردم کثیت.	‘Five people will come.’
<i>Taw pa ché dah ketáb gept?</i>	تئو په چے ده کتاب گپت؟	‘Why did you.SG buy ten books?’
<i>Cha sad mardomá joston kort.</i>	چه سد مردما جُستن کرت.	‘I asked a hundred people.’
<i>Dah chokk dars wánagá at.</i>	ده چُک دُرس وانگا ات.	‘Ten children were studying.’

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. پنج بچک ہرا سوار آنتت. 'Five boys were riding on the donkey.'

Mirán gón wati sarjamén hándána ke bist o panch mardom ant, kayt o shahrá jahmenenda bit. میران گون وتی سرجمین ہاندانا کہ بیست و پنج مردم آنت، کئیت و شہرا جہمنند 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 دُز آتک و دگانا 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. چنت شپ انت کہ دو سئے رھزن ہر شپ شہرا رچیت و دگان و گسان جنت/جننت و پلیت/پلنت. '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 دوشی مئے لوگا آتک و گون ما شامش 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 ملکا پہ وت لوگش 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 یكین چكّا برکین. ‘Save my only (lit. one) child.’

Har doén brátán sur
kortag? هر دوین براتان سور کرتگ؟ ‘Have both brothers married?’

Man tai har doén brát
zi distagant. من تئی هر دوین برات زی دیستگانّت. ‘I saw both of your.SG brothers yesterday.’

É panchén ketáb taig
ant. اے پنچین کتاب تئیگ أنت. ‘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. ایبد چه آ یكینا، هرکس آتک. ‘Everybody came except that one.’

Man é panchénáni
nyámá óshtátágán. من اے پنچینانی نیاما اوشتاتگان. ‘I am standing in the middle of these five [ones].’

Har sayénán wati wám dátant. هر سهیبان وتی وام دانتت. ‘All three paid back (lit. gave) their debts.’

Cha é doénán kojám bacchá wati petay habar zort? چه اے دوینان کجام بچا وتی پتے هبر زرت؟ ‘Which one of these two sons obeyed his father?’

An ordinal numeral precedes the noun.

Shapay cháromi pásá tuppáné chest but. شپے چارمی پاسا توپانے چست بوت. ‘During the fourth watch of the night a storm arose.’

Tai awali chokkay nám kay ent? تئی اولی چکے نام کئے انت؟ ‘What is the name of your.SG first child?’

É dahomi rand ent ke man tará pawna kanán. اے دهمی رند انت که من ترا پئون کنان. ‘This is the tenth time I am phoning you.SG.’

Mani saymi jostay passawet nadát. منی سهیمی جسته پستوات ندادت. ‘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. پيسرا اوليگے پستوا بدے. ‘Answer the first one first.’

Awalia kayt. اولی کتیت. ‘The first one comes.’

Sardár yakkéá wati rástén o domiá chappén némagá nendárénit. سردار يکيا وتی راستین و دومیا چپین نیمگا نندارینیت. ‘The tribal chief will place one at his right side and the other one at his left side.’

Saymiay gappán sarpad nabután. سهیمیے گپان سرپد نبوتان. ‘I did not understand what the third one said (lit. the third’s words).’

*Godhsari kárendahán
beger tán awaligénán,
sajjahénáni mozzá
beday.* گڈسری کارندهان بگر تان
ائولیگینان، سجهینانی مزا
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. لوگ 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.* چگان یک یگا پسو دات. 'The children
answered one after
another.'

*Mani sangatán yak
yakká belótháén.* منی سنگتان یک یگا بلوثاین. '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

<i>ném, némá</i>	نیم، نیما	'half'
<i>sayak, sayakká</i>	سئے یک، سئے یگا	'a third'
<i>chárek, cháreká</i>	چارک، چارکا	'a quarter'
<i>panchek, pancheká</i>	پنچک، پنچکا	'a fifth'
<i>shashek, shasheká</i>	ششک، ششکا	'a sixth'
<i>dahyak, dahyakká</i>	دهیک، دهیکآ	'a tenth'

<i>É molkay panchek manig ent.</i>	اے مُلکے پنچک منیگ انت.	‘A fifth (one out of five) is mine.’
<i>Wati dahyakká sardará beday.</i>	وتی دهیگا سردارا بدئے.	‘Give your.SG tithes to the tribal leader.’
<i>Máláni sayyakká wati jeneká dant.</i>	مالانی سئیگا 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’.

<i>Káray dah darsad tayár ent.</i>	کارئے ده درسد تئیبار انت.	‘Ten percent of the work is ready.’
<i>Shahray panch darsad wayrán but.</i>	شهرئے پنچ درسد وئیران بوت.	‘Five percent of the town was destroyed.’
<i>Dozhmená molkay si darsad gept.</i>	دژمنا مُلکے 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:

<i>Dahá do per bekan dwázdaha bit.</i>	دها دو پر بکن دوازده بیت.	‘Ten plus two is twelve.’
<i>Dahá do dar bekan hashta bit.</i>	دها دو در بکن هشت بیت.	‘Ten minus two is eight.’
<i>Dahá gón dahá bejan sada bit.</i>	دها گون دها بجن سد بیت.	‘Ten times ten is a hundred.’
<i>Dahá panchay sará bahr bekan doa bit.</i>	دها پنچئے سرا بهر بکن دو 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 kashag* ‘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’	<i>árag</i>	آرگ	<i>áwort</i>	آورت
‘to come’	<i>áyag</i>	آیگ	<i>átk</i>	آتک
‘to take’	<i>barag</i>	برگ	<i>bort</i>	برت
‘to be, to become’	<i>bayag</i>	بئیگ	<i>but</i>	بوت
‘to give’	<i>dayag</i>	دئیگ	<i>dát</i>	دات
‘to run’	<i>tachag</i>	تچگ	<i>tatk</i>	تتک
‘to do’	<i>kanag</i>	کنگ	<i>kort</i>	کرت
‘to go’	<i>rawag</i>	رئوگ	<i>shot</i>	شت
‘to eat, to drink’	<i>warag</i>	ورگ	<i>wárt</i>	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’	<i>árán(á)</i>	آران، آرانا	<i>áwortag</i>	آورنگ
‘to come’	<i>áyán(á)</i>	آيان، آيانا	<i>átkag</i>	آتکگ
‘to take’	<i>barán(á)</i>	بران، برانا	<i>bortag</i>	برنگ
‘to be, to become’	<i>bayán(á)</i>	بثيان، بثيانا	<i>butag</i>	بوتگ
‘to give’	<i>dayán(á)</i>	دثيان، دثيانا	<i>dátag</i>	داتگ
‘to run’	<i>tachán(á)</i>	تچان، تچانا	<i>tatkag</i>	تتکگ
‘to do’	<i>kanán(á)</i>	کنان، کنانا	<i>kortag</i>	کرتگ
‘to go’	<i>rawán(á)</i>	رئوان، رئوانا	<i>shotag</i>	شنگ
‘to eat, to drink’	<i>warán(á)</i>	وران، ورانا	<i>wártag</i>	وارنگ

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’	<i>árók</i>	آرۆک	<i>áragi</i>	آرگی
‘to come’	<i>áyók</i>	آیۆک	<i>áyagi</i>	آیگی
‘to take’	<i>barók</i>	برۆک	<i>baragi</i>	برگی
‘to be, to become’	<i>bayók</i>	بثیۆک	<i>bayagi</i>	بثیگی
‘to give’	<i>dayók</i>	دثیۆک	<i>dayagi</i>	دثیگی
‘to run’	<i>tachók</i>	تچۆک	<i>tachagi</i>	تچگی
‘to do’	<i>kanók</i>	کنۆک	<i>kanagi</i>	کنگی
‘to go’	<i>rawók</i>	رئۆۆک	<i>rawagi</i>	رئوگی
‘to eat, to drink’	<i>warók</i>	ورۆک	<i>waragi</i>	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	
<i>rasénag, rasént</i> ‘to take someone somewhere’	رسپنگ، رسپنت	<i>rasag</i> ‘to arrive’	رسگ
<i>tarrénag, tarrént</i> ‘to turn something around’	ترپنگ، ترپنت	<i>tarrag</i> ‘to spin’	ترگ
<i>lótháénag, lótháént</i> ‘to summon, to call upon’	لوٹاپنگ، لوٹاپنت	<i>lóthag</i> ‘to invite, to want’	لوٹگ
<i>hallénag, hallént</i> ‘to finish up’	هلیپنگ، هلیپنت	<i>hallag</i> ‘to finish, to end’	هلیگ
<i>rakkénag, rakként</i> ‘to rescue, to save’	رکپنگ، رکپنت	<i>rakkag</i> ‘to be rescued, to be saved’	رکگ
<i>kóshárénag, kóshárént</i> ‘to have someone killed’	کوشارپنگ، کوشارپنت	<i>koshag</i> ‘to kill’	کُشگ
<i>geráénag, geráént</i> ‘to make someone arrest somebody’	گرپنگ، گرپنت	<i>gerag</i> ‘to catch’	گرگ
<i>nádénag, nádént</i> ‘to place, to establish’	نادپنگ، نادپنت	<i>nendag</i> ‘to sit down’	ندگ
<i>nendárénag, nendárént</i> ‘to place, to make someone sit down’	ندارپنگ، نندارپنت	<i>nendag</i> ‘to sit down’	ندگ

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	
<i>sarpad bayag</i> ‘to understand’	سرپد بپیگ	<i>sarpad kanag</i> ‘to make someone understand’	سرپد کنگ
<i>chest bayag</i> ‘to rise up’	چست بپیگ	<i>chest kanag</i> ‘to raise up, to make something stand up’	چست کنگ
<i>wassh bayag</i> ‘to be happy’	وش بپیگ	<i>wassh kanag</i> ‘to make someone happy’	وش کنگ
<i>hór bayag</i> ‘to be together’	هور بپیگ	<i>hór kanag</i> ‘to join, to put together’	هور کنگ

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.

<i>Sur kanag sharter ent yá sur nakanag?</i>	سور کنگ شرتر انت یا سور نکنگ؟	‘Is it better to marry or not to marry?’
<i>Mehr kanag cha sajjahén kárán sharter ent.</i>	میهر کنگ چه سَجْهین کاران شرتر انت.	‘The best thing (lit. work) is to love.’
<i>Kadi dars wánaget bongéj kort?</i>	کدی درس وانگت بنگیج کرت؟	‘When did you.SG start studying?’
<i>Pa komak kanagá átkagán.</i>	په کُماک کنگا آتکگان.	‘I have come to help.’
<i>Márá pa waragá chizzé nést.</i>	مارا په ورگا چیژے نیست.	‘We don’t have anything to eat.’
<i>É mardom mani ázár dayagay randá ent.</i>	اے مردم منی آزار دئیگئے رندا انت.	‘This person wants to harm me (lit. is after harming me).’
<i>Balóch bayagay sutt ché ent?</i>	بلوچ بیگئے سوٹ چے انت؟	‘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 *-áná*, 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.

<i>Mani sangatá iráz gerán gwasht ke “taw radén káré kort.”</i>	منی سنگتا ایراز گران گوشت کہ «تھو ردین کارے کرت.»	‘My friends criticized me and said that I had done something wrong (lit. a bad deed).’
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<i>Salmán tachána wati báná shot.</i>	سلمان تچانا وتی بانا شت .	‘Salman went running to his room.’
<i>Mardomán kukkár kanána gwasht: “Dozzá begerét.”</i>	مردمان کوکار کنانا گوشت: «دُزّا بگریّت.»	‘People shouted (lit. said shouting): “Catch the thief.”’
<i>Sardará mára wasshátk kanána gwasht: “Byáét, benendét.”</i>	سردارا مارا وشّ آتک کنانا گوشت: «بیایت، بنندیت.»	‘Welcoming us, the tribal chief said: “Come, sit down.”’
<i>Mardom cha har némagá tachán tai kerrá pédák ant.</i>	مردم چه هر نیمگا تچان تئی کُرا پیداک آت .	‘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 *-ána* form.

<i>May brát o gohár sénagá janán o mótk kanána lógá per tarretant.</i>	مئے برات و گهار سپینگ جنان و موّتک کنانا لوگا پر تَرَتنت .	‘Our brothers and sisters returned home beating their breasts in (lit. and) mourning.’
<i>Má rawán rawána ábádén jágahéa rasetén.</i>	ما رثوان رثوانا آبادین جاگهیا رستین .	‘We walked and walked and came to a fertile place.’
<i>Chokk tachán tachána lógá shotant.</i>	چُک تچان تچانا لوگا 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.

<i>Rawánén ápá sellén chizz dawr maday.</i>	رثوانین آبا سلین چیز دؤور مدئے .	‘Don’t throw dirty things in running water.’
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The present participle ending in *-án* together with the verb *bayag* ‘to be, to become’ can mark the start of an action.

<i>Chokk tachán but o shot.</i>	چک تچان بوت و شت .	‘The child started running [away] (lit. and went).’
<i>Wahdé áp rawána bit, kopp kan.</i>	وهدے آب رثوان بیت، کپ 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*.

<i>Wati neshtagén janénchokká pa ché sura nadayay?</i>	وتی نشتگین جنین چکا پہ جے سور ندئیے؟	‘Why don’t you.SG marry off your unmarried (lit. sitting) daughter?’
<i>Sar átkagén naganán yakjáh bekan.</i>	سر آتگین نگنان یکجاہ بکن .	‘Gather the leftover bread.’
<i>Cha molká átkagén mehmán kojá ant?</i>	چہ ملکا آتگین مہمان کجا آنت؟	‘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.

<i>Cha sardáray dátagénán abéd chizzé narasit.</i>	چہ سردارے داتگینان ابید چیڑے نرسیت .	‘Nothing is available (lit. arrives) apart from what the tribal chief has given.’
<i>Mani gwashtagénáni sará báwaret hast?</i>	منی گوشتگینانی سرا باورت هست؟	‘Do you.SG believe what I said.’

*Bádsháhay
nádéntagénay helápá
pád átkagant.*

بادشاهے نادینتگینے ہلاپا
پاد آتکگ آنت .

‘They have made an
insurrection (lit. stood
up) against the one
whom the king has in-
stalled (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.*

سجھین مالانی میراس بروک
تتو آئے .

‘You.SG are the
inheritor of all the
livestock.’

*É ketábay nebisók
angat zendag ent?*

اے کتابے نیبسوک انگت
زندگ انت؟

‘Is the author of this
book still alive?’

*Áyáni sar o sój dayók
kay at?*

ایانی سر و سوج دئیوک کئے
آت؟

‘Who was their
advisor?’

*Mirán mani pajjárók
ent.*

میران منی پجاروک انت .

‘I am acquainted with
Miran (lit. Miran is my
‘recognizer’).’

*É molkay nendók
áramén mardom ant.*

اے ملکئے نندوک آرامین
مردم آنت .

‘The inhabitants of this
country are calm
people.’

*Maná cha áyókén
róchán torsé nést.*

منا چہ آیوکین روچان ترسے
نیست .

‘I am not afraid of the
coming days.’

May lógá warók hast.

مے لوگا ورؤک هست .

‘There are termites (lit.
eaters) in our house.’

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	
1 st	- <i>án</i>	-ان	- <i>én</i>	-ین
2 nd	- <i>ay</i>	-ئے	- <i>ét</i>	-یت
3 rd	- <i>it</i> , - <i>t</i>	-یت، -ت	- <i>ant</i>	-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
beđerát o bwánátant.*

چکّ همے کتابا بگرات و
بواناتانت.

‘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 forms 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	
1 st	-án	ان-	-én	ین-
2 nd	-ay	ئے-	-ét	یت-
3 rd	-	-	-ant	نت-

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’.

<i>Chokkán ketáb gept o wántant.</i>	چگان کتاب گپت و وانتنت .	‘The children bought books and read [them].’
<i>Taw pa ché tatkag o shotagay?</i>	تو پہ چے تتگگ و شتگگے ؟	‘Why have you.SG run away?’
<i>Báyad byátkén o gón má beneshénét.</i>	باید بیاتکین و گون ما بنشیتیت .	‘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 its 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	
1 st	<i>án</i>	آن	<i>én</i>	اين	<i>atán</i>	اتان	<i>atén</i>	اتين
2 nd	<i>ay</i>	اے	<i>ét</i>	ايت	<i>atay</i>	اتے	<i>atét</i>	اتيت
3 rd	<i>ent</i>	انت	<i>ant</i>	انت	<i>at</i>	أت	<i>atant</i>	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	
1 st	<i>naán</i>	نه آن	<i>naén</i>	نه این	<i>naatán</i>	نه اتان	<i>naatén</i>	نه اتین
2 nd	<i>naay</i>	نه ائے	<i>naét</i>	نه ایت	<i>naatay</i>	نه اتئے	<i>naatét</i>	نه اتیت
3 rd	<i>naent</i>	نه انت	<i>naant</i>	نه انت	<i>naat</i>	نه ات	<i>naatant</i>	نه اتنت

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	
1 st	<i>hastán</i>	هستان	<i>hastén</i>	هستین
2 nd	<i>hastay</i>	هستئے	<i>hastét</i>	هستیت
3 rd	<i>hast(ent)</i>	هست، هست انت	<i>hastant</i>	هست انت

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	
1 st	<i>néstán</i>	نیستان	<i>néstén</i>	نیستین
2 nd	<i>néstay</i>	نیستئے	<i>néstét</i>	نیستیت
3 rd	<i>nést(ent)</i>	نیست، نیست انت	<i>néstant</i>	نیست انت

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

<i>hastat</i>	هست ات	<i>néstat</i>	نیست ات
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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.

<i>Kasánén bachaké án.</i>	كسانين بچكے آن .	‘I am a small boy.’
<i>Kasánén bachaké ay.</i>	كسانين بچكے ائے .	‘You.SG are a small boy.’
<i>Kasánén bachaké.</i>	كسانين بچكے .	‘He is a small boy.’
<i>Kasánén bachak én.</i>	كسانين بچك ائين .	‘We are small boys.’
<i>Kasánén bachak ét.</i>	كسانين بچك ايت .	‘You.PL are small boys.’
<i>Kasánén bachak ant.</i>	كسانين بچك انت .	‘They are small boys.’

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

<i>Chokké naán.</i>	چكے نہ آن .	‘I am not a child.’
<i>Chokké naay.</i>	چكے نہ ائے .	‘You.SG are not a child.’
<i>Chokké naent.</i>	چكے نہ انت .	‘He is not a child.’
<i>Chokk naén.</i>	چك نہ ائين .	‘We are not children.’
<i>Chokk naét.</i>	چك نہ ايت .	‘You.PL are not children.’
<i>Chokk naant.</i>	چك نہ انت .	‘They are not children.’

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

<i>Á wahdi bachaké atán.</i>	آ وهدی بچكے اتان .	‘At that time I was a boy.’
<i>Á wahdi bachaké atay.</i>	آ وهدی بچكے اتے .	‘At that time you.SG were a boy.’
<i>Á wahdi bachaké at.</i>	آ وهدی بچكے ات .	‘At that time he was a boy.’
<i>Á wahdi bachak atén.</i>	آ وهدی بچك اتين .	‘At that time we were boys.’
<i>Á wahdi bachak atét.</i>	آ وهدی بچك اتيت .	‘At that time you.PL were boys.’
<i>Á wahdi bachak atant.</i>	آ وهدی بچك اتنت .	‘At that time they were boys.’

<i>Á wahdi ostádé naatán.</i>	آ وهدی اُستادے نہ اتان.	‘At that time I was not a teacher.’
<i>Á wahdi ostádé naatay.</i>	آ وهدی اُستادے نہ اتے.	‘At that time you.SG were not a teacher.’
<i>Á wahdi ostádé naat.</i>	آ وهدی اُستادے نہ آت.	‘At that time she was not a teacher.’
<i>Á wahdi ostád naatén.</i>	آ وهدی اُستاد نہ اتین.	‘At that time we were not teachers.’
<i>Á wahdi ostád naatét.</i>	آ وهدی اُستاد نہ اتیت.	‘At that time you.PL were not teachers.’
<i>Á wahdi ostád naatant.</i>	آ وهدی اُستاد نہ اتنت.	‘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.

<i>É bánok tai gohár ent?</i>	اے بانک تئی گھار انت؟	‘Is this woman your.SG sister?’
<i>Mani sangat nájórh ent.</i>	منی سنگت نا جوڑ انت.	‘My friend is ill.’
<i>Chokkáni pet lógá ent.</i>	چُکّانی پت لوگا انت.	‘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)’.

<i>Tará báwar ent ke Hodá hast?</i>	ترا باور انت کہ هُدا هست؟	‘Do you.SG believe that God exists?’
<i>Maná brát hast.</i>	منا برات هست.	‘I have brothers (or one brother).’
<i>Zalurat nést byáét.</i>	زلورت نیست بیایت.	‘There is no need for you.PL to come.’
<i>Yak mardéa do mardénchokk hastat.</i>	یک مردیا دو مردین چُکّ هست آت.	‘A man had two sons.’
<i>Á wahdi may shahrá bázén mardomé hastat.</i>	آ وهدی مئے شہرا بازین مردمے هست آت.	‘In those days there were many people in our town.’
<i>Mará hecch omét néstat.</i>	مارا هیچ اُمیت نیست آت.	‘We had no hope (lit. there was no hope to us).’

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	
1 st	= <i>a kanán</i>	كَنان َ=	= <i>a kanén</i>	كَنین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a kanay</i>	كَنیے َ=	= <i>a kanét</i>	كَنیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a kant</i>	كَنت َ=	= <i>a kanant</i>	كَننت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nakanán</i>	نڪنان َ=	= <i>a nakanén</i>	نڪنين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nakanay</i>	نڪنئے َ=	= <i>a nakanét</i>	نڪنيٽ َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nakant</i>	نڪنت َ=	= <i>a nakanant</i>	نڪننت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a gendán</i>	گندان َ=	= <i>a gendén</i>	گندين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a genday</i>	گندئے َ=	= <i>a gendét</i>	گنديٽ َ=
3 rd	= <i>a gendit</i>	گنديٽ َ=	= <i>a gendant</i>	گندنت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nagendán</i>	نگندان َ=	= <i>a nagendén</i>	نگندين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nagenday</i>	نگندئے َ=	= <i>a nagendét</i>	نگنديٽ َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nagendit</i>	نگنديٽ َ=	= <i>a nagendant</i>	نگندنت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a barán</i>	بران َ=	= <i>a barén</i>	برين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a baray</i>	برئے َ=	= <i>a barét</i>	بريٽ َ=
3 rd	= <i>a bárt</i>	بارت َ=	= <i>a barant</i>	برنت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nabarán</i>	نبران َ=	= <i>a nabarén</i>	نبرين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nabaray</i>	نبرئے َ=	= <i>a nabarét</i>	نبريٽ َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nabárt</i>	نبارت َ=	= <i>a nabarant</i>	نبرنت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a warán</i>	وران َ=	= <i>a warén</i>	ورين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a waray</i>	ورئے َ=	= <i>a warét</i>	وريٽ َ=
3 rd	= <i>a wárt</i>	وارت َ=	= <i>a warant</i>	ورنت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nawarán</i>	نَوَارَان َ=	= <i>a nawarén</i>	نَوَارِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nawaray</i>	نَوَارِئِے َ=	= <i>a nawarét</i>	نَوَارِئِیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nawárt</i>	نَوَارَات َ=	= <i>a nawarant</i>	نَوَارِئِنت َ=

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	
1 st	= <i>a bán</i>	بَان َ=	= <i>a bén</i>	بِئِن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a bay</i>	بِئِے َ=	= <i>a bét</i>	بِئِیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a bit</i>	بِئِیت َ=	= <i>a bant</i>	بِئِئِنت َ=

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	
1 st	= <i>a nabán</i>	نَبَان َ=	= <i>a nabén</i>	نَبِئِن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nabay</i>	نَبِئِے َ=	= <i>a nabét</i>	نَبِئِیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nabít</i>	نَبِئِیت َ=	= <i>a nabant</i>	نَبِئِئِنت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a gerán</i>	گَرَان َ=	= <i>a gerén</i>	گَرِئِن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a geray</i>	گَرِئِے َ=	= <i>a gerét</i>	گَرِئِیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a gipt</i>	گِئِیت َ=	= <i>a gerant</i>	گَرِئِنت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nagerán</i>	نَغْرَان َ=	= <i>a nagerén</i>	نَغْرِئِن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nageray</i>	نَغْرِئِے َ=	= <i>a nagerét</i>	نَغْرِئِیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nagipt</i>	نَغْئِیت َ=	= <i>a nagerant</i>	نَغْرِئِنت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a dayán</i>	دَیَّان َ=	= <i>a dayén</i>	دَیَّین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a dayay</i>	دَیَّیے َ=	= <i>a dayét</i>	دَیَّیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a dant</i>	دنت َ=	= <i>a dayant</i>	دَیَّینت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nadayán</i>	نَدَیَّان َ=	= <i>a nadayén</i>	نَدَیَّین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nadayay</i>	نَدَیَّیے َ=	= <i>a nadayét</i>	نَدَیَّیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nadant</i>	نَدنت َ=	= <i>a nadayant</i>	نَدَیَّینت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a rawán</i>	رَوَّان َ=	= <i>a rawén</i>	رَوَّین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a raway</i>	رَوَّیے َ=	= <i>a rawét</i>	رَوَّیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a rawt</i>	رَوَّت َ=	= <i>a rawant</i>	رَوَّینت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a narawán</i>	نَرَوَّان َ=	= <i>a narawén</i>	نَرَوَّین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a naraway</i>	نَرَوَّیے َ=	= <i>a narawét</i>	نَرَوَّیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a narawt</i>	نَرَوَّت َ=	= <i>a narawant</i>	نَرَوَّینت َ=

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	
1 st	= <i>a kárán</i>	كَارَان َ=	= <i>a kárén</i>	كَارَین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a káray</i>	كَارَیے َ=	= <i>a kárét</i>	كَارَیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a kárit</i>	كَارَیت َ=	= <i>a kárant</i>	كَارَینت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nayárán</i>	نَیَارَان َ=	= <i>a nayárén</i>	نَیَارَیْن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nayáray</i>	نَیَارَیْ َ=	= <i>a nayáret</i>	نَیَارَیْت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nayárit</i>	نَیَارِیْت َ=	= <i>a nayárant</i>	نَیَارِیْت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a káyán</i>	كَايَان َ=	= <i>a káén</i>	كَايْن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a káay</i>	كَايْ َ=	= <i>a káét</i>	كَايْت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a kayt</i>	كَايْت َ=	= <i>a káyant</i>	كَايْت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nayáyán</i>	نَیَايَان َ=	= <i>a nayáén</i>	نَیَايْن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nayáyay</i>	نَیَايْ َ=	= <i>a nayáét</i>	نَیَايْت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nayayt</i>	نَیَايْت َ=	= <i>a nayáyant</i>	نَیَايْت َ=

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	
1 st	= <i>a áshopénán</i>	اَشُپِينَان َ=	= <i>a áshopénén</i>	اَشُپِينِیْن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a áshopénay</i>	اَشُپِينَايْ َ=	= <i>a áshopénét</i>	اَشُپِينَايْت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a áshopénit</i>	اَشُپِينَايْت َ=	= <i>a áshopénant</i>	اَشُپِينَايْت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a naáshopénán</i>	نَااَشُپِينَان َ=	= <i>a naáshopénén</i>	نَااَشُپِينِیْن َ=
2 nd	= <i>a naáshopénay</i>	نَااَشُپِينَايْ َ=	= <i>a naáshopénét</i>	نَااَشُپِينَايْت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a naáshopénit</i>	نَااَشُپِينَايْت َ=	= <i>a naáshopénant</i>	نَااَشُپِينَايْت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a óshtán</i>	اُشْتان َ=	= <i>a óshtén</i>	اُشْتِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a óshtay</i>	اُشْتَي َ=	= <i>a óshtét</i>	اُشْتِيَت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a óshtit</i>	اُشْتِيَت َ=	= <i>a óshtant</i>	اُشْتِنْت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a naóshtán</i>	نَاُشْتان َ=	= <i>a naóshtén</i>	نَاُشْتِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a naóshtay</i>	نَاُشْتَي َ=	= <i>a naóshtét</i>	نَاُشْتِيَت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a naóshtit</i>	نَاُشْتِيَت َ=	= <i>a naóshtant</i>	نَاُشْتِنْت َ=

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	
1 st	= <i>a kellán</i>	كِلَان َ=	= <i>a kellén</i>	كِلِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a kelay</i>	كِلَي َ=	= <i>a kellét</i>	كِلِيَت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a kellit</i>	كِلِيَت َ=	= <i>a kellant</i>	كِلِنْت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a naylán</i>	نَئِيلان َ=	= <i>a naylén</i>	نَئِيلِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a naylay</i>	نَئِيلَي َ=	= <i>a naylét</i>	نَئِيلِيَت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a naylit</i>	نَئِيلِيَت َ=	= <i>a naylant</i>	نَئِيلِنْت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a eshkonán</i>	اِشْكِنان َ=	= <i>a eshkonén</i>	اِشْكِنِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a eshkonay</i>	اِشْكِنَي َ=	= <i>a eshkonét</i>	اِشْكِنِيَت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a eshkont</i>	اِشْكِنْت َ=	= <i>a eshkonant</i>	اِشْكِنِنْت َ=

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a naeshkonán</i>	نَءِشَكْنَان َ=	= <i>a naeshkonén</i>	نَءِشَكْنِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a naeshkonay</i>	نَءِشَكْنَي َ=	= <i>a naeshkonét</i>	نَءِشَكْنِيَت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a naeshkont</i>	نَءِشَكْنَت َ=	= <i>a naeshkonant</i>	نَءِشَكْنَنَت َ=

4.4.2.1.2. Uses of present-future indicative forms

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

I. general truths.

<i>Róch sohbá dara kayt.</i>	رُوح سَهْبَا دَر كَيْتِيت .	‘The sun rises in the morning.’
<i>Garmágán Karáchiá hawra gwárit.</i>	گَرْمَاگَان كَرَاچِيَا هَوْرَ گَوَارِيَت .	‘In the summer it rains in Karachi.’
<i>Nonnok shira warant.</i>	نُونُك شِيْرَ وَرَنْت .	‘Infants breastfeed (lit. drink milk).’
<i>Chokk zutt mazana bant.</i>	چَكُّ زُوْتُ مَزَنَ بَنْت .	‘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).

<i>May chokk eskulá darsa wánant.</i>	مَءِ چُكُّ اِسْكُوْلَا دَرْسَ وَاَنْت .	‘Our children study at school.’
<i>Wati chokkán wata ródénán.</i>	وَتِي چَكَّان وَت رُوْدِيْنَان .	‘I raise my children myself.’
<i>Má dér ent hamedá kára kanén.</i>	مَا دَيْرِ اِنْت هَمِيْدَا كَارَ كَنِيْن .	‘We have been working here for a long time (and we are still working).’
<i>Shomá kojá zendegia kanét?</i>	شَمَا كَجَا زَنْدَگِي كَنِيْت؟	‘Where do you.PL live?’

III. habitual events.

<i>É mardom har wahd habara kant.</i>	اے مردم هر وهد هیر کنت .	‘This person is always talking.’
<i>Jomahay róchá kára nakanén.</i>	جُمهئے رُچا کار نکنین .	‘We don’t work on Fridays (lit. day of Friday).’
<i>Taw baré baré ketába geray?</i>	تھو برے برے کتاب گرتے؟	‘Do you.SG sometimes buy books?’
<i>Har róch wati chokkána gendán.</i>	هر رُچ وتی چكآن گندان .	‘I see my children every day.’

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

<i>Bándá tará pawna kanán.</i>	باندا ترا پئون کنان .	‘I will call you.SG tomorrow.’
<i>Kammé dérą rasén.</i>	کَمے دیرا رسین .	‘We will arrive a bit late.’
<i>Man tai wadára bán.</i>	من تئی ودارا بان .	‘I will wait for you.SG.’
<i>Démi sála wati chokká sura dayán.</i>	دیمی سالا وتی چكا سور 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.

*Hastat róché, hastat
rózgaré, hastat
bádsháhé o áiá yak
sharrang o mahgónagén
jeneké hastat ke námi
cha béhabariá Konth
Bibi at.*

ہستأت روچے، ہستأت
روژگارے، ہستأت بادشاہے
و آییَا یک شررنگ و
مہگونگین جنکے ہستأت
کہ نامی چہ بیہبریا کُنٹ بیبی
ات۔

‘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 áiy lóthók at.

بازینے آییے لوٹوک ات۔

‘Many [men] wanted
[to marry] her.’

*Bádsháhay jeneká hamé
bay o shart eshtagat ke
harkas áiá say randá pa
habar dar byárit, hamá
áiy marda bit.*

بادشاہے جنکا ہمے بے و
شَرْتِ اِشْتِگَاتِ کہ ہرکس آییَا
سے رندا پہ ہبر در بیاریت،
ہما آییے مرد 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 bázará
chakkarénant.*

اگن نہ، آییَا سادے گورا
دینت و بازارا چکریننت۔

‘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 آتکگات و جنکش پہ
ہبر در نئیاورتگات و شَرِّ 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 روچے مُلکے یک
آپکشے کثیت و گوشیت: «من
جنکا پہ ہبر در 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.

<i>Narawant?</i>	نرئونت؟	‘Won’t they go?’
<i>Nazánán ché bit.</i>	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).

<i>Kojá raway?</i>	كجا رئوئے؟	‘Where are you.SG going?’
<i>Wati sangatáni gwará rawán.</i>	وتی سنگتانی گوارا رئوان.	‘I am going to my friends.’
<i>É ketábá maná nadayay?</i>	اے کتابا منا ندئیے؟	‘Won’t you.SG give this book to me?’
<i>Má tai hakká dayén.</i>	ما تئیے هكا دئیین.	‘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.

<i>Taw wa zánay.</i>	تئو وه زانئے.	‘Well, <u>you</u> .SG know.’
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Another instance is when the word preceding the verb is marked with the individuation clitic =é.

<i>Pa ché choshén káré kant?</i>	په چے چُشین کارے کنت؟	‘Why does she do such a thing (lit. deed)?’
<i>Taw chizzé genday?</i>	تئو چیرے گندئے؟	‘Do you.SG see anything?’
<i>Róché kayt ke é lógá bahá kanén.</i>	رُچے کئیت که اے لوگا بها کئین.	‘There will come a day when we sell this house.’

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.)

<i>Har rócha kayt o wárt.</i>	هر رۆچ کتیت و وارت.	‘He comes and eats every day.’
<i>Harché ke kanay, pa deli bekan.</i>	هرچه که کنئے په دلی بکن.	‘Whatever you.SG do, do it from [your] heart.’
<i>Agan lóthay, mana káyán.</i>	اگن لوئئے، من کایان.	‘If you.SG want (and I assume you do), I will come.’
<i>Tán gendit kár kammé grána bit, dama bárt.</i>	تان گندیت کار کمے گران بیت، دم 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’.

<i>Man ham káyán gón.</i>	من هم کایان گون.	‘I will also come along.’
<i>Taw nayáyay?</i>	تتو نئیایے؟	‘Won’t you.SG come?’
<i>Má hamedá dárén bale é dega rawant.</i>	ما همیدا دارین بله اے دگه رئونت.	‘We will stay here but the others will go.’
<i>É habará kay gwashit?</i>	اے هبرا کئے گوشیت؟	‘Who says this (lit. this word)?’
<i>Ché warant?</i>	چه ورنٹ؟	‘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).

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	
1 st	<i>bekanán</i>	بڪنان	<i>bekanén</i>	بڪنين
2 nd	<i>bekamay</i>	بڪنئے	<i>bekanét</i>	بڪنيت
3 rd	<i>bekant</i>	بڪنت	<i>bekant</i>	بڪنت

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>makanán</i>	مڪنان	<i>makanén</i>	مڪنين
2 nd	<i>makanay</i>	مڪنئے	<i>makanét</i>	مڪنيت
3 rd	<i>makant</i>	مڪنت	<i>makanant</i>	مڪنت

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>begendán</i>	بگندان	<i>begendén</i>	بگندين
2 nd	<i>begenday</i>	بگندئے	<i>begendét</i>	بگنيت
3 rd	<i>begendit</i>	بگنديت	<i>begendant</i>	بگندنت

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>magendán</i>	مگندان	<i>magendén</i>	مگندين
2 nd	<i>magenday</i>	مگندئے	<i>magendét</i>	مگنيت
3 rd	<i>magendit</i>	مگنديت	<i>magendant</i>	مگندنت

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>bebarán</i>	بیران	<i>bebarén</i>	بیرین
2 nd	<i>bebaray</i>	بیرئے	<i>bebarét</i>	بیریت
3 rd	<i>bebárt</i>	ببارت	<i>bebarant</i>	ببرنت

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mabarán</i>	میران	<i>mabarén</i>	میرین
2 nd	<i>mabaray</i>	میرئے	<i>mabarét</i>	میریت
3 rd	<i>mabárt</i>	مبارت	<i>mabarant</i>	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	
1 st	<i>bebán</i>	بیان	<i>bebén</i>	بیین
2 nd	<i>bebay</i>	بیئے	<i>bebét</i>	ببیت
3 rd	<i>bebit</i>	ببیت	<i>bebant</i>	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	
1 st	<i>mabán</i>	میان	<i>mabén</i>	میین
2 nd	<i>mabay</i>	میئے	<i>mabét</i>	مبیت
3 rd	<i>mabit</i>	مبیت	<i>mabant</i>	مبنت

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

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>begerán</i>	بگران	<i>begerén</i>	بگرین
2 nd	<i>begeray</i>	بگرئے	<i>begerét</i>	بگریت
3 rd	<i>begipt</i>	بگپیت	<i>begerant</i>	بگرنت

Table 97. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *gerag* ‘to get’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>magerán</i>	مگران	<i>magerén</i>	مگرین
2 nd	<i>mageray</i>	مگرے	<i>magerét</i>	مگریت
3 rd	<i>magipt</i>	مگپیت	<i>magerant</i>	مگرنت

Table 98. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *dayag* ‘to give’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>bedayán</i>	بدئیان	<i>bedayén</i>	بدئیین
2 nd	<i>bedayay</i>	بدئیے	<i>bedayét</i>	بدئییت
3 rd	<i>bedant</i>	بدنت	<i>bedayant</i>	بدئینت

Table 99. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *dayag* ‘to give’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>madayán</i>	مدئیان	<i>madayén</i>	مدئیین
2 nd	<i>madayay</i>	مدئیے	<i>madayét</i>	مدئییت
3 rd	<i>madant</i>	مدنت	<i>madayant</i>	مدئینت

Table 100. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>berawán</i>	برئوان	<i>berawén</i>	برئوین
2 nd	<i>beraway</i>	برئوے	<i>berawét</i>	برئویت
3 rd	<i>berawt</i>	برئوت	<i>berawant</i>	برئونت

Table 101. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>marawán</i>	مرئوان	<i>marawén</i>	مرئوین
2 nd	<i>maraway</i>	مرئوے	<i>marawét</i>	مرئویت
3 rd	<i>marawt</i>	مرئوت	<i>marawant</i>	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	
1 st	<i>byárán</i>	بیاران	<i>byárén</i>	بیارین
2 nd	<i>byáray</i>	بیارے	<i>byárét</i>	بیاریت
3 rd	<i>byárit</i>	بیاریت	<i>byárant</i>	بیارینت

Table 103. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *árag* ‘to bring’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mayárán</i>	مئیاران	<i>mayárén</i>	مئیارین
2 nd	<i>mayáray</i>	مئیارے	<i>mayárét</i>	مئیاریت
3 rd	<i>mayárit</i>	مئیاریت	<i>mayárant</i>	مئیارینت

Table 104. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *áyag* ‘to come’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>byáyán</i>	بیایان	<i>byáén</i>	بیاین
2 nd	<i>byáyay</i>	بیائے	<i>byáét</i>	بیایت
3 rd	<i>byáyit</i>	بیییت	<i>byáyant</i>	بیاینت

Table 105. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *áyag* ‘to come’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mayáyán</i>	مئیایان	<i>mayáén</i>	مئیاین
2 nd	<i>mayáyay</i>	مئیائے	<i>mayáét</i>	مئیایت
3 rd	<i>mayáyit</i>	مئیییت	<i>mayáyant</i>	مئیاینت

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	
1 st	<i>bóshtán</i>	بوشتان	<i>bóshtén</i>	بوشتین
2 nd	<i>bóshtay</i>	بوشتے	<i>bóshtét</i>	بوشتیت
3 rd	<i>bóshtit</i>	بوشتیت	<i>bóshtant</i>	بوشتنت

Table 107. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maóshbán</i>	مه اؤشتان	<i>maóshbén</i>	مه اؤشتين
2 nd	<i>maóshbay</i>	مه اؤشتئے	<i>maóshbét</i>	مه اؤشتيت
3 rd	<i>maóshbit</i>	مه اؤشتيت	<i>maóshbant</i>	مه اؤشتنت

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	
1 st	<i>bellán</i>	بَلَان	<i>bellén</i>	بَلِين
2 nd	<i>bellay</i>	بَلْتئے	<i>bellét</i>	بَلْتيت
3 rd	<i>bellit</i>	بَلْتيت	<i>bellant</i>	بَلْتنت

Table 109. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maylán</i>	مَيْلَان	<i>maylén</i>	مَيْلِين
2 nd	<i>maylay</i>	مَيْلْتئے	<i>maylét</i>	مَيْلْتيت
3 rd	<i>maylit</i>	مَيْلْتيت	<i>maylant</i>	مَيْلْتنت

Table 110. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *eshkonag* ‘to hear’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>beskónán</i>	بِشْكَان	<i>beskónén</i>	بِشْكَين
2 nd	<i>beskónay</i>	بِشْكَنْتئے	<i>beskónét</i>	بِشْكَنْتيت
3 rd	<i>beskont</i>	بِشْكَنْت	<i>beskonant</i>	بِشْكَنْتنت

Table 111. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *eshkonag* ‘to hear’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maeshkónán</i>	مه اِشْكَان	<i>maeshkónén</i>	مه اِشْكَين
2 nd	<i>maeshkónay</i>	مه اِشْكَنْتئے	<i>maeshkónét</i>	مه اِشْكَنْتيت
3 rd	<i>maeshkont</i>	مه اِشْكَنْت	<i>maeshkonant</i>	مه اِشْكَنْتنت

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	
1 st	<i>beenserán</i>	به‌انسران	<i>beenserén</i>	به‌انسریڼ
2 nd	<i>beenseray</i>	به‌انسرئے	<i>beenserét</i>	به‌انسریټ
3 rd	<i>beenserit</i>	به‌انسریټ	<i>beenserant</i>	به‌انسرنټ

Table 113. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *enserag* ‘to relax, to calm down’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maenserán</i>	مه‌انسران	<i>maenserén</i>	مه‌انسریڼ
2 nd	<i>maenseray</i>	مه‌انسرئے	<i>maenserét</i>	مه‌انسریټ
3 rd	<i>maenserit</i>	مه‌انسریټ	<i>maenserant</i>	مه‌انسرنټ

Table 114. Affirmative present-future subjunctive forms of *arhag* ‘to get entangled, to dispute’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>bearhán</i>	به‌آزان	<i>bearhén</i>	به‌آزیڼ
2 nd	<i>bearhay</i>	به‌آژے	<i>bearhét</i>	به‌آژیټ
3 rd	<i>bearhit</i>	به‌آژیټ	<i>bearhant</i>	به‌آزنت

Table 115. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *arhag* ‘to get entangled, to dispute’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maarhán</i>	مه‌آزان	<i>maarhén</i>	مه‌آزیڼ
2 nd	<i>maarhay</i>	مه‌آژے	<i>maarhét</i>	مه‌آژیټ
3 rd	<i>maarhit</i>	مه‌آژیټ	<i>maarhant</i>	مه‌آزنت

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	
1 st	<i>bwarán</i>	بوران	<i>bwarén</i>	بورین
2 nd	<i>bwaray</i>	بورے	<i>bwarét</i>	بوریت
3 rd	<i>bwárt</i>	بوارت	<i>bwarant</i>	بورنت

Table 117. Negated present-future subjunctive forms of *warag* ‘to eat, to drink’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mawarán</i>	مئوران	<i>mawarén</i>	مئورین
2 nd	<i>mawaray</i>	مئورے	<i>mawarét</i>	مئوریت
3 rd	<i>mawárt</i>	مئوارت	<i>mawarant</i>	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.

<i>Mani hayálá máshomá molká berawén.</i>	منی ہئیالا ماشما ملکا برئوین.	‘In my opinion we should go to Balochistan (lit. the land)’
<i>Pa elájá Torbatá marawt, Karáchiá berawt.</i>	پہ الاجا تربتا مرئوت، کراچیا برئوت.	‘For medical treatment he should not go to Turbat, he should go to Karachi.’
<i>Maróchi chásht mawarán.</i>	مرؤچی چاشت مئوران.	‘I should not eat lunch today.’
<i>Jeházay sará Karáchiá berawant.</i>	جهازے سرا کراچیا برئونت.	‘They should go to Karachi by air.’

II. to express doubt or hesitation.

<i>É saporá bekanán?</i>	اے سپرا بکنان؟	‘Should I go on this journey?’
<i>Á ketábán begerán yá magerán?</i>	آ کتابان بگران یا مگران؟	‘Should I buy those books or not?’
<i>Wati sangatáni lógá berawén?</i>	وتی سنگتانی لوگا برئوین؟	‘Should we go home to our friends?’
<i>Pa ché dars bwánét?</i>	پہ چے درس بوانیت؟	‘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...’.

<i>Chosh mabit.</i>	چش مبیٹ.	‘This should not happen.’
<i>Chó mabit ke mardom áshóp bekanant.</i>	چۆ مبیٹ کہ 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)*.

<i>Báyad wati mát o petay habarán bezurit.</i>	باید وتی مات و پتھے هبران بزوریت.	‘He should obey his parents.’
<i>Báyad ent zutt cha edá dar bekapán.</i>	باید انت زوتّ چہ ادا در بکپان.	‘I must leave this place (lit. here) soon.’
<i>Báyad ent é saporá beraway?</i>	باید انت اے سپرا برئوئے؟	‘Do you.SG have to make this journey?’
<i>Nabáyad dróg bebanday.</i>	نباید درۆگ ببندئے.	‘You.SG mustn’t lie.’
<i>Nabáyad ent wati chokkán tahná bellit.</i>	نباید انت وتی چکّان تھنا بلّیت.	‘He should not leave his children alone.’
<i>Báyad naent wati chokkán tahná bellit.</i>	باید نہ انت وتی چکّان تھنا بلّیت.	‘He should not leave his children alone.’

*Báyad wati chokkán
tahná maylit.*

باید وتی چکآن تهنا مئیلیت .

‘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.*

بلکین اے ہال آیان برسیت .

‘Maybe this piece of
news will reach them.’

*Balkén byáén, balkén
mayáén.*

بلکین بیاین، بلکین مئیاین .

‘Maybe we will come,
maybe not.’

*Bepathén, balkén wati
gárén méshá dar
begéjén.*

بیپین، بلکین وتی گارین میشا
در بگیجین .

‘Let’s look around,
maybe we will find
our lost sheep.’

*Balkén embarán molká
shot makanén.*

بلکین امبران مُلکا شت
مکنین .

‘Maybe we cannot go
to Balochistan (lit. the
land) this year.’

*Áyáni sangat balkén
gón áyán gón bebit.*

آیانی سنگت بلکین گون آیان
گون ببیت .

‘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 ہئیال کرت بلکین دُزے .

‘We thought it might be
a thief.’

*Áyáni sangat balkén
gón áyán gón ent.*

آیانی سنگت بلکین گون آیان
گون انت .

‘Maybe their friend is
together with them.’

*Balkén pa gréwagá
kabray sará rawt.*

بلکین پہ گریوگا کبرئے 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.

<i>Harkas shóház bekant, dara géjit.</i>	هرکس شوهاز بکنت، در گنجیت.	‘Whoever seeks will find.’
<i>Harkas dróg mabandit, gón áiá sangatia kanán.</i>	هرکس درۆگ مبندیت، گۆن آییا سنگتی 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).

<i>Man gón áyán gwasht ke Éráná marawant.</i>	من گۆن آیان گوشت که ایرانا مرئونت.	‘I told them not to go to Iran.’
<i>Agan belóthay, man tará barán gón.</i>	اگن بلۆثے، من ترا بران گۆن.	‘If you.SG want, I will take you along.’
<i>Mani gohár bándá kayt ke mára begendit.</i>	منی گهار باندا کثیت که مارا بگندیت.	‘My sister will come to see us tomorrow.’
<i>Átkant tán mára cha é diwáná sahig bekanant.</i>	آتکنت تان مارا چه اے دیوانا سهیگ بکننت.	‘They came to inform us about this social gathering.’
<i>Áiá wati chokk warnáíá sur dát tánke zemmawár bebit.</i>	آییا وتی چک ورناییا سور دات تانکه زمهوار بیبت.	‘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	
1 st	<i>bekanátán</i>	بکنااتان	<i>bekanátén</i>	بکنااتین
2 nd	<i>bekanátay</i>	بکنااتے	<i>bekanátét</i>	بکنااتیت
3 rd	<i>bekanát</i>	بکناات	<i>bekanátant</i>	بکنااتنت

Table 119. Negated optative forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>makanátán</i>	مکنااتان	<i>makanátén</i>	مکنااتین
2 nd	<i>makanátay</i>	مکنااتے	<i>makanátét</i>	مکنااتیت
3 rd	<i>makanát</i>	مکناات	<i>makanátant</i>	مکنااتنت

Table 120. Affirmative optative forms of *gendag* ‘to see’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>begendátán</i>	بگندااتان	<i>begendátén</i>	بگندااتین
2 nd	<i>begendátay</i>	بگندااتے	<i>begendátét</i>	بگندااتیت
3 rd	<i>begendát</i>	بگنداات	<i>begendátant</i>	بگندااتنت

Table 121. Negated optative forms of *gendag* ‘to see’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>magendátán</i>	مگندااتان	<i>magendátén</i>	مگندااتین
2 nd	<i>magendátay</i>	مگندااتے	<i>magendátét</i>	مگندااتیت
3 rd	<i>magendát</i>	مگنداات	<i>magendátant</i>	مگندااتنت

Table 122. Affirmative optative forms of *árag* ‘to bring’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>byárátán</i>	بیاراتان	<i>byárátén</i>	بیاراتین
2 nd	<i>byárátay</i>	بیاراتے	<i>byárátét</i>	بیاراتیت
3 rd	<i>byárát</i>	بیارات	<i>byárátant</i>	بیاراتنت

Table 123. Negated optative forms of *árag* ‘to bring’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mayárátán</i>	مئياراتان	<i>mayárátén</i>	مئياراتين
2 nd	<i>mayárátay</i>	مئياراتئى	<i>mayárátét</i>	مئياراتيت
3 rd	<i>mayárát</i>	مئيارات	<i>mayárátant</i>	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	
1 st	<i>byáyátán</i>	بيياتان	<i>byáyátén</i>	بيياتين
2 nd	<i>byáyátay</i>	بيياتئى	<i>byáyátét</i>	بيياتيت
3 rd	<i>byáyát</i>	بييات	<i>byáyátant</i>	بيياتنت

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	
1 st	<i>mayáyátán</i>	مئياراتان	<i>mayáyátén</i>	مئياراتين
2 nd	<i>mayáyátay</i>	مئياراتئى	<i>mayáyátét</i>	مئياراتيت
3 rd	<i>mayáyát</i>	مئيارات	<i>mayáyátant</i>	مئياراتنت

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	
1 st	<i>(be)bátán</i>	باتان/بياتان	<i>(be)bátén</i>	باتين/بياتين
2 nd	<i>(be)bátay</i>	باتئى/بياتئى	<i>(be)bátét</i>	باتيت/بياتيت
3 rd	<i>(be)bát</i>	بات/بيات	<i>(be)bátant</i>	باتنت/بياتنت

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	
1 st	<i>mabátán</i>	مباتان	<i>mabátén</i>	مباتين
2 nd	<i>mabátay</i>	مباتئى	<i>mabátét</i>	مباتيت
3 rd	<i>mabát</i>	مبات	<i>mabátant</i>	مباتنت

Table 128. Affirmative optative forms of *gerag* ‘to get’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>begerátán</i>	بگراتان	<i>begerátén</i>	بگراتین
2 nd	<i>begerátay</i>	بگراتے	<i>begerátét</i>	بگراتیت
3 rd	<i>begerát</i>	بگرات	<i>begerátant</i>	بگراتنت

Table 129. Negated optative forms of *gerag* ‘to get’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>magerátán</i>	مگراتان	<i>magerátén</i>	مگراتین
2 nd	<i>magerátay</i>	مگراتے	<i>magerátét</i>	مگراتیت
3 rd	<i>magerát</i>	مگرات	<i>magerátant</i>	مگراتنت

Table 130. Affirmative optative forms of *dayag* ‘to give’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>bedayátán</i>	بدئیاتان	<i>bedayátén</i>	بدئیاتین
2 nd	<i>bedayátay</i>	بدئیاتے	<i>bedayátét</i>	بدئیاتیت
3 rd	<i>bedayát</i>	بدئیات	<i>bedayátant</i>	بدئیاتنت

Table 131. Negated optative forms of *dayag* ‘to give’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>madayátán</i>	مدئیاتان	<i>madayátén</i>	مدئیاتین
2 nd	<i>madayátay</i>	مدئیاتے	<i>madayátét</i>	مدئیاتیت
3 rd	<i>madayát</i>	مدئیات	<i>madayátant</i>	مدئیاتنت

Table 132. Affirmative optative forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>berawátán</i>	برئواتان	<i>berawátén</i>	برئواتین
2 nd	<i>berawátay</i>	برئواتے	<i>berawátét</i>	برئواتیت
3 rd	<i>berawát</i>	برئوات	<i>berawátant</i>	برئواتنت

Table 133. Negated optative forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>marawátán</i>	مرئواتان	<i>marawátén</i>	مرئواتین
2 nd	<i>marawátay</i>	مرئواتے	<i>marawátét</i>	مرئواتیت
3 rd	<i>marawát</i>	مرئوات	<i>marawátant</i>	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.

<i>Balóchi zobán sabz bát.</i>	بلوچی زبان سبز بات.	‘May the Balochi language prosper (lit. be green).’
<i>Hodá tará chokké bedayát.</i>	هدا ترا چکے بدئیات.	‘May God give you.SG a child.’
<i>Cha gamán dur bátay.</i>	چه گمان دور باتئے.	‘May you.SG be free (lit. far away) from sorrows.’
<i>Tai dozhmen pashal bátant.</i>	تئی دژمن پشل باتنت.	‘May your.SG enemies be ashamed.’
<i>Dozhmenáni molk hechbar ábád mabát.</i>	دژمنانی مُلك 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.

Table 134. Affirmative and negated imperative forms of some common verbs

Verb	Affirmative imperative		Negated imperative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>kanag</i> 'to do'	<i>bekan</i> بکن	<i>bekanét</i> بکنیت	<i>makan</i> مکن	<i>makanét</i> مکنیت
<i>gendag</i> 'to see'	<i>begend</i> بگند	<i>begendét</i> بگندیت	<i>magend</i> مگند	<i>magendét</i> مگندیت
<i>árag</i> 'to bring'	<i>byár</i> بیار	<i>byárét</i> بیاریت	<i>mayár</i> مئیار	<i>mayárét</i> مئیاریت
<i>áyag</i> 'to come'	<i>byá</i> بیا	<i>byáét</i> بیایت	<i>mayá</i> مئیا	<i>mayáét</i> مئیایت
<i>óshtag</i> 'to stand up'	<i>bósht</i> بۆشت	<i>bóshtét</i> بۆشتیت	<i>maósht</i> مه اوشت	<i>maóshtét</i> مه اوشتیت
<i>ellag</i> 'to allow, to let'	<i>bell</i> بَل	<i>bellét</i> بَلّیت	<i>mayl</i> مئیل	<i>maylét</i> مئیلیت
<i>barag</i> 'to take'	<i>bebar</i> بیر	<i>bebarét</i> بیریّت	<i>mabar</i> مبیر	<i>mabarét</i> مبیریّت
<i>warag</i> 'to eat, to drink'	<i>bwar</i> بۆر	<i>bwarét</i> بۆریّت	<i>mawar</i> مئور	<i>mawarét</i> مئوریّت
<i>bayag</i> 'to be, to become'	<i>bebay</i> ببئے	<i>bebét</i> ببیت	<i>mabay</i> مبئے	<i>mabét</i> مبیت
<i>gerag</i> 'to get'	<i>beger</i> بگر	<i>begerét</i> بگریّت	<i>mager</i> مگر	<i>magerét</i> مگریّت
<i>dayag</i> 'to give'	<i>beday</i> بدئے	<i>bedayét</i> بدئیت	<i>maday</i> مدئے	<i>madayét</i> مدئیت
<i>rawag</i> 'to go'	<i>beraw</i> برئو	<i>berawét</i> برئویت	<i>maraw</i> مرئو	<i>marawét</i> مرئویت

4.4.2.4.2. Uses of imperative forms

Imperative forms are used for commands to the hearer(s) (2nd person).

<i>É ketábá bwán.</i>	اے کتابا بوان.	‘Read this book.’
<i>Wati chokká besambál.</i>	وتی چکّا بسمبال.	‘Look after your.SG child.’
<i>Drachká magoddhét.</i>	درچکا مگڈّیت.	‘Don’t cut down the tree.’
<i>Johd kanét zutter berasét.</i>	جهد کنیت زوتتر برسیت.	‘Try to come as soon as possible.’
<i>É warákán dawr maday.</i>	اے وراکان دتور مدھے.	‘Don’t throw away this food.’
<i>Radén káré makan.</i>	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	
1 st	<i>shotán</i>	شٚتان	<i>shotén</i>	شٚتٚین
2 nd	<i>shotay</i>	شٚتٚے	<i>shotét</i>	شٚتٚیت
3 rd	<i>shot</i>	شٚت	<i>shotant</i>	شٚتنت

Table 136. Negated past perfective forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nashotán</i>	نٚشٚتان	<i>nashotén</i>	نٚشٚتٚین
2 nd	<i>nashotay</i>	نٚشٚتٚے	<i>nashotét</i>	نٚشٚتٚیت
3 rd	<i>nashot</i>	نٚشٚت	<i>nashotant</i>	نٚشٚتنت

Table 137. Affirmative past perfective forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>bután</i>	بوتان	<i>butén</i>	بوتٚین
2 nd	<i>butay</i>	بوتٚے	<i>butét</i>	بوتٚیت
3 rd	<i>but</i>	بوت	<i>butant</i>	بوتنت

Table 138. Negated past perfective forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nabután</i>	نبوتان	<i>nabutén</i>	نبوتین
2 nd	<i>nabutay</i>	نبوتے	<i>nabutét</i>	نبوتیت
3 rd	<i>nabut</i>	نبوت	<i>nabutant</i>	نبوتنت

Table 139. Affirmative past perfective forms of *áyag* ‘to come’, past stem *átk*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>átkán</i>	آتکان	<i>átkén</i>	آتکین
2 nd	<i>átkay</i>	آتکے	<i>átkét</i>	آتکیت
3 rd	<i>átk</i>	آتک	<i>átkant</i>	آتکنت

Table 140. Negated past perfective forms of *áyag* ‘to come’, past stem *átk*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nayátkán</i>	نئیاتکان	<i>nayátkén</i>	نئیاتکین
2 nd	<i>nayátkay</i>	نئیاتکے	<i>nayátkét</i>	نئیاتکیت
3 rd	<i>nayátk</i>	نئیاتک	<i>nayátkant</i>	نئیاتکنت

Table 141. Affirmative past perfective forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’, past stem *óshtát*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>óshtátán</i>	اوشتاتان	<i>óshtátén</i>	اوشتاتین
2 nd	<i>óshtátay</i>	اوشتاتے	<i>óshtátét</i>	اوشتاتیت
3 rd	<i>óshtát</i>	اوشتات	<i>óshtátant</i>	اوشتاتنت

Table 142. Negated past perfective forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’, past stem *óshtát*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>naóshtátán</i>	نہ اوشتاتان	<i>naóshtátén</i>	نہ اوشتاتین
2 nd	<i>naóshtátay</i>	نہ اوشتاتے	<i>naóshtátét</i>	نہ اوشتاتیت
3 rd	<i>naóshtát</i>	نہ اوشتات	<i>naóshtátant</i>	نہ اوشتاتنت

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	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	من کرت/کرتنت	<i>má</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	ما کرت/کرتنت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	تتو کرت/کرتنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	شما کرت/کرتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	إشیا/آییا کرت/کرتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	إشان/آیان کرت/کرتنت

Table 144. Negated past perfective forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	من نکرت/نکرتنت	<i>má nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	ما نکرت/نکرتنت
2 nd	<i>taw nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	تتو نکرت/نکرتنت	<i>shomá nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	شما نکرت/نکرتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>nakort/na-</i> <i>kortant</i>	إشیا/آییا نکرت/نکرتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>nakort/nakortant</i>	إشان/آیان نکرت/نکرتنت

Table 145. Affirmative past perfective forms of *barag* ‘to take’, past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man bort/</i> <i>bortant</i>	من برت/برتنت	<i>má bort/</i> <i>bortant</i>	ما برت/برتنت
2 nd	<i>taw bort/</i> <i>bortant</i>	تتو برت/برتنت	<i>shomá bort/</i> <i>bortant</i>	شما برت/برتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>bort/bortant</i>	إشیا/آییا برت/برتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>bort/bortant</i>	إشان/آیان برت/برتنت

Table 146. Negated past perfective forms of *barag* ‘to take’, past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man nabort/ nabortant</i>	من نبرت/نبرتنت	<i>má nabort/ nabortant</i>	ما نبرت/نبرتنت
2 nd	<i>taw nabort/ nabortant</i>	تتو نبرت/نبرتنت	<i>shomá nabort/ nabortant</i>	شما نبرت/نبرتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nabort/nabortant</i>	إشيا/آييا نبرت/نبرتنت	<i>eshán/ayán nabort/nabortant</i>	إشان/آيان نبرت/نبرتنت

Table 147. Affirmative past perfective forms of *árag* ‘to bring’, past stem *áwort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man áwort/áwortant</i>	من آورت/آورتنت	<i>má áwort/áwortant</i>	ما آورت/آورتنت
2 nd	<i>taw áwort/áwortant</i>	تتو آورت/آورتنت	<i>shomá áwort/áwortant</i>	شما آورت/آورتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá áwort/áwortant</i>	إشيا/آييا آورت/آورتنت	<i>eshán/ayán áwort/áwortant</i>	إشان/آيان آورت/آورتنت

Table 148. Negated past perfective forms of *árag* ‘to bring’, past stem *áwort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	من نغياورت/ نغياورتنت	<i>má nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	ما نغياورت/ نغياورتنت
2 nd	<i>taw nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	تتو نغياورت/ نغياورتنت	<i>shomá nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	شما نغياورت/ نغياورتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	إشيا/آييا نغياورت/ نغياورتنت	<i>eshán/ayán nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	إشان/آيان نغياورت/ نغياورتنت

Table 149. Affirmative past perfective forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man esht/</i> <i>eshtant</i>	من اِشت/اِشتنت	<i>má esht/eshtant</i>	ما اِشت/اِشتنت
2 nd	<i>taw esht/</i> <i>eshtant</i>	تتو اِشت/اِشتنت	<i>shomá esht/</i> <i>eshtant</i>	شما اِشت/اِشتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>esht/eshtant</i>	اِشیا/اِییا اِشت/اِشتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>esht/eshtant</i>	اِشان/اِیان اِشت/اِشتنت

Table 150. Negated past perfective forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	من نه اِشت/ نه اِشتنت	<i>má naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	ما نه اِشت/ نه اِشتنت
2 nd	<i>taw naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	تتو نه اِشت/ نه اِشتنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	شما نه اِشت/ نه اِشتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	اِشیا/اِییا نه اِشت/ نه اِشتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	اِشان/اِیان نه اِشت/ نه اِشتنت

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.

<i>Wahdé taw maná</i> <i>lóthet, man zutt átkán.</i>	وهدے تتو منا لوٲت، من زوٲ آٲکان.	‘When you.SG called me, I came quickly.’
<i>Taw zutt mazan butay.</i>	تتو زوٲ مزن بوٲے.	‘You.SG grew up quickly.’
<i>Wati pocchi gwará</i> <i>kortant o dém pa</i> <i>shahrá shot.</i>	وتی پوچی گورا کرتنت و دیم په شهر اِشت.	‘He put on his clothes and went towards town.’
<i>Má é habar naeshkot.</i>	ما اے هبر نه اِشکت.	‘We did not hear this (lit. this word).’
<i>Shomá chiá é saporá</i> <i>wati sangat nabortant</i> <i>gón?</i>	شما چی اے سپرا وتی سنگت نبرتنت گون؟	‘Why didn’t you.PL take your friends along on this journey?’

*Chokk drachkáni sará
sar kaptant o baresh
sest o wártant.*

چُک درچکانی سرا سر کپتنت
و برش سست 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, áiyay
passawá maday.*

اگن کسینا ترا بد و رد گوشت،
آییئے پستوا مدئیئے.

‘If someone says some
bad things to you.SG,
don’t answer him.’

*Wahdé edá rasetay,
mára hál beday.*

وهدے ادا رستئے، مارا حال
بدئیئے.

‘Tell us when you.SG
arrive here.’

*Gón wati sangatá
habar kan, balkén átk.*

گۆن وتی سنگتا هبر کن،
بلکین 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 لوگیا مهمان بیت،
اؤدئے ورگان ایب مدئییت.

‘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 بلوئیئے، ما ادا په وت
لوگے بندین.

‘If you.SG want, we
will build a house for
ourselves here.’

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	
1 st	= <i>a shotán</i>	شَتَان َ=	= <i>a shotén</i>	شَتِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a shotay</i>	شَتَي َ=	= <i>a shotét</i>	شَتَيْت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a shot</i>	شَت َ=	= <i>a shotant</i>	شَتنت َ=

Table 152. Negated past imperfective forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nashotán</i>	نَشْتَان َ=	= <i>a nashotén</i>	نَشْتِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nashotay</i>	نَشْتَي َ=	= <i>a nashotét</i>	نَشْتَيْت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nashot</i>	نَشْت َ=	= <i>a nashotant</i>	نَشْتنت َ=

Table 153. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a bután</i>	بوتَان َ=	= <i>a butén</i>	بوتِين َ=
2 nd	= <i>a butay</i>	بوتَي َ=	= <i>a butét</i>	بوتَيْت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a but</i>	بوت َ=	= <i>a butant</i>	بوتنت َ=

Table 154. Negated past imperfective forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nabután</i>	نَبوتان َ=	= <i>a nabutén</i>	نَبوتین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nabutay</i>	نَبوتے َ=	= <i>a nabutét</i>	نَبوتیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nabut</i>	نَبوت َ=	= <i>a nabutant</i>	نَبوتنت َ=

Table 155. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *áyag* ‘to come’, past stem *átk*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a átkán</i>	آتکان َ=	= <i>a átkén</i>	آتکین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a átkay</i>	آتکے َ=	= <i>a átkét</i>	آتکیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a átk</i>	آتک َ=	= <i>a átkant</i>	آتکنت َ=

Table 156. Negated past imperfective forms of *áyag* ‘to come’, past stem *átk*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a nayátkán</i>	نَیَاتکان َ=	= <i>a nayátkén</i>	نَیَاتکین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a nayátkay</i>	نَیَاتکے َ=	= <i>a nayátkét</i>	نَیَاتکیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a nayátk</i>	نَیَاتک َ=	= <i>a nayátkant</i>	نَیَاتکنت َ=

Table 157. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’, past stem *óshtát*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a óshtátán</i>	اُشْتَاتان َ=	= <i>a óshtátén</i>	اُشْتَاتین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a óshtátay</i>	اُشْتَاتے َ=	= <i>a óshtátét</i>	اُشْتَاتیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a óshtát</i>	اُشْتَات َ=	= <i>a óshtátant</i>	اُشْتَاتنت َ=

Table 158. Negated past imperfective forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’, past stem *óshtát*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	= <i>a naóshtátán</i>	نَہَاُشْتَاتان َ=	= <i>a naóshtátén</i>	نَہَاُشْتَاتین َ=
2 nd	= <i>a naóshtátay</i>	نَہَاُشْتَاتے َ=	= <i>a naóshtátét</i>	نَہَاُشْتَاتیت َ=
3 rd	= <i>a naóshtát</i>	نَہَاُشْتَات َ=	= <i>a naóshtátant</i>	نَہَاُشْتَاتنت َ=

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 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	
1 st	<i>mana</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	مَنْ كَرْت/كَرْتَنْت	<i>má</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	مَا كَرْت/كَرْتَنْت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	تَقُو كَرْت/كَرْتَنْت	<i>shomá</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	شَمَا كَرْت/كَرْتَنْت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	إِشْيَا/أَيِّيَا كَرْت/كَرْتَنْت	<i>eshána/ayána</i> <i>kort/kortant</i>	إِشَانَ/أَيَانَ كَرْت/كَرْتَنْت

Table 160. Negated past imperfective forms of *kanag* 'to do', past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mana nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	مَنْ نَكَرْت/نَكَرْتَنْت	<i>má nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	مَا نَكَرْت/نَكَرْتَنْت
2 nd	<i>taw nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	تَقُو نَكَرْت/نَكَرْتَنْت	<i>shomá nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	شَمَا نَكَرْت/نَكَرْتَنْت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>nakort/</i> <i>nakortant</i>	إِشْيَا/أَيِّيَا نَكَرْت/نَكَرْتَنْت	<i>eshána/ayána</i> <i>nakort/nakortant</i>	إِشَانَ/أَيَانَ نَكَرْت/نَكَرْتَنْت

Table 161. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *barag* 'to take', past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mana bort/</i> <i>bortant</i>	مَنْ بَرْت/بَرْتَنْت	<i>má bort/</i> <i>bortant</i>	مَا بَرْت/بَرْتَنْت
2 nd	<i>taw bort/</i> <i>bortant</i>	تَقُو بَرْت/بَرْتَنْت	<i>shomá bort/</i> <i>bortant</i>	شَمَا بَرْت/بَرْتَنْت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>bort/bortant</i>	إِشْيَا/أَيِّيَا بَرْت/بَرْتَنْت	<i>eshána/ayána</i> <i>bort/bortant</i>	إِشَانَ/أَيَانَ بَرْت/بَرْتَنْت

Table 162. Negated past imperfective forms of *barag* 'to take', past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mana nabort/</i> <i>nabortant</i>	مَنْ نَبَرْت/نَبَرْتَنْت	<i>má nabort/</i> <i>nabortant</i>	مَا نَبَرْت/نَبَرْتَنْت
2 nd	<i>taw nabort/</i> <i>nabortant</i>	تَقُو نَبَرْت/نَبَرْتَنْت	<i>shomá nabort/</i> <i>nabortant</i>	شَمَا نَبَرْت/نَبَرْتَنْت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>nabort/</i> <i>nabortant</i>	إِشْيَا/أَيِّيَا نَبَرْت/نَبَرْتَنْت	<i>eshána/ayána</i> <i>nabort/</i> <i>nabortant</i>	إِشَانَ/أَيَانَ نَبَرْت/نَبَرْتَنْت

Table 163. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *árag* ‘to bring’, past stem *áwort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mana áwort/ áwortant</i>	مَنْ أَوْرَتَ/أَوْرَتَت	<i>má áwort/ áwortant</i>	مَا أَوْرَتَ/أَوْرَتَت
2 nd	<i>taw áwort/ áwortant</i>	تَوَّ أَوْرَتَ/أَوْرَتَت	<i>shomá áwort/ áwortant</i>	شَمَا أَوْرَتَ/أَوْرَتَت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá áwort/áwortant</i>	إِشِيَا/أَيِيَا أَوْرَتَ/أَوْرَتَت	<i>eshána/áyána áwort/áwortant</i>	إِشَانَ/أَيَانَ أَوْرَتَ/أَوْرَتَت

Table 164. Negated past imperfective forms of *árag* ‘to bring’, past stem *áwort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mana nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	مَنْ نَعْيَاوْرَتَ/ نَعْيَاوْرَتَت	<i>má nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	مَا نَعْيَاوْرَتَ/ نَعْيَاوْرَتَت
2 nd	<i>taw nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	تَوَّ نَعْيَاوْرَتَ/ نَعْيَاوْرَتَت	<i>shomá nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	شَمَا نَعْيَاوْرَتَ/ نَعْيَاوْرَتَت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	إِشِيَا/أَيِيَا نَعْيَاوْرَتَ/ نَعْيَاوْرَتَت	<i>eshána/áyána nayáwort/ nayáwortant</i>	إِشَانَ/أَيَانَ نَعْيَاوْرَتَ/ نَعْيَاوْرَتَت

Table 165. Affirmative past imperfective forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mana esht/ eshtant</i>	مَنْ إِشْتَ/إِشْتَت	<i>má esht/ eshtant</i>	مَا إِشْتَ/إِشْتَت
2 nd	<i>taw esht/ eshtant</i>	تَوَّ إِشْتَ/إِشْتَت	<i>shomá esht/ eshtant</i>	شَمَا إِشْتَ/إِشْتَت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá esht/eshtant</i>	إِشِيَا/أَيِيَا إِشْتَ/إِشْتَت	<i>eshána/áyána esht/eshtant</i>	إِشَانَ/أَيَانَ إِشْتَ/إِشْتَت

Table 166. Negated past imperfective forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mana naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	من نه‌اشت/ نه‌اشتنت	<i>má naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	ما نه‌اشت/ نه‌اشتنت
2 nd	<i>taw naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	تتو نه‌اشت/ نه‌اشتنت	<i>shomá naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	شما نه‌اشت/ نه‌اشتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	اشیا/آیا نه‌اشت/ نه‌اشتنت	<i>eshána/áyána</i> <i>naesht/</i> <i>naeshtant</i>	إشان/آیان نه‌اشت/ نه‌اشتنت

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.

<i>Pári mani brátá</i> <i>sajjahén Éráná tarr o</i> <i>garda kort.</i>	پاری منی براتا سجھین ایرانا تر و گرد کرت.	‘Last year my brother was travelling around the whole of Iran.’
<i>Cha man har róch</i> <i>bázén jostesha kort.</i>	چه من هر رۆچ بازین جُستیش کرت.	‘They asked me a lot of questions every day.’
<i>Áyán shap o róch</i> <i>shahrá negahpánia</i> <i>kort.</i>	آیان شب و رۆچ شهرا نگهپانی کرت.	‘They kept watch in town day and night.’
<i>Bádsháh shahr pa</i> <i>shahr o métag pa</i> <i>métaga tarret.</i>	بادشاه شهر په شهر و میتگ په میتگ تررت.	‘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.

<i>Agan morgé</i> <i>bebuténán, durdasta</i> <i>shotán.</i>	اگن مرگه بیوتینان، دوردست شتان.	‘If I had been a bird, I would have gone far away.’
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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 سپریش 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 وه نگوشت؟ '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 مزین جشنے گپتی. 'He threw a big party every week.'

Bádsháhá har sál pa wati sálgerahay dárágá bázén mehmáné lótháént. بادشاهها هر سال په وتی سالگرهته دارگا بازین مهمانے لوټائنت. '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 چُک هر رُچ چه اسکولا جست و شت. 'This child fled (lit. fled and went) from school every day.'

*Mani brát har randá
ke átk, pa man thékié
áworti.*

منی برات هر رندا كه آتك، په
من ٹيكيے 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.*

تئی هبر آييا هم اِشكت .

‘Also, he heard what
you.SG said (lit. your
words).’

Taw shotay?

تتو شتئے؟

‘Did you.SG go (as a
habit)?’

Á dega shotant.

آ دگه شتنت .

‘The other [ones]
went.’

*May lógá bégáhán kay
átk?*

مئے لوگا بيگهان كئے آتك؟

‘Who came to our
home in the
afternoons?’

*Áyán har shap edá ché
kort?*

آيان هر شپ ادا چے كرت؟

‘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	
1 st	<i>beshoténán</i>	بَشْتِينَان	<i>beshoténén</i>	بَشْتِينِين
2 nd	<i>beshoténay</i>	بَشْتِينَيَّ	<i>beshoténét</i>	بَشْتِينِيَّت
3 rd	<i>beshotén</i>	بَشْتِين	<i>beshoténant</i>	بَشْتِينِنْت

Table 168. Negated past subjunctive forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mashoténán</i>	مشتیان	<i>mashoténén</i>	مشتیان
2 nd	<i>mashoténay</i>	مشتیئے	<i>mashoténét</i>	مشتییت
3 rd	<i>mashotén</i>	مشتین	<i>mashoténant</i>	مشتینت

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	
1 st	<i>(be)buténán</i>	بوتیان/بوتینان	<i>(be)buténén</i>	بوتیان/بوتینان
2 nd	<i>(be)buténay</i>	بوتیئے/بوتینئے	<i>(be)buténét</i>	بوتییت/بوتینییت
3 rd	<i>(be)butén</i>	بوتین/بوتین	<i>(be)buténant</i>	بوتینت/بوتیننت

Table 170. Negated past subjunctive forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past stem *but*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>mabuténán</i>	مبوتیان	<i>mabuténén</i>	مبوتیان
2 nd	<i>mabuténay</i>	مبوتیئے	<i>mabuténét</i>	مبوتییت
3 rd	<i>mabutén</i>	مبوتین	<i>mabuténant</i>	مبوتینت

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	
1 st	<i>byátkénán</i>	بیاتکیان	<i>byátkénén</i>	بیاتکیان
2 nd	<i>byátkénay</i>	بیاتکیئے	<i>byátkénét</i>	بیاتکییت
3 rd	<i>byátkén</i>	بیاتکین	<i>byátkénant</i>	بیاتکینت

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	
1 st	<i>mayátkénán</i>	معیاتکیان	<i>mayátkénén</i>	معیاتکیان
2 nd	<i>mayátkénay</i>	معیاتکیئے	<i>mayátkénét</i>	معیاتکییت
3 rd	<i>mayátkén</i>	معیاتکین	<i>mayátkénant</i>	معیاتکینت

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	
1 st	<i>bóshtáténán</i>	بۆشتاتینان	<i>bóshtáténén</i>	بۆشتاتینیین
2 nd	<i>bóshtáténay</i>	بۆشتاتیئە	<i>bóshtáténét</i>	بۆشتاتیئییت
3 rd	<i>bóshtátén</i>	بۆشتاتین	<i>bóshtáténant</i>	بۆشتاتیینت

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	
1 st	<i>maóshtáténán</i>	مەاۆشتاتینان	<i>maóshtáténén</i>	مەاۆشتاتیینیین
2 nd	<i>maóshtáténay</i>	مەاۆشتاتیئە	<i>maóshtáténét</i>	مەاۆشتاتیئییت
3 rd	<i>maóshtátén</i>	مەاۆشتاتین	<i>maóshtáténant</i>	مەاۆشتاتیینت

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	
1 st	<i>man bekortén/ bekorténant</i>	من بکرتین/ بکرتینینت	<i>má bekortén/ bekorténant</i>	ما بکرتین/ بکرتینینت
2 nd	<i>taw bekortén/ bekorténant</i>	تەو بکرتین/ بکرتینینت	<i>shomá bekortén/ bekorténant</i>	شما بکرتین/ بکرتینینت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá bekortén/ bekorténant</i>	یشیا/اییا بکرتین/ بکرتینینت	<i>eshán/áyán bekortén/ bekorténant</i>	یشان/ایان بکرتین/ بکرتینینت

Table 176. Negated past subjunctive forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man makortén/ makorténant</i>	من مكرتين / مكرتيننت	<i>má makortén/ makorténant</i>	ما مكرتين / مكرتيننت
2 nd	<i>taw makortén/ makorténant</i>	تتو مكرتين / مكرتيننت	<i>shomá makortén/ makorténant</i>	شما مكرتين / مكرتيننت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá makortén/ makorténant</i>	إشيا/آييا مكرتين / مكرتيننت	<i>eshán/áyán makortén/ makorténant</i>	إشان/آيان مكرتين مكرتيننت /

Table 177. Affirmative past subjunctive forms of *barag* ‘to take’, past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man bebortén/ beborténant</i>	من ببرتین / ببرتیننت	<i>má bebortén/ beborténant</i>	ما ببرتین / ببرتیننت
2 nd	<i>taw bebortén/ beborténant</i>	تتو ببرتین / ببرتیننت	<i>shomá bebortén/ beborténant</i>	شما ببرتین / ببرتیننت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá bebortén/ beborténant</i>	إشيا/آييا ببرتین / ببرتیننت	<i>eshán/áyán bebortén/ beborténant</i>	إشان/آيان ببرتین / ببرتیننت

Table 178. Negated past subjunctive forms of *barag* ‘to take’, past stem *bort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man mabortén/ maborténant</i>	من مبرتین / مبرتیننت	<i>má mabortén/ maborténant</i>	ما مبرتین / مبرتیننت
2 nd	<i>taw mabortén/ maborténant</i>	تتو مبرتین / مبرتیننت	<i>shomá mabortén/ maborténant</i>	شما مبرتین / مبرتیننت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá mabortén/ maborténant</i>	إشيا/آييا مبرتین / مبرتیننت	<i>eshán/áyán mabortén/ maborténant</i>	إشان/آيان 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	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>byáwortén/</i> <i>byáworténant</i>	من بیاورتین / بیاورتیننت	<i>má byáwortén/</i> <i>byáworténant</i>	ما بیاورتین / بیاورتیننت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>byáwortén/</i> <i>byáworténant</i>	تتو بیاورتین / بیاورتیننت	<i>shomá byáwortén/</i> <i>byáworténant</i>	شما بیاورتین / بیاورتیننت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>byáwortén/</i> <i>byáworténant</i>	إشیا/آیا بیاورتین / بیاورتیننت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>byáwortén/</i> <i>byáworténant</i>	إشان/آیان بیاورتین / بیاورتیننت

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	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>mayáwortén/</i> <i>mayáworténant</i>	من مئیاورتین / مئیاورتیننت	<i>má</i> <i>mayáwortén/</i> <i>mayáworténant</i>	ما مئیاورتین / مئیاورتیننت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>mayáwortén/</i> <i>mayáworténant</i>	تتو مئیاورتین / مئیاورتیننت	<i>shomá</i> <i>mayáwortén/</i> <i>mayáworténant</i>	شما مئیاورتین / مئیاورتیننت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>mayáwortén/</i> <i>mayáworténant</i>	إشیا/آیا مئیاورتین / مئیاورتیننت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>mayáwortén/</i> <i>mayáworténant</i>	إشان/آیان مئیاورتین / مئیاورتیننت

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	
1 st	<i>man beshtén/</i> <i>beshténant</i>	من بشتین / بشتیننت	<i>má beshtén/</i> <i>beshténant</i>	ما بشتین / بشتیننت
2 nd	<i>taw beshtén/</i> <i>beshténant</i>	تتو بشتین / بشتیننت	<i>shomá beshtén/</i> <i>beshténant</i>	شما بشتین / بشتیننت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>beshtén/</i> <i>beshténant</i>	إشیا/آیا بشتین / بشتیننت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>beshtén/</i> <i>beshténant</i>	إشان/آیان بشتین / بشتیننت

Table 182. Negated past subjunctive forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past stem *esht*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man maeshtén/ maeshténant</i>	من مه‌اشتیین / مه‌اشتیینت	<i>má maeshtén/ maeshténant</i>	ما مه‌اشتیین / مه‌اشتیینت
2 nd	<i>taw maeshtén/ maeshténant</i>	تتو مه‌اشتیین / مه‌اشتیینت	<i>shomá maeshtén/ maeshténant</i>	شما مه‌اشتیین / مه‌اشتیینت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá maeshtén/ maeshténant</i>	ایشیا/آییا / مه‌اشتیین / مه‌اشتیینت	<i>eshán/áyán maeshtén/ maeshténant</i>	إشان/آیان / مه‌اشتیین / مه‌اشتیینت

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 báyard ent é chokk
besambáletén.*

تتو باید إنت اے چُک
بسمبالتین .

‘You.SG should have taken care of this child.’

*Agan cha man jostet
bekortén, man tará
gwashtagat.*

اگن چه من جُستیت بکرتین ،
من ترا گوشتگات .

‘If you.SG had asked me, I would have told you.’

*Agan é mard tachkén
mardomé butén, gón
shomá drógi
nabastagat.*

اگن اے مرد تچکین مردمه
بوتین، گون شما دروگی
نبستگات .

‘If that man had been a genuine person, he would not have lied to you.PL.’

*Sharter at agan á
mayátkénant.*

شرتر ات اگن آ مئیاتکیننت .

‘It would have been better if they had not come.’

*Drégatá má molká
beshoténén.*

دریگتا ما مُلکا بشتینین .

‘I wish we would have gone to Balochistan (lit. the land).’

The past subjunctive form is also used in general relative clauses that may or may not have happened in the past.

Harkas pa gendoká هرکس په گندکا بیاتکین، آییآ
byátkén, áiá wasshátka وش آتک کرت.
kort. ‘He welcomed whoever came to see him.’

Harkasá belóthetén, هرکسا بلوئیتین، شتی کرت.
shotia kort. ‘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 گندئی بشتیئی شَر آت.
sharr at. ‘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	
1 st	<i>shotagán</i>	شتگان	<i>shotagén</i>	شتگین
2 nd	<i>shotagay</i>	شتگے	<i>shotagét</i>	شتگیت
3 rd	<i>shotag</i>	شتگ	<i>shotagant</i>	شتگ آت

Table 184. Negated present perfect forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past participle *shotag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nashotagán</i>	نشتگان	<i>nashotagén</i>	نشتگین
2 nd	<i>nashotagay</i>	نشتگئے	<i>nashotagét</i>	نشتگیت
3 rd	<i>nashotag</i>	نشتگ	<i>nashotagant</i>	نشتگانٹ

Table 185. Affirmative present perfect forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past participle *butag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>butagán</i>	بوتگان	<i>butagén</i>	بوتگین
2 nd	<i>butagay</i>	بوتگئے	<i>butagét</i>	بوتگیت
3 rd	<i>butag</i>	بوتگ	<i>butagant</i>	بوتگانٹ

Table 186. Negated present perfect forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past participle *butag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nabutagán</i>	نبوتگان	<i>nabutagén</i>	نبوتگین
2 nd	<i>nabutagay</i>	نبوتگئے	<i>nabutagét</i>	نبوتگیت
3 rd	<i>nabutag</i>	نبوتگ	<i>nabutagant</i>	نبوتگانٹ

Table 187. Affirmative present perfect forms of *áyag* ‘to come’, past participle *átkag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>átkagán</i>	آتکگان	<i>átkagén</i>	آتکگین
2 nd	<i>átkagay</i>	آتکگئے	<i>átkagét</i>	آتکگیت
3 rd	<i>átkag</i>	آتکگ	<i>átkagant</i>	آتکگانٹ

Table 188. Negated present perfect forms of *áyag* ‘to come’, past participle *átkag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nayátkagán</i>	نئیاتکگان	<i>nayátkagén</i>	نئیاتکگین
2 nd	<i>nayátkagay</i>	نئیاتکگئے	<i>nayátkagét</i>	نئیاتکگیت
3 rd	<i>nayátkag</i>	نئیاتکگ	<i>nayátkagant</i>	نئیاتکگانٹ

Table 189. Affirmative present perfect forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’, past participle *óshtátag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>óshtátagán</i>	اؤشتاتگان	<i>óshtátagén</i>	اؤشتاتگین
2 nd	<i>óshtátagay</i>	اؤشتاتگئے	<i>óshtátagét</i>	اؤشتاتگیت
3 rd	<i>óshtátag</i>	اؤشتاتگ	<i>óshtátagant</i>	اؤشتاتگ أنت

Table 190. Negated present perfect forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’, past participle *óshtátag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>naóshtátagán</i>	نہ اؤشتاتگان	<i>naóshtátagén</i>	نہ اؤشتاتگین
2 nd	<i>naóshtátagay</i>	نہ اؤشتاتگئے	<i>naóshtátagét</i>	نہ اؤشتاتگیت
3 rd	<i>naóshtátag</i>	نہ اؤشتاتگ	<i>naóshtátagant</i>	نہ اؤشتاتگ أنت

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	
1 st	<i>man kortag/ kortagant</i>	من کرتگ/ کرتگ أنت	<i>má kortag/ kortagant</i>	ما کرتگ/ کرتگ أنت
2 nd	<i>taw kortag/ kortagant</i>	تتو کرتگ/ کرتگ أنت	<i>shomá kortag/ kortagant</i>	شما کرتگ/ کرتگ أنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá kortag/ kortagant</i>	إشیا/آییا کرتگ/ کرتگ أنت	<i>eshán/áyán kortag/ kortagant</i>	إشان/آیان کرتگ/ کرتگ أنت

Table 192. Negated present perfect forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past participle *kortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man nakortag/ nakortagant</i>	من نكرتگ/ نكرتگ أنت	<i>má nakortag/ nakortagant</i>	ما نكرتگ/ نكرتگ أنت
2 nd	<i>taw nakortag/ nakortagant</i>	تتو نكرتگ/ نكرتگ أنت	<i>shomá nakortag/ nakortagant</i>	شما نكرتگ/ نكرتگ أنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nakortag/ nakortagant</i>	إشیا/آییا نكرتگ/ نكرتگ أنت	<i>eshán/áyán nakortag/ nakortagant</i>	إشان/آیان نكرتگ/ نكرتگ أنت

Table 193. Affirmative present perfect forms of *barag* ‘to take’, past participle *bortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man bortag/ bortagant</i>	من برتگ/ برتگ أنت	<i>má bortag/ bortagant</i>	ما برتگ/ برتگ أنت
2 nd	<i>taw bortag/ bortagant</i>	تتو برتگ/ برتگ أنت	<i>shomá bortag/ bortagant</i>	شما برتگ/ برتگ أنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá bortag/ bortagant</i>	إشیا/آییا برتگ/ برتگ أنت	<i>eshán/áyán bortag/ bortagant</i>	إشان/آیان برتگ/ برتگ أنت

Table 194. Negated present perfect forms of *barag* ‘to take’, past participle *bortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man nabortag/ nabortagant</i>	من نبرتگ/ نبرتگ أنت	<i>má nabortag/ nabortagant</i>	ما نبرتگ/ نبرتگ أنت
2 nd	<i>taw nabortag/ nabortagant</i>	تتو نبرتگ/ نبرتگ أنت	<i>shomá nabortag/ nabortagant</i>	شما نبرتگ/ نبرتگ أنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nabortag/ nabortagant</i>	إشیا/آییا نبرتگ/ نبرتگ أنت	<i>eshán/áyán nabortag/ nabortagant</i>	إشان/آیان نبرتگ/ نبرتگ أنت

Table 195. Affirmative present perfect forms of *árag* ‘to bring’, past participle *áwortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>áwortag/</i> <i>áwortagant</i>	من آورتگ / آورتگ أنت	<i>má áwortag/</i> <i>áwortagant</i>	ما آورتگ / آورتگ أنت
2 nd	<i>taw áwortag/</i> <i>áwortagant</i>	تتو آورتگ / آورتگ أنت	<i>shomá áwortag/</i> <i>áwortagant</i>	شما آورتگ / آورتگ أنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>áwortag/</i> <i>áwortagant</i>	إشيا / آورتگ / آورتگ أنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>áwortag/</i> <i>áwortagant</i>	إشان / آيان آورتگ / آورتگ أنت

Table 196. Negated present perfect forms of *árag* ‘to bring’, past participle *áwortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>nayáwortag/</i> <i>nayáwortagant</i>	من نئياورتگ / نئياورتگ أنت	<i>má</i> <i>nayáwortag/</i> <i>nayáwortagant</i>	ما نئياورتگ / نئياورتگ أنت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>nayáwortag/</i> <i>nayáwortagant</i>	تتو نئياورتگ / نئياورتگ أنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>nayáwortag/</i> <i>nayáwortagant</i>	شما نئياورتگ / نئياورتگ أنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>nayáwortag/</i> <i>nayáwortagant</i>	إشيا / آيا نئياورتگ / نئياورتگ أنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>nayáwortag/</i> <i>nayáwortagant</i>	إشان / آيان نئياورتگ / نئياورتگ أنت

Table 197. Affirmative present perfect forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past participle *eshtag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man eshtag/</i> <i>eshtagant</i>	من إشتگ / إشتگ أنت	<i>má eshtag/</i> <i>eshtagant</i>	ما إشتگ / إشتگ أنت
2 nd	<i>taw eshtag/</i> <i>eshtagant</i>	تتو إشتگ / إشتگ أنت	<i>shomá eshtag/</i> <i>eshtagant</i>	شما إشتگ / إشتگ أنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>eshtag/</i> <i>eshtagant</i>	إشيا / آيا إشتگ / إشتگ أنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>eshtag/</i> <i>eshtagant</i>	إشان / آيان إشتگ / إشتگ أنت

Table 198. Negated present perfect forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past participle *eshtag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>naeshtag/</i> <i>naeshtagant</i>	من نه‌اشتگ/ نه‌اشتگ‌آنت	<i>má</i> <i>naeshtag/</i> <i>naeshtagant</i>	ما نه‌اشتگ/ نه‌اشتگ‌آنت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>naeshtag/</i> <i>naeshtagant</i>	تتو نه‌اشتگ/ نه‌اشتگ‌آنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>naeshtag/</i> <i>naeshtagant</i>	شما نه‌اشتگ/ نه‌اشتگ‌آنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>naeshtag/</i> <i>naeshtagant</i>	اشیا/آییا نه‌اشتگ/ نه‌اشتگ‌آنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>naeshtag/</i> <i>naeshtagant</i>	إشان/آیان نه‌اشتگ/ نه‌اشتگ‌آنت

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.

<i>Man átkagán ke tará</i> <i>begendán.</i>	من آنکگان که ترا بگندان .	‘I have come to see you.SG.’
<i>Maróchi man é sajjahén</i> <i>kár sarjam kortagant.</i> <i>Dega kojám kár pasht</i> <i>kaptag?</i>	مرۆچی من اے سجھین کار سرجم کرتگ‌آنت . دگہ کجام کار پشست کپتگ؟	‘I have finished all these jobs today. What other job is left to do?’
<i>Pas tatkg o shotagant.</i>	پس تتگگ و شتگ‌آنت .	‘The sheep/goats have run away (lit. run and gone).’
<i>Sad bandig maróchi cha</i> <i>zendána ázát butag.</i>	سد بندیگ مرۆچی چه زندانا آزات بوتگ .	‘One hundred prisoners have been released from the prison today.’
<i>Shomá chiá é mestág pa</i> <i>má nayáwortag?</i>	شما چیا اے مستاگ په ما نتیاورتگ؟	‘Why have you.PL not brought us this piece of good news?’
<i>Mir Chákará wati zendá</i> <i>pa Balóch rájá mazanén</i> <i>hezmaté kortag.</i>	میر چاکرا وتی زندا په بلوچ راجا مزینن هزمتے کرتگ .	‘Mir Chakar did a great service to the Baloch nation during his life.’

If, however, the state is still ongoing, the present-future verb form is used (see also Section 4.4.2.1.2).

<i>Má dér ent hamedá kára kanén.</i>	ما دیر انت همدا کار کنین.	‘We have been working here for a long time (and we are still working).’
<i>Báz wahd ent ke maná zánant.</i>	باز وهد انت که منا زاننت.	‘They have known me for a long time.’
<i>Chont wahd ent ke é chokk nájórh ent?</i>	چنت وهد انت که اے چک ناجوڑ انت؟	‘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.

<i>May brát maróchi shahrá shotagant, bale áyáni kár nabutag. Randá mára hálesh dát ke má marawén.</i>	مئے برات مرّوچی شهرا شتگانّت، بله آیانی کار نبوتگ. رندا مارا هالش دات که ما مرثوین.	‘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.’
<i>Chó ke mana zánán, é mardom ostádé butag.</i>	چو که من زانان، اے مردم استادے بوتگ.	‘As far as I know, this person was a teacher.’
<i>Lahténay hayál hamesh ent ke é ketábay nebisók hechbar darmolká nashotag.</i>	لهتینئے هیال همیش انت که اے کتابئے نیسسوک هچبر درملکا نشتگ.	‘Some believe that the writer of this book never went abroad.’
<i>É ábádi cha mazanén hár o hirrópéa wayrán butag.</i>	اے آبادی چه مزین هار و هیرّوپینا وئیران بوتگ.	‘This village was destroyed by a great

*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 دوین جاسوس چیر
دانت و گون بادشاهتے
کاسدان گوشت: «هتو، دو
مردم منی لوگا آتکگ، بله من
نزاننگ چه کجا آتکگ آنت.
نون در کپتگ آنت

flood.’ (The speaker
did not witness it.)

‘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.*

بلکین من پیسرا اے مردم
دیستگ.

‘I may have met (lit.
seen) this person
before.’

*Balkén mani pet lógá
átkag.*

بلکین منی پت لوگا 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	
1 st	<i>shotagatán</i>	شتگ اتان	<i>shotagatén</i>	شتگ اتین
2 nd	<i>shotagatay</i>	شتگ اتئے	<i>shotagatét</i>	شتگ اتیت
3 rd	<i>shotagat</i>	شتگ ات	<i>shotagatant</i>	شتگ اتنت

Table 200. Negated past perfect forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past participle *shotag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nashotagatán</i>	نشتگ اتان	<i>nashotagatén</i>	نشتگ اتین
2 nd	<i>nashotagatay</i>	نشتگ اتئے	<i>nashotagatét</i>	نشتگ اتیت
3 rd	<i>nashotagat</i>	نشتگ ات	<i>nashotagatant</i>	نشتگ اتنت

Table 201. Affirmative past perfect forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past participle *butag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>butagatán</i>	بوتگ اتان	<i>butagatén</i>	بوتگ اتین
2 nd	<i>butagatay</i>	بوتگ اتئے	<i>butagatét</i>	بوتگ اتیت
3 rd	<i>butagat</i>	بوتگ ات	<i>butagatant</i>	بوتگ اتنت

Table 202. Negated past perfect forms of *bayag* ‘to be, to become’, past participle *butag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nabutagatán</i>	نبوتگ اتان	<i>nabutagatén</i>	نبوتگ اتین
2 nd	<i>nabutagatay</i>	نبوتگ اتئے	<i>nabutagatét</i>	نبوتگ اتیت
3 rd	<i>nabutagat</i>	نبوتگ ات	<i>nabutagatant</i>	نبوتگ اتنت

Table 203. Affirmative past perfect forms of *áyag* ‘to come’, past participle *átkag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>átkagatán</i>	آتگگ اتان	<i>átkagatén</i>	آتگگ اتین
2 nd	<i>átkagatay</i>	آتگگ اتئے	<i>átkagatét</i>	آتگگ اتیت
3 rd	<i>átkagat</i>	آتگگ ات	<i>átkagatant</i>	آتگگ اتنت

Table 204. Negated past perfect forms of *áyag* ‘to come’, past participle *átkaġ*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nayátkagatán</i>	نعياتكگ اتان	<i>nayátkagatén</i>	نعياتكگ اتين
2 nd	<i>nayátkagatay</i>	نعياتكگ اتئى	<i>nayátkagatét</i>	نعياتكگ اتيت
3 rd	<i>nayátkagat</i>	نعياتكگ أت	<i>nayátkagatant</i>	نعياتكگ انتت

Table 205. Affirmative past perfect forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’, past participle *óshátagaġ*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>óshtátagatán</i>	اؤشتاتگ اتان	<i>óshtátagatén</i>	اؤشتاتگ اتين
2 nd	<i>óshtátagatay</i>	اؤشتاتگ اتئى	<i>óshtátagatét</i>	اؤشتاتگ اتيت
3 rd	<i>óshtátagat</i>	اؤشتاتگ أت	<i>óshtátagatant</i>	اؤشتاتگ انتت

Table 206. Negated past perfect forms of *óshtag* ‘to stand up’, past participle *óshátagaġ*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>naóshátagatán</i>	نه اؤشتاتگ اتان	<i>naóshátagatén</i>	نه اؤشتاتگ اتين
2 nd	<i>naóshátagatay</i>	نه اؤشتاتگ اتئى	<i>naóshátagatét</i>	نه اؤشتاتگ اتيت
3 rd	<i>naóshátagat</i>	نه اؤشتاتگ أت	<i>naóshátagatant</i>	نه اؤشتاتگ انتت

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 *kortagaġ*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man kortagat/ kortagatant</i>	من کرتگ أت/ كرتگ انتت	<i>má kortagat/ kortagatant</i>	ما کرتگ أت/ كرتگ انتت
2 nd	<i>taw kortagat/ kortagatant</i>	تتو کرتگ أت/ كرتگ انتت	<i>shomá kortagat/ kortagatant</i>	شما کرتگ أت/ كرتگ انتت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá kortagat/ kortagatant</i>	إشيا/آيبا كرتگ أت/ كرتگ انتت	<i>eshán/áyán kortagat/ kortagatant</i>	إشان/آيان كرتگ أت/ كرتگ انتت

Table 208. Negated past perfect forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past participle *kortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>nakortagat/</i> <i>nakortagatant</i>	من نكرتگآت/ نكرتگآتنت	<i>má</i> <i>nakortagat/</i> <i>nakortagatant</i>	ما نكرتگآت/ نكرتگآتنت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>nakortagat/</i> <i>nakortagatant</i>	تتو نكرتگآت/ نكرتگآتنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>nakortagat/</i> <i>nakortagatant</i>	شما نكرتگآت/ نكرتگآتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>nakortagat/</i> <i>nakortagatant</i>	إشيا/آيا نكرتگآت/ نكرتگآتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>nakortagat/</i> <i>nakortagatant</i>	إشان/آيان نكرتگآت/ نكرتگآتنت

Table 209. Affirmative past perfect forms of *barag* ‘to take’, past participle *bortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man bortagat/</i> <i>bortagatant</i>	من برتگآت/ برتگآتنت	<i>má bortagat/</i> <i>bortagatant</i>	ما برتگآت/ برتگآتنت
2 nd	<i>taw bortagat/</i> <i>bortagatant</i>	تتو برتگآت/ برتگآتنت	<i>shomá bortagat/</i> <i>bortagatant</i>	شما برتگآت/ برتگآتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>bortagat/</i> <i>bortagatant</i>	إشيا/آيا برتگآت/ برتگآتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>bortagat/</i> <i>bortagatant</i>	إشان/آيان برتگآت/ برتگآتنت

Table 210. Negated past perfect forms of *barag* ‘to take’, past participle *bortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>nabortagat/</i> <i>nabortagatant</i>	من نبرتگآت/ نبرتگآتنت	<i>má</i> <i>nabortagat/</i> <i>nabortagatant</i>	ما نبرتگآت/ نبرتگآتنت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>nabortagat/</i> <i>nabortagatant</i>	تتو نبرتگآت/ نبرتگآتنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>nabortagat/</i> <i>nabortagatant</i>	شما نبرتگآت/ نبرتگآتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>nabortagat/</i> <i>nabortagatant</i>	إشيا/آيا نبرتگآت/ نبرتگآتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>nabortagat/</i> <i>nabortagatant</i>	إشان/آيان نبرتگآت/ نبرتگآتنت

Table 211. Affirmative past perfect forms of *árag* ‘to bring’, past participle *áwortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>áwortagat/</i> <i>áwortagatant</i>	من آورتگأت/ آورتگأتنت	<i>má áwortagat/</i> <i>áwortagatant</i>	ما آورتگأت/ آورتگأتنت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>áwortagat/</i> <i>áwortagatant</i>	تتو آورتگأت/ آورتگأتنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>áwortagat/</i> <i>áwortagatant</i>	شما آورتگأت/ آورتگأتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>áwortagat/</i> <i>áwortagatant</i>	إشيا/آيبيا آورتگأت/ آورتگأتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>áwortagat/</i> <i>áwortagatant</i>	إشان/آيان آورتگأت/ آورتگأتنت

Table 212. Negated past perfect forms of *árag* ‘to bring’, past participle *áwortag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>nayáwortagat/</i> <i>nayáwortagatant</i>	من نئياورتگأت/ نئياورتگأتنت	<i>má</i> <i>nayáwortagat/</i> <i>nayáwortagatant</i>	ما نئياورتگأت/ نئياورتگأتنت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>nayáwortagat/</i> <i>nayáwortagatant</i>	تتو نئياورتگأت/ نئياورتگأتنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>nayáwortagat/</i> <i>nayáwortagatant</i>	شما نئياورتگأت/ نئياورتگأتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>nayáwortagat/</i> <i>nayáwortagatant</i>	إشيا/آيبيا نئياورتگأت/ نئياورتگأتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>nayáwortagat/</i> <i>nayáwortagatant</i>	إشان/آيان نئياورتگأت/ نئياورتگأتنت

Table 213. Affirmative past perfect forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past participle *eshtag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man eshtagat/</i> <i>eshtagatant</i>	من إشتگأت/ إشتگأتنت	<i>má eshtagat/</i> <i>eshtagatant</i>	ما إشتگأت/ إشتگأتنت
2 nd	<i>taw eshtagat/</i> <i>eshtagatant</i>	تتو إشتگأت/ إشتگأتنت	<i>shomá eshtagat/</i> <i>eshtagatant</i>	شما إشتگأت/ إشتگأتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>eshtagat/</i> <i>eshtagatant</i>	إشيا/آيبيا إشتگأت/ إشتگأتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>eshtagat/</i> <i>eshtagatant</i>	إشان/آيان إشتگأت/ إشتگأتنت

Table 214. Negated past perfect forms of *ellag* ‘to allow, to let’, past participle *eshtag*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man</i> <i>naeshtagat/</i> <i>naeshtagatant</i>	من نه‌اشتگ‌آت/ نه‌اشتگ‌اتنت	<i>má</i> <i>naeshtagat/</i> <i>naeshtagatant</i>	ما نه‌اشتگ‌آت/ نه‌اشتگ‌اتنت
2 nd	<i>taw</i> <i>naeshtagat/</i> <i>naeshtagatant</i>	تتو نه‌اشتگ‌آت/ نه‌اشتگ‌اتنت	<i>shomá</i> <i>naeshtagat/</i> <i>naeshtagatant</i>	شما نه‌اشتگ‌آت/ نه‌اشتگ‌اتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>naeshtagat/</i> <i>naeshtagatant</i>	إشیا/آییا نه‌اشتگ‌آت/ نه‌اشتگ‌اتنت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>naeshtagat/</i> <i>naeshtagatant</i>	إشان/آیان نه‌اشتگ‌آت/ نه‌اشتگ‌اتنت

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 پیسرا منی گندگا
آتکگ‌آت، پدا آتک.

‘The person who had come to see me before now came again.’

Choshén dhawldárén
poll pésará hechbar
nadistagaton.

چشین دُئولدارین پُل پیسرا
هچبر ندیستگ‌آتُن.

‘I had not seen such a beautiful flower ever before.’

Sardará póstén
kamarbandé lánká
bastagat.

سردارا پُوستین کمر بندے لانکا
بستگ‌آت.

‘The tribal chief had a leather belt tied around his waist.’

Dah sál at ke áiyay kár
paym nabutagat.

ده سال آت که آییے کار پیم
نبوتگ‌آت

‘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 áiyay
bágá kočeké mán at.

سالانی سال آت که آییے باگا
کُچکے مان آت.

‘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.

<i>Agan byátkénay, wassh butagátán.</i>	اگن بیاتکینئے، وش بوتگاتان.	‘I would have been happy if you.SG had come.’
<i>Agan má jost makortén, hechbar nazántagaten.</i>	اگن ما جُست مکر تین، هچبر نزانتگاتین.	‘If we had not asked, we would never had known.’
<i>Agan taw bezántén é sapar sakk dráj ent, gorhá nashotagatay?</i>	اگن تئو بزانتین اے سپر سَکْ دراج إنت، گزا نشتگاتئے؟	‘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:

<i>Man kassá nagendán.</i>	من کسَا نگندان.	‘I don’t see anyone.’
<i>Kayá é ketáb nebeshtag?</i>	کئیا اے کتاب نېشتگ؟	‘Who has written this book?’
<i>Dozhmenay lashkará may sepáhig koshtant.</i>	دژمنئے لشکرا مئے سپاهيگ کُشتنت.	‘The army of the enemy killed our soldiers.’

Passive voice:

<i>Kass gendaga nabit.</i>	کَسْ گندگ نېيت.	‘Nobody is seen.’
<i>É ketáb kojá nebisag butag?</i>	اے کتاب کجا نېيسگ بوتگ؟	‘Where was this book written?’

*May sepáhig
dozhmenay lashkaray
dastá koshag butant.*

مئے سپاہیگ 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	
1 st	<i>lóthaga bán/nabán</i>	لوٹگ بان/نبان	<i>lóthaga bén/nabén</i>	لوٹگ بین/نبین
2 nd	<i>lóthaga bay/nabay</i>	لوٹگ بئے/نبئے	<i>lóthaga bét/nabét</i>	لوٹگ بیت/نبیت
3 rd	<i>lóthaga bit/nabit</i>	لوٹگ بیت/نبیت	<i>lóthaga bant/ nabant</i>	لوٹگ بنت/نبنت

*Taw pa é jashná
lóthaga bay.*

تھو پہ اے جشنا لوٹگ بئے .

‘You.SG will be
invited to this party.’

*Agan é drachk bar
madant, goddhaga bit.*

اگن اے درچک بر مدنت،
گڈگ بیت .

‘If this tree does not
produce fruit it will be
cut down.’

*Áyáni nékén kár
zánaga bant.*

آیانی نیکیں کار زانگ بنت .

‘Their good deeds will
be known.’

*Dozz sepáhigáni dastá
zutt geraga bit.*

دژ سپاہیگانی دستا زوٹ
گرگ بیت .

‘The thief will be
caught quickly by the
soldiers.’

*Má pa é kára mayárig
kananga nabén.*

ما پہ اے کارا مئیاریگ کنگ
نبین .

‘We will not be
accused of this (lit.
this deed).’

Table 216. Present-future subjunctive passive forms of *lóthag* ‘to call, to invite, to want’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>lóthag bebán/ mabán</i>	لوڻگ بيان/ ميان	<i>lóthag bebén/ mabén</i>	لوڻگ بيتن/ مبيتن
2 nd	<i>lóthag bebay/ mabay</i>	لوڻگ بيئے/ مبيئے	<i>lóthag bebét/ mabét</i>	لوڻگ بيتت/ مبيتت
3 rd	<i>lóthag bebit/ mabit</i>	لوڻگ بيتت/ مبيتت	<i>lóthag bebant/ mabant</i>	لوڻگ بيتنت/ مبيتنت

*Taw balkén pa é
jashná lóthag bebay.*

تتو بلڪين په اے جشننا لوڻگ
بيئے .

‘Maybe you.SG will be
invited to this party.’

*Agan é kár kanag
mabit, sakk bada bit.*

اگن اے كار ڪنگ مبيت، سڪ
بد بيت .

‘It will be very bad if
this job is not done.’

*Báyad ent lóg bahá
kanag bebit.*

بايد انت لوگ بها ڪنگ بيتت .

‘The house must be
sold.’

*É mardomá choshén
radén káré nakortag ke
koshag bebit.*

اے مردما چوشين ردين ڪارے
نڪرتگ كه ڪشگ بيتت .

‘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 اڙت بدئے تان
مئيارگ ڪنگ مبيئے .

‘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	
1 st	<i>lóthag bátán/ mabátán</i>	لوڻگ باتان/ مباتان	<i>lóthag bátén/ mabátén</i>	لوڻگ باتين/ مباتين
2 nd	<i>lóthag bátay/ mabátay</i>	لوڻگ باتئے/ مباتئے	<i>lóthag bátét/ mabátét</i>	لوڻگ باتيت/ مباتيت
3 rd	<i>lóthag bát/ mabát</i>	لوڻگ بات/ مبات	<i>lóthag bátant/ mabátant</i>	لوڻگ باتنت/ مباتنت

*Á mardom koshag
mabát.*

آ مردم ڪشگ مبات .

‘Wish that this person
will not be killed.’

*Dozhmen cha molká dar
kanag bátant.*

دژمن چه 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	
1 st	<i>lóthag bután/ nabután</i>	لُوڭگ بوتان/ نبوتان	<i>lóthag butén/ nabutén</i>	لُوڭگ بوتین/ نبوتین
2 nd	<i>lóthag butay/ nabutay</i>	لُوڭگ بوتے/ نبوتے	<i>lóthag butét/ nabutét</i>	لُوڭگ بوتیت/ نبوتیت
3 rd	<i>lóthag but/ nabut</i>	لُوڭگ بوت/ نبوت	<i>lóthag butant/ nabutant</i>	لُوڭگ بوتنت/ نبوتنت

*Taw pa é jashná lóthag
butay?*

تو په اے جشننا لُوڭگ بوتے؟

‘Were you.SG invited
to this party?’

Drachk goddhag but.

درچک گڏگ بوت .

‘The tree was cut
down.’

*Maná maróchi mókal
dayag nabut ke habar
bekanán.*

منا مرځی مؤکل دئیگ نبوت
که هبر بکنان .

‘No chance was given
to me to speak today.’

*Dozz sepáhigáni dastá
zutt gerag but.*

دُز سپاهیگانی دستا زوت
گرگ بوت .

‘The thief was quickly
caught by the soldiers.’

*Á róchá ketáb bahá
kanag nabutant.*

آرچا کتاب بها کنگ
نبوتنت .

‘The books were not
sold that day.’

Table 219. Past imperfective passive forms of *lóthaga* ‘to call, to invite, to want’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>lóthaga bután/ nabután</i>	لُوڭگ بوتان/نبوتان	<i>lóthaga butén/ nabutén</i>	لُوڭگ بوتین/نبوتین
2 nd	<i>lóthaga butay/ nabutay</i>	لُوڭگ بوتے/نبوتے	<i>lóthaga butét/ nabutét</i>	لُوڭگ بوتیت/نبوتیت
3 rd	<i>lóthaga but/ nabut</i>	لُوڭگ بوت/نبوت	<i>lóthaga butant/ nabutant</i>	لُوڭگ بوتنت/نبوتنت

*Taw har wahd lóthaga
butay nayátkay.*

تتو هر وهد لوٿگ بوتے
نھیاتکے .

‘Whenever you.SG
were invited you did
not come.’

*Maná mókal dayaga
nabut ke habar
bekanán.*

منا موکل دئیگ نبوت که هبر
بکانان .

‘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.*

دُنا 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	
1 st	<i>lóthag buténán/ mabuténán</i>	لوٿگ بوتینان/ مبوتینان	<i>lóthag buténén/ mabuténén</i>	لوٿگ بوتینین/ مبوتینین
2 nd	<i>lóthag buténay/ mabuténay</i>	لوٿگ بوتینے/ مبوتینے	<i>lóthag buténét/ mabuténét</i>	لوٿگ بوتینیت/ مبوتینیت
3 rd	<i>lóthag butén/ mabutén</i>	لوٿگ بوتین/ مبوتین	<i>lóthag buténant/ mabuténant</i>	لوٿگ بوتیننت/ مبوتیننت

*Wassh at ke pa é jashná
lóthag buténay.*

وشّ ات که په اے جشنا
لوٿگ بوتینے .

‘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 دُز زوت گُگ مپوتیننت،
بلکین دگه جاهے هم دُزی اش
کرتگات .

‘If the thieves had not
been caught quickly,
maybe they would
have stolen [from]
somewhere else too.’

*Dréगतá é ketáb
hechbar nebisag
mabutén.*

دریگتا اے کتاب هچبر
نبیسگ مپوتین .

‘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	
1 st	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagán/</i> <i>nabutagán</i>	لوڻ ٻوڻگان / نيوڻگان	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagén/</i> <i>nabutagén</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگين / نيوڻگين
2 nd	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagay/</i> <i>nabutagay</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگئے / نيوڻگئے	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagét/</i> <i>nabutagét</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگيت / نيوڻگيت
3 rd	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butag/</i> <i>nabutag</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگ / نيوڻگ	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagant/</i> <i>nabutagant</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگ آنت / نيوڻگ آنت

Taw pa é jashná
lóthag butagay.

تو په اے جشن لوڻگ
ٻوڻگئے .

‘You.SG have been
invited to this party.’

É ketáb Balóchi
zobáná nebisag butag.

اے ڪتاب بلوچي زبانا نبيسگ
ٻوڻگ .

‘This book is (lit. has
been) written in the
Balochi language.’

Mazanén ganjé edá
chér dayag butag.

مزين گنجے ادا چير دئيگ
ٻوڻگ .

‘A big treasure has
been hidden here.’

Lógay bonred mohr ér
kanag nabutag.

لوڻگے بنرد مهر اير ڪنگ
نيوڻگ .

‘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	
1 st	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagatán/</i> <i>nabutagatán</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگ اتان / نيوڻگ اتان	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagatén/</i> <i>nabutagatén</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگ اتين / نيوڻگ اتين
2 nd	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagatay/</i> <i>nabutagatay</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگ ائے / نيوڻگ ائے	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagatét/</i> <i>nabutagatét</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگ ائيت / نيوڻگ ائيت
3 rd	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagat/</i> <i>nabutagat</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگ آت / نيوڻگ آت	<i>lóthag</i> <i>butagatant/</i> <i>nabutagatant</i>	لوڻگ ٻوڻگ انت / نيوڻگ انت

Taw pa é jashná lóthag
butagatay. Shotay?

تو په اے جشن لوڻگ
ٻوڻگ ائے . شتے؟

‘You.SG had been
invited to that party.
Did you go?’

*Agan é mardá hón
makortén, ázát kanag
butagat.*

اگن اے مردا هون مكرتين،
آزات كنگ بوتگأت.

‘If this man had not
committed murder, he
would have been set
free.’

*É théki márú dayag
butagat, bale má gár dát.*

اے ٹيكي مارا دئيگ
بوتگأت، 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 دُزى بكنئى، ترا
جئلا راءَ دئينت.

‘If you.SG steal, you
will be sent to prison.’

*Agan taw dozzi bekanay,
jélá ráh dayaga bay.*

اگن تئو دُزى بكنئى، جئلا
راه دئيگ بئى.

*Delgósh kan ke tai mál o
hastiá mabarant.*

دلگوش كن كه تئيبى مال و
هستيا مبرنت.

‘Take care that your.SG
riches will not be
snatched away.’

*Delgósh kan ke tai mál o
hasti barag mabit.*

دلگوش كن كه تئيبى مال و
هستى برگ مبيت.

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.

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	
1 st	<i>kanagá án</i>	کنگا آن	<i>kanagá én</i>	کنگا این
2 nd	<i>kanagá ay</i>	کنگا ائے	<i>kanagá ét</i>	کنگا ایت
3 rd	<i>kanagá ent</i>	کنگا انت	<i>kanagá ant</i>	کنگا انت

Table 224. Negated present progressive forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nakanagá án</i>	نکنگا آن	<i>nakanagá én</i>	نکنگا این
2 nd	<i>nakanagá ay</i>	نکنگا ائے	<i>nakanagá ét</i>	نکنگا ایت
3 rd	<i>nakanagá ent</i>	نکنگا انت	<i>nakanagá ant</i>	نکنگا انت

Table 225. Alternative negated present progressive forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kanagá naán</i>	کنگا نہ آن	<i>kanagá naén</i>	کنگا نہ این
2 nd	<i>kanagá naay</i>	کنگا نہ ائے	<i>kanagá naét</i>	کنگا نہ ایت
3 rd	<i>kanagá naent</i>	کنگا نہ انت	<i>kanagá naant</i>	کنگا نہ انت

The present progressive form is used for present ongoing events. It is not used for ongoing states.

*Man annun gón wati
gohará habar kanagá
án.*

من ائون گون وتی گھارا هبر
کنگا آن.

‘I am talking to my
sister right now.’

*Chokk dhanná gwázi
kanagá ant.*

چک ڈٹا گوازی کنگا انت.

‘The children are
playing outdoors.’

*Pa ché dars nawánagá
ay?*

پہ چے درس نثوانگا ائے؟

‘Why are you.SG not
studying?’

*Má shomará mayárig
kanagá naén, watá
mayárig kanagá én.*

ما شمارا مٹیاریگ کنگا
نہ این، وتا مٹیاریگ 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 باندَا كراچيا رُوگا 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. مني برات نون كار كنگا بيت. ‘[I think] my brother is working now.’

Chokk lógá naant, dhanná layb kanagá bant. چُك لوگا نه آنت، دُنا لثيب كنگا 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	
1 st	<i>kanagá atán</i>	كنگا اتان	<i>kanagá atén</i>	كنگا اتين
2 nd	<i>kanagá atay</i>	كنگا اتے	<i>kanagá atét</i>	كنگا اتيت
3 rd	<i>kanagá at</i>	كنگا ات	<i>kanagá atant</i>	كنگا اتنت

Table 227. Negated past progressive forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nakanagá atán</i>	نكنگا اتان	<i>nakanagá atén</i>	نكنگا اتين
2 nd	<i>nakanagá atay</i>	نكنگا اتے	<i>nakanagá atét</i>	نكنگا اتيت
3 rd	<i>nakanagá at</i>	نكنگا ات	<i>nakanagá atant</i>	نكنگا اتنت

Table 228. Alternative negated past progressive forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kanagá naatán</i>	کنگا نہ اتان	<i>kanagá naatén</i>	کنگا نہ اتین
2 nd	<i>kanagá naatay</i>	کنگا نہ اتئے	<i>kanagá naatét</i>	کنگا نہ اتیت
3 rd	<i>kanagá naat</i>	کنگا نہ آت	<i>kanagá naatant</i>	کنگا نہ اتنت

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.

<i>Wahdé dém pa shahrá rawagá atán, wati sangaton dist.</i>	وہدے دیم پہ شہرا رٹوگا اتان، وتی سنگٹن دیست.	‘When I was walking towards town, I met my friend.’
<i>Chokk sajjahén róchá dhanná gwázi kanagá atant.</i>	چُک سَجَّہین رُچا ڈنا گوازی کنگا اتنت.	‘The children were playing outdoors the whole day.’
<i>Zi pa ché dars nawánagá atay?</i>	زی پہ چے درس نہوانگا اتئے؟	‘Why were you.SG not studying yesterday?’
<i>Taw mani habarán gósh dárágá naatay.</i>	تتو منی ہبران گوش دارگا نہ اتئے.	‘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.

<i>Man zi Karáchiá rawagá atán bale taw maná naesht.</i>	من زی کراچیا رٹوگا اتان بلہ تتو منا نہ ایشٹ.	‘I was determined to go to Karachi yesterday, but you did not let me.’
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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 *goláesh* ‘busy, engaged’ + copula present/past, and another uses the infinitive in the oblique case form + *gath* ‘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.

<i>Taw kára goláesh ay?</i>	تتو کارا گلايش اے؟	‘Are you.SG busy working?’
<i>Má waragá goláesh atén.</i>	ما ورگا گلايش اتين.	‘We were busy eating.’
<i>May mát warák addh kanagá gathh at.</i>	مئے مات وراک اڈ کنگا گٹ آت.	‘Our mother was busy cooking food.’
<i>Shomá annun ketáb wánagá gathh ét?</i>	شما ائون کتاب وانگا گٹ ايت؟	‘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	
1 st	<i>kanán án</i>	کنان آن	<i>kanán én</i>	کنان این
2 nd	<i>kanán ay</i>	کنان اے	<i>kanán ét</i>	کنان ایت
3 rd	<i>kanán ent</i>	کنان انت	<i>kanán ant</i>	کنان آنت

Table 230. Negative present iterative forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kanán naán</i>	کنان نہ آن	<i>kanán naén</i>	کنان نہ این
2 nd	<i>kanán naay</i>	کنان نہ اے	<i>kanán naét</i>	کنان نہ ایت
3 rd	<i>kanán naent</i>	کنان نہ انت	<i>kanán naant</i>	کنان نہ آنت

The present iterative form is used for habitually repeated events that are still occurring.

<i>Kár démá rawán ent.</i>	کار دیمہ رٹوان انت.	‘The work keeps moving forward.’
<i>Mardom mára rad dayán ant.</i>	مردم مارا رد دتیان آنت.	‘People repeatedly fool us.’

Poshtá kenzán naent,
démá rawán ent.

پُشتا کنزان نه‌انت،
دیما رثوان انت.
‘He does not keep
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	
1 st	<i>kanán atán</i>	کنان اتان	<i>kanán atén</i>	کنان اتین
2 nd	<i>kanán atay</i>	کنان اتے	<i>kanán atét</i>	کنان اتیت
3 rd	<i>kanán at</i>	کنان ات	<i>kanán atant</i>	کنان اتنت

Table 232. Negated past iterative forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kanán naatán</i>	کنان نه‌اتان	<i>kanán naatén</i>	کنان نه‌اتین
2 nd	<i>kanán naatay</i>	کنان نه‌اتے	<i>kanán naatét</i>	کنان نه‌اتیت
3 rd	<i>kanán naat</i>	کنان نه‌ات	<i>kanán naatant</i>	کنان نه‌اتنت

The past iterative form is used for habitually repeated events in the past.

Má pasáni randá
rawán aten.

ما پسانی رندا رثوان اتین.
‘We kept following our
flock (of sheep and
goats).’

Shér gókán derrán
atant.

شیر گوکان دران اتنت.
‘The lions kept tearing
the cows.’

Poshtá kenzán naat,
démá rawán at.

پُشتا کنزان نه‌ات،
دیما رثوان ات.
‘He did not keep
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	
1 st	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>kanán</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ كَنَان	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>kanén</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ كَنین
2 nd	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>kanay</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ كَنے	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>kanét</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ كَنیت
3 rd	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>kant</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ كَنت	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>kanant</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ كَننت

Table 234. Negated present-future endpoint iterative forms of *démá rawag* ‘to go on, to go forth’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>nakanán</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ نَكَنَان	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>nakanén</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ نَكَنین
2 nd	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>nakanay</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ نَكَنے	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>nakanét</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ نَكَنیت
3 rd	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>nakanant</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ نَكَنت	<i>démá rawána</i> <i>nakanant</i>	دیمَا رَثَوَانْ نَكَننت

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.

<i>Man é kárá démá</i> <i>barána kanán.</i>	من اے کارا دیمَا برانْ کَنان .	‘I will bring this work forward [to the end].’
<i>Má hechbar poshtá</i> <i>kenzána nakanén.</i>	ما هچبر پُشتا کَنزانْ نَكَنین .	‘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	
1 st	<i>man démá rawána kort</i>	من دېما رښوان كرت	<i>má démá rawána kort</i>	ما دېما رښوان كرت
2 nd	<i>taw démá rawána kort</i>	تتو دېما رښوان كرت	<i>shomá démá rawána kort</i>	شما دېما رښوان كرت
3 rd	<i>áiá démá rawána kort</i>	آييا دېما رښوان كرت	<i>áyán démá rawána kort</i>	آيان دېما رښوان كرت

Table 236. Negated past endpoint iterative forms of *démá rawag* ‘to go on, to go forth’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man démá rawána nakort</i>	من دېما رښوان نكرت	<i>má démá rawána nakort</i>	ما دېما رښوان نكرت
2 nd	<i>taw démá rawána nakort</i>	تتو دېما رښوان نكرت	<i>shomá démá rawána nakort</i>	شما دېما رښوان نكرت
3 rd	<i>áiá démá rawána nakort</i>	آييا دېما رښوان نكرت	<i>áyán démá rawána nakort</i>	آيان دېما رښوان نكرت

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 دېما بران كرت. ‘My co-workers kept working [to the end].’

Má hechbar poshtá kenzána nakort. ما هچبر پښتا كنوان نكرت. ‘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 kára démá barán bekanant. أمیت انت منی همکار وتی کارا دېما بران بکننت. ‘Hopefully my co-workers will keep on working [to the end].’

Wati kára démá barán bekan. وتی کارا دېما بران بکن. ‘Keep on working [to the end].’

*Agan áyán sharr wati
kár démá barán
bekortén, kár mun
halletagat.*

اگن آیان شرّ وتی کار دیمّا
بران بکرتیین، کار نون
هلتگآت.

‘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	
1 st	<i>shota kanán</i>	شت کنان	<i>shota kanén</i>	شت کنین
2 nd	<i>shota kanay</i>	شت کنئے	<i>shota kanét</i>	شت کنیت
3 rd	<i>shota kant</i>	شت کنت	<i>shota kanant</i>	شت کننت

Table 238. Negated present-future indicative ability forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>shota nakanán</i>	شت نکنان	<i>shota nakanén</i>	شت نکنین
2 nd	<i>shota nakanay</i>	شت نکنئے	<i>shota nakanét</i>	شت نکنیت
3 rd	<i>shota nakant</i>	شت نکنت	<i>shota nakanant</i>	شت نکننت

Table 239. Affirmative present-future indicative ability forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>korta kanán</i>	کرت کنان	<i>korta kanén</i>	کرت کنین
2 nd	<i>korta kanay</i>	کرت کنئے	<i>korta kanét</i>	کرت کنیت
3 rd	<i>korta kant</i>	کرت کنت	<i>korta kanant</i>	کرت کننت

Table 240. Negated present-future indicative ability forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>korta nakanán</i>	کرت نکنان	<i>korta nakanén</i>	کرت نکنین
2 nd	<i>korta nakanay</i>	کرت نکنئے	<i>korta nakanét</i>	کرت نکنیت
3 rd	<i>korta nakant</i>	کرت نکنت	<i>korta nakanant</i>	کرت نکنت

<i>Man maróchi shahrá shota nakanán.</i>	من مرؤچی شهرا شت نکنان.	‘I cannot go to town today.’
<i>Shomá wati sangatán dista nakanét?</i>	شما وتی سنگتان دیست نکنیت؟	‘Can’t you.PL meet your friends?’
<i>Mani brát mára molká rasénta kant.</i>	منی برات مارا ملکا رسینت کنت.	‘Our brother can take us to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Má é kára korta nakanén.</i>	ما اے کارا کرت نکنین.	‘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	
1 st	<i>shot bekanán</i>	شت بکانان	<i>shot bekanén</i>	شت بکنین
2 nd	<i>shot bekanay</i>	شت بکنئے	<i>shot bekanét</i>	شت بکنیت
3 rd	<i>shot bekant</i>	شت بکنت	<i>shot bekanant</i>	شت بکننت

Table 242. Negated present-future subjunctive ability forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>shot makanán</i>	شت مکنان	<i>shot makanén</i>	شت مکنین
2 nd	<i>shot makanay</i>	شت مکنئے	<i>shot makanét</i>	شت مکنیت
3 rd	<i>shot makant</i>	شت مکنت	<i>shot makanant</i>	شت مکنت

Table 243. Affirmative present-future subjunctive ability forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kort bekanán</i>	کرت بکنان	<i>kort bekanén</i>	کرت بکنین
2 nd	<i>kort bekanay</i>	کرت بکنئے	<i>kort bekanét</i>	کرت بکنیت
3 rd	<i>kort bekant</i>	کرت بکنت	<i>kort bekanant</i>	کرت بکننت

Table 244. Negated present-future subjunctive ability forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kort makanán</i>	کرت مکنان	<i>kort makanén</i>	کرت مکنین
2 nd	<i>kort makanay</i>	کرت مکنئے	<i>kort makanét</i>	کرت مکنیت
3 rd	<i>kort makant</i>	کرت مکنت	<i>kort makanant</i>	کرت مکنت

*Agan man maróchi
shahrá shot makanán,
taw mani gwará byá.*

اگن من مروچی شهرآ شت
مکنان، تتو منی گورا بیا.

‘Come to me if I
cannot go to town
today.’

*Balkén mani máť mani
gwará áťk bekant.*

بلکین منی مات منی گورا
آتک بکنت.

‘Maybe my mother can
come to me.’

*Márá sój beday tán má
ham é kárá kort
bekanén.*

مارا سوچ بدئے تان ما هم اے
کارا کرت بکنین.

‘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	
1 st	<i>man shot kort</i>	من شت کرت	<i>má shot kort</i>	ما شت کرت
2 nd	<i>taw shot kort</i>	تتو شت کرت	<i>shomá shot kort</i>	شما شت کرت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá shot kort</i>	إشیا/آییا شت کرت	<i>eshán/áyán shot kort</i>	إشان/آیان شت کرت

Table 246. Negated past perfective ability forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man shot nakort</i>	من شت نكرت	<i>má shot nakort</i>	ما شت نكرت
2 nd	<i>taw shot nakort</i>	تتو شت نكرت	<i>shomá shot nakort</i>	شما شت نكرت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá shot nakort</i>	إشيا/آيا شت نكرت	<i>eshán/áyán shot nakort</i>	إشان/آيان شت نكرت

Table 247. Affirmative past perfective ability forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man kort kort/kortant</i>	من كرت كرت/كرتنت	<i>má kort kort/kortant</i>	ما كرت كرت/كرتنت
2 nd	<i>taw kort kort/kortant</i>	تتو كرت كرت/كرتنت	<i>shomá kort kort/kortant</i>	شما كرت كرت/كرتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá kort kort/kortant</i>	إشيا/آيا كرت كرت/كرتنت	<i>eshán/áyán kort kort/kortant</i>	إشان/آيان كرت كرت/كرتنت

Table 248. Negated past perfective ability forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man kort nakort/nakortant</i>	من كرت نكرت/نكرتنت	<i>má kort nakort/nakortant</i>	ما كرت نكرت/نكرتنت
2 nd	<i>taw kort nakort/nakortant</i>	تتو كرت نكرت/نكرتنت	<i>shomá kort nakort/nakortant</i>	شما كرت نكرت/نكرتنت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá kort nakort/nakortant</i>	إشيا/آيا كرت نكرت/نكرتنت	<i>eshán/áyán kort nakort/nakortant</i>	إشان/آيان كرت نكرت/نكرتنت

Shomá sharhá shot kort.

شما شهرا شت كرت.

‘You.PL could go to town.’

Chokkán chiá átk nakort?

چگان چيا آتك نكرت؟

‘Why couldn’t the children come?’

Man é sjjahén ketáb wánt nakortant.

من اے سجهين كتاب و انت نكرتنت.

‘I could not read all these books.’

Taw zi báz kár kort nakort.

تتو زي باز كار كرت نكرت.

‘You.SG couldn’t work much yesterday.’

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.

<i>Shomá shahrá shota kort.</i>	شما شهرا شت کرت.	‘You.PL could go to town (repeatedly).’
<i>Chokká pári hech dars wánta nakort.</i>	چگا پاری هچ درس وانت نكرت.	‘The child couldn’t study at all last year.’
<i>Taw shota kort. Chiá nashotay?</i>	تتو شت کرت. چیا نشتے؟	‘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	
1 st	<i>man shot bekortén</i>	من شت بکرتین	<i>má shot bekortén</i>	ما شت بکرتین
2 nd	<i>taw shot bekortén</i>	تتو شت بکرتین	<i>shomá shot bekortén</i>	شما شت بکرتین
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá shot bekortén</i>	إشیا/آییا شت بکرتین	<i>eshán/áyán shot bekortén</i>	إشان/آیان شت بکرتین

Table 250. Negated past subjunctive ability forms of *rawag* ‘to go’, past stem *shot*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man shot makortén</i>	من شت مكرتین	<i>má shot makortén</i>	ما شت مكرتین
2 nd	<i>taw shot makortén</i>	تتو شت مكرتین	<i>shomá shot makortén</i>	شما شت مكرتین
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá shot makortén</i>	إشیا/آییا شت مكرتین	<i>eshán/áyán shot makortén</i>	إشان/آیان شت مكرتین

Table 251. Affirmative past subjunctive ability forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man kort</i> <i>bekortén/</i> <i>bekorténant</i>	من کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت	<i>má kort</i> <i>bekortén/</i> <i>bekorténant</i>	ما کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت
2 nd	<i>taw kort</i> <i>bekortén/</i> <i>bekorténant</i>	تتو کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت	<i>shomá kort</i> <i>bekortén/</i> <i>bekorténant</i>	شما کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áíá kort</i> <i>bekortén/</i> <i>bekorténant</i>	إشیا/آییا کرت بکرتین/ بکرتیننت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>kort</i> <i>bekortén/</i> <i>bekorténant</i>	إشان/آیان بکرتین/ بکرتیننت

Table 252. Negated past subjunctive ability forms of *kanag* ‘to do’, past stem *kort*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>man kort</i> <i>makortén/</i> <i>makorténant</i>	من کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	<i>má kort</i> <i>makortén/</i> <i>makorténant</i>	ما کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت
2 nd	<i>taw kort</i> <i>makortén/</i> <i>makorténant</i>	تتو کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	<i>shomá kort</i> <i>makortén/</i> <i>makorténant</i>	شما کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áíá kort</i> <i>makortén/</i> <i>makorténant</i>	إشیا/آییا کرت مکرتین/ مکرتیننت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>kort</i> <i>makortén/</i> <i>makorténant</i>	إشان/آیان مکرتین/ مکرتیننت

Agan áíá átk makortén,
maná zarur háli
dátogat.

اگن آییا آتک مکرتین، منا
زرور هالی داتگات.

‘He would have informed me if he couldn’t come.’

Agan man wánt
bekortén, maná sharrén
káré rasetagat.

اگن من وانت بکرتین، منا
شرین کارے رستگات.

‘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.

دریگتا تتو ملکا شت
بکرتین.

‘How good [it would be] if you.SG would have been able to go to Balochistan (lit. the land).’

The ability construction can also occur in the present perfect and past perfect forms.

<i>Zi sajjahén róchá áiá bázará shot nakortag.</i>	زی سَجَّهین رُوچا آییَا بازارا شت نکرتگ.	‘Yesterday he [reportedly] could not go to the marketplace for the whole day.’
<i>Áyán warag wárt nakortag.</i>	آیان ورگ وارت نکرتگ.	‘[As I was told] they couldn’t eat (lit. eat food).’
<i>Agan mani chamm sharr buténant, man báz ketáb wánt kortagat.</i>	اگن منی چَم شَر بوتیننت، من باز کتاب وانت کرتگآت.	‘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.

<i>Má twánén byáén.</i>	ما توانین بیاین.	‘We can come.’
<i>Áyán natwánt edá lógé addh bekanant.</i>	آیان نتوانت ادا لُوگے اذ 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.

Table 253. Affirmative future time reference forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>rawagi án</i>	رئوگی آن	<i>rawagi én</i>	رئوگی این
2 nd	<i>rawagi ay</i>	رئوگی ائے	<i>rawagi ét</i>	رئوگی ایت
3 rd	<i>rawagi ent</i>	رئوگی انت	<i>rawagi ant</i>	رئوگی آنت

Table 254. Negated future time reference forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>narawagi án</i>	نرئوگی آن	<i>narawagi én</i>	نرئوگی این
2 nd	<i>narawagi ay</i>	نرئوگی ائے	<i>narawagi ét</i>	نرئوگی ایت
3 rd	<i>narawagi ent</i>	نرئوگی انت	<i>narawagi ant</i>	نرئوگی آنت

Table 255. Alternative negated future time reference forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>rawagi naán</i>	رئوگی نہ آن	<i>rawagi naén</i>	رئوگی نہ این
2 nd	<i>rawagi naay</i>	رئوگی نہ ائے	<i>rawagi naét</i>	رئوگی نہ ایت
3 rd	<i>rawagi naent</i>	رئوگی نہ انت	<i>rawagi naant</i>	رئوگی نہ آنت

Table 256. Affirmative future time reference forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kanagi án</i>	کنگی آن	<i>kanagi én</i>	کنگی این
2 nd	<i>kanagi ay</i>	کنگی ائے	<i>kanagi ét</i>	کنگی ایت
3 rd	<i>kanagi ent</i>	کنگی انت	<i>kanagi ant</i>	کنگی آنت

Table 257. Negated future time reference forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nakanagi án</i>	نکنگی آن	<i>nakanagi én</i>	نکنگی این
2 nd	<i>nakanagi ay</i>	نکنگی ائے	<i>nakanagi ét</i>	نکنگی ایت
3 rd	<i>nakanagi ent</i>	نکنگی انت	<i>nakanagi ant</i>	نکنگی آنت

Table 258. Alternative negated future time reference forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kanagi naán</i>	کنگی نہ آن	<i>kanagi naén</i>	کنگی نہ این
2 nd	<i>kanagi naay</i>	کنگی نہ ائے	<i>kanagi naét</i>	کنگی نہ ایت
3 rd	<i>kanagi naent</i>	کنگی نہ انت	<i>kanagi naant</i>	کنگی نہ آنت

This construction is used to denote foretold future.

<i>Má sajjahén cha é donyáyá rawagi ént.</i>	ما سڄھين چہ اے دنيايا رئوگی این.	‘We are all to leave this world.’
<i>Tai wáhag purah nabayagi ént.</i>	تئیی واھگ پورہ نبیگی انت.	‘What you.SG want (lit. your wish) is impossible to fulfil (lit. not to become fulfilled).’
<i>É kár kanagi naent.</i>	اے کار کنگی نہ انت.	‘This (lit. this work) is not to be done.’

This construction can also be used for events that are just about to take place.

<i>Má ápá bokkagi ént.</i>	ما آپا بکگی این.	‘We are about to drown.’
<i>Chokk kapagi ént.</i>	چک کپیگی انت.	‘The child is about to fall.’

Table 259. Affirmative past future time reference forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>rawagi atán</i>	رئوگی اتان	<i>rawagi atén</i>	رئوگی اتین
2 nd	<i>rawagi atay</i>	رئوگی اتے	<i>rawagi atét</i>	رئوگی اتیت
3 rd	<i>rawagi at</i>	رئوگی ات	<i>rawagi atant</i>	رئوگی اتنت

Table 260. Negated past future time reference forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>narawagi atán</i>	نرئوگی اتان	<i>narawagi atén</i>	نرئوگی اتین
2 nd	<i>narawagi atay</i>	نرئوگی اتے	<i>narawagi atét</i>	نرئوگی اتیت
3 rd	<i>narawagi at</i>	نرئوگی ات	<i>narawagi atant</i>	نرئوگی اتنت

Table 261. Alternative negated past future time reference forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>rawagi naatán</i>	رئوگی نہ اتان	<i>rawagi naatén</i>	رئوگی نہ اتین
2 nd	<i>rawagi naatay</i>	رئوگی نہ اتے	<i>rawagi naatét</i>	رئوگی نہ اتیت
3 rd	<i>rawagi naat</i>	رئوگی نہ ات	<i>rawagi naatant</i>	رئوگی نہ اتنت

Table 262. Affirmative past future time reference forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kanagi atán</i>	کنگی اتان	<i>kanagi atén</i>	کنگی اتین
2 nd	<i>kanagi atay</i>	کنگی اتے	<i>kanagi atét</i>	کنگی اتیت
3 rd	<i>kanagi at</i>	کنگی ات	<i>kanagi atant</i>	کنگی اتنت

Table 263. Negated past future time reference forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>nakanagi atán</i>	نکنگی اتان	<i>nakanagi atén</i>	نکنگی اتین
2 nd	<i>nakanagi atay</i>	نکنگی اتے	<i>nakanagi atét</i>	نکنگی اتیت
3 rd	<i>nakanagi at</i>	نکنگی ات	<i>nakanagi atant</i>	نکنگی اتنت

Table 264. Alternative negated past future time reference forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>kanagi naatán</i>	کنگی نہ اتان	<i>kanagi naatén</i>	کنگی نہ اتین
2 nd	<i>kanagi naatay</i>	کنگی نہ اتے	<i>kanagi naatét</i>	کنگی نہ اتیت
3 rd	<i>kanagi naat</i>	کنگی نہ ات	<i>kanagi naatant</i>	کنگی نہ اتنت

This construction is used to denote past foretold future.

<i>May sangat áyagi atant.</i>	مئے سنگت آگی اتنت.	‘Our friends were to come.’
<i>Tai wáhag purah nabayagi at.</i>	تئی واہگ پورہ نبیگی ات.	‘What you.SG wanted (lit. your wish) was impossible (lit. not to be fulfilled).’
<i>É kár kanagi naat.</i>	اے کار کنگی نہ ات.	‘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.

<i>Má ápá bokkagi atén.</i>	ما آپا بگگی اتین.	‘We were about to drown.’
<i>Chokk kapagi at bale man dásht.</i>	چک کپیگی ات بلہ من داشت.	‘The child was about to fall, but I caught him.’

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	
1 st	<i>maná rawagi ent</i>	منا رٿوگی اِنْت	<i>márá rawagi ent</i>	مارا رٿوگی اِنْت
2 nd	<i>tará rawagi ent</i>	ترا رٿوگی اِنْت	<i>shomárá rawagi ent</i>	شمارا رٿوگی اِنْت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá rawagi ent</i>	اِشیا/آییا رٿوگی اِنْت	<i>eshán/áyán rawagi ent</i>	اِشان/آیان رٿوگی اِنْت

Table 266. Negated present-future necessity/intention forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná narawagi ent</i>	منا نرٿوگی اِنْت	<i>márá narawagi ent</i>	مارا نرٿوگی اِنْت
2 nd	<i>tará narawagi ent</i>	ترا نرٿوگی اِنْت	<i>shomárá rawagi ent</i>	شمارا نرٿوگی اِنْت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá narawagi ent</i>	اِشیا/آییا نرٿوگی اِنْت	<i>eshán/áyán narawagi ent</i>	اِشان/آیان نرٿوگی اِنْت

Table 267. Alternative negated present-future necessity/intention forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná rawagi naent</i>	منا رٿوگي نهانت	<i>márá rawagi naent</i>	مارا رٿوگي نهانت
2 nd	<i>tará rawagi naent</i>	ترا رٿوگي نهانت	<i>shomárá rawagi naent</i>	شمارا رٿوگي نهانت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá rawagi naent</i>	إشيا/آيبا رٿوگي نهانت	<i>eshán/áyán rawagi naent</i>	إشان/آيان رٿوگي نهانت

Table 268. Affirmative present-future necessity/intention forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná kanagi ent</i>	منا کنگي انت	<i>márá kanagi ent</i>	مارا کنگي انت
2 nd	<i>tará kanagi ent</i>	ترا کنگي انت	<i>shomárá kanagi ent</i>	شمارا کنگي انت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá kanagi ent</i>	إشيا/آيبا کنگي انت	<i>eshán/áyán kanagi ent</i>	إشان/آيان کنگي انت

Table 269. Negated present-future necessity/intention forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná nakanagi ent</i>	منا نکنگي انت	<i>márá nakanagi ent</i>	مارا نکنگي انت
2 nd	<i>tará nakanagi ent</i>	ترا نکنگي انت	<i>shomárá nakanagi ent</i>	شمارا نکنگي انت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nakanagi ent</i>	إشيا/آيبا نکنگي انت	<i>eshán/áyán nakanagi ent</i>	إشان/آيان نکنگي انت

Table 270. Alternative negated present-future necessity/intention forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná kanagi naent</i>	منا کنگي نهانت	<i>márá kanagi naent</i>	مارا کنگي نهانت
2 nd	<i>tará kanagi naent</i>	ترا کنگي نهانت	<i>shomárá kanagi naent</i>	شمارا کنگي نهانت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá kanagi naent</i>	إشيا/آيبا کنگي نهانت	<i>eshán/áyán kanagi naent</i>	إشان/آيان کنگي نهانت

<i>Márá maróchi kár kanagi ent.</i>	مارا مروچی کار کنگی انت.	‘We have to work today.’
<i>Maná pelmé chárangi ent.</i>	منا پلمے چارگی انت.	‘I intend to watch a film.’
<i>Mani brátá molká rawagi ent.</i>	منی براتا ملکا رٹوگی انت.	‘My brother has to (or: intends to) go to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Shomárá é gapp nagwashagi ent.</i>	شمارا اے گپ نگوشگی انت.	‘You.PL should not say this (lit. this talk).’
<i>Chokkán dars wánagi ent.</i>	چکان درس وانگی انت.	‘The children must study.’
<i>Tará wati brát shahrá rasénagi ant.</i>	ترا وتی برات شهرا رسینگی انت.	‘You.SG need to take your brothers to town.’
<i>Márá sáhat doá warag waragi ent.</i>	مارا ساهت دوا ورگ ورگی انت.	‘We are planning to eat at two o’clock.’

Table 271. Affirmative past necessity/intention forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná rawagi at</i>	منا رٹوگی ات	<i>márá rawagi at</i>	مارا رٹوگی ات
2 nd	<i>tará rawagi at</i>	ترا رٹوگی ات	<i>shomárá rawagi at</i>	شمارا رٹوگی ات
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá rawagi at</i>	إشیا/آییا رٹوگی ات	<i>eshán/áyán rawagi at</i>	إشان/آیان رٹوگی ات

Table 272. Negated past necessity/intention forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná narawagi at</i>	منا نرٹوگی ات	<i>márá narawagi at</i>	مارا نرٹوگی ات
2 nd	<i>tará narawagi at</i>	ترا نرٹوگی ات	<i>shomárá narawagi at</i>	شمارا نرٹوگی ات
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá narawagi at</i>	إشیا/آییا نرٹوگی ات	<i>eshán/áyán narawagi at</i>	إشان/آیان نرٹوگی ات

Table 273. Alternative negated past necessity/intention forms of *rawag* ‘to go’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná rawagi naat</i>	منا رڭوگی نهأت	<i>márá rawagi naat</i>	مارا رڭوگی نهأت
2 nd	<i>tará rawagi naat</i>	ترا رڭوگی نهأت	<i>shomárá rawagi naat</i>	شمارا رڭوگی نهأت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá rawagi naat</i>	إشیا/آییا رڭوگی نهأت	<i>eshán/áyán rawagi naat</i>	إشان/آیان رڭوگی نهأت

Table 274. Affirmative past necessity/intention forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná kanagi at</i>	منا کنگی ات	<i>márá kanagi at</i>	مارا کنگی ات
2 nd	<i>tará kanagi at</i>	ترا کنگی ات	<i>shomárá kanagi at</i>	شمارا کنگی ات
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá kanagi at</i>	إشیا/آییا کنگی ات	<i>eshán/áyán kanagi at</i>	إشان/آیان کنگی ات

Table 275. Negated past necessity/intention forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná nakanagi at</i>	منا نکنگی ات	<i>márá nakanagi at</i>	مارا نکنگی ات
2 nd	<i>tará nakanagi at</i>	ترا نکنگی ات	<i>shomárá nakanagi at</i>	شمارا نکنگی ات
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nakanagi at</i>	إشیا/آییا نکنگی ات	<i>eshán/áyán nakanagi at</i>	إشان/آیان نکنگی ات

Table 276. Alternative negated past necessity/intention forms of *kanag* ‘to do’

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná kanagi naat</i>	منا کنگی نهأت	<i>márá kanagi naat</i>	مارا کنگی نهأت
2 nd	<i>tará kanagi naat</i>	ترا کنگی نهأت	<i>shomárá kanagi naat</i>	شمارا کنگی نهأت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá kanagi naat</i>	إشیا/آییا کنگی نهأت	<i>eshán/áyán kanagi naat</i>	إشان/آیان کنگی نهأت

<i>Tará may lógá áyagi at. Chiá nayátkay?</i>	ترا مئے لوگا آئیگی ات . چیا نئیاتکئے؟	‘You.SG were to come to our home. Why didn’t you come?’
<i>Agan tará narawagi at chiá maná hál nadát?</i>	اگن ترا نرئوگی ات چیا منا ہال ندات؟	‘If you.SG were not going to go, why didn’t [you] tell me?’
<i>Mará é kár kanagi naat bale pa taigi kort.</i>	مارا اے کار کنگی نہات بلہ پہ تئیگی کرت .	‘We were not supposed to do this (lit. this deed), but [we] did it for you.SG.’
<i>Maná bázará rawagi at, paméshká shomay kerrá átk nakort.</i>	منا بازارا رئوگی ات، پمیشکا شمئے کزا 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.

<i>Mará shahrá rawaga kapit.</i>	مارا شہرا رئوگ کپیت .	‘We have to go to town.’
<i>Chokká bázén ketábé wánaga kapit.</i>	چُکا بازین کتابیئے وانگ کپیت .	‘The child has to read a lot of books.’
<i>Mátay nájórhiay sawabá maná lógá áyag kapt.</i>	ماتئے ناجؤریئے سئوبا منا لوکا آئیگ کپت .	‘I had to come home because of my mother’s illness.’
<i>Tará hechbar zarr wám kanag kaptag?</i>	ترا ہچیر 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.)

<i>Mani ján cha gwahrá larzagá lagget.</i>	منی جان چه گوہرا لرزگا لگت.	‘My body started shaking of cold.’
<i>Mani brát démi máhá Karáchíá dars wánagá laggit.</i>	منی برات دیمی ماہا کراچیا درس وانگا لگیت.	‘My brother will start studying in Karachi next month.’
<i>Mani yak sangatéá ketáb nebisag bendát kortag.</i>	منی یک سنگتیا کتاب نییسگ بندات کرتگ.	‘A friend of mine has started writing books.’
<i>Taw kadi Angrézi wánag bongéja kanay?</i>	تفو کدی انگریزی وانگ بُنگیچ کنے؟	‘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	
1 st	<i>maná</i> <i>hast(ent)</i>	منا هست/هستِانت	<i>márá</i> <i>hast(ent)</i>	مارا هست/هستِانت
2 nd	<i>tará</i> <i>hast(ent)</i>	ترا هست/هستِانت	<i>shomárá</i> <i>hast(ent)</i>	شمارا هست/هستِانت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>hast(ent)</i>	إشیا/آییا هست/ هستِانت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>hast(ent)</i>	إشان/آیان هست/ هستِانت

Table 278. Negated present indicative ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná</i> <i>nést(ent)</i>	منا نیست/نیستِانت	<i>márá</i> <i>nést(ent)</i>	مارا نیست/نیستِانت
2 nd	<i>tará</i> <i>nést(ent)</i>	ترا نیست/نیستِانت	<i>shomárá</i> <i>nést(ent)</i>	شمارا نیست/نیستِانت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>nést(ent)</i>	إشیا/آییا نیست/ نیستِانت	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>nést(ent)</i>	إشان/آیان نیست/ نیستِانت

<i>Tará chokk hast?</i>	ترا چگ هست؟	‘Do you.SG have children?’
<i>Mani brátá zarr nést.</i>	منی براتا زرر نیست.	‘My brother has no money.’
<i>Shomárá báz pocch hast.</i>	شمارا باز پُچ هست.	‘You.PL have a lot of clothes.’
<i>Áyán edá hech syád nést.</i>	آیان ادا هچ سیاد نیست.	‘They don’t have a single relative here.’

Table 279. Affirmative past ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná hastat</i>	منا هستات	<i>márá hastat</i>	مارا هستات
2 nd	<i>tará hastat</i>	ترا هستات	<i>shomárá hastat</i>	شمارا هستات
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá</i> <i>hastat</i>	إشیا/آییا هستات	<i>eshán/áyán</i> <i>hastat</i>	إشان/آیان هستات

Table 280. Negated past ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná néstat</i>	منا نیستآت	<i>márá néstat</i>	مارا نیستآت
2 nd	<i>tará néstat</i>	ترا نیستآت	<i>shomárá néstat</i>	شمارا نیستآت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá néstat</i>	إشیا/آییا نیستآت	<i>eshán/áyán néstat</i>	إشان/آیان نیستآت

Tará á wahdi chokk hastat?

ترا آ وهدی چک هستآت؟

‘Did you.SG have children at that time?’

Mani brátá zarr néstat.

منی براتا زر نیستآت.

‘My brother had no money.’

Shomárá pésará báz pocch hastat.

شمارا پیسرا باز پُچ هستآت.

‘You.PL had a lot of clothes previously.’

Áyán edá hech syád néstat.

آیان ادا هچ سیاد نیستآت.

‘They didn’t have a single relative here.’

Table 281. Affirmative present-future subjunctive ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná bebit</i>	منا ببیت	<i>márá bebit</i>	مارا ببیت
2 nd	<i>tará bebit</i>	ترا ببیت	<i>shomárá bebit</i>	شمارا ببیت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá bebit</i>	إشیا/آییا ببیت	<i>eshán/áyán bebit</i>	إشان/آیان ببیت

Table 282. Negated present-future subjunctive ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná mabit</i>	منا مبییت	<i>márá mabit</i>	مارا مبییت
2 nd	<i>tará mabit</i>	ترا مبییت	<i>shomárá mabit</i>	شمارا مبییت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá mabit</i>	إشیا/آییا مبییت	<i>eshán/áyán mabit</i>	إشان/آیان مبییت

Agan tará mardénchokké bebit, áiyá námá Dódá bekan.

اگن ترا مردینچکے ببیت،
آییئے ناما دودا بکن؟

‘If you.SG get a son, call him (lit. make his name) Doda.’

Balkén mani brátá pa é saporá zarr bebit.

بلکین منی براتا په اے
سپرا زر ببیت.

‘Maybe my brother will have money for this journey.’

Báyad shomárá báz pocch bebit.

باید شمارا باز پُچ ببیت.

‘You.PL should have a lot of clothes.’

*Agan áyán edá hech
syádé mabit, pa áyán
grána bit.*

اگن آیان ادا هچ سیادے
مبیت، په آیان گران 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	
1 st	<i>maná (be)butén</i>	منا بپوتین/بوتین	<i>márá (be)butén</i>	مارا بپوتین/بوتین
2 nd	<i>tará (be)butén</i>	ترا بپوتین/بوتین	<i>shomárá (be)butén</i>	شمارا بپوتین/بوتین
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá (be)butén</i>	إشیا/آییا بپوتین/بوتین	<i>eshán/áyán (be)butén</i>	إشان/آیان بپوتین/بوتین

Table 284. Negated past subjunctive ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná mabutén</i>	منا مپوتین	<i>márá mabutén</i>	مارا مپوتین
2 nd	<i>tará mabutén</i>	ترا مپوتین	<i>shomárá mabutén</i>	شمارا مپوتین
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá mabutén</i>	إشیا/آییا مپوتین	<i>eshán/áyán mabutén</i>	إشان/آیان مپوتین

Table 285. Affirmative present perfect ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná butag</i>	منا بوتگ	<i>márá butag</i>	مارا بوتگ
2 nd	<i>tará butag</i>	ترا بوتگ	<i>shomárá butag</i>	شمارا بوتگ
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá butag</i>	إشیا/آییا بوتگ	<i>eshán/áyán butag</i>	إشان/آیان بوتگ

Table 286. Negated present perfect ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná nabutag</i>	منا نبوتگ	<i>márá nabutag</i>	مارا نبوتگ
2 nd	<i>tará nabutag</i>	ترا نبوتگ	<i>shomárá nabutag</i>	شمارا نبوتگ
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nabutag</i>	إشیا/آییا نبوتگ	<i>eshán/áyán nabutag</i>	إشان/آیان نبوتگ

Table 287. Affirmative past perfect ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná butagat</i>	منا بوتگأت	<i>márá butagat</i>	مارا بوتگأت
2 nd	<i>tará butagat</i>	ترا بوتگأت	<i>shomárá butagat</i>	شمارا بوتگأت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá butagat</i>	إشيا/آيا بوتگأت	<i>eshán/áyán butagat</i>	إشان/آيان بوتگأت

Table 288. Negated past perfect ownership construction forms

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>maná nabutagat</i>	منا نبوتگأت	<i>márá nabutagat</i>	مارا نبوتگأت
2 nd	<i>tará nabutagat</i>	ترا نبوتگأت	<i>shomárá nabutagat</i>	شمارا نبوتگأت
3 rd	<i>eshiá/áiá nabutagat</i>	إشيا/آيا نبوتگأت	<i>eshán/áyán nabutagat</i>	إشان/آيان نبوتگأت

*Agan maná zarr
bebutén garibána
dátogat.*

اگن منا زرّ بیوتین گریبانا
داتگأت.

‘If I had money I
would have given it to
the poor.’

*Drégatá áiá wánagay
shawk bebutén.*

دریگتا آيا وانگئے شوک
بیوتین.

‘How good [it would
be] if he had had an
interest in studying.’

*É wájahá pésará bázén
málé butag, bale nun
nézgar ent.*

اے واجها پیسرا بازین مالے
بوتگ، بله نون نیزگار انت.

‘This man [reportedly]
had a lot of livestock
formerly, but now he is
poor.’

*Márá tai suray hech
hál o habaré nabutag.*

مارا تئی سوری هچ هال و
هبرے نبوتگ.

‘We have not had any
information about
your.SG wedding.’

*Maná kollag butagat.
Paméshká átkon
nakort.*

منا کُلگ بوتگأت. پمیشکا
آنکن نکرت.

‘I had caught a cold.
Therefore I could not
come.’

*Áiá tán dah sálá chokk
nabutagat bale padá
buti.*

آيا تان ده سالا چُک
نبوتگأت بله پدا بوتی.

‘He had not got a child
yet at that time, but
then he got [children].’

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.

<i>Chokkán báza torsit.</i>	چکّان باز ترسیت.	‘The children are very scared.’
<i>Tará nalaggit ke má déra kanén?</i>	ترا نلگیت کہ ما دیر کنین؟	‘Doesn’t it seem to you (lit. doesn’t it bump into you) that we are late?’
<i>Maná pa wati gohárá zahira kant.</i>	منا پہ وتی گھارا زھیر کنت.	‘I miss my sister (lit. to me longing does for my sister).’
<i>Taw maná báz dóst ay.</i>	تھو منا باز دوست اے.	‘I love you.SG very much (lit. you are much loved to me).’
<i>Áiá mazanén zarré pakár at.</i>	آییا مزنین زرے پکار ات.	‘She needed a large (sum of) money (lit. to her a large sum of money was needed).’
<i>Tará mani sará bazzag bát.</i>	ترا منی سرا بڑگ بات.	‘May you.SG have mercy on me.’
<i>Balkén é lóg shomára dóst mabit.</i>	بلکین اے لوگ شمارا دوست مبیٹ.	‘Maybe you.PL won’t like this house.’
<i>Mára é ketáb pakára nabit.</i>	مارا اے کتاب پکار نبیٹ.	‘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 dárág*. 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.

<i>Man tará báz dósta dárán.</i>	من ترا باز دوست داران.	‘I love you.SG very much.’
<i>Mátá pa ché wati chokk dóst nadásht?</i>	ماتا پہ جے وتی چُکّ دوست 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.

<i>Edá benendén?</i>	ادا بنندین؟	‘Should we sit down here?’
<i>Kadia wapsay?</i>	کدی وپسے؟	‘When will you.SG go to bed?’
<i>Zeminay sará nesht.</i>	زمینے سرا نشت.	‘She sat down on the floor.’
<i>Mári ke dist, cha torsá óshtát.</i>	ماری کہ دیست، چه ترسا اؤشتات.	‘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.

<i>Taw mani wadára óshtátatagay?</i>	تھو منی ودارا اؤشتاتگ اتھے؟	‘Were you.SG standing [and] waiting for me?’
<i>Man edá waptagán.</i>	من ادا وپتگان.	‘I am lying here.’
<i>Mani gohár kojá óshtátatag?</i>	منی گھار کجا اؤشتاتگ؟	‘Where is my sister standing?’
<i>Pa ché wati brátay kerrá naneshtag?</i>	پہ جے وتی براتھے کرا نَنشتگ؟	‘Why is he not sitting beside his brother?’

*Má cháret bale chokk
wati jágahá
nawaptagat.*

ما چارت بله چُکّ وتی جاگھا
نٹویتگآت .

‘We looked but the
child was not lying in
his (normal) place.’

*Shomá parzónagay
sará neshtagatét?*

شما پرزؤنگئے سرا
نشتگاتیت؟

‘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.

هیدا بؤشت .

‘Stand up right here. /
Keep standing right
here.’

*É korsiy sará
manend, haráb ent.*

اے کرسیئے سرا منند، هراب
انت .

‘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.

<i>Márá mazanén lógé hastat.</i>	مارا مزین لوگے هستات.	‘We had a big house.’
<i>Masterén bachakay nám kay ent?</i>	مسترین بچکے نام کئے انت؟	‘What is the name of the oldest child?’
<i>É wasshén molké.</i>	اے وشین ملکے.	‘This is a good country.’
<i>Bánórá sohrén pocch gwará at.</i>	بانورا سهرین پچ گورا ات.	‘The bride was wearing red clothes.’
<i>Gránén káré may démá ent.</i>	گرانین کارے مئے دیما انت.	‘We have a difficult job before us.’

However, if the adjective attribute is emphasized it can be placed after the noun.

<i>Káré mazanén taw kortag.</i>	کارے مزین تئو کرتگ.	‘You.SG have done a great thing (lit. deed).’
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II. genitive attributes, which normally precede the noun.

<i>Pollay rang sohr ent.</i>	پلئے رنگ سهر انت.	‘The colour of the flower is red.’
<i>Ketábáni kimmat báz at.</i>	کتابانی کیمت باز ات.	‘The price of the books was high (lit. much).’

<i>May mátká molká shotag.</i>	مئے مات مُلکا شتگ.	‘Our mother has gone to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Shomay chokk mazan butagant?</i>	شمئے چکّ مزن بوتگ أنت؟	‘Have your.PL children grown up?’
<i>Esháni zend wassh gwazagá at.</i>	إشانی زند وشّ گوزگا أت.	‘Their life was going along well.’

However, if the genitive attribute is emphasized, it can be placed after the noun.

<i>Chónén wasshén zendé at, esháni.</i>	چۆنن وشّین زندے أت، إشانی.	‘How good their life was.’
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A genitive attribute precedes an adjective attribute.

<i>Chokkáni nókén ketábáni kimmat báz at.</i>	چكّانی نوكین کتابانی کیمت باز أت.	‘The price of the children’s new books was high (lit. much).’
<i>Tai masterén bachakay nám kay ent?</i>	تئی مسترین بچکئے نام کئے إنت؟	‘What is the name of your.SG oldest child?’

III. demonstrative and indefinite determiners, which are always placed before the noun.

<i>Á bachak mani chokk naent.</i>	آ بچک منی چکّ نه إنت.	‘That boy is not my child.’
<i>É róchán taw ché kanagá ay?</i>	اے رۆچان تئو چے کنگا ائے؟	‘What are you.SG doing these days?’
<i>Gón wat hech chizz mayár.</i>	گۆن وت هچ چبیر مئیار.	‘Don’t bring anything with you.SG.’
<i>Har némagá ke becháray, é molk ábád ent.</i>	هر نیمگا که بچارئے، اے مُلک آباد إنت.	‘In any direction you.SG may look, this country is cultivated/fertile.’

<i>É drachk báyard ent goddhag bebit.</i>	اے درچک باید انت گڈگ بیت .	‘This tree must be chopped down.’
<i>Man á molkán nashotagán.</i>	من آ ملکان نشتگان .	‘I have not been to those countries.’
<i>Chont sáhat kár bekanén?</i>	چنت ساهت کار بکنین؟	‘How many hours did the job take?’

Demonstrative determiners precede adjective attributes and indefinite determiners, but follow genitive attributes.

<i>Á mazanén ketábá maná beday.</i>	آ مزین کتابا منا بدئے .	‘Give me that big book.’
<i>É bázén zarrán taw ché kanay?</i>	اے بازین زران تھو چے کنتے؟	‘What are you.SG going to do with all this money?’
<i>É kasánén chokká besambál.</i>	اے کسانین چکّا بسمبال .	‘Take care of this small child.’
<i>Hamá mazanén darwázagay dapá óshtátogatán ke dém pa bágá pacha bit.</i>	هما مزین دروازگے دپا اؤشتاتگاتان که دیم په باگا پیچ بیت .	‘I was standing in front of that big door which opens towards the garden.’
<i>Chokkáni é kár sharr naat.</i>	چکانی اے کار شر نہأت .	‘This thing that the children did (lit. the children’s this deed) was not good.’
<i>É chokkáni kár sharr naat.</i>	اے چکانی کار شر نہأت .	‘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.

<i>Say róchá lógá atán.</i>	سے رّوچا لوگا اتان .	‘I was at home for three days.’
<i>Cháromi róchá dar kaptán.</i>	چارمی رّوچا در کپتان .	‘On the fourth day I went out.’

<i>Tai doén brát kojá ant?</i>	تئی دوین برات کجا أنت؟	‘Where are your.SG two brothers?’
<i>May awali lóg Pahrahá at.</i>	مئے ائولی لوگ پهرها أت.	‘Our first home was in Pahrah.’

V. the indefinite adjectives *bázén* ‘many’ and *lahtén* ‘some’, which precede another adjective.

<i>Bádsháhá pa eday mardomán bázén sharrén káré kortag.</i>	بادشاهه په ادئی مردمان بازین شَرین کاره کرتگ.	‘The king has done many good things for the people here.’
<i>Lahtén radén kári ham kortag.</i>	لهتین ردین کاری هم کرتگ.	‘He has also done some wrong things.’

VI. adverbs, which are placed before the head word (an adjective, verb, or adverb).

<i>É kár báz grán ent.</i>	اے کار باز گران انت.	‘This job is very difficult.’
<i>Sakk téza rawt.</i>	سک تیز رتوت.	‘He walks very fast.’
<i>May chokk sakk báz ketába wánant.</i>	مئے چک سک باز درس واننت.	‘Our children read very much.’

5.2. Constituent order in the clause

The basic clause-constituent order in Balochi is Subject-Object-Verb.

<i>Chokk wati sangatána gendant.</i>	چک وتی سنگتان گندنت.	‘The children see their friends.’
<i>Mani pet ketáb wánagá ent.</i>	منی پت کتاب وانگا انت.	‘My father is reading books/a book.’
<i>Róchá wati bránz sheng o tálán kortant.</i>	رؤچا وتی برانز شنگ و تالان کرتنت.	‘The sun spread its rays.’

In a few constructions, the preposition *gón* ‘with’ can follow the verb.

<i>Taw chiá nayáay gón?</i>	تھو چیا نئیائے گون؟	‘Why don’t you come along?’
<i>Mára bar gón.</i>	مارا بر گون.	‘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.

<i>Man wati lógay kelitán tará dayán.</i>	من وتی لوگے کلیتان ترا دئیان.	‘I will give you.SG the keys to my house.’
<i>Ostádá chiá wati ketáb mára nadát?</i>	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.

<i>Báyad ent molkay hákemá song o máliát bedayén.</i>	باید انت مُلکے هاكما سُنْگ و مالیات بدئیین.	‘We need to pay (lit. give) the ruler of the country taxes.’
<i>Shomá maná ché dayét?</i>	شما منا چے دئییت؟	‘What will you.PL give me?’
<i>Maná mókal beday, tai zarrána dayán.</i>	منا مۆكل بدئے، تئی زَران 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.

<i>Harché ke mára hast, shomára dayén.</i>	هرچه که مارا هست، شمارا دئیین.	‘We will give you.PL whatever we have.’
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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. بلوچستانے وشین ندارگ چه و ابا وشتر انت .
‘[Looking at] the beautiful scenery of Balochistan is better than sleeping.’

Sajjahén mardom gárhíay tahá wáb kaptant. سجهین مردم گاڑیے تھا واب کپنتت .
‘All the people fell asleep in the car.’

Chokk gón wati petá habar kanagá at. چک گون وتی پتا هبر کنگا ات .
‘The child was speaking with his father.’

Mazanén kocheké mani démá átk. مزین کچکے منی دیما آتک .
‘A big dog came in front of me.’

Mani chamm pa yak zébáén drachkéá kapt. منی چم په یک زیباین 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 سجهین مردمانی گندگا هتیران بوتان .
‘I was surprised to see all these people.’

Áiay poshtá dega do say morg átk o nesht. آییے پشتا دگه دو سئے مرگ آتک و نشت .
‘Behind it another two [or] three birds came and sat down.’

Báyad ent watá pa saporéa tayár bekanén. باید انت وتا په سپریا تیار بکنین .
‘We need to prepare ourselves for a journey.’

In nominal clauses adpositional phrases are invariably placed before the subject.

Lógay poshtá mazanén bágé. لوگے پشتا مزین باگے .
‘[There is] a big garden behind the house.’

Bágay delgáhá drachké. باگے دلگاها درچکے .
‘In the middle of the garden there is a tree.’

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.

<i>Maróchi tuppána bit.</i>	مرڈچی توپانَ بیت.	‘There will be a storm today.’
<i>Randá man lógá shotán.</i>	رندا من لوگا شتان.	‘Then I went home.’
<i>Démi haptagá man tai mehmán án.</i>	دیمی ھپتگا من تیی مھمان آن.	‘I will come to you.SG (lit. be your guest) next week.’
<i>Má nazánén ke bandá ché bit.</i>	ما نزانین کہ باندا چے بیت.	‘We don’t know what is going to happen tomorrow.’

Temporal clauses can also be placed after the subject.

<i>Taw zi kojá shotay?</i>	تو زی کجا شتے؟	‘Where did you.SG go yesterday?’
<i>Chokkán embari sharr dars nawántag.</i>	چگان امبری شرّ درس نعاونتگ.	‘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.

<i>Gón wati hamsarókán mehrabán bay. É paymá taw ham washnáma bay o tai pet o mát ham.</i>	گون وتی ھمسروکان مھربان بے. اے پیما تھو ھم وشنام بے و تیی پت و مات ھم.	‘Be kind to your.SG age-mates. In this way both you and your parents (lit. father and mother) will get a good reputation.’
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Less marked adverbials of manner are normally placed after the subject, at the beginning of the predicate phrase.

<i>Márá hamé dhawlá kanagi ent ke taw gwashay.</i>	مارا همے ڈٹولا کنگی انت کہ تھو گوشے .	‘We need to do as you.SG say.’
<i>Nabáyad zutt zahr begeyay.</i>	نباید زوت زھر بگرے .	‘You.SG mustn’t get angry quickly.’
<i>Drostigén poll pa ásáni bahá kanag butant.</i>	درستیگین پُلّ پہ 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.

<i>Taw kadi bázará shotay?</i>	تھو کدی بازارا شتے؟	‘When did you.SG go to the marketplace?’
<i>Chokk sajjahén róchá eskulá butagant.</i>	چُک سَجھین رُچا اسکولا بوتگ آنت .	‘The children have been at school the whole day.’
<i>Má hamé métagá neshtagén.</i>	ما همے میتگا نشتگین .	‘We live (lit. sit) in this village.’
<i>Dém pa shahrá rahádag bután.</i>	دیم پہ شھرا رھادگ بوتان .	‘I set out for town.’

It is not uncommon to have several adverbials in the same clause. Temporal adverbials often precede other adverbials.

<i>Zi némrochá hamé shahrá anágat zaminchandhé but.</i>	زی نیمرُچا همے شھرا اناکت زمین چنڈے بوت .	‘Yesterday at noon there was suddenly an earthquake in this town.’
<i>Randá é sajjahén mardom pa eshtápi wati lógán per tarretant.</i>	رندا اے سَجھین مردم پہ اشتاپی وتی لوگان پر ترنت .	‘Afterwards all these people returned to their homes in a hurry.’

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 sohba eskulá
shotant o dém pa
bégáhá per tarretant.* چُکّ زی سہبا اسکولا شتنت
و دیم پہ بیگاہا پر ترنتت.

‘The children went to school yesterday morning and [they] returned towards the afternoon.’

*Mani sangat maróchia
kayt o tán bándá dárit.* منی سنگت مردّچی کثیت 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 شہرا شت و چہ اؤدا
پہ من پُچی گپت.

‘My father went to town and bought clothes for me from there.’

*Ó brátán! Chiá é
ketábó nawánt?* او براتان! چیا اے کتابو
نخوانت؟

‘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 ات چیا منا
ہال نادات؟

‘If you.SG were not going to go, why didn’t [you] tell me?’

*Mará é kár kanagi naat
bale pa taigi kort.* مارا اے کار کنگی نہأت بلہ
پہ تئیگی 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.

<i>Tai brát átkagant, man distagant.</i>	تئی برات آتگ آنت، من دیستگ آنت.	‘Your.SG brothers have come, I have seen [them].’
<i>Mardomé cha shahrá pèdák at, man wati lógá bort.</i>	مردمے چه شهرا پیداک آت، من وتی لوگا برت.	‘A person was coming from town, I took [him] to my house.’
<i>Man é pollá wati lógá barán o wati bágá keshán.</i>	من اے پلا وتی لوگا بران و وتی باگا کیشان.	‘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.

<i>Má á chokk wati lógá áwortant o kammé warák dátant.</i>	ما آچک وتی لوگا آورتنت و کمے وراک داتنت.	‘We brought these children home and gave [them] some food.’
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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.

<i>Wahdé sangatán áiay nájórhiay hál eshкот, áiay gwará átkant.</i>	وهدے سنگتان آییے ناجوڑیے هال إشکت، آییے گورا آتکنت.	‘When [his] friends heard that he was ill, they came to him.’
<i>Chokk gón mátá habar kanagá at.</i>	چک گون ماتا هبر کنگا آت.	‘The child was talking to [his] mother.’
<i>Áyáni é kár petá dóst naat.</i>	آیانی اے کار پتا دوست نه آت.	‘[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).

<i>É bánok Balóché?</i>	اے بانک بلوچے؟	‘Is this lady a Baloch?’
<i>May sangat dáktaré.</i>	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).

<i>Tará zarr gón?</i>	ترا زر گون؟	‘Do you.SG have money on you.’
<i>Maná pa taw lahtén ketáb gón.</i>	منا پہ تھو لھتین کتاب گون.	‘I have some books with me for you.’
<i>É kópá chá mán?</i>	اے کوپا چا مان؟	‘Is there tea in this cup?’
<i>É mardomá bázén sharrié mán.</i>	اے مردما بازین شریے مان.	‘This person has many good qualities.’
<i>Harkasá gósh per, gósh bedárit.</i>	ھرکسا گوش پر، گوش 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.

<i>Má cha Pahrahá dar kaptén o dém pa Wáshá shotén.</i>	ما چہ پھرہا در کپتین و دیم پہ واشاشتین.	‘We set out from Pahrah and went towards Wash.’
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<i>É zarrán bezur o beraw.</i>	اے زَرَّان بزور و برئو.	‘Take this money and go.’
<i>Ostáyá lógé bast o padá wati pagári gept.</i>	اُستایا لُوگے بست و پدا وتی پگاری گپت .	‘The craftsman built a house and then he got his wages.’
<i>Man é ketábána gerán o padá wánánesh.</i>	من اے کتابانَ گران و پدا وانانیش .	‘I will buy these books and then read them.’
<i>Man nóki átkagán o taw nuna raway?</i>	من نوکی آتکگان و تئو نوؤ رئوئے؟	‘I have just come, but are you going right now?’
<i>Shomay kerrá káyán bale báza nanendán.</i>	شمئے کزا کایان بله باز ننندان .	‘I will come to [visit] you.PL but I won’t stay long.’
<i>Kár báz ent bale kass kára nakant.</i>	کار باز انت بله کس کار نکنت .	‘There is a lot of work, but nobody works.’
<i>Taw pa é diwáná dáráy yá raway?</i>	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 that he will come’ (and direct object complements (cf. English ‘I have heard that he will come’). 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.

<i>Sharter hamesh ent ke má molká berawén.</i>	شترتر همیشِ انت که ما ملکا برئوین .	‘It is better that we go to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Mani wáhag hamé butag ke shomárá begendán.</i>	منی واہگ ہمے بوتگ کہ شمارا بگندان .	‘My desire has been to see you.PL.’
<i>Zánaga nabit taw mani brát ay.</i>	زانگِ نبیتِ تتو منی برات ائے .	‘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.

<i>Petá gwasht: “Oo mani chokk! Cha é kárá mators.”</i>	پتا گوشت: «او منی چکّا! چه اے کارا مترس.»	‘The father said: “My child, don’t be afraid of this job.”’
<i>Janá gwasht: “Nun gapp chi ent?”</i>	جنا گوشت: «نون گپّ چی انت؟»	‘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.

<i>Mani gohárá gón man gwasht ke báyard mátay kerrá berawán.</i>	منی گھارا گۆن من گوشت کہ باید ماتتے کُرا برئوان .	‘My sister told me that I had to go to [our] mother.’
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In nominal complement clauses after verbs of cognition and perception, as with direct speech, the verb form reflects the direct cognition or perception.

<i>Má hayál kort á molká narawt.</i>	ما هئيال كرت آ ملكا نرئوت.	‘We thought that he would not go to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Áiá dist ke hawr gwáragá ent.</i>	آييا ديست كه هئور گوارگا انت.	‘She saw that it was raining.’
<i>Shomá eshкотag é mardom koshag butag?</i>	شما ايشكوتگ اے مردم كُشگ بوتگ؟	‘Have you.PL heard that this person has been killed?’
<i>Man lóthet ke taw géshter bedáshtén.</i>	من لوئت كه تئو گيشتر بداشتين.	‘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.

<i>Man dist ke chokk áyagá ent.</i>	من ديست كه چُك آيگا انت.	‘I saw that the child was coming.’
<i>Taw zánay ke man bándá káyán.</i>	تئو زانئے كه من باندا كايان.	‘You.SG know that I will come tomorrow.’
<i>Má lóthet ke may sangat byáyant.</i>	ما لوئت كه مئے سنگت بيايانت.	‘We wanted our friends to come.’
<i>Mani brátá shawr kortag molká berawt.</i>	مني براتا شعور كرتگ مُلكا برئوت.	‘My brother has decided to go to Balochistan (lit. the land).’
<i>Mani delá lóthet ballok enshapi may lógá byátkén.</i>	مني دلا لوئت بلك انشپي مئے لؤگا بياتكين.	‘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.

<i>Man zi wati pet karkénk mocch kanagá dist.</i>	من زی وتی پت کرکینک مچ کنگا دیست .	‘Yesterday I saw [that] my father [was] gathering oysters.’
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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*).

<i>Hamá mardom ke ódá óshtátág mani brát ent.</i>	هما مردم که اؤدا اؤشتاتگ منی برات انت .	‘The person who is standing over there is my brother.’
<i>Hamá kárán bekan ke tará kanagi ant.</i>	هما کاران بکن که ترا کنگی انت .	‘Do those things that you.SG have to.’
<i>Má á mardomay habarán báwara kanén ke pésará gón má drógi nabastag.</i>	ما آ مردمئے هبران باور کنین که پیسرا گون ما درۆگی نیستگ .	‘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 مچے کہ نا نئیاریت گڈگ
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.*

هر کس کہ مئے لؤگا کثیت
باید انت وتی کتوشان در
بکت .

‘Whoever comes to
our house must take
off his shoes.’

*Har chokké ke wassh
dars bwánit wati pet o
mátá sarperáza kant.*

هر چکے کہ وش 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 کہ نامی میر همَل
انت مُلکا نشتگ .

‘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 اسکول کہ ده سال
پیسرا اڈ کنگ بوتگ دوشی
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.*

آئیے چہ پنچین مُشکانی
سرا کپت کہ گڑوئے تھا
مرتگ اتنت .

‘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 گۆن آ مردمان ڈیک
وارت کہ چہ سردارئے دیوانا
پیداک 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 کہ دایما درۆگ
بندیت شرین سنگتے نہانت .

‘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 ہما چک ات کہ منی
کتابی زرت و برت .

‘This was the child
who took my book.’

*Á mardomá ke dróg
bastag býad sezú
dayag bebit.*

آ مردما کہ درۆگ بستگ
باید سزا دئیگ بیبت .

‘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 کہ من گندان تئی
برات وہ نہانت؟

‘The man whom I see
is not your.SG brother,
right?’

*Hamá ketáb ke taw bahá
zortag wasshén ketábé.*

ہما کتاب کہ تئو بہا زرتگ
وشین کتابے .

‘The book that you.SG
bought is a good
book.’

<i>É warákán ke má har rócha warén washtám naant.</i>	اے وراکان کہ ما ہر رُوچِ ورین وشتام نہ آنت.	‘The food that we eat every day is not tasty.’
<i>Hamé kár ke áyán kortag gránén káré.</i>	ہمے کار کہ آیان کرتگ گرانین کارے.	‘The job they have done is a hard job.’
<i>Hamá mardomá ke taw zarra dayay mani sangat ent.</i>	ہما مردما کہ تئو زر دئیے منی سنگت اِنت.	‘The man that you.SG give money to is my friend.’
<i>Hamá chokkán ke má har róch waraga dayén sakk garib ant.</i>	ہما چک کہ ما ہر رُوچِ ورگش دئیین سک گریب آنت.	‘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.

<i>Taw á chokká genday ke mania gendán?</i>	تئو آ چُکَا گندے کہ منی گندان؟	‘Do you.SG see the child whom I see?’
<i>Mani sangat á ketábá zarur bahá zurant ke mani bráti nebisagá ent.</i>	منی سنگت آ کتابا زورور بہا زورنت کہ منی براتی نیبسیگا اِنت.	‘My friends will definitely buy the book that my brother is writing.’
<i>Hamá pasán bándá bahá kanén ke taw áyáná káh dát.</i>	ہما پسان باندا بہا کنین کہ 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.

<i>Hamá pasáná ke taw káh dát bándá baháesha kanén.</i>	ہما پسانا کہ تئو کاه دات باندا بہا اِش کنین.	‘Tomorrow we will sell the sheep/goats that you.SG fed.’
<i>Káré ke mana kanán, taw padá áiá makan.</i>	کارے کہ من کنان، تئو پدا آییا 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.

<i>Á róchá ke taw shahrá shotay, man jáhé nashotán.</i>	آ رۆچا که تنو شهرا شتھے، من جاھے نَشْتان.	‘The day when you.SG went to town, I did not go anywhere.’
<i>Hamá damáná ke é hál márá raset, má lóga shotén.</i>	هما دمانا که اے هال مارا رست، ما لوگا شتین.	‘The very moment that this piece of news reached us, we went home.’
<i>Á sálá ke dhokkál kapt, bázén mardomé mort.</i>	آ سالا که ڈکال 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.

<i>Hamé lóg ke dozz eshiay poshtá chér butagant mani brátay lóg ent.</i>	همے لوگ که دُزِ اِشِبِئے پُشتا چیر بوتگانْت منی براتے لوگ اِنْت.	‘The house that the thieves were hiding behind is my brother’s house.’
<i>Á chokk ke taw pa áiá ketáb wánt angat habar korta nakant.</i>	آ چُکْ که تنو په آييا کتاب و انت انگت هبر کرت نکنت.	‘The child to whom you.SG read a book cannot speak yet.’
<i>Taw hamá shahrá rawagá ay ke má cha ódá pédák én.</i>	تنو هما شهرا رنوگا ائے که ما چه اژدا پيداک اين.	‘You.SG are going to the town from which we are coming right now.’
<i>Á mardomá genday ke áiay bagalá chokké hast?</i>	آ مردما گندے که آيئے بگلا چُکْے هست؟	‘Do you.SG see the person who has a child in his arms?’

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.

<i>Hamá bachak ke námi Mirán ent tai chokk ent?</i>	هما بچک که نامی میران إنت تئی چُکْ إنت؟	‘Is the boy whose name is Miran your.SG son?’
<i>Á mardom ke áyáni lóg zi sotk wat rakkentant.</i>	آ مردم که آیانی لُگ زی ستک وت رُکنتت.	‘The poeple whose house burned down yesterday were rescued.’
<i>Mani hamá sangat bándá kayt ke áíáy mát nájórh ent.</i>	منی هما سنگت باندا کئیت که آییئے مات ناجوژ إنت.	‘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.

<i>É bachak ke gón taw habar kanagá ent mani brát ent.</i>	اے بچک که گُون تئو هبر کنگا إنت منی برات إنت.	‘The boy who is talking to you.SG is my brother.’
<i>Hamá kas maróchi shot ke zi may kerrá átkagat.</i>	هما کس مرؤچی شت که زی مئے کزا آتکگأت.	‘The person who had come to us yesterday went today.’
<i>Á chokk wati zendá kámýába bant ke mát o petay habarána zurant.</i>	آ چکْ 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.’
<i>Karé ke mana kanán, taw padá makani.</i>	کارے که مَنَ 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.

<i>Taw á chokká genday ke mania gendán?</i>	تتو آچكا گندائے كه منى گندان؟	‘Do you.SG see the child whom I see?’
<i>Mani sangat á ketábá zarur bahá zurant ke mani bráti nebisagá ent.</i>	منى سنگت آكتابا زورور بها زورنت كه منى براتى نبيسگا .انت .	‘My friends will definitely buy the book that my brother is writing.’
<i>Taw hechbar hamá shahrá shotagay ke mani pet o má t ódá rawant?</i>	تتو هچبر هما شهرا شتگتے كه منى پت و مات اؤدا رثونت؟	‘Have you.SG ever been to that town which my parents are going to?’
<i>Man cha hamá mardomá ke taw pa áiá káré dar gétkagat eshкот ke dega molkéá rawt.</i>	من چه هما مردما كه تتو په آييا كارے در گيتكگات ايشكت كه دگه ملكيا رثوت .	‘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.

<i>Hamá mardom dóshi gerag but ke má har róch áiá bázará gendén.</i>	هما مردم دوشى گرگ بوت كه ما هر رۆچ آييا بازارا گندين .	‘That person whom we see in the marketplace every day was arrested last night.’
<i>Hamé chokkán ke edá layba kort randá kojá shotant?</i>	همے چكان كه ادا لئيب كرت رندا كجا شتنت؟	‘Where did the children who played here go afterwards?’
<i>Á drachká magoddh ke bázén baré dant.</i>	آدرچكا مگد كه بازين 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 هیر 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.*

آهما لۆگئے پُشتا چیر
بوتگآت که مئے لۆگئے
نَزیکَا اِنْت .

‘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 اِنْت .

‘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
پیداک اِنْت 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
پیداک اِنْت برؤسا 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.*

آبانک که من گۆن آييا هیر
کنگا اتان مئے شمئے سیاد
اِنْت .

‘The woman I was
talking to is a relative
of ours.’

*Hamá parzónagá chest
kan ke áiay sará waráké
pasht nakaptag.*

هما پرزۆنگا چست کن که
آيئے سرا وراکے پُشت
نکپتگ .

‘Remove the
tablecloth on which
there is no food left.’

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
áiy chokká habar
kanagá atán mayshomay
syád ent.* آبانک که من گۆن آییئے
چکّا هیر کنگا اتان
مئے شمئے سیاد انت.

‘The woman whose child I was talking to is a relative of ours.’

*Hamá mardomá tawár
kan ke námi Mir
Kambar ent.* هما مردما توار کن که نامی
میر کمبر انت.

‘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 آتکگین 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 kára
pashómán án.* چه وتی کرتگین کارا
پشومان 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 نشتگین مردم
دیستنت.

‘I saw the people who were present at that social gathering (lit. I saw the in that social gathering sitting people).’

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 دیم پہ شہرا رٹوگا
آت، وتی براتی دیست.

‘He saw his brother when he was on his way to town.’

Wahdé káay, hórigá sangatáni lógá rawén.

وهدے کائے، ہوریکا
سنگتانی لوگا رٹوین.

‘When you.SG come we will go visit (lit. home to) [our] friends together.’

Wahdé ke ostáda kayt, báyad sajjahén chokk bóshtant.

وهدے کہ استاد کثیت، باید
سجھین چک بوشنتت.

‘When the teacher comes, all the children have to stand up.’

May mehmán ke shotant, má dém pa shomay lógá átkén.

مئے مہمان کہ شنتت، ما
دیم پہ شمئے لوگا آتکین.

‘When our guests went, we came to (lit. towards) your.PL house.’

Kár ke hallit kárgar wati shahrána rawant.

کار کہ ہلیت کارگر وتی
شهران رٹونت.

‘When the work is finished the workers will go [home] to their own towns.’

Man nóki lógá átkagátan ke mátá maná tawár kort.

من نوکی لوگا آتکگأتان کہ
ماتا منا تتوار کرت.

‘I had just come home when my mother called me.’

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).

<i>Tán kár nahalletag kass wati lógá marawt.</i>	تان کار نہلٔتگ کس وتی لوگا مرئوت .	‘Nobody should go home until the work is finished.’
<i>Hamedá bedár tán man byáyán.</i>	ہمدا بدار تان من بیایان .	‘Stay here until I come.’
<i>Cha eshiá pésar ke mehmán byáyant, lógá berópén.</i>	چہ ایشیا پیسر کہ مہمان بیاینت، لوگا برؤپین .	‘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.

<i>Har wahdé maná tawár bekanay, mana káyán.</i>	هر وهدے منا تٔوار بکنئے، من کایان .	‘I will come whenever you.SG call me.’ (But maybe you will not call me at all.)
<i>Har wahdé mani peta rawt, man ham rawán.</i>	هر وهدے منی پٔ رٔوت، من ہم رٔوان .	‘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).

<i>Wahdé edá rasetay, márá hál beday.</i>	وهدے ادا رستئے، مارا هال بدئے .	‘Tell us when you.SG arrive here.’
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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.

<i>Sajjahén róchá kár kanagá rand may brát sáhat dahá lógá átk.</i>	سجھین رچا کار کنگا رند مئے برات ساهت دھا لوگا آتک .	‘After having worked the whole day our brother came home at ten o’clock.’
<i>Mehmánáni áyag o shám kanagá rand má ham sháma kanén.</i>	مهمانانی آيگ و شام کنگا رند ما هم شام کنين .	‘After the guests have come and had dinner we will also have dinner.’
<i>Wati saparay rawagá pésar pa wat garmén pocch beger.</i>	وتی سپرئے رٹوگا پیسر پہ وت گرمين پُچ بگر .	‘Buy warm clothes for yourself before you go on the journey.’
<i>Gón tai gendagá báz gal bután.</i>	گون تھي 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.

<i>May sangat maróchi nayáyant, parchá ke nájórh butagant.</i>	مئے سنگت مرچي نثيانت، پرچا كه ناجوڑ بوتگ أنت .	‘Our friends won’t come today, because they have fallen ill.’
<i>Mardom pa del kára nakanant, chiá ke áyán sharrén pagára narasit.</i>	مردم پہ دل کار نكننت، چيا كه آيان شرين پگار نرسيت .	‘The people don’t work wholeheartedly because they don’t receive good wages.’
<i>Chó ke taw waráka nawaray, man tará dákhtaray Kerrá barán.</i>	چو كه تھو وراك نثورئے، من ترا داکترئے كرا بران .	‘I will take you.SG to the doctor since you don’t eat.’
<i>Mani démá sharmendag ent ke gón man drógi bastag.</i>	منی دینما شرمندگ انت كه گون من دروگی 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.

<i>Agan áia mani chokk jatag, man ham áiaiy chokká janán.</i>	اگن آيا منى چُكَّ جتگ، من هم آيئى چُكَّا جنان.	‘If (=since) he has beaten my child, I will beat his child.’
<i>Agan kára nakanay, tará zarra narasit.</i>	اگن كارَ نكنئى، ترا زَرَّ نرسيت.	‘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.

<i>É bandig dozzi kanagay sawabá bandijáhá kaptag.</i>	اے بندىگ دُزى كنگئى سئوبا بنديجاها كپتگ.	‘This prisoner has been imprisoned because of theft.’
<i>Balóch bayagay sawabá áia báz sakkí dist.</i>	بلوچ بغيگئى سئوبا آيا باز سكى ديست.	‘He suffered a lot because he was a Baloch.’
<i>Pet cha wati chokkay dars wánagá báz gal but.</i>	پت چه وتى چُكئى 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.

<i>Má átkagén ke shomárá begendén.</i>	ما آتکگين كه شمارا بگندين.	‘We have come to see you.PL.’
<i>Bándá ostáé kárén tán sonduká beborrit.</i>	باندا أستاے كارين تان سندوكا بېرريت.	‘Tomorrow we will bring a craftsman to cut open the locker.’

*Dokkána shotant tán
kammé warák begerant.*

دگانا شتنت تان كَمَّے وراک
بگرت.

‘They went to the
shop to buy some
food.’

*Bázéné watá dindár
péssha dárit tánke
mardom áyán satá
bekanant.*

بازینے وتا دیندار پیش داریت
تانکه مردم آیان ستا بکننت.

‘Many show a
religious face in or-
der 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 johdē kort.*

ما چكّانی 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 بیییت،
منی مات هم کئیت.

‘If my father comes,
my mother will come
as well.’

*Agan mani passawá
madayay, gón taw zahra
bán.*

اگن منی پَسَّوَا مدئیے،
گۆن تَتُو زَهْرَ بان.

‘If you.SG don’t
answer me, I will get
angry with you.’

*Agan áyán komak
bekanét, kár zutta hallit.*

اگن آیان کمک بکنییت،
کار زوٹ هلیت.

‘If you.PL help them,
the job will be
finished soon.’

*Agan hawr begwárit,
mardom gala gerant.*

اگن هٿور بگواريت، مردم
گَل گرت.

‘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, áiyay
mozzá beday.*

اگن كاری كرت، آییئے مڙا
بدئے.

‘If he works (lit.
worked), give [him]
his wages.’

*Agan tai brát cha wati
radén kára pashomán
but, bebakshi.*

اگن تئی برات چه وتی ردین
كارا پشومان بوت، بېكشى.

‘Forgive your.SG
brother if he feels
sorry for his
wrongdoing.’

*Agan áyán zarr pakár
but, maná hál bedayant.*

اگن آیان زر پكار بوت، منا
هال بدئیت.

‘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 كائے، زوت بیا.

‘Come quickly if
you.SG are coming.’
(It is likely that you
are coming.)

*Agan áyáni dela lóthit,
shapá edá dáshta
kanant.*

اگن آیانى دل لوثیت، شپا ادا
داشت كننت.

‘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.

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
برتگانت، کجا اپرت
کرتگانت؟

‘If you.SG have
taken my tools,
where have you put
them?’

*Agan chokk átkagant,
gorhá pa áyán warák
tayár kan.*

اگن چُک آتکگانت، گڑا پہ
آبان 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 چُک بیاتکیننت، وش
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 ردین کارے
بکرتین، من شمے هیر گوش
داشتگات.

‘If this man had done
something wrong, I
would have listened to
what you.PL had to
say (lit. your words).’

*Agan ketábé becepténet,
washter at.*

اگن کتابے بگپتینیت، وشتر
ات.

‘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
bézzat kanag but, bale
angat ham hechkasi
bézzat nakort.*

بَل تَرے منی پت بے اِزْت
کنگ بوت، بله انگت هم
هچکسی بے اِزْت نکرت.

‘Even though my
father was offended,
he did not offend
anyone.’

<i>Taw satar belóthay mana nayáyán.</i>	تعو ستر بلوئئیے من نئیایان .	‘Even if you want [me to], I will not come.’
<i>Bell ke harkas dróg bebandit, man rásténa gwashán.</i>	بل کہ هرکس درۆگ بیندیت، من راستین گوشان .	‘Even if everybody lies, I will tell the truth.’
<i>Shomá maná molká dém dát, harchont man rawag nalóthet.</i>	شما منا ملکا دیم دات، هرچنت من رتوگ نلوئت .	‘You.PL sent me to Balochistan (lit. the land), even though I did not want to go.’
<i>Harchont ke shomá márá pajjáha nayárét, bale má shomárá pajjáha kárén.</i>	هرچنت که شما مارا پچآه نئیاریت، بله ما شمارا پچآه کارین .	‘Even if you.PL don’t recognize us, we recognize you.’
<i>Chónáhá drógén sháhed pa gwáhi dayagá pád átkant, bale kassá áyáni habar báwar nakortant.</i>	چوناها درۆگین شاهد په گواهی دئیگا پاد آتکنت، بله کسا آیانی هیر 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’,

<i>Agan cha hawr o róchá mani hónáni pólung shoshtagant, bale pashómániay thapp angat tázag o ázag ant.</i>	اگن چه هئور و رۆچا منی هونانی پۆلنگ ششتگ أنت، بله پسومانیئے تپ انگت تازگ و آزگ أنت .	‘If (=even though) my stains of blood have been washed away by rain and the sun, still the wounds of regret are fresh.’
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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.

*É jenek anchosh zébá at
ke bádsháhay chokk
eshiay áshek but.*

اے جنک انچش زبیا ات کہ
بادشاہئے چُکّ اشیئے 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 کہ زانگ
ببیت تئو منی چُکّ ائے .

‘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 انت کہ ڈنّا
گوازی کنگّ 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.*

ماهیگ ورگئے بدلا، مرؤچی
مرگ وریں .

‘Instead of eating
fish, we will eat
chicken today.’

*Kár kanagay badalá,
baré baré áram kan.*

کار کنگئے بدلا، برے برے
آرام کن .

‘Instead of working,
take it easy now and
then.’

*Mani habaray zuragay
badalá, molká shotant.*

منی ہیڑئے 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.*

آچہ گُوش دارگا گیشتر هبر
كنت .

‘She speaks more
than she listens.’

É ketáb cha mani bahá
zortagén ketábá
arzánter ent.

اے کتاب چہ منی بہا
زرتگین کتابا ارزاتر انت .

‘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 ہمینچک کہ نیشته کنت ،
ہمینچک وانیت ہم .

‘He reads as much as
he writes.’

Má maróchi haminchok
gal én ke zi butagén.

ما مروچی ہمینچک گل این
کہ زی بوتگین .

‘We are as happy
today as we were
yesterday.’

Man haminchok zahr án
ke taw ay.

من ہمینچک زھر آن کہ تھو
اے .

‘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.

<i>badkár</i> بدكار 'evildoing, evildoer'	< <i>kár</i> كار 'work'
<i>badwáh</i> بدواه 'with evil intent, evil-wishing'	< <i>wáhag</i> واهگ 'to wish'
<i>badkesmat</i> بدكسمت 'unfortunate'	< <i>kesmat</i> كسمت 'fortune, destiny'
<i>bannám</i> بنام 'infamous, notorious'	< <i>nám</i> 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'.

<i>bétawár</i> بيتشوار 'speechless'	< <i>tawár</i> توار 'voice'
<i>béwas</i> بيوس 'helpless'	< <i>was</i> وس 'power, strength'
<i>békár</i> بيكار 'idle, jobless'	< <i>kár</i> كار 'work'
<i>bégonáh</i> بيگناه 'free from guilt, sinless'	< <i>gonáh</i> گناه 'guilt, sin'
<i>bégwáh</i> بيگواه 'invisible, lost'	< <i>gwáh</i> گواه 'witness'
<i>bébahá</i> بيباها 'priceless, invaluable'	< <i>bahá</i> بها 'price'
<i>békesás</i> بيكساس 'immeasurable'	< <i>kesás</i> كساس 'measure, size'
<i>betáhir</i> بيتاهير 'worried, lacking peace'	< <i>táhir</i> تاهير 'peace, rest, repose'

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 بُنگَپْ ‘preliminaries, initial idea’ < *gapp* گَپْ ‘talk, speech’

bonpirok بُنپیرک ‘patriarch, forefather’ < *pirok* پیرک ‘grandfather’

bonhesht بُنهشت ‘cornerstone, first stone laid as the foundation of a house’ < *hesht* هشت ‘brick’

bonjáh بُنجاه ‘capital’ < *jáh* جاه ‘place’

bonred بُنرد ‘fundament of a house’ < *red* رد ‘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 همتتوار ‘unanimous, with one voice’ < *tawár* تتوار ‘voice’

hamkár همكار ‘co-worker’ < *kár* كار ‘work’

hammolki همملکی ‘fellow countryman’ < *molk* ملك ‘country’ + *-i* ی forming adjectives (see Section 6.2).

hamdróshom همدروشم ‘of the same shape, like’ < *dróshom* دروشم ‘shape, form’

hamdel همدل ‘united, of one heart’ < *del* دل ‘heart’

hamdap همدپ ‘unanimous, saying the same thing’ < *dap* دپ ‘mouth’

hamshawr همشتور ‘of the same opinion, taking the same decision’ < *shawr* شتور ‘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’.

<i>kamzát</i> کمزات ‘of lowly descent’	< <i>zát</i> زات ‘origin’
<i>kamsharap</i> کمشرپ ‘dishonoured, of little honour’	< <i>sharap</i> شرپ ‘honour’
<i>kamdid</i> کمدید ‘with weak eyesight’	< <i>did</i> دید ‘eyesight’
<i>kamnehád</i> کمنهاد ‘of low value’	< <i>nehád</i> نهاد ‘value’
<i>kamezzat</i> کم‌إزت ‘dishonoured, of little honour’	< <i>ezzat</i> عزت ‘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’.

<i>náárám</i> ناآرام ‘worried, restless’	< <i>árám</i> آرام ‘calm, at peace’
<i>náensáp</i> ناإنسাপ ‘unfair, unjust’	< <i>ensáp</i> إنسাপ ‘justice, fairness’
<i>nájórh</i> ناجوژ ‘sick’	< <i>jórh</i> جوژ ‘well’
<i>nákár</i> ناكار ‘void, nullified, of no use’	< <i>kár</i> كار ‘work’
<i>násarpad</i> ناسرپد ‘not understanding’	< <i>sarpad</i> سرپد ‘understanding’
<i>náparmán</i> ناپرمان ‘disobedient’	< <i>parmán</i> 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’.

<i>nazánt</i> نزانت ‘lacking knowledge’	< <i>zánt</i> زانت ‘knowledge’
<i>namannók</i> نامنوك ‘disobedient, one who does not accept something, one who does not surrender’	< <i>mannók</i> مننوك ‘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’.

<i>nékbaht</i> نیکبخت ‘fortunate’	< <i>baht</i> بهت ‘fortune, fate’
<i>néknám</i> نیکنام ‘of good reputation’	< <i>nám</i> نام ‘name’
<i>nékkár</i> نیککار ‘charitable, doer of good deeds’	< <i>kár</i> 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 ‘half N/A/V’. Sometimes the noun or adjective formed with *ném-* has acquired a secondary meaning.

<i>némwáb</i> نیمواب ‘half asleep’	< <i>wáb</i> واب ‘sleep’
<i>némróch</i> نیمروچ ‘noon’	< <i>róch</i> روچ ‘sun, day’
<i>némgrád</i> نیمگراد ‘half-cooked’	< <i>grádag</i> گرادگ ‘to cook’
<i>némtamán</i> نیمتमान ‘half-done, incomplete’	< <i>tamán</i> 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’.

<i>porarzes</i> پُرازش ‘valuable’	< <i>arzes</i> ارزش ‘value’
<i>porzór</i> پُرزور ‘strong’	< <i>zór</i> زور ‘strength’
<i>porbarkat</i> پُربركت ‘full of prosperity, blessed’	< <i>barkat</i> بركت ‘blessing’
<i>porjósh</i> پُرجوش ‘intense, full of enthusiasm’	< <i>jósh</i> جوش ‘boiling, fervour’
<i>pormehr</i> پُرمهر ‘loving’	< <i>mehr</i> مهر ‘love’
<i>portawár</i> پُرتتوار ‘famous’	< <i>tawár</i> تتوار ‘voice, sound’

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.

<i>washdel</i> وشدل ‘happy’	< <i>del</i> دل ‘heart’
<i>washnám</i> وشنام ‘well-reputed’	< <i>nám</i> نام ‘name’
<i>washbaht</i> وشبهت ‘fortunate, lucky’	< <i>baht</i> بهت ‘luck, fortune’
<i>washbó</i> وشبو ‘sweet-smelling’	< <i>bó</i> بو ‘smell’
<i>washtawár</i> وشتتوار ‘sweet-singing’	< <i>tawár</i> تتوار ‘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.

<i>sóchák</i> سوچاك ‘hot (about food)’	< <i>sóchag</i> سوچگ ‘to burn’
<i>gerák</i> گراک ‘customer’	< <i>gerag</i> گرگ ‘to take, to buy’
<i>warák</i> وراک ‘food’	< <i>warag</i> وراگ ‘to eat’
<i>póshák</i> پوشاك ‘clothes’	< <i>póshag</i> پوشگ ‘to dress (tr.), to cover’

-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.

<i>gwashtánk</i> گوشتانك ‘speech’	< <i>gwashag, gwasht</i> گوشت، گوشتگ، ‘to say’
<i>nebeshtánk</i> نېشتانك ‘writing, written document’	< <i>nebisag, nebesht</i> نېسگ، نېشت ‘to write’
<i>rajánk</i> رجانك ‘translation’	< <i>rajag, ratk</i> رتگ، رتجگ، ‘to dye’ (i.e. to change the colour of something)
<i>chamshánk</i> چمشانك ‘look’	< <i>chamm</i> چم ‘eye’
<i>padánk</i> پدانك ‘ladder, staircase’	< <i>pad</i> پد ‘footstep’
<i>lakoshánk</i> لكُشانك ‘slippery’	< <i>lakoshag, lakosht</i> لكُشت، لكُشتگ، ‘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’.

<i>zóráwar</i> زؤراور ‘strong’	< <i>zór</i> زؤر ‘strength’
<i>bahtáwar</i> بهتاور ‘fortunate, lucky’	< <i>baht</i> بهت ‘fortune, luck’
<i>námáwar</i> ناماور ‘famous’	< <i>nám</i> نام ‘name’
<i>deláwar</i> دلاور ‘brave’	< <i>del</i> دل ‘heart’

-aká

The suffix *-aká* forms adverbs and is added to a number of words, which sometimes undergo phonological modification.

<i>tahnaká</i> تهنكا ‘alone, by oneself’	< <i>tahná</i> تهننا ‘lonely, alone’
<i>chappaká</i> چپكا ‘wrongly, in the wrong order’	< <i>chapp</i> چپ ‘left’
<i>payádaká</i> پيادكا ‘on foot’	< <i>pád</i> پاد ‘foot’
<i>chónaká</i> چونكا ‘how’	< <i>chón</i> چون ‘how’

-alok

The suffix *-alok* is added to adjectives or nouns and forms diminutives, which normally function as nouns.

<i>gwandhalok</i> گونڈلك ‘small child’	< <i>gwandh</i> گونڈ ‘small’
<i>kammalok</i> كملوك ‘very little, just a little’	< <i>kam</i> كم ‘little’
<i>áskalok</i> آسكلوك ‘fawn’	< <i>ásk</i> آسك ‘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.

<i>drógband</i> دروگبند ‘liar’	< <i>dróg</i> دروگ ‘lie’
<i>chárband</i> چاربند ‘quatrain, four lined poem’	< <i>chár</i> چار ‘four’ بند
<i>bánband</i> بانبند ‘construction worker’	< <i>bán</i> بان ‘room’
<i>ragband</i> رگبند ‘breakfast’	< <i>rag</i> رگ ‘vein’
<i>chamband</i> چمبند ‘illusionist’	< <i>chamm</i> چم ‘eye’
<i>rahband</i> رهبند ‘rules, regulations, orthography’	< <i>ráh</i> 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.

<i>delbar</i> دلبر ‘beloved’	< <i>del</i> دل ‘heart’
<i>rahbar</i> رهبر ‘leader’	< <i>ráh</i> راه ‘road’
<i>paygambar</i> پیغمبر ‘prophet’	< <i>paygám</i> پیغام ‘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.

<i>dazbój</i> دزبوج ‘servant’	< <i>dast</i> دست ‘hand’
<i>dabbój</i> دبوج ‘the evening meal that breaks the fast every evening during Ramadan’	< <i>dap</i> دپ ‘mouth’

-dán

The suffix *-dán* is added to nouns (N) and creates a new noun denoting ‘receptacle of N, storage for N’.

<i>atrdán</i> اتردان ‘flask of perfume’	< <i>atr</i> اتر ‘perfume’
<i>káhdán</i> کاهدان ‘manger’	< <i>káh</i> کاه ‘hay’
<i>kalamdán</i> کلمدان ‘pen-stand’	< <i>kalam</i> کلم ‘pen’
<i>mesdán</i> مسدان ‘urinary bladder’	< <i>mes</i> 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’.

<i>sardár</i> سردار ‘tribal chief, headman’	< <i>sar</i> سر ‘head’
<i>zemindár</i> زمیندار ‘landowner’	< <i>zemin</i> زمین ‘land’
<i>kelitdár</i> کلیتدار ‘treasurer’	< <i>kelit</i> کلیت ‘key’
<i>ogdahadár</i> اگدهدار ‘obliged, compelled’	< <i>ogdah</i> اگده ‘duty, obligation’
<i>brahdár</i> برهدار ‘beautiful’	< <i>bráh</i> برهه ‘beauty, splendour’
<i>wapádár</i> وپادار ‘faithful, trustworthy’	< <i>wapá</i> وپا ‘solidarity, trust’
<i>támdár</i> تامدار ‘tasty’	< <i>tám</i> تام ‘taste’
<i>dindár</i> دیندار ‘religious’	< <i>din</i> دین ‘religion’
<i>sáhdár</i> ساهدار ‘living creature’	< <i>sáh</i> ساه ‘soul, breath’
<i>sharapdár</i> شریپدار ‘honourable’	< <i>sharap</i> شریپ ‘honour’
<i>wámdár</i> وامدار ‘indebted’	< <i>wám</i> 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.

<i>sharmendag</i> شرمنگ ‘ashamed’	< <i>sharm</i> شرم ‘shame’
<i>wánendag</i> واننگ ‘literate’	< <i>wánag</i> وانگ ‘to read’
<i>pahmendag</i> پهمنگ ‘intelligent’	< <i>pahm</i> پهم ‘understanding, reason’

-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.

<i>bakshesh</i> بکَشَش 'gift, forgiveness'	< <i>bakshag</i> بکَشِگ 'to give, to forgive'
<i>arzesh</i> اَرَزَش 'value'	< <i>karzag</i> کَرزِگ (historically <i>arzag</i>) 'to be worth, to have value'
<i>ázmáesh</i> اَزمَیَش 'test'	< Pe. <i>ázmudan</i> , <i>ázmá-</i> 'to test, to try'
<i>kóshesh</i> کُوشَش 'striving, attempt'	< Pe. <i>kóshidan</i> , <i>kósh-</i> '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.

<i>máresht</i> مَارَشَت 'feeling'	< <i>márag</i> مَارِگ 'to feel'
<i>zánesht</i> زَانَشَت 'knowledge'	< <i>zánag</i> زَانِگ 'to know'
<i>tawresht</i> تَاورَشَت 'pain'	< <i>tawrag</i> تَاورِگ 'to ache'
<i>háresht</i> هَارَشَت 'itching'	< <i>hárag</i> هَارِگ 'to itch'
<i>sáchesht</i> سَاجَشَت 'creation'	< <i>sáchag</i> سَاجِگ 'to create, to make'

-gáh

The suffix *-gáh* is added to nouns (N) and creates a new noun denoting 'place of N'.

<i>panáhgáh</i> پَنَاهِگَاه 'refuge, place of refuge'	< <i>panáh</i> پَنَاه 'shelter, protection'
<i>parasteshgáh</i> پَرَسْتَشِگَاه 'place of worship'	< <i>parastesh</i> پَرَسْتَش 'worship'
<i>charágáh</i> چَرَاگَاه 'pasture'	< <i>charag</i> چَرِگ 'to graze'
<i>ordugáh</i> اُردوگَاه 'encampment'	< <i>ordu</i> اُردو 'troops, army'

-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.

<i>nézhgár</i> نیزگار 'poor'	< <i>nést</i> نیست 'non-existing'
<i>azgár</i> ازگار 'rich'	< <i>ast</i> است 'existing'
<i>parwardegár</i> پروردگار 'God'	< Pe. <i>parwardan</i> , <i>parwar-</i> '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'.

<i>sázger</i> سازگر 'musician'	< <i>sáz</i> ساز 'instrument'
<i>ózhnágger</i> اژنآنگر 'swimmer'	< <i>ózhnág</i> اژنآنگ 'swimming'
<i>sawdáger</i> سئوداگر 'businessman'	< <i>sawdá</i> سئودا 'merchandise'
<i>ezmger</i> ازمگر 'artist'	< <i>ezm</i> ازم '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.

<i>máhigir</i> ماهیگیر 'fisherman'	< <i>máhig</i> ماهیگ 'fish'
<i>randgir</i> رندگیر 'follower'	< <i>rand</i> رند 'footstep'
<i>dazgir</i> دزگیر 'arrested'	< <i>dast</i> دست 'hand'
<i>napasgir</i> نپسگیر 'choking'	< <i>napas</i> نپس 'breath'
<i>delgir</i> دلگیر 'sad, sorrowful'	< <i>del</i> دل 'heart'
<i>máliátgir</i> مالیاتگیر 'tax-collector'	< <i>máliát</i> 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:

<i>tahnái</i> تنهایی 'loneliness'	< <i>tahná</i> تنها 'lonely, alone'
<i>sardi</i> سردی 'cold (n.)'	< <i>sard</i> سرد 'cold (adj.)'
<i>garmi</i> گرمی 'heat'	< <i>garm</i> گرم 'warm, hot'
<i>mazani</i> مزنی 'size, greatness'	< <i>mazan</i> مزن 'big, great'
<i>wasshi</i> وشی 'joy, happiness'	< <i>wassh</i> وش 'happy'
<i>ázati</i> آزاتی 'freedom'	< <i>ázát</i> آرات 'free'
<i>syádi</i> سیادی 'relation'	< <i>syád</i> سیاد 'relative'
<i>garibi</i> گریبی 'poverty'	< <i>garib</i> گریب 'poor'
<i>ájezi</i> آجری 'weakness'	< <i>ájez</i> آجر 'weak'
<i>ásáni</i> آسانی 'ease'	< <i>ásán</i> آسان 'easy'
<i>práhi</i> پراهی 'width'	< <i>práh</i> پراه 'wide'

Examples of the formation of adjectives of origin, e.g. place of origin or material:

<i>háki</i> هاکی 'made of soil'	< <i>hák</i> هاك 'soil'
<i>námi</i> نامی 'famous'	< <i>nám</i> نام 'name'
<i>sengi</i> سنگی 'of stone'	< <i>seng</i> سنگ 'stone'
<i>dhanni</i> دڻی 'outsider, belonging to the outside'	< <i>dhann</i> دڻ 'outside'
<i>Balóchi</i> بلوچی 'Balochi'	< <i>Balóch</i> بلوچ 'a Baloch'
<i>Éráni</i> ایرانی 'Iranian'	< <i>Érán</i> ایران 'Iran'
<i>jesmi</i> جسمی 'physical'	< <i>jesm</i> جسم 'body'
<i>ruhi</i> روھی 'spiritual'	< <i>ruh</i> روح 'spirit'

-ig

The suffix *-ig* is attached to nouns and derives adjectives, which sometimes have taken on the meaning of nouns.

<i>shodig</i> شدیگ 'hungry'	< <i>shod</i> شد 'hunger'
<i>tonnig</i> تڻیگ 'thirsty'	< <i>tonn</i> تڻ 'thirst'
<i>aslig</i> اسلیگ 'original, true'	< <i>asl</i> اصل 'origin'
<i>chappig</i> چپیگ 'turned over'	< <i>chapp</i> چپ 'left'
<i>morádig</i> مرادیگ 'desirous, zealous'	< <i>morád</i> مراد 'wish, desire'
<i>bandig</i> بندیگ 'imprisoned, prisoner'	< <i>band</i> بند 'prison' (< <i>bandag</i> 'to tie')
<i>kawlig</i> کتولیگ 'ready to be sacrificed, dedicated'	< <i>kawl</i> کتول 'promise'
<i>nadrig</i> ندریگ 'ready to be sacrificed, dedicated'	< <i>nadr</i> ندر 'sacrifice'
<i>dapig</i> دیپگ 'lid'	< <i>dap</i> 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’.

<i>sázjan</i> سازجن ‘musician’	< <i>sáz</i> ساز ‘musical instrument’
<i>sepatjan</i> سپیتجن ‘a female singer of sepat songs’	< <i>sepat</i> سپیت ‘a praise song for a mother and her new born child’
<i>dazjan</i> دزجن ‘touched and thereby spoiled (of food)’	< <i>dast</i> 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’.

<i>kalamkár</i> کلمکار ‘writer’	< <i>kalam</i> کلم ‘pen’
<i>daynkár</i> دئینکار ‘indebted’	< <i>dayn</i> دئین ‘debt’
<i>shamóshkár</i> شموشکار ‘forgetful’	< <i>shamóshag</i> شموشگ ‘to forget’
<i>gonahkár</i> گنهکار ‘sinner’	< <i>gonáh</i> گناه ‘sin’
<i>pahrézkár</i> پهریزکار ‘righteous, pious’	< <i>pahréz</i> پهریز ‘abstaining, caution’
<i>rónkár</i> روئکار ‘harvester’	< <i>rón</i> روئ ‘harvest’
<i>badkár</i> بدکار ‘evildoer’	< <i>bad</i> بد ‘bad, evil’
<i>hezmatkár</i> هزمتکار ‘servant’	< <i>hezmat</i> هزمت ‘service’
<i>komakkár</i> کمککار ‘helper’	< <i>komak</i> کمک ‘help’
<i>rajánkár</i> رجانکار ‘translator’	< <i>rajánk</i> رجانک ‘translation’
<i>prébkár</i> پریبکار ‘deceiver’	< <i>préb</i> پریب ‘deception’
<i>wájahkár</i> واجهکار ‘master’	< <i>wájah</i> واجه ‘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.

<i>honarmand</i> هنرمند ‘artistic’	< <i>honar</i> هنر ‘art’
<i>twánmand</i> توانمند ‘able, strong’	< <i>twán</i> توان ‘ability’
<i>wázmmand</i> وازمند ‘needy, destitute, desirous’	< <i>wást</i> واست ‘need, desire’
<i>sóbmand</i> سویمند ‘victorious’	< <i>sób</i> سۆب ‘victory’
<i>zórmand</i> زۆرمند ‘strong, powerful’	< <i>zór</i> زۆر ‘power’
<i>hóshmand</i> هۆشمند ‘intelligent’	< <i>hósh</i> هۆش ‘intelligence’
<i>ezzatmand</i> عزتمند ‘honourable’	< <i>ezzat</i> عزت ‘honour’
<i>hastómand</i> هستۆمند ‘rich’	< <i>hasti</i> هستی ‘riches’
<i>aglmmand</i> اگلمند ‘wise’	< <i>agl</i> اگل ‘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.

<i>torsnák</i> ترسناک ‘scaring’	< <i>tors</i> ترس ‘fear’
<i>gorunák</i> گروناک ‘proud’	< <i>gorur</i> گورور ‘pride’
<i>dardnák</i> دردناک ‘painful’	< <i>dard</i> درد ‘pain’
<i>bazhnák</i> بۆزناک ‘dreadful’	< <i>bazhn</i> بۆن ‘pity’
<i>gamnák</i> گمناک ‘sad, sorrowful’	< <i>gam</i> گم ‘sorrow’
<i>budnák</i> بودناک ‘able, capable’	< <i>bud</i> 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.

<i>brató</i> براتو 'foster brother, stepbrother'	< <i>brát</i> برات 'brother'
<i>mátó</i> ماتو 'stepmother'	< <i>mát</i> مات 'mother'
<i>chokkó</i> چُكُو 'stepchild'	< <i>chokk</i> چُك 'child'
<i>gwandhó</i> گونڈُو 'little child'	< <i>gwandh</i> گونڈ 'small'
<i>gwátó</i> گواتو 'fan'	< <i>gwát</i> گوات 'wind'

-óger

The suffix *-óger* is added to present-future stems of verbs and denotes a person doing the verb action.

<i>mannóger</i> مَنُوگر 'follower'	< <i>mannag</i> منگ 'to accept, to obey'
<i>zánóger</i> زانوگر 'scholar'	< <i>zánag</i> زانگ 'to know'
<i>pendhóger</i> پندُوگر 'beggar'	< <i>pendhag</i> پندگ '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.

<i>wánók</i> وانوك 'reader'	< <i>wánag</i> وانگ 'to read'
<i>eshkonók</i> اشكنوك 'listener, hearer'	< <i>eshkonag</i> اشكنگ 'to hear'
<i>nebisók</i> نبيسوك 'writer'	< <i>nebisag</i> نبيسگ 'to write'
<i>chárók</i> چاروك 'person in an audience, one who watches'	< <i>chárág</i> چارگ 'to watch'
<i>pajjárók</i> پچاروك 'acquaintance'	< <i>pajjárág</i> پچارگ 'to recognize'
<i>áyók</i> آيوك 'coming'	< <i>áyag</i> آيگ '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.

<i>brátok</i> براتُك ‘little brother’	< <i>brát</i> برات ‘brother’
<i>kammok</i> كُمَّك ‘just a little’	< <i>kamm</i> كَم ‘little’
<i>borrok</i> بَرُّك ‘circumcision’	< <i>borrag</i> بَرُّگ ‘to cut’
<i>petok</i> پَتُّك ‘dear father’ (loving way of addressing a father)	< <i>pet</i> پَت ‘father’

-pán(k)

The suffix *-pán(k)* is added to nouns (N) and forms new nouns denoting ‘keeper of N’.

<i>démpán</i> دِيمپان ‘defender, protector’	< <i>dém</i> دِيم ‘face’
<i>bágpán</i> باگپان ‘gardener’	< <i>bág</i> باگ ‘garden’
<i>negahpán</i> نگهپان ‘protector’	< Pe. <i>negah/negáh</i> ‘look, watching’
<i>pilpán</i> پيلپان ‘elephant handler’	< <i>pil</i> پيل ‘elephant’
<i>shopánk</i> شبانك ‘shepherd’	< <i>shap</i> شب ‘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.

<i>gamwár</i> گموار ‘caring’	< <i>gam</i> گم ‘sorrow’
<i>zemmahwár</i> زمهوار ‘obliged, cons-trained’	< <i>zemmah</i> زمه ‘duty, obligation’
<i>ométwár</i> اُميتوار ‘hopeful’	< <i>omét</i> اُميت ‘hope’
<i>dardwár</i> دردوار ‘useful’	< <i>dard</i> درد ‘pain, trouble’
<i>mennatwár</i> منتتوار ‘thankful’	< <i>mennat</i> منت ‘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.

<i>deljam</i> دلجم ‘certain, reassured’	< <i>del</i> دل ‘heart’ + <i>jam</i> جم ‘collected’
<i>delsyáh</i> دلسیاه ‘troubled’	< <i>del</i> دل ‘heart’ + <i>syáh</i> سیاه ‘black’
<i>dapják</i> دپجاک ‘dispute’	< <i>dap</i> دپ ‘mouth’ + <i>ják</i> جاک ‘shouting, screaming, clamour’
<i>mahgónag</i> مهگونگ ‘moonlike, beautiful’	< <i>máh</i> ماه ‘moon’ + <i>gónag</i> گونگ ‘kind, sort’
<i>rahshón</i> رهشون ‘guide’	< <i>ráh</i> راه ‘road’ + <i>shón</i> شون ‘showing’
<i>rahmdel</i> رهمدل ‘merciful’	< <i>rahm</i> رهم ‘mercy’ + <i>del</i> دل ‘heart’
<i>dazgohár</i> دزگهار ‘a girl’s female friend’	< <i>dast</i> دست ‘hand’ + <i>gohár</i> گهار ‘sister’
<i>dazgath</i> دزگت ‘busy’	< <i>dast</i> دست ‘hand’ + <i>gath</i> گت ‘busy’
<i>diwánjáh</i> دیوانجاه ‘meeting place’	< <i>diwán</i> دیوان ‘meeting, social gathering’ + <i>jáh</i> جاه ‘place’
<i>árámjáh</i> آرامجاه ‘grave’	< <i>árám</i> آرام ‘peace’ + <i>jáh</i> جاه ‘place’
<i>Yakshambeh</i> یکشمبه ‘Sunday’	< <i>yak</i> یک ‘one’ + <i>Shambeh</i> شنبه ‘Saturday’
<i>yakdomi</i> یکدومی ‘each other’	< <i>yak</i> یک ‘one’ + <i>domi</i> دومی ‘the second’
<i>zendáp</i> زنداپ ‘elixir, water of life’	< <i>zend</i> زند ‘life’ + <i>áp</i> آب ‘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.

<i>syahmár</i> سیه‌مار ‘viper’	< <i>syáh</i> سیاه ‘black’ + <i>már</i> مار ‘snake’
<i>syahróch</i> سیه‌رُچ ‘unfortunate, unlucky, miserable’	< <i>syáh</i> سیاه ‘black’ + <i>róch</i> رُچ ‘day’
<i>syahgwát</i> سیه‌گوات ‘storm’	< <i>syáh</i> سیاه ‘black’ + <i>gwát</i> 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.

<i>mardénchokk</i> مردین‌چُکْ ‘boy’	< <i>mardén</i> مردین ‘male’ + <i>chokk</i> چُکْ ‘child’
<i>janénádam</i> جنین‌آدم ‘woman’	< <i>janén</i> جنین ‘female’ + <i>ádam</i> آدم ‘person’
<i>kóhdámon</i> کوه‌دامن ‘hillside’	< <i>kóh</i> کوه ‘mountain’ + <i>dámon</i> دامن ‘lap’
<i>sengmarmar</i> سنگ‌مرمر ‘marble’	< <i>seng</i> سنگ ‘stone’ + <i>marmar</i> مرمر ‘marble’
<i>áspaym</i> آس‌پشیم ‘like fire’	< <i>ás</i> آس ‘fire’ + <i>paym</i> پشیم ‘form, likeness’
<i>parmánbardár</i> پرمان‌بردار ‘obedient’	< <i>parmán</i> پرمان ‘order, command’ + <i>Pe. bar dáshtan</i> ‘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.

<i>ásgwár</i> آسگوار ‘extremely hot’	< <i>ás</i> آس ‘fire’ + <i>gwárag</i> گوارگ ‘to pour down, to rain’
<i>dasshód</i> دسشود ‘basin for washing hands’	< <i>dast</i> دست ‘hand’ + <i>shódag</i> شودگ ‘to wash’
<i>dazdóch</i> دزدوچ ‘embroidery’	< <i>dast</i> دست ‘hand’ + <i>dóchag</i> دوچگ ‘to sew’
<i>espétpósh</i> اسپیت پوش ‘dressed in white’	< <i>espét</i> اسپیت ‘white’ + <i>póshag</i> پوشگ ‘to dress, to cover’

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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.

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