Standardization and Orthography in the Balochi Language

BY

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UPPSALA 1989

Distributor:
Almqvist & Wiksell International
Stockholm, Sweden
ABSTRACT

With a background survey of theories of language standardization and orthography (ch. 2), of the development of other Iranian standard languages (ch. 3) and of Balochi dialects and phonology (ch. 4), the present work provides a description and assessment of the development of Balochi as a written literary language from the 1950's up to the present. Apart from a thorough investigation of existing publications and publishers (ch. 1), the study consists of two main parts, both of which are based on interviews with and articles written by leading literary Baloch, as well as on quantitative investigations.

In the first main part (ch. 5) the movement towards creating a standard literary Balochi language is dealt with, and investigations as to what dialects predominate in written Balochi are presented. Ideas expressed by the Baloch themselves on issues related to the creation of a standard literary language are also given a detailed treatment. The second main part of the study (ch. 6) deals with the orthography of Balochi. Here a thorough review of the various orthographic systems that have been and/or are used for Balochi is carried out. The discussion among the Baloch themselves regarding how to establish a unified orthography and what such an orthography ought to look like is also summarized. To each of these two parts of the study there belongs a Text Appendix. The purpose of these appendices is to provide practical illustrations of the questions dealt with in the theoretical investigations.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from the present study is that the Balochi language, which is less than 40 years old as a written literary medium, is at present still in a formative stage. Thus, even if there are certain tendencies towards linguistic and orthographic standardization, there is as yet no single accepted standardized norm for written Balochi.

Keywords: Balochi, Eastern Balochi, Western Balochi, dialect, language standardization, loanwords, phonemes, orthography, Arabic script, Roman script, orthographic systems.

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To my dear husband,
Roubik,
and my lovely daughter,
Maria.
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Preface

My interest in the Balochi language goes back to 1978—79, when I spent a year in Iran and Pakistan together with other young Christian people from different parts of the world. It was at that time that I first learnt about the existence of a language called Balochi.

A couple of years later I enrolled as a student of Iranian languages at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, and my interest in New Iranian languages, linguistics especially sociolinguistics, Bible-translation and literacy-work again caused me to take an interest in Balochi. As I started to study the language, one of the points that struck me was the lack of a norm for the written language. This problem fascinated me, and I decided to try to devote my doctoral thesis to making a study of its various aspects.

This proved to be a choice of topic very much in line with the interests of the Baloch themselves. I made my first field-trip to Pakistan from October 1986 to January 1987, when I visited Quetta and Karachi, and at that time I was deeply impressed by the interest among the Baloch literary men in issues related to the problem of creating a norm for the written language. It was at that time that I definitely decided to make a study of the standard language question in Balochi.

While writing the thesis I also made a second field trip to Pakistan, mainly to check the accuracy of the material used in Chapters Five and Six, as well as to discuss the translations of the text samples with native speakers of Balochi. This field trip was carried out in April-May 1988, and the places I visited were again Quetta and Karachi.

I am greatly indebted to many people for their help throughout this project. First of all, I would like to thank my main teacher and supervisor, Prof. Bo Utas, Uppsala, for the patience with which he has tried to teach me the methods of philological and linguistic research, as well as for his constant encouragement and help throughout this work. I would also like to thank Prof. Adriano Rossi, Naples, for advice on the topic selected for my doctoral thesis as well as for arranging financial support in connection with field studies, and Prof. Josef Elfenbein, whose introductory lectures to the Balochi language I attended in 1984.

Special thanks to Prof. 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī and Prof. 'Āqil Khān Mengal, Quetta, without whose help in collecting the material and arranging the interviews in Quetta this book would never have been written. Thanks also to Dr Jihān Zeb, Karachi, who arranged the interviews there. In this context
I would also like to thank all the people I interviewed for sparing me their valuable time. My gratitude also to Mrs Šanā Baloch and Mrs Nūrīn 'Azīz, who have been of invaluable help to me while learning the language. For useful suggestions on the translations of the text samples I am especially indebted to Prof. 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī, Prof. 'Āqīl Khān Mengal, Mr Bashīr Ahmad Baloch and Mr 'Azīz Bugtī.

Thanks also to Prof. Gunilla Gren-Eklund, Prof. Olof Engstrand, Prof. Albert Khromov, Prof. Syāl Kākār, Prof. Fridrik Thordarson, Prof. Ruth Walldén, Prof. Stig Eliasson, Dr Birgit Nilsson, Mr Lars Wåhlin and Mr Ferhad Shakely for suggestions on different parts of the manuscript, as well as to Dr Michael Srigley for improvements and corrections of my English. Likewise, I owe many thanks to Miss Åsa Henningsson for her instructions and continuous help in the word processing of the manuscript and to the Textgruppen printshop for helping me to solve the many practical problems in connection with the printing of this book. I am also indebted to Miss Kjerstin Andersson for making the final draft of the maps.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank all those who have contributed financially towards meeting the cost of my journeys to Pakistan, especially NIAS, Copenhagen, and the scholarship foundations of Prof. H. S. Nyberg and Telephone Director H. T. Cedergren.

For photocopies and microfilms of manuscripts I am indebted to the British Library and the SOAS Library, London, and the Bible Society’s Library at Cambridge University Library.

Finally I would like to thank my husband and daughter for their encouragement and readiness to put up with many difficulties in connection with this work.

Uppsala, June 1989, Carina Jahani
Introduction

Balochi is a north-west Iranian language spoken by between 4.5 and 5 million people in south-western Pakistan, south-eastern Iran, southern Afghanistan, the Gulf States and also in small colonies in the Soviet Union. It is spoken only by a small minority in each of these countries, and in none of the countries where it is spoken does it enjoy official status. This lack of official status is one of the reasons why, in spite of a rich oral literature, Balochi has a very young tradition as a written language. It was in fact only after the Independence of Pakistan (in 1947) that the Baloch themselves started to produce any larger amount of written literature in Balochi. Previously the language had been described and its oral literature edited by Europeans, mainly by German orientalists and British civil and military officials.

There has not as yet developed any standard norm for written Balochi. This means that every writer is in principle free to use whatever dialect forms in his written language that he prefers and also to spell them in accordance with his own preference. The topic selected for this study is this very lack of a norm for the written language and how to establish such a norm.

The creation of a standard literary language involves two related, but still different, problems. The first is how to choose one dialect or certain forms from different dialects as the standard one/ones, and how to establish the selected dialect or dialect forms as the norm which is to be used by all writers of the language, regardless of what their native dialect is. The second problem is how to establish a unified orthography, that is, a number of spelling rules which cover all the different morphemes and words of the language. This, of course, presupposes that standard forms of the morphemes and words have been selected. If not, orthographic rules for all the various dialect forms that are used in writing have to be established.

There are a number of prerequisites for making an appropriate study of the language standardization process in Balochi. First of all, it is necessary to obtain a good grasp of the language and of its various dialects. It is also necessary to acquire the ability to read the language well, in order to be able to make investigations in written material, and in order to be able to read articles and books written by the Baloch themselves on the subject of the study. It is also important to get a good overview of what written literature there is in the language. In this context it is especially valuable to know what the present situation for publishing is like. Access to books and other publications
needed for the various investigations is a prerequisite that may prove difficult enough when many important books are out of print, and when complete files of periodicals are seldom kept. Another prerequisite is the need for a theoretical background to the problem of language standardization and the creation of suitable orthographies.

The background to the actual study, which deals with the development of a standard literary Balochi language with a unified orthography, is given in Chapters One to Four. Chapter One describes the publication of books and periodicals in Balochi, especially after the Independence of Pakistan. Chapter Two consists of accounts of different theories and ideas concerning the creation of a standard literary language. Theoretical principles of how to create orthographies for unwritten languages are treated in particular detail. Chapter Three provides case studies of how the creation of a standard literary language with a unified orthography can take place. The languages treated here are New Persian, Tajik, Ossetic, Pashto and Kurdish, which, together with Balochi, constitute the main New Iranian languages. Chapter Four contains a description of the various dialects of Balochi with reference to all the major dialect studies carried out so far. It also describes the phonemic situation of the language and how it has been influenced by various neighbouring languages.

The two main chapters of the book are the fifth and sixth ones, each of which is accompanied by a Text Appendix. Chapter Five deals with the actual language standardization, and the sample texts to this chapter are found in Text Appendix 1. Chapter Six treats the issue of the Balochi orthography, and the samples to this chapter are found in Text Appendix 2. In these chapters the ideas of the Baloch themselves on the problems of language standardization and orthography are often referred to. Sometimes these ideas have been found in various articles and books, but equally often they are extracted from the interviews I have made with most of the leading literary Baloch (see List of Interviews). When I have obtained information in the interviews I have refrained from giving references in footnotes, since this would have increased the number of footnotes considerably without adding any information to the text. In such instances the reader is referred to the List of Interviews, where both information on the interviewed person and the time and place of the interview are to be found. Apart from references to the discussion on language standardization and orthography going on among the Baloch themselves, the two main chapters also contain a number of quantitative investigations based on text material in Balochi, published mainly in Pakistan after 1950.

Only a few months after my first field-trip to Pakistan, the subject of language standardization was in fact treated in an editorial in one of the monthly publications in Balochi. The editor holds that, since the main purpose of language is communication, it is of little value to write in such a way that only
the writer and a few of his friends can understand what he has written. He further notes that some Baloch hold their language to be standardized already. They feel that the standard literary Balochi language is that which the leading writers employ. But the editor points out that the leading writers by no means use a unified language, and that there are as many orthographies as there are leading writers.1

My hope is that this book will give a correct and informative picture of the modern Balochi literary language, how it stands in relation to the various dialects of the language and what orthographic uses are favoured at present. The book is also meant to show how the Baloch themselves want their language to develop towards a standard literary language with a unified orthography. My intention from the very start of this work has been that, in addition to its descriptive and purely scientific value, the resulting book would also be of use to those Baloch and others who are striving to promote the Balochi language and strengthen its role as a minority language in the countries where it is spoken.

1 "Šongal—balóčí zubáne siyáhag u ‘turs ámáčí’", p. 4.
System of Transcription

Since this book contains references to several languages, written in different scripts, there are many systems of transcription that need explaining. First of all, however, there are some principles of transcription used in this work, which the reader needs to know.

Geographical names commonly known, e.g. Afghanistan, Karachi, Quetta, Teheran, are spelled according to the English convention. The same applies to names of languages, e.g. Sindhi, Pashto, Brahuï. Baloch (for the people), Balochi (for the language and as an adjective) and Balochistan are invariably written as above (except in book titles and direct quotations), in spite of the fact that the spellings Baluchi and Baluchistan are often used as the official English spellings. Less well known geographical names, e.g. Zähidän, Khärän, Chakhānsür, Gwādar, as well as names of Balochi dialects, e.g. Rakhšānī, Lāshārī, Makrānī, are spelled according to what is below defined as Level Two.

Proper names are spelled according to Level Two in order to avoid symbols and diacritical marks which the bearers of the names themselves regard as strange in the spelling of their names, e.g. š, č, ʒ and x. Names of authors of books in English, in which they give a spelling of their names different from my transcription, have also been changed to conform to the transcription rules set up here. The only exception to this is the actual reference to the book, where the spelling found in the book is employed. Another exception to the transcription rules for proper names is that names of persons from the Middle East who have lived in Europe for a long time, e.g. Taufiq Wahby, are spelled in accordance with the spelling these persons themselves employ. As for names of people well-known in Europe, e.g. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, they are spelled according to the English convention.

It must also be noted that proper names are sometimes normalized. This is the case with e.g. Äzät, which the same person on one occasion may prefer to spell Äzät and on another occasion Äzād. Here Äzät is invariably used. In the same way Shād is selected from Shād/Shāt and Ghaws from Ghawš/Gaws. The tribal name Marrī is spelled with -rr- even though the consonant is not actually double. Most people from this tribe, in fact, spell their names with -rr- instead of -r-. For the alphabetical order of proper names, see below.

Names of literary societies, e.g. Labzānī Sarchammag, 'Izzat Academy, Balochi Adabi Society, are transcribed according to Level Two. Note, however, that Baloch and Balochi are kept unchanged if the name is in Balochi. If the name of a literary society is in Persian, the spelling of these two words
conforms to the general rules of Level Two. English nouns, such as Academy and Society, are spelled as in English.

Titles of periodicals, books and articles are transcribed according to what is below defined as Level One. Only the first letter in the title is capitalized, even though a proper name may occur later on in the title. Vocabulary items and longer text samples are also transcribed according to Level One. Here no capital letters are used at all.

There are certain, mainly monosyllabic, words with a short vowel in the last/only syllable that show a certain lengthening of the final consonant, e.g. mučè, čukk, piss, jinikk. Since this lengthening is quite distinctive and often marked with a taš demás by the Baloch writers themselves, I have chosen to mark it in my transcription as well. If, however, the final consonant is aspirated, I do not mark the lengthening, thus jinikh rather than *jinikhkh.

There is a certain normalization of the Balochi orthography carried through in the transcription. Thus, unless otherwise stated, -ē is used for the genitive singular ending, the 3rd person singular enclitic pronoun and the 2nd person singular personal ending on verbs, -ā is used for the accusative/dative/oblique singular ending, and u is used for ‘and’ irrespective of the symbol used in the Balochi orthography. When the hamza is used to indicate a short vowel, usually /a/ in e.g. the infinitives, and the phoneme combinations /ay/ and /aw/, it is not indicated in the transcription. It is, however, indicated in a hiatus, e.g. ta’i, bā’āg, if it is present in the Balochi text. When an orthographic sign, e.g. taš demás, sukün or a sign for a short vowel, is clearly misplaced, it is ignored in the transcription. The word boundaries in the transcription do not always follow the word boundaries of the original text. bi-, ma- and na- are thus always written joined to the stem of the verb, and so are the personal endings in all tenses, e.g. nabūtagant.

Text samples from publications using a Roman transcription for Balochi are not changed to conform to the system used here. If, on the other hand, single words or phonemes in works of other authors are referred to, they are changed to conform to the system of this book. The phonemic form of words quoted from other authors is, however, kept as in the original, even in cases when I normally transcribe the word differently.

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1 The symbols given by the International Phonetic Association are used in this column. For Persian the description is based on the pronunciation predominant in Teheran.
2 If the phoneme/symbol is not found in all the languages Persian, Balochi, Pashto and Kurdish, it is here noted in what language or languages it is found.
3 Described below, together with the other vowels.
4 Also other symbols used to denote the phoneme /i/.
5 Also other symbols used to denote the phoneme /u/.
6 Also other symbols used to denote the phoneme /l/.
7 Normally pronounced as a glottal plosive /ʔ/ or not pronounced at all in Persian, Balochi and Pashto.
Transcription system of languages employing the Arabic script:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Phoneme(^1)</th>
<th>Remarks(^2)</th>
<th>Transcription Level One</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٠</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٢</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت, ط</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>Balochi, Pashto</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س, ٥</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>Persian, Pashto, Western Balochi</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت, ط</td>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>Eastern Balochi</td>
<td>θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/dʒ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/tf/</td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/dz/</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/ts/</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت, ط</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>In Kurdish the phoneme /ṭ/</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ, ذ, ز</td>
<td>/x/</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ط, ذ, ز</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د, ح</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>Balochi, Pashto</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر, ح</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>Persian, Pashto, Western Balochi</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ئ, ح</td>
<td>/δ/</td>
<td>Eastern Balochi</td>
<td>δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ئ, ح</td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>Balochi, Pashto</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>Persian, Balochi, Pashto</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>Persian, Balochi, Pashto</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>Persian, Balochi, Pashto</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>Persian, Balochi, Pashto</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت, ط</td>
<td>/γ/</td>
<td>In Kurdish the phoneme /η/</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/f/</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/q/</td>
<td></td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج, ح</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The signs ġ and ŕ are used to denote the palatal fricatives /j/ and /ç/ occurring in some dialects of Pashto.

The transcription given above is that of Level One. The differences between Level One and Level Two in the transcription of consonants are as follows (there is no difference between the two levels in the transcription of vowels):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Transcription Level One</th>
<th>Transcription Level Two</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġ</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ž</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>zh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŕ</td>
<td>ŕ</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğ</td>
<td>ğ</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 Indicates nasalization of the preceding vowel.
9 ŏ is pronounced /v/ in Persian, and it is therefore transcribed v in this language. In Balochi, Pashto and Kurdish it is transcribed w. For its use as a vowel, see below.
10 For the use of ŏ as a vowel, see below.
11 Normally pronounced as a glottal plosive or not pronounced at all.
Transcription of vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel phoneme</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Orthographic sign</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a:/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i:/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e:/</td>
<td>Not found in Modern Persian</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
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<tr>
<td>/u:/</td>
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<td>/u/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>u</td>
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<tr>
<td>/o:/</td>
<td>Not found in Modern Persian</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Persian diphthongs are transcribed ai and au. For diphthongs in Pashto and their representation in the Pashto orthography the reader is referred to ch. 3.C.

In the phonemic analysis nasalization is indicated by a ~ over the vowel, e.g. ā, ē. It is only in transcribed texts that nasalized vowels are transcribed with an n after the vowel, e.g. ān, ēn.

As for aspiration, it is marked by a ' after the aspirated plosive or affricate, e.g. p', ē', in the actual phonemic analysis. When aspiration is denoted by the sign ژ in the Arabic script, here mainly in Eastern Balochi, it is transcribed ph, čh etc. in the text samples.

The izāfa is written -i/-yi in Persian and in Balochi (in borrowings from Persian) but -i in Kurdish.

For Tajik and Ossetic, which use the Cyrillic script, the consonant phonemes are transcribed in accordance with the transcription system used for the

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12 International Phonetic Association symbols are used in this column.
13 If the phoneme is not found in all of the languages using Arabic script, i.e. Persian, Balochi, Pashto and Kurdish, it is here stated in what language or languages it occurs.
14 For the vowels that are written in all positions in the word the sign occurring in word-final position is given.
15 In Persian close to /oː/.
16 In Kurdish written š.
17 In Pashto written ې.
18 In Persian /e/, in Kurdish approaching /k/.
19 In Balochi written ې, in word-final position, in Pashto written ې, and in Kurdish written ژ.
20 In Kurdish written ږ.
21 In Persian /o/.
22 In Kurdish written ږ.
23 In Kurdish written ژ.
Arabic script. This also applies to both consonant and vowel phonemes in Kurdish, when it is written in Cyrillic script. The vowel symbols in Tajik and Ossetic are transcribed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Transcription in Tajik</th>
<th>Transcription in Ossetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
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<td>i</td>
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<td>y</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alphabetical order followed in this book is that of the English alphabet. Proper names transcribed from the Arabic script are arranged in alphabetical order according to the first letter of the Christian name. Titles like Mīr, Āghâ, Qāzî, Dr and Molwî are not taken into account. The only three exceptions to this are Sayyid Hâshîmî, who is placed according to Sayyid, Bânul Dashtyârî, who is placed according to Bânul, and Dr 'Aynî Baloch, who is placed according to 'Aynî. These three people are commonly known by the above given names, and their Christian names are seldom used. G. R. Mullâ is placed according to G. R. and not according to his less common proper Christian name Ghulâm Rasûl. When Mîr 'Āqîl Khân Mengal’s work in English, *A Course in Baluchi*, is referred to, he himself is referred to as Mengal. In the alphabetical order the distinction between long and short vowel is ignored, ‘i’ is not taken into account, neither are other diacritical signs. ľ, ž, š and ģ are placed according to ch, zh, sh and gh.
A. Oral literature

As already mentioned in the introduction, Balochi is a young written literary language, but it has a long tradition of oral literature. Muḥammad Sardār Khān Baloch writes that the "Baluchi language until recent years, had no written literature though it possesses a great body of popular poems, including epical ballads, romantic tales, didactic and religious poems, love songs, prose tales and legends, which had been orally transmitted for centuries from age to age and tongue to tongue".1

1. Poetry

It is almost impossible to know when Balochi poetry started. Muḥammad Sardār Khān Baloch holds that the oldest remaining poems belong to the 15th century.2 Anwar Rooman assumes that, as early as about 1100 A.D., the Baloch were composing folk songs, but, of course, there are no records left of this early poetry.3 What we know for sure is that in the old epic poems not only is the legendary history of the Baloch race treated, but also the famous thirty-year-long war between the two main tribes, Rind and Lāshāri, of the late 15th and early 16th centuries.4 A legendary heroic story that likewise has inspired poets is that of Mīr Ḥammal-i Jī'and and his war with the Portuguese, also in the 16th century.5

The romantic epics frequently tell of lovers who due to circumstances have been separated but still remain faithful to each other. One of the most famous romantic epics in Balochi is that of Hānī and Shīh Murid who, although they were engaged, were separated by a trick of Mīr Chākar, the chief of the Rind tribe, who then married Hānī.6

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1 Mohammad Sardar Khan Baluch: A Literary History of the Baluchis, I, preface.
2 Ibid., p. 67.
4 Bausani: Le letterature del Pakistan e dell’Afghanistan, p. 253.
5 Elfenbein: A Baluchi Miscellany of Erotica and Poetry, p. 78.
Renowned poets from the period of oral literature are, among others, Jām Durrak Dombkī (18th century), a famous composer of love songs, Tawk 'Alī Mast, Mullā Fāzil, Mullā Qāsim and Mullā Ibrahim (19th century), and Rahm 'Alī Marrī and Jwānsāl (19th-20th century).

Oral poetry exists in both eastern and western Balochi. Longworth Dames has collected different kinds of poetry in the eastern dialect in his famous work *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*. The Balochi Academy, Quetta, has also published a number of collections of oral poetry. In his book *A Brief Survey of Baluchi Literature and Language*, Anwar Rooman treats Balochi poetry with its different forms and themes, and he also makes an attempt at dividing Balochi poetry into three periods, the first one from c. 1100 A.D. up to the end of the 17th century, which includes the great heroic and romantic epics mentioned above. As the second period he takes the 18th and 19th centuries, which he divides into the western and the eastern schools. In the western school, where, among others, Mullā Fāzil is found, more Arabic and Persian words are now being incorporated as well as praises to God and the prophets. The eastern school, with Jām Durrak as its greatest poet, keeps the language purer and reaches a very high level in its description of nature. To the third period Rooman ascribes the poetry of the 20th century, a time when Balochi has ceased being a solely oral language, and when the creation of new oral literature has basically ceased, even though the old oral poetry is still being recited by the Baloch bards. This period is therefore treated below, together with other written literature.

2. Prose

The most important oral prose literature is the so-called *Gedi qiṣa*, i.e. the folktale genre, dealing with different kinds of subjects like childlessness, the relation between stepmother and stepchild and other problems common in the Balochi patriarchal tribal society. Often fairies and other supernatural beings help the good characters, whereas the evil ones are destroyed. The folktales are thus frequently of a moralizing nature.

The Balochi Academy, Quetta, has published a series of nine books con-

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9 Cf. the description of Balochi dialects in ch. 4.A.
10 See *Catalogue of the Baluchi Academy Publications*, e.g. no. 5, 8, 9, 27, 33, 43.
taining such folktales, the first of which is a transliteration into Arabic script of the stories collected by Dames in *A Text Book of the Balochi Language*. Among editors of the other eight books Gulzär Khän Marrí and Maḥmūd Marrí, employing the eastern dialect, and Mīr ʿĀqīl Khān Mengal, employing the western dialect, may be mentioned.12 Another important collection of folktales is that made by I. I. Zarubin in *Beludžskie skəžki*. The dialect represented here is the form of western (Rakhshānī) Balochi spoken in the Soviet Union (around Marw—therefore frequently called Marw-Balochi). Zarubin uses the Roman script to write down the stories.

B. Written literature13

I. During the colonial period

As a written literary language, Balochi can be divided into two periods, the colonial period, with British rule in India, and the period after the Independence of Pakistan, i.e. after 1947. During the first period most of the existing written literature was produced as a result of external, mainly British, influence. The oldest indigenous sources for written Balochi we know of are three Balochi manuscripts in the possession of the British Library, London. Two of these are *Oriental 2439*, dated 1873, and *Oriental 2921*, dated 1294 A.H. (1877 A.D.), and they are thus roughly contemporary with the British occupation of Quetta in 1877.14 The author of these manuscripts is Kamālān Gichkī. Elfenbein holds that “one of these MSS was written for the enlightenment of a British frontier officer”.15 It was thus most likely the British presence that caused the production of these manuscripts.16 One of the manuscripts, *Oriental 2921*, has been edited by Mīr ʿĀqīl (Khān) Mengal Baloch in Kitāb-i lafẓ-i balochī. The third manuscript, *Codex Oriental Additional 24048*, is older, and Elfenbein guesses that it could have come into being due to “a request to Kalat from Wilson’s scouts in India, perhaps c. 1820, for the production of a specimen of the Baluchi language in ms. form.”17 Mīr ʿĀqīl Khān Mengal holds that this manuscript was compiled by Uṣmān Kalmatī, because it is written in the introduction to the poem of ʿḤammāl-i

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12 See *Catalogue of the Baluchi Academy Publications*, no. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 36, 38, 40.
13 Most written literature has been produced in presentday Pakistan.
14 *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III, p. 615. See also Bruce: *The Forward Policy*, p. 69.
17 Ibid., p. 3.
Ji'and that the compiler himself wrote this text, and because there was a well-known poem by Uṣman Kalmat dealing with this subject. The dialect of the manuscript strengthens the argument.

Books were also produced to make it possible for British officials to learn Balochi. Dames' collections of poetry and stories in prose have already been mentioned above. He also wrote a grammar of eastern Balochi (which he called northern Balochi). Somewhat later works on the eastern dialect are Gilbertson's *The Balochi Language* and his *English-Balochi Colloquial Dictionary*. Grammar books dealing with the western dialect were written by among others Pierce, Mockler and Marston. Another work worth mentioning is Hitū Rām's *Baločināma*, which gives Balochi-Persian equivalents of important nouns, verbs, sentences etc. It was later translated into English by J. McC. Douie.

There were thus plenty of books produced by the British for learning Balochi, which, by the way, was highly encouraged. Balochi was one of the languages in which examinations were held, and British military and civil officials were encouraged to get a good grasp of local languages where they were posted. For a more complete list of books published for this purpose before 1921, see *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. X, p. 335. A presentday successor to the British grammar and dictionary writers is Major Collett, who in 1983 published *A Grammar, Phrase Book and Vocabulary of Baluchi*, where the Balochi spoken in Oman is described.

With the British colonial forces came also the missionaries and Bible-translations. The whole New Testament and also parts of the Old Testament were published in Balochi in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Both Roman and Arabic scripts were used. Not only Christian, but also Islamic religious literature was produced. The most important of the Islamic literary schools was the Durkhānī school in Dādar, whose leading figure was Molwī Hazūr Bakhsh Jatū'i. He made both an interlinear translation of the Koran into Balochi, published in 1329 A.H. (1911 A.D.), and wrote a number of religious treatises, also around 1900.

Written documents in Balochi are also referred to in *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series*. "A considerable body of literature exists in Western Baluchi

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18 See ibid., p. 78. I prefer to read the text *man bād sultān-i sarguzāšt xod nivīštā dar kalmat firāstād*, as 'then I myself wrote down the adventures of the Sultan, and sent (it) to Kalmat'. The syntax of the Persian text is totally balochified, and the ergative construction (see ch. 4, footnote 19) is used in the past tense.
19 See *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series*, VII, Makrān, pp. 81—82.
20 See Elfenbein: *A Baluchi Miscellany of Erotica and Poetry*, p. 3.
22 According to the record of the Bible Society's Library, Cambridge University Library.
and many of the leading men keep books, known as *daftar*, in which their favourite ballads are recorded in the Persian character." Mir 'Āqil Khân Mengal also mentions the existence of the so-called Mir Wârî-books, written by members of the Mir Wârî tribe around 1900 and containing mainly poetry.  

2. After the Independence of Pakistan  

i. Periodicals  

With the withdrawal of the British and the Independence of Pakistan in 1947, the Baloch themselves became increasingly concerned with the development of their language, and in 1951 the publication of the first monthly periodical in Balochi, *Oman*, was started by the Baloch Educational Society founded for the purpose. Its editor was Molwî Khayr Muḥammad Nadwî, and it was published from Karachi. The periodical ceased appearing in 1962. Here we see a first attempt at creating modern written literature in the Balochi language by the Baloch themselves, and soon other periodicals appeared.  

The editor of the second periodical was the well-known poet 'Abdul Wâhid Āzât Jamālînî. He called his magazine *Māhtâk balocî*, and it was published once a month from Karachi from 1956 until 1958, when it closed down, mainly due to financial problems. It was revived in 1978, this time in Quetta, and was published until September 1981, when the editor passed away. In September 1986 it was re-started, this time with 'Abdul Wâhid Bandîg as the editor, still in Quetta.  

The Government also publishes a monthly journal in Balochi called *Ulus*. It is published by the Press Information Department, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan, Quetta, and has been in existence more or less without interruption since December 1961. It also contains a section in Brahui. The present acting editor is Pîr Muḥammad Zubayrâni, and among its former editors Amānullâh Gichkî, 'Abdul Ghaffâr Nadîm, 'Abdul Hakîm, Şûrât Khân Marri, 'Abdul Qâdir Shâhwâni and 'Abdul Razzâq Sâbir can be mentioned.  

The weekly *Noken dawr* was published from Quetta between 1961 and 1971, when it ran into financial problems.  

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23 Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, VII, Makrân, p. 81.  
Shorish. In 1988 *Noken dawr* reappeared, to be published monthly, still from Quetta, after a new publication permit was granted, officially to the wife of the late 'Abdul Karim Shorish, who passed away in 1986. The new editor is Salim Baloch. The attempt to revive *Noken dawr* seems, however, to have been unsuccessful. I have, personally, seen only one issue, and I was in October 1988 told by 'Abdullah Jän Jamäldim that publication had ceased.

*Zamäna baloci* was published fortnightly from Karachi between 1968 and 1975 and monthly from Quetta between 1976 and 1978. It was re-started in 1981 as a monthly, but had before my visit to Quetta in the autumn of 1986 been reduced, because of financial problems, to a small newspaper appearing once a week. The present acting editor, Ghaçs Bakhsh Säbir, pointed out that it was very important to keep the publication going, since otherwise the publication permit would cease to be valid, and one could not count on the Government to grant a new permit.  

Previous editors of *Zamäna baloci* have been Siddiq Äzät, Zafar 'Ali Zafar and 'Abdul Qädir ShähwänI, and official editor since 1981 is Häjt 'Abdul Qayyüm, but he is living abroad at present.

Between 1972 and 1974 the monthly newspaper *Tipäkie räh* was published by Akbar Bärakza'i, Siddiq Äzät and 'Abdul Sâmâd Amlrl from Baghdad.

Another journal, *Sawgät*, has been published monthly from Karachi since 1978 by Molwî Khayr Mu hmaccad Nadwî.

In January 1989 the first issue of a new journal, called *Bahärgäh*, was published from Karachi. The editor of this periodical, which is to be published once a month, is 'Äbid Äskäni.

There are also periodicals mostly in Urdu, but which also contain a section in Balochi, or deal with the Balochi language, literature and culture. One of these is *Nawä'e watan*, published from Quetta. It was published weekly between 1952 and 1956, when it was closed down by the Government and its editor Ghulâm Muhammad ShähwänI imprisoned. In 1972 it was re-started with Malik Mu hmaccad Panäh as its editor, and since August 1985 it has appeared weekly. From January 1986 onwards three weekly issues in Urdu and one weekly issue in Balochi have appeared every month. Its present editor is Munîr Baloch.

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27 Correspondence with Akbar Bärakza'i, March 30, 1988.  
28 Between 1952 and 1954 Gul Khän Nasîr was the editor, between 1954 and 1956 Ghulâm Muhammad ShähwännI. 'Abdullah Jän Jamâldîn was joint editor.  
29 Correspondence with Munîr Baloch, Sept. 1987.  
30 In April 1988 both the issue dated 16th and that dated 25th were in Balochi. In fact, already in August 1987 a joint 16—25th issue in Balochi appeared. The issues between these dates are not available to me. From October 1988 onwards, the issues of *Nawä'e watan* that have reached me have been four-page leaflets, evidently appearing once every two weeks.
Sadā'ê baloč has been published as a fortnightly magazine from Karachi since 1971 by the Balochi Adabl Board with Qâzī ʿAbdul Raḥim Ṣâbir as its editor. Due to lack of resources, though, it is in practice only published once a month with two issues together.31 It is mainly in Urdu, but it also contains a few pages in Balochi.

Another magazine mainly in Urdu is the Baločī dunyā from Multān, published monthly since 1958. Its present editor is Châkar Khân Rind.32

It is not only in Pakistan that periodicals are being published. Sob from Kabul, Afghanistan, appeared for the first time in September 1978 with Wâlî Muḥammad Rakhshānī as editor. According to ʿAbdul Raḥmān Pahwâl it is still being published.33

In Iran, too, it was felt shortly after the Islamic Revolution, that there was enough freedom to start publication in minority languages and quickly a fair number of periodicals in Balochi sprang up.34 However, they were almost all immediately closed down due to direct or indirect pressure from the Government. In the case of Makkurān, published from Teheran, only one issue appeared (in April 1979). The editor was Khâliqdâd Ṭāyâ Baloč. Baloč ġwâŋk from Irānshahr appeared twice, and its chief editors were Ayyûb Ḥusaynburr and Aḥmad Ḥasan Ra’ti. Eight issues of Kâkâr were also published from Zâhidān. Roznâ’ī and Grand are two other magazines, both of which appeared in early 1979.

ii. Academies, literary circles and publishers

In 1951, the same year as the first periodical in Balochi appeared, a literary circle was also founded in Quetta by ʿAbdullâh Jân Jamâldînî, Gûl Khân Naşîr, Gholâm Muḥammad Shâhwînî, ʿAbdul Karîm Shorish and a few other literary men. It was called Baločī Zubâne Diwân, and remained in existence until 1953, when it was closed down due to lack of money.

The first literary circle in Karachi was founded in 1952.35 It was called Baločī Zubâne Sarchammag, and among its members we note Zâhûr Shâh Sayyîd Hâshîmî, Muḥammad Ḥasan Tâj, Râṣûl Bakhsh Shâhîn, Muḥammad Ibrâhîm Muṣâḥhid, ʿAbdul Ṣâmad Amîrî and Aḥmad Zahâr. The literary activities of this circle included, among other things, arranging literary meetings

31 Correspondence with Qâzī ʿAbdul Raḥim Šâbir, March 13, 1987.
33 Correspondence with ʿAbdul Raḥmān Pahwâl, Nov. 22, 1988.
34 Information on periodicals published in Iran has been obtained from ʿAtâ Muḥammad Ḥusaynburr, a Baloch from Iran now living in Sweden and contacts of his, especially Karîm Baloč in Karachi, also originally from Iran.
35 According to Mis̱âq, p. 33. In “Baločī labzänke 25 sâl 1”, p. 20, the year 1951 is given.
and being active in the creation of Balochi neologisms. The circle ceased functioning in 1955, due to disunity among its members.36

The first academy was the Balochi Academy, Karachi, founded in 1958 by among others Akbar Bārakza’ī, Murād Sāhīr and Jum’a Khān Baloch. This Academy published three books in Balochi, Mistāg (an anthology of important contemporary Balochi poets), Baločī zahg balad (a Balochi primer), and Šapgirok by Gul Khān Naṣīr. The Academy ceased functioning when its secretary Akbar Bārakza’ī left Pakistan in 1964.37

The Balochi Academy in Quetta was founded in 1961. Its first chairman was Muḥammad Sardār Khān Gīshkori.38 The present chairman of the Academy is Bāshīr Ahmad Baloch and the general secretary is Ayyūb Baloch. The Academy has published some sixty books, most of which are in Balochi.39 It has also published about fifty booklets written in a simple style and aimed at people who are newly literate or not used to reading Balochi. These booklets treat all sorts of subjects and try to present and teach science, hygiene, civics, history, culture etc. in an easy form. The Academy also frequently arranges literary gatherings, but it has all the time had to face financial problems due to the small subsidy it receives from the Government every year.

In 1962 Warnā Wāninda Gal, a Baloch student organization, with its literary circle Balochi Labzānki Diwān, was founded. 'Atā Shād, Amānūllāh Gīchī, 'Abdul Ḥakīm, Siddīq Āzāt, Karīm Dashti and Šūrat Khān Marrī were among its members. In the mid-1960’s this organization published a couple of issues of Bolānmāma, and in 1986 BSO, Baloch Students’ Organization,40 started a second series of publications, called Girok. The editor is Dosten Baloch, and up to April 1988 five issues of Girok have appeared.

In 1964 the Lyāřī Adabī Board was founded in Karachi.41 In 1970 it changed its name to Balochi Adabī Board, and, in addition to Sadā’e baloč, the Balochi Adabī Board has also published some fifteen books, a few of which are in Balochi.

Mullā Fāzial Academy42, Karachi, was founded in 1968 by Siddīq Āzāt, Murād Sāhīr, Muḥammad Beg Baloch, Ahmad Zāhīr, Khayr Muḥammad

37 Correspondence with Akbar Bārakza’ī, Aug. 27, 1987.
38 "Baločī labzānke 25 sāl 1", p. 23.
40 The English name BSO was officially adopted as the name of the organization in 1967 (according to Šūrat Khān Marrī and 'Abdul Ḥakīm, in "Baločī labzānke 25 sāl 2", p. 37, the year 1968 is given), and the name Warnā Wāninda Gal has not been used afterwards.
41 Lyāřī is the name of the Balochi quarters in Karachi.
42 Also called Mullā Fāzial Academy.
Nadwi, Zafar 'Ali Zafar and Rahīm Bakhsh Āzāt. It both published a few books, e.g. poetry by Murād Sāhir (Pāhār) and Aḥmad Zahir (Zapten zahir) and held literary meetings. This Academy ceased functioning in the 1970's, after its secretary, Siddīq Āzāt, had left Pakistan. However, it still officially exists in name, and collections of poems by G. R. Mullā (Bāzīn) and Mīr Ahmad Dīhānī (Gāren kārwān) were published in the name of the Mullā Fāzil Academy in the early 1980's.

Balochi Labzānḳī Dīwān was founded in 1975 in Karachi. Between 1976 and 1978 it published six issues of Labzānḳ, a magazine containing different kinds of literary articles as well as short stories and poetry. Its editor was Ghulām Fāruq Baloch. According to Labzānḳ, 1, the aims of the Balochi Labzānḳī Dīwān were to further Balochi culture and literature, to encourage literacy and to print books and magazines in Balochi. 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī informs me that Labzānḳ has been re-started as a monthly periodical in early 1989, still with Ghulām Fāruq as its editor.

In 1983 the Sayyid Ḥāshimi Academy was founded in Karachi. It wants to keep the literary and orthographic tradition of Zahūr Shāh Sayyid Ḥāshimi alive, and has so far published a number of books, two of which, Bramś and Sanj, are collections of different kinds of articles, poems and short stories. It has also published two books of Sayyid Ḥāshimi's poetry, Sīkānēn sāsā and Sākkalēn sāhjo, and is at present preparing the dictionary Sayyid ganj for publication. Among the leading members of this Academy Aḥmad Zahir (supervisor), G. R. Mullā (president), Muḥammad Beg Baloch, 'Ābid Āskānī, Manṣūr Baloch, Murād Sāhir and Mubārak Qāzī ought to be mentioned.

Ilūm Publications, Karachi, was also founded in 1983 by Yār Muḥammad Yār, more as a private publishing house. Up to May 1988 it has published five magazines containing articles on literary subjects as well as literary pieces, both prose and poetry. These are Brānz, Bandīq and Minzil, 1—3, all with Yār Muhammad Yār as editor. Since the summer of 1988 Minzil has been published as a monthly periodical.

The Baloch poet Āzāt Jamāldīnī has also had an academy named after him. It was founded in 1984 with Āzāt's brother, 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī as its chief patron. Dr Jihān Zeb is president and Rahīm Bakhsh Āzāt general secretary of this Academy, which is located in Karachi, and which up to May 1988 has published five books, containing poetry by the Baloch poets Āzāt Jamāldīnī (Ruẓn), Murād Sāhir (Pāhār—reprint), Muhammad Ḥusayn 'Anqā

45 Ghulām Fāruq: "Sōŋālū", Labzānḳ, 1, p. 4.
46 Private correspondence, March 6, 1989. In the same letter 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī writes that Ghaws Bahār is planning a new monthly magazine from Quetta, to be called Ruẓn.
The Balochi Adabi Society was founded in Karachi in 1987. Its president is Tāj Muḥammad Tā'ir and the general secretary is Ghulām Muḥī ul-Dīn Mayār. It has published one issue in a planned series of magazines called Bāmsär, and a book containing poetry by 'Abbās 'Alī Zaymī (Ilhān).

In the summer of 1988 several of the Baloch literary men gathered in Karachi to found a joint organization called the Baloch dod u rabedāgī u patt u loot Anjuman. This organization plans to publish a series of magazines called Taptän, the first issue of which appeared in the autumn of 1988.

Newly started academies outside the traditional literary centres of Quetta and Karachi are 'Izzat Academy in Chitkän, Panjgūr, Rābi‘a Academy in Khuzdār, and Labzānī Kārwān and Labzānī Sarchammag in Turbat.

Labzānī Kārwān was founded in September 1984, and down to December 1988 it has published three Kārwān, the first three in a series of books all with the same name, containing various articles and literary pieces. Ghānī Parwāz is the president of Labzānī Kārwān and editor of Kārwān.

Labzānī Sarchammag, Turbat, was founded in 1984 under the name Anjuman-i Adab u Šaqāfāt. The present name was adopted in 1987. President of this literary circle is Mir 'Īsā Qawmī and the general secretary is Ibrāhīm 'Ābid. It has published a book containing poetry by Yār Muḥammad Nawqalātī (Rahson) and it is also planning a series of books, similar to Kārwān, to be called Sarchammag. According to Ghānī Parwāz, the first issue was in the press in May 1988.

'Izzat Academy, whose president is Hājī 'Abdul Qayyum and general secretary Karīm Āzāt, was founded in 1985, and it has published a book containing poetry by the vice-president of the Academy, 'Ināyatullāh Qawmī (Zirdē armān).

Rābi‘a Academy, Khuzdār, founded in 1985 by among others Ulfat Nasīm, has so far published nothing and only held one meeting.47

Also in the Gulf States literary circles have been founded. One of these is Sayyid Labzānī Majlis in Sharjah, which was founded in 1983, mainly in order to give financial support to the compilation and publication of Sayyid ganj. This literary circle, whose president is Zafar 'Alī Zafar and general secretary 'Abbās 'Alī Zaymī, also arranges literary gatherings and publishes books, one of which is a collection of various articles by Muḥammad Beg Baloch (Šakkal u mājin).48

All the academies and publishers mentioned above use the Arabic script for Balochi, but Balochi Publications in Karachi, headed by La‘l Bakhsh Rind,

has produced two primers in Roman script. They were printed in 1983, and written by Lal Bakhsh Rind himself, who is also preparing more books using the Roman script for Balochi. Balochi Publications has also published a book in the Arabic script, namely *Lakko*, written by Mansur Baloch.

There has been only a limited publication of books in Balochi in Iran, both in the time of the monarchy, and after the Islamic Revolution. There is, however, one book written in Persian comparing Balochi and Persian grammar, which is called *Dastūr-i taḥḥiqī-yi zabān-i bālūčī bā pārsī*, by Muḥammad Zarriṅnigār, published by Bunyād-i nashr-i farhang-i Balūch, Īrānshahr. One cannot see that any major publication of books in Balochi would be feasible in Iran at present.

In 1987, however, Iranian Baloch in London founded the *Anjuman-i farhangī va taḥḥiqī-yi Balūch*, a society intended to be free from political ties and open to all Baloch. It hopes to be able to publish a magazine on Balochi culture, but in what language this magazine is to be published is not clear from the statutes of the society, which by the way are written in Persian. In Sweden, too, Baloch refugees from Iran have founded an association for the preservation of the Balochi language and culture, and they express an interest in publishing books in Balochi, especially primers and other books to be used for mother tongue education in Balochi in schools.

In Afghanistan the situation is slightly different from Iran in that the present regime in Kabul is trying to follow the Soviet policy of allowing and encouraging cultural activities in minority languages. Thus, in the past few years a number of books in Balochi have been published by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs in Kabul. A Balochi edition of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, in Balochi called *Sol u süsiyālizme mas'ala* is also regularly published.

iii. Poetry

When dealing with the oral literature an attempt at dividing Balochi poetry into three periods was referred to. The poetry of the 20th century has mainly been written and published after the Independence of Pakistan, and it belongs to the third period in Anwar Rooman’s classification.49

*Mir Gul Khan Nasir* is by many held to be the greatest modern Balochi poet. He was born in 1914 and passed away in 1983.50 Before the Independence of Pakistan his poems were mostly in Urdu and Persian, but since he was being influenced by the general desire for independence prevailing at that time, his poetry, now written in Balochi, more and more contained demands for a free

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50 *Mislag*, p. 10.
Balochistan as well. Due to the political overtones in his poetry, Gul Khan Nasir had to spend several years in house arrest and in prison.\textsuperscript{51} 

Gul Khan Nasir’s poetry in Balochi has been published in five books; Gulbang, the first book published in Balochi after the Independence of Pakistan, Sapgirok, Dastan-i dosten shiren, an epic love story, Hammal-i ji’and, an epic heroic story, and Grand.

Another poet of great merit was ‘Abdul Wahid (Azat) Jamaldini (1912—1981).\textsuperscript{52} Some of his poetry was published in 1953 in the book Masten tawar (with Urdu translation). Otherwise his poetry mostly appeared in magazines. After his death two books containing his poetry have been published, one, Ruzn, by the Azat Jamaldini Academy, Karachi, also containing a long article on the poet’s life written by his brother ‘Abdullah Jan Jamaldini, and the other, As u angaren shyrani wawund—azat jamaldini,\textsuperscript{53} by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Kabul, Afghanistan.

Muhammad Husayn Anqa (1907—1977)\textsuperscript{54} is also a highly valued poet, whose poetry has been collected and published in Tawar. Like the two previously mentioned poets, he, too, was an ardent Baloch nationalist, who had to spend much of his life in prison. He was also a journalist, and one of the forerunners in using the Arabic-Urdu script for Balochi.

Among poets now living outstanding names are ‘Ata Shad, Akbar Barakza‘i, Siddiq Azat, Bashir Bedar, Murad Sahir, Ahmad Zahir, G. R. Mullal and Mubarak Qazi.

Another poet,\textsuperscript{55} the late Zahur Shah Sayyid Hashimi, born in 1926 in Gwadar (then belonging to Muscat)\textsuperscript{56} and dying in 1978, is maybe even more valued for his devotion to developing the Balochi language, its script and its vocabulary. He was the first writer to publish a novel in Balochi (Nazuk). He has also written a book in Urdu on the history of the Balochi language and literature, Balochi zaban u adab ki tarix, published in 1986 by the Sayyid Hashimi Academy. His importance for the development of the Balochi language and literature can hardly be overestimated.

\textsuperscript{51} ‘Abdullah Jan Jamaldini writes in a letter dated July 3, 1987, that Gul Khan Nasir was imprisoned several times, for a total of about 10 years. He was also frequently held in house arrest.

\textsuperscript{52} Azat Jamaldini: Ruzn, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{53} The official author of this book is Abdul Rahman Pahwal.


\textsuperscript{55} Titles of three of his collections of poetry are found in Text Appendix 2, sample 2.13. The other two are Siikaneq sassi and Sakkaleq sahjo.

\textsuperscript{56} Mistag, p. 33.
iv. Prose and drama

As far as modern prose is concerned, it can be divided into factual prose and fine literature. The fine literature is still at a very rudimentary stage, but the short story as a literary form is very much appreciated, and short stories are frequently published in magazines. Two collections of short stories have also been published by the Balochi Academy, Quetta. *Malguzār* is a collection of short stories translated from various languages into Balochi. *Gičen āzmānakk* is divided into two parts, the first of which contains translations of short stories by famous authors like Chekhov, Gorky, Maupassant, Sartre and Somerset Maugham. The second part consists of short stories originally written in Balochi. One of the most appreciated short story writers is Ni'matullāh Gichkī, Quetta. As for the novel, it has not as yet become a major genre in the Balochi literature. In fact, only one novel has been published in Balochi so far.

Factual prose deals with all kinds of subjects, but is frequently of a literary, cultural, historical or biographical nature. Drama is also a fairly new genre, but a number of plays have been published in magazines in recent years. A leading figure in the development of drama is 'Aṭā Shād, who at the same time is a highly appreciated poet.
A. The creation of a standard language

The attempt at developing a standard language is a process which often goes hand in hand with demands for greater political and/or cultural freedom for the ethnic group in question. Bloomfield puts it this way: "As soon as a speech-group attains or seeks political independence, or even asserts its cultural peculiarity, it works at setting up a standard language."\(^1\) One definition of a standard language is that it must be "a codified form of a language, accepted by, and serving as a model to, a larger speech community."\(^2\) The development of a standard language thus generally presupposes or directly involves the reduction to writing of the language in question.\(^3\) Garvin therefore regards language standardization as an urban phenomenon, for which no need is felt in a pre-urbanized society.\(^4\)

Some of the major standard languages of Europe have developed out of the dialect spoken by the higher classes in the capital.\(^5\) A great impulse towards the creation of standard languages occurred during the Reformation, when Latin was abolished as the language of the Reformed Church, in favour of the vernacular, into which the Bible was translated.

In the 19th and 20th centuries a great number of linguists and patriots have been confronted with the issue of language standardization. Education in a language demands a standard, and in many cases where there was no education in the mother tongue, people realized that if their own language was not codified and developed, it would sooner or later be suffocated by other languages which have already been reduced to writing. Liberation movements also led to the creation of new states, and "we see in country after country the establishment of new languages as the result of codifications by individuals, by government commissions, or by academies."\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Bloomfield: *Language*, p. 483.


\(^3\) Cf. Haugen: "The Scandinavian Languages as Cultural Artifacts", p. 268.


\(^6\) Haugen: "Linguistics and Language Planning", p. 58.
The creation of a standard language is a strong unifying factor among the people speaking it, as well as a separating factor in relation to speakers of other languages. Language standardization can therefore be a politically sensitive issue, especially if it goes hand in hand with political demands, e.g. of greater autonomy or even independence for a minority group.

The actual process of standardization may occur deliberately to a greater or lesser degree, but nowadays linguists, academies and governments frequently play an active part in the development and promotion of a standard language. Government support must be regarded as one of the key factors in the promotion of the standard language, since it is the government that controls the educational system.

When there exist a number of different dialects, which is the normal case for any spoken language, there are two different ways in which a standard norm can be selected. Either one dialect is promoted as the standard language or one tries to achieve a mixture of several dialects, where features that differ between the dialects are kept to a minimum.7 The method which is usually recommended by linguistic theoreticians is to choose one dialect as the basis of the standard language, generally the dialect of the highest prestige, the most regular and/or most widely understood dialect, or "the dialect at the point of entry of the outside influence in the community".8 As for the policy of encouraging dialect mixture in the standard language, Ferguson holds that "although something of this sort happens to some extent in the formation of any standard language, its conscious adoption as a policy has usually led to many difficulties."9

In the creation of a standard literary language, phonological and lexical differences between the different dialects are usually the easiest to handle. "It is possible to choose a single spelling for a certain feature and speakers of each dialect can pronounce it their own way without serious complications."10 One can, at least to a certain degree, hide phonological differences in the orthography.11 Vocabulary items common to several dialects can be chosen as the standard ones, and vocabulary items from different dialects can also be established as synonyms in the standard language. When there are extensive morphological and/or syntactical differences between the dialects, the

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11 Cf. the description of the Pashto orthography in ch. 3.C.
creation of a common literary language has to be much more geared towards heavy promotion of the grammatical structure of one dialect at the expense of that of other dialects.

As for the actual establishment of the standard, Ray outlines two possible strategies. "The first is to make a careful check whether the particular solution suggested for the problem has a fair chance of success, then present it in a dramatic move and consolidate through the production of a valued corpus before any opposition gathers momentum." This strategy can hardly be successful unless it is backed by official authorities with sufficient means at their disposal for the promotion of the chosen solution, and the suppression of any resistance against it. "The second strategy is to allow several alternative solutions for some time, consider their merits and chances, and then by almost imperceptible steps push one ahead of the others." The former strategy is recommended for major changes, and the latter one for minor ones. The amount of authority needed to successfully carry through the standardization more gradually is, however, far less than if it is to be done abruptly, and may therefore be more suitable for the whole standardization process when several competing standards exist and/or when government authorities take little or no interest in the promotion of a standard language.

It is also worth stressing that in order to promote a standard language it is of great importance that a substantial quantity of literature is produced in it. Especially important is the availability of prose. Frequently, therefore, literary activities have to be stimulated and writers encouraged to use the prescribed standard language. The establishment of a standard literary language also includes the adoption of a standard orthography. It is therefore necessary to look at different ideas about what an ideal orthography for a certain language ought to look like.

B. Orthography

According to Bloomfield "the transfer of writing to a new language occurs, apparently, in this way, that some bilingual person who knows writing in one language, hits upon the notion of using the alphabet also for his other language." Doing this he may retain whatever defects the alphabet had in the
first language, and add others due to phonemic differences between the two languages. The creation of a good orthography is therefore not the task of a layman but rather of competent linguists.

It is the alphabetic writing which is the most common type of writing in the world today. This means that each letter, at least theoretically, represents one distinctive sound, even if there are few languages where a total one-to-one correspondence between the spoken and written language is to be found. There is also much discussion whether such a one-to-one correspondence within the alphabetic writing system is ideal or not. This discussion originates in two different theories about the relation between the spoken and the written language.

1. The two theories

Since the time of Aristotle, script has generally been regarded as "but a visible record of speech sounds".16 This theory of the dependence of writing on speech has been adopted also by several modern linguists, such as e.g. Leonard Bloomfield.17 Common arguments for this primacy of speech over writing is that "speech was in existence long before writing was ever invented",18 and also that every individual learns to talk his mother tongue before learning to write it. Besides, many people never learn to read and write at all.19

The dependence theory is also adopted by Pike,20 Nida,21 Gudschinsky22 and Smalley,23 although not always expressly stated. We can, however, deduce their standpoint from the fact that they see a phonemic orthography as the ideal one, which means that they basically wish to represent the spoken language also in writing. These four linguists are all associated with Bible translation, and Pike and Nida are two of the most influential theorists in the Summer Institute of Linguistics, an organization whose main concern is to reduce unwritten languages to writing, in order, among other aims, to translate the Bible into these languages. The four linguists just mentioned thus have extensive experience in working practically with the creation of orthographies for unwritten languages.

16 Henderson: Orthography and Word Recognition in Reading, p. 86.
18 Smalley: "Writing Systems and Their Characteristics", p. 3.
20 Pike: Phonemics, p. 208.
21 Nida: "What is Phonemics?", p. 20.
23 Smalley: "Writing Systems and Their Characteristics", p. 3.
Tauli also strongly argues for the dependence of writing on the spoken language. He sees writing as merely a graphic representation of spoken language and holds that "it is a calamity when writing and speech are separated from each other." A gap between writing and speech means that the language users must learn two languages, a spoken and a written language, which, according to Tauli, is an unnecessary waste of energy. Also Gleason states that "a written language is basically a representation of a spoken language" but quickly adds that "it is, however, very seldom an exact reflection.

The fact that written language is seldom an exact reflection of spoken language has caused other theorists to consider written language independent of spoken language. Vachek calls this a 'functionalist approach to written language' and although he does not use the word independent, he holds that there exist two 'norms' of language. The spoken norm is "a system of phonically manifestable language elements whose function is to react to a given stimulus ... in a dynamic way, i.e. in a ready and immediate manner", whereas the written norm is "a system of graphically manifestable language elements whose function is to react to a given stimulus ... in a static way, i.e. in a preservable and easily surveyable manner".

Other strong advocates of the independence theory are Chomsky and Halle, who maintain that under the phonetic representation (i.e. the spoken language) there exists an abstract underlying form which is frequently reflected in the written language. This so called 'lexical representation of an underlying form' will often be different from its phonetic representation. The written language thus represents a deeper and more regularized structure than the mere phonetic form.

2. Phonemic orthography

Pike claims that "a practical orthography should be phonemic. There should be a one-to-one correspondence between each phoneme and the symbolization of that phoneme." If all the phonetic differences of the spoken language were to be represented, one would have a phonetic orthography, where allophones were to be distinguished. This is not desirable, since it is not needed for the sake of clarity. Thus, in a theoretically ideal phonemic orthography, there will be one symbol representing each phoneme of the lan-

27 Chomsky and Halle: The Sound Pattern of English, p. 44. See also pp. 49—50.
28 Pike: Phonemics, p. 208.
language, neither more nor less. Digraphs are acceptable, however, provided they are unambiguous.

If there are too many symbols we are faced with an overrepresentation of one or more phonemes, either by representing allophones (overdifferentiation), or by arbitrary overrepresentation due to historical or other reasons. If there are too few symbols, there is underrepresentation, i.e. some phonemic features remain unrepresented in the orthography. If two or more phonemes are written with the same symbol the kind of underrepresentation that occurs may be called underdifferentiation. Overrepresentation mainly complicates spelling and underrepresentation reading.

However, most advocates of the phonemic principle regard a certain underrepresentation as desirable. Tauli considers the omission of some phonemic features, especially prosodic ones, such as stress and intonation, as permissible, provided careful investigation into the matter has been done. Here also functional load is of major importance. It is not so serious to omit a phonemic feature with a low functional load, since language redundancy helps to make up for the deficit. Omission of certain phonemic features also simplifies the orthography by reducing its total number of signs.

A scientific method of measuring the functional load of a phoneme is presented by Powlison. He outlines a number of factors which are important for determining the functional load of any phoneme within the total system. The most important criterion is the number of other phonemes with which the phoneme in question contrasts in the actual language. Here the segmental phonemes, i.e. the consonants and the vowels, will usually contrast with many more other phonemes than for example nasalization, tone and length, which only contrast with non-nasalization, the other tones and one or more other relative lengths. Being influenced by our own orthographies, we Westerners often regard only vowels and consonants as the segments that ought to be represented in writing, whereas many languages have several tone contrasts or contrasts in length, that also need to be represented in the orthography.

Some of the advocates of a phonemic orthography make allowance for the principle of the invariability of morpheme, i.e. they allow a morpheme that has only one meaning but more than one phonemic form, e.g. the plural suffix in English, to be spelled in only one way. Gudschinsky points out that "there may be built into the language itself a preference for a phonemic transcription

29 Tauli: "Speech and Spelling", p. 25. See also Smalley: "Writing Systems and Their Characteristics", p. 11.
30 Powlison: "Bases for Formulating an Efficient Orthography", pp. 86—91. Cf. also the discussion in Ray: Language Standardization, pp. 31—32.
or a morphophonemic one. The orthography, to be effective, must reflect the people's natural preference for one or the other." 32 Smalley further holds that "maintaining the visual unity of the word or of a morpheme may contribute greatly to effective reading, even though the reader automatically changes the pronunciation of that word as he reads it." 33

Tauli, too, treats the issue of invariability of morpheme, but he is much more reluctant to accept this principle. His viewpoint is that "it may be expedient in only a few exceptional cases to deviate from phonemic orthography in favor of morphophonemic orthography." 34 Tauli maintains that "advocates of morphophonemic orthography have taken notice only of some morphophonemic spellings in English and some other languages, ignoring the opposite spellings, without pondering over the consequences of a consistent morphophonemic orthography." 35

3. Morphophonemic orthography

The argument concerning unity of morpheme leads us into another theory, which does not regard phonemic orthography as the optimal one. Most theorists here adhere to the idea that writing is independent of speech, or, as Vachek puts it, that writing and speech are two different and independent norms of representing a language. Here the invariability of morpheme is stressed as a vital feature of an optimal orthography.

Chomsky and Halle see the ‘fundamental principle of orthography’ in the idea that “phonetic variation is not indicated where it is predictable by general rule ... Except for unpredictable variants (e.g., man-men, buy-bought), an optimal orthography would have one representation for each lexical entry.” They therefore regard the English orthography as “close to being an optimal orthographic system for English.” 36 Such ‘lexical spellings’ thus “abstract away from ... variations in pronunciation and represent deeper similarities that have a semantic function in the language.” 37

Venezky38 and Vachek39 both touch upon the matter that advanced reading does not often involve producing sounds, but is more frequently silent reading.

35 Ibid., p. 25.
36 Chomsky and Halle: The Sound Pattern of English, p. 49.
for comprehension. The invariability of morpheme helps the reader to identify the units which are directly related to meaning, i.e. the morphemes, without being disturbed by variations in their pronunciation.

According to Vachek, it is not only at the basic level, the phoneme level, that there is a correspondence between the spoken and written norms of a language, even if this is the basic correspondence.\textsuperscript{40} He finds that “deficiencies found on the basic level are, at least to a degree, compensated by the correspondences ascertainable on higher language levels, mainly on the morphemic and word levels.”\textsuperscript{41}

Vachek also sees the interests of the writer and the reader as different when it comes to orthography. The writer will desire a simple set of rules, i.e. as close to phonemic orthography as possible, whereas the reader, at least the advanced reader, wants the written norm “to speak quickly and distinctly to the eyes”.\textsuperscript{42}

Another feature which speeds up silent reading is when homonyms are differentiated in spelling. Against this argument, however, Tauli holds that if homonyms are harmful in the written language, they should be eliminated from the spoken language as well. He sees no reason why the spoken language should be allowed to be more ambiguous than the written one, especially since media like TV and radio use oral communication.\textsuperscript{43}

4. Non-linguistic factors

It is not only the actual structure of the language that influences the orthography. There are also a great number of so-called non-linguistic (social, religious etc.) factors, which are of major importance in the creation of an orthography that is to be accepted by its potential users. These non-linguistic factors are especially important in a minority language, and it is therefore generally the linguists who have practical experience in the work of reducing minority languages to writing as well as carrying out literacy programmes, e.g. Pike, Gudschinsky, Nida and Smalley, and the sociolinguists, e.g. Fishman, who recognize and deal with this issue.

It is more important that the orthography be accepted by those who are going to use it, than that it is theoretically ideal. Powlison puts it this way: “To be efficient, a writing system must first of all be acceptable to the speakers of the language, those who should become the writing system’s principal users.”\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 25.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p. 51.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., pp. 52—53.
\textsuperscript{43} Tauli: \textit{Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning}, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{44} Powlison: “Bases for Formulating an Efficient Orthography”, p. 76.
Some peoples are extremely attached to their own writing system and see it as a major symbol for their cultural and/or religious identity. This can be said of for instance the Jews and the Armenians, as well as of many Muslim peoples using the Arabic script.

A minority language generally has a tendency to be influenced by the majority language. It is therefore common that minority languages adopt the script of the majority language, a national language, a trade language etc., be it Roman, Arabic or some other script.

There is frequently a pressure from the majority language on the minority language to overrepresent or underrepresent phonemes. A kind of overrepresentation, or rather overdifferentiation, that may occur, due to influence from the majority language, is when allophones are differentiated in the minority language. One then has to assume that the allophones in the minority language are separate phonemes in the majority language. There may also be a tendency not to indicate a phonemic distinction that exists in the minority language when it is not found in the majority language. There is also normally a desire to employ the same letters for the same sound values in the minority language as in the majority language whenever possible. It may therefore be unwise to introduce symbols or diacritics in the minority language if these are foreign to the majority language. Doing so would also cause typing problems, not to mention problems in the use of computers.

Here we enter into the issue of transfer, which means that once reading and writing have been learned in one's mother tongue, the skill acquired will speed up the process of learning to read and write in the majority language. This is generally the government policy for minority languages, and the more similarities between the two writing systems, i.e. the greater the transfer, the more readily the writing system for the minority language will be accepted by the authorities.

People belonging to a minority group also sometimes feel a need to identify with the majority culture, thus demanding that their orthography should look like that of the majority language, often with the result that it will depart somewhat from the phonemic principle. Against this tendency to submit to pressures from a majority language, Tauli holds that "it would be scarcely
wise to yield to such pressure and introduce such absurdities in a new orthography. Instead one should try to explain to the natives that their orthography is superior". But there are also minority peoples who strongly desire to be different from the majority people, including having their own distinct orthography. As an example of this, the Kurdish orthography (see ch. 3.D), which has broken with the general tradition of keeping the Arabic script fairly unchanged, can be mentioned.

5. Remarks on the Arabic script

The Arabic script spread with Islam, and it has generally remained fairly uniform, even though it has been used for languages belonging to totally different families, as for example, Semitic, Turkic and Indo-European languages.

The main modification of the Arabic alphabet in the different languages using it has been to create new symbols to represent additional consonant phonemes in the language to which the script is adopted. This is generally done by adding dots to already existing basic signs or by modifying them in other ways. All the existing Arabic consonant signs are at the same time adopted and used in Arabic loan words. This almost always leads to overrepresentation of consonants, since the adopting languages often lack the pharyngalized consonants of Arabic, and frequently other Arabic consonant phonemes as well. The incomplete representation of vowels in the Arabic script has also generally been kept in orthographies based on it, resulting in more or less extensive underrepresentation and underdifferentiation.

This reluctance to do away with symbols for consonants not actually needed in the particular language as well as to add extra signs for vowel phonemes creates a certain uniformity between the orthographies of languages using the Arabic script, which means greater transfer into Arabic or any of the other languages using Arabic script.

50 Tauli: Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning, p. 131.
53 Cf. Smalley: "The Use of Non-Roman Script for New Languages", pp. 73—74.
C. Vocabulary

1. The creation of new lexical items

In times when speakers of a language are brought in contact with technically more advanced cultures, they will generally feel a great lack in vocabulary and wish to add a considerable amount of new words to their existing vocabulary. These new words can either be borrowed from other languages, or be native words found in, for instance, the archaic language or in a dialect. One can also construct new words, either by derivation or by creating totally new words not related to any existing word in the language (referred to by Tauli as an 'arbitrary lexeme'\textsuperscript{54}). Words can also be created on the pattern of a foreign word.

Borrowing from foreign languages is something that very frequently takes place when different languages are brought in contact with each other. The foreign word is generally sooner or later adapted to the phonemic and grammatical pattern of the borrowing language, so that, after some time it is no longer considered or even recognized as foreign. It is normally easier to borrow foreign words from a genetically close language, whose phonemic structure is similar to that of the borrowing language, than from a more distantly related or a totally alien language.

As for the creation of new words, it can be done by linguists or, often very successfully, by writers, by means of artistic inventiveness. Derivation keeps the total number of morphemes in the language lower than arbitrary creation, but derived words sometimes tend to be fairly long.

2. The orthography of loan words

Words borrowed into a language can either be totally assimilated to the phonemic and morphemic structure of the borrowing language, or they can contain foreign features, e.g. foreign phonemes or morphemes. Advocates of a phonemic orthography recommend that the spelling of a loan word follow the general phonemic pattern, especially if the loan word is of the assimilated type. If the loan word is not fully assimilated, new symbols might have to be added to the alphabet to represent the additional phonemes.\textsuperscript{55}

There is, however, a certain pressure to spell loan words the same way as in the language from which they were borrowed. This is the general tendency as far as Arabic loan words are concerned, something which, of course, makes

\textsuperscript{54} Tauli: \textit{Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning}, p. 83.

\textsuperscript{55} Pike: \textit{Phonemics}, p. 211.
the study of Arabic or other Islamic languages easier, but at the same makes it more difficult for a monolingual person to learn to read and write his own language.

It is fairly easy to keep the original spelling of loan words when the borrowing language does not have an orthography based on the phonemic principle, but there is harder pressure to change the spelling of loan words in a phonemic orthography. Even in a phonemic orthography, however, foreign proper nouns could be spelled in their original form, since they cannot generally "be considered as belonging to the vocabulary of a language."56

D. Orthographic reform—The example of Turkish

To carry out an orthographic reform is no easy task. "Orthographic change represents the abandonment of written tradition and as such it must cope with the gatekeepers of written tradition, the poets, priests, principals, and professors".57 Authority and careful planning are necessary for success, and it is sometimes easier to launch major orthographic reforms at times of social and political changes in a country. We will now look briefly at the Turkish orthographic reform made in 1928, when the Arabic script was abandoned and Roman script put in its place.

The Arabic script spread with Islam to languages for which it was not always very satisfactory, especially due to its meagre vowel representation. One of the languages where the shortcomings of the Arabic script was strongly felt was Turkish, and already before the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923,58 voices had been raised for the adoption of Roman script. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, too, was personally interested in the matter. But there was also strong opposition against abandoning the Arabic script, especially from the defendants of the religion.59 Atatürk was, however, determined to carry out a reform of the Turkish orthography.

In 1926, at a Turkological Congress in Baku, the Latinization of all Turkic languages of the Soviet Union was proclaimed official policy,60 a decision which encouraged Atatürk to get on with his reform. Thus, in May 1928 the

56 Tauli: Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning, p. 133.
57 Fishman: "Advances in the Creation and Revision of Writing Systems", p. XVI (preface).
58 Kinross: Atatürk, The Rebirth of a Nation, p. 381.
60 Henze: "Politics and Alphabets in Inner Asia", p. 376.
numerals were changed to the ones in use in Europe, and the task of constructing an alphabet based on Roman script was initiated. When the new alphabet seemed satisfactory, it was taught to government officials and teachers. Even Atatürk himself went on a tour to teach the new alphabet. In November 1928 a law was passed, making the new alphabet compulsory in government departments by January 1, 1929.\(^6\)

Atatürk was successful in carrying out his orthographic reform. A few points must be noted to account for this success. The orthography previously in use and based on the Arabic script was highly unsatisfactory for the Turkish language. The literacy rate had also been very low prior to the reform. Together with the reform literacy programmes were launched, which created a basis for the new alphabet among people who were not influenced by the old orthography and who were also only to a limited degree acquainted with the Arabic and Persian loan words connected with this orthography. Atatürk was well aware of the importance of propaganda, and he therefore got personally involved in the teaching of the new alphabet. He also had the authority necessary to carry through the reform and crush all opposition against it. Finally, it must have been of some help that the so-called ‘Unified Turkic Latin Alphabet’ had been launched in the Soviet Union from 1927 onwards,\(^6\) with which the Turkish alphabet was almost identical.\(^6\)

We thus see that extensive orthographic reforms are by no means impossible to carry out, provided there is enough authority behind them. As for authority, it must be seen as one of the main factors in all language planning, a point to which there will be reasons to return when discussing the prospects for language planning in the case of the Balochi language.

But Atatürk also attempted to ‘purify’ the Turkish language by extensive elimination of Arabic and Persian loan words, replacing them with Turkish equivalents. In 1932 the Turkish Language Society was founded to promote the purification of the Turkish language. The Turkish words which were to replace the loan words were to be found in old folklore and in spoken dialects. In 1935 glossaries of the new words were published, and their use was promoted.\(^6\) But soon the rapid change in vocabulary encountered difficulties. It was no longer possible even to read a newspaper without the aid of the glossaries, and the speed of the vocabulary reform had to be reduced. Even Atatürk himself seems to have realized that the Turkish language would have

\(^6\) Lewis: “Atatürk’s Language Reform as an Aspect of Modernization in the Republic of Turkey”, pp. 198—201.


\(^6\) Bacon: Central Asians under Russian Rule, p. 191.

\(^6\) Webster: The Turkey of Atatürk, pp. 243—244.
suffered greatly, if all the loan words it had made part of its own vocabulary were to be replaced by new and unknown words.\textsuperscript{65} It is thus clear that, although a great number of new words did take root in the Turkish language, it was impossible to 'purify' it from all its Arabic and Persian elements.

\textsuperscript{65} Lewis: "Atatürk's Language Reform as an Aspect of Modernization in the Republic of Turkey", pp. 208—209.
CHAPTER 3
Development of a Standard Literary Language in Other Iranian Languages

The development of a standard literary language with a universally accepted orthography is a process that takes time if it is to occur as a natural process of development. By official encouragement and decision-making, however, this process can be accelerated, which is often the case with literary standards that have been or are being established in the 20th century.

In this chapter the process of standardization for the most important New Iranian languages will be described. New Persian was the first New Iranian language to be standardized, and its standardization took place as a natural process of development. On the other hand, Tajik has undergone and Kurdish is undergoing a process of standardization where official decisions made by governments and academies intervene in the natural process of standardization, in order to speed it up. Each language, its standardization process and its orthography are now analyzed in detail.

A. New Persian

Among all the New Iranian languages, New Persian has been in the most favourable position. It early became the vehicle of a flourishing literature, and is today the official language both in Iran (Farsi) and Afghanistan (Dari), as well as in the Tajik SSR (here in its Tajik form—see section B.1).

How the creation of a standard literary New Persian language came about is a subject still surrounded by a lot of uncertainty. When the Arabs invaded Iran, Middle Persian was replaced by Arabic as the administrative and literary language, but the spoken language continued to be Middle Persian, gradually changing into what is now known as New Persian. This language, originally based on the dialect of Fârs, also spread towards the north and east. One has

1 At the final stage of this work I was made aware of the existence of two articles by Manfred Lorenz on the subject treated in this chapter, but, since I was unable to obtain exact references to these articles, they have not been consulted here.
to assume that, in this process, it incorporated traits from local dialects and languages, especially Sogdian and Parthian, two languages which it later eliminated.\(^2\)

It was in the north-east that New Persian first appeared as a literary language. Exactly where and when New Persian, this time in Arabic script, was first written is still uncertain, but it was the Sâmânids who were the first to use the New Persian language, together with Arabic, in the bureaucracy.\(^3\)

The Sâmânid court was located in Bukhârâ, and Lazard holds that the dialects of Transoxiana and Khurâsân, especially that of Bukhârâ, constituted the basis for the earliest New Persian literary language.\(^4\) As the literary language gradually spread to the west "local idiosyncrasies of Eastern origin . . . were . . . discarded, while the language was probably enriched with elements drawn from other dialects, not to mention innumerable loans from Arabic, and so became the cultivated language of the whole of Iran."\(^5\)

The process of standardization of the New Persian language took some two hundred years, from the 9th to the 11th century, during which time the language not only spread geographically, but also "from popular poetry to poetry of an elevated style and thence to science and administration".\(^6\) By the end of the 11th century the New Persian language had reached the stage where its standardization process was completed. It has since then appeared as a very homogeneous literary language, even though it has continued to incorporate loan words, especially from Arabic, but in modern times also from French and English.

The New Persian language uses the Arabic script, adding to the Arabic alphabet the four new signs پ، چ، ژ and گ to represent the consonant phonemes /p/, /چ/, /ژ/ and /گ/, found in New Persian but not in Arabic. The signs for consonant phonemes existing in Arabic but not in New Persian (ث، ع، ط، ض، ص، ح) have been retained, creating arbitrary overrepresentation of consonants in Arabic loan words. As for the underrepresentation of vowels, it is in Modern New Persian identical with that of Arabic, where the three long vowel phonemes are represented, but the three short ones left unrepresented. In Classical New Persian the majhûl vowel phonemes /e/ and /o/ are written identically with their ma‘rûf counterparts /i/ and /û/. Another kind of underdifferentiation is that the two diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are written identically with the two long vowels /i/ and /û/.


\(^3\) Frye: "The Sâmânids", p. 146. The Sâmânid state received official recognition as a vassal state of the Caliphate in 875. Ibid., p. 137.

\(^4\) Lazard: La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane, p. 17.


\(^6\) Ibid.
B. Literary Iranian languages in the Soviet Union

The general language policy of the Soviet Union is to cultivate the largest language of each republic or autonomous oblast (region) as the official language of that republic/autonomous oblast. Furthermore, languages of minor ethnic groups can be provided with special rights, such as being taught in schools or being broadcast on the radio. This policy demands, of course, that language standards be set up and orthographies decided on for languages with official status. The three Iranian languages that enjoy such a status in the Soviet Union are Tajik, official language of the Tajik SSR, Ossetic, official language of the North Ossetic Autonomous SSR of the Russian Federation and of the South Ossetic Autonomous Oblast in the Georgian SSR, and Kurdish, which enjoys special rights in the Armenian SSR.

In the following, the standardization process for and the orthography of Tajik and Ossetic are described. Kurdish is treated in section D.

1. Tajik

In a historical perspective Tajik, as the Central Asian form of New Persian, is a partaker of the literary heritage of New Persian, written in Arabic script. Some scholars hold that Tajik and New Persian are only dialectal variants, i.e. literary dialects of the same language, whereas others feel that the two have developed far enough from each other to justify being classified as two different languages. It is in phonology and the verbal system, as well as in the vocabulary, especially in the area of loan words, that the main differences between Tajik and Modern New Persian are found.

Tajik has traditionally been divided into a northern (or north-western) and a southern (or south-eastern) dialect group. The northern dialects are spoken in the plains in northern Tajikistan and in Uzbekistan, and the southern dialects are the dialects of the mountains in southern Tajikistan, spreading into northern Afghanistan. Later a central, transitional, dialect group was also identified. A somewhat different classification of dialects was made by Rastorgueva in Opit sravnitel'nogo izuchenija tadžikskix govorov. On the

7 Krag: "The Language Situation in Central Asia—Between National Integrity and Soviet Integration", p. 64.
8 See references in Krader: "Peoples of Central Asia", p. 41.
10 Oranskij: Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion, I, pp. 83—84.
basis of phonological criteria, she divides the Tajik dialects into a northern, a central, a southern and a south-eastern group.

As for the development of the literary language, Oranskij refers to the fact that there was a fairly open discussion on the subject in the 1920's (1924—1930). There were arguments raised for the adoption of the mountain dialect as the basis of the literary language, since it was felt to be ‘purer’ and freer from Turkish and Arabic influence than the dialects of the plains. However, it was the north-western, or, even more, the central dialect group that was to win the fight. The literary language approaches the central, transitional, dialects, and avoids features that are peculiar to any special dialect. At the same time, though, it must not be forgotten that the basis of the Tajik literary language is the Classical New Persian language.

A leading role in the development of the modern literary Tajik language was played by the writer and learned man Şadr ul-Din 'Aynî (1878—1954). He originated from a village near Bukhārā, and was thus a speaker of north-western Tajik. He was the first Tajik writer to systematically introduce elements from the spoken vernacular into literary Tajik.14

Tajik was, like New Persian, traditionally written in Arabic characters. In the late 1920’s Tajik adopted Roman characters, along with a large number of other minority languages in the Soviet Union, among others the Turkic languages in Central Asia. An orthography based on Roman script for Tajik was officially accepted in 1930 and remained in use until 1940, when nearly all written minority languages in the Soviet Union switched over to Cyrillic script. We thus see that two waves of ‘script reforms’ have taken place in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, the ‘Romanization’ in the late 1920’s, and the ‘Cyrillization’ some ten years later. Henze describes the different character of the two reforms. ‘The relatively free debate and the controversies over fine points of phonetics and vocabulary which had made the Latinization campaign lively and interesting were largely absent from the Cyrillic Revolution.’16

It is clear that the Soviet authorities have had the capacity to carry through vast linguistic reforms in accordance with the general policy towards the minority peoples. Initially after the Revolution massive literacy campaigns in the mother tongue were given priority, whereas in the Stalin era assimilation and acquiring of Russian were regarded as more important. In addition

12 Ibid., I, p. 29.
14 Oranskij: Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion, I, pp. 30, 76.
15 Ibid., p. 31.
16 Henze: “Politics and Alphabets in Inner Asia”, pp. 380—381.
17 Bacon: Central Asians under Russian Rule, p. 191.
to the change of scripts, therefore, Russian was also introduced as a compulsory subject in all Soviet schools in 1938.\textsuperscript{18}

As for the alphabet based on the Cyrillic script, which is used at present, it is closer to the phonemic principle than is the alphabet based on Arabic script used for New Persian. It has full vowel representation and has, of course, lost the overrepresentation of consonants which is found in the Persian, as well as, for instance, in the Pashto and the Urdu alphabets. It is, however, not completely phonemic, having borrowed the whole Russian alphabet (instead of the whole Arabic one, which is the case for New Persian), and to it added five extra signs for phonemes found in Tajik but not in Russian. There is also one special morphophonemic symbol introduced into Tajik, namely Ӓ, differentiating unstressed final /i/ (the Ӗaфа) from stressed final /i/. The Ӗaфа morpheme is thus written Ӓ, whereas /i/ in its other final occurrences is written 𐰨.

Adopting the whole Russian alphabet has meant incorporating some signs in the orthography that do not represent one single Tajik phoneme. Some of these signs are employed for a combination of phonemes, some according to special orthographic rules and some only in Russian loan words. For a detailed description of Tajik orthography, see Rastorgueva: \textit{A Short Sketch of Tajik Grammar}, pp. 10–12.

Here we enter the problem of Russian loan words. According to Berry, the earlier policy of forcing the minority languages to spell Russian loan words exactly as in Russian has been reconsidered, and “Soviet linguists now seem to prefer to spell Russian loanwords in a manner consistent with the pronunciation and orthographic conventions of the borrowing languages.”\textsuperscript{19} However, a study of Russian loan words in newly printed Tajik books reveal that they are generally spelled in agreement with Russian orthography.\textsuperscript{20} The two letters ۋ and ۇ were moreover introduced into the Tajik alphabet in 1954, to represent the two Russian phonemes /a/ and /sˤ/ in Russian loan words.\textsuperscript{21} In addition, ۇ /ts/ is used only in Russian loan words. It is likely that at least those who have studied Russian have also adopted the Russian pronunciation of these phonemes, thus adding three ‘borrowed phonemes’ to the original phonemic inventory of Tajik. The number of Russian loan words found in modern prose, especially the kind of prose that treats political, social and

\textsuperscript{18} Krag: “The Language Situation in Central Asia—Between National Integrity and Soviet Integration”, p. 68.


\textsuperscript{20} E.g. in Tursunov: Quront sa’d, Istad: Parvozi m‘emor, and Abdumannonov et. al.: Abulqosim Lohuti. Old loan words from Russian are, however, Tajikified.

\textsuperscript{21} Rastorgueva: \textit{A Short Sketch of Tajik Grammar}, p. 10.
other contemporary issues is fairly high, but there is said to be a strong desire among the Tajik men of letters to decrease this Russian influence on Tajik and replace Russian loan words with Persian/Arabic ones wherever possible.

2. Ossetic

Ossetic is spoken in central Caucasus and it is the official language of the North Ossetic Autonomous SSR of the Russian Federation and the South Ossetic Autonomous Oblast of the Georgian SSR. It falls into two distinct dialects, Iron (the eastern dialect) and Digor (the western dialect). The idiom of South Ossetia (in the Georgian SSR) is a variant of Iron.\(^{22}\) According to Thordarson, Iron and Digor are hardly mutually intelligible, Digor showing a more archaic stage of development than Iron.\(^{23}\)

Ossetic books of mainly religious character were published in the late 18th and the 19th centuries. Both Cyrillic and Georgian scripts were used.\(^{24}\) Parts of the Bible were also translated into Iron in the 19th century.\(^{25}\)

In 1844 the Russian scholar Sjögren created a Cyrillic alphabet for Ossetic, which was in use until 1923, when an alphabet based on Roman script was introduced. But also here the ‘Cyrillization’ of the late 1930’s took place (in 1938). The Ossetes living in Georgia then adopted Georgian script, but abandoned it in 1954 in favour of the Cyrillic script.\(^{26}\)

The presentday literary language is based on Iron, which is the dialect spoken by the majority of the Ossetes. This dialect was also promoted through being used by the national poet Kosta Khetagurov (1859—1906), who played a very important role in the creation of the Ossetic literary language.\(^{27}\)

The present Ossetic alphabet based on Cyrillic script is less inconsistent in its representation of phonemes than the Tajik one. The whole Russian alphabet is adopted, but signs that do not represent one single Ossetic phoneme are used only in Russian loan words. Apart from the original signs employed in Russian, ten extra signs have been added to represent phonemes found in Ossetic but not in Russian. It may be noted that the sign added to represent the phoneme /j/ in Ossetic (дж) is different from the one added to represent the same phoneme in Tajik (қ).

Russian loan words in Ossetic generally keep their original spelling, apart

\(^{22}\) Thordarson: “Ossetic”, 1.1.
\(^{23}\) Ibid., 1.2.
\(^{24}\) Ibid., 1.6.
\(^{26}\) Thordarson: “Ossetic”, 1.6
\(^{27}\) Abaev: A Grammatical Sketch of Ossetic, p. 1.
from the fact that certain Russian endings, such as the feminine ending а/я, are lost in Ossetic. The word ‘revolution’ is thus in Ossetic революция, but in Russian революция. 28

C. Pashto

Spoken in southern and eastern Afghanistan as well as in western Pakistan, Pashto is geographically a close neighbour of Balochi. In fact, Quetta, the capital of the Province of Balochistan in Pakistan, is predominantly Pashto-speaking.

Pashto is in a more favourable position for developing a standard literary language than Balochi, due to the fact that, since 1964, together with Dari it has been the official language of Afghanistan,29 where it is also used in education both on lower and higher levels. In Pakistan, too, provisions have been made for the study of Pashto. In the North West Frontier Province it has for long been an elective subject at all levels of education, and it has recently been introduced as the medium of instruction in grades one to five. In Balochistan it can be studied as an optional subject in secondary education. There are also M.A. and Ph.D. programmes in Pashto.30 Both in Afghanistan and Pakistan there are academies for the promotion of the Pashto language and literature. Especially active in this context is the Pashto Academy (Ţolana) in Kabul, now incorporated in the Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan.

The first literary work in Pashto about the authority of which there is no uncertainty is the Xayr ul-bayân by the religious ‘heretic’ Bâyazid Anşârî (1524—1585),31 written in Pashto, Hindi, Persian and Arabic.32 Ākhûn Darweza (d. 1638) defended in his Maxzan ul-islâm the orthodox faith against heresies. This work is also written in Pashto. He wrote several other books in Pashto as well, one of which is Maxzan-i afgâni, a history of the Afghans. In the 17th and 18th centuries there were many poets who wrote in Pashto, the most famous of whom is Khushhâl Khân, of the Khaţak tribe (1613—1689).33

28 Russian loan words in Ossetic have been studied in Max dut, 1988:10, and Fidiuæg, Jan. 1989.
30 Oral communication with Syâl Kâkar, Professor of Pashto at the University of Balochistan, Quetta, April 1988.
31 Bausani: Le letterature del Pakistan e dell’Afghanistan, p. 262.
32 Linguistic Survey of India, X, p. 10.
33 Bausani: Le letterature del Pakistan e dell’Afghanistan, pp. 264—265. But cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, p. 221, where 1694 is given as the year of Khushhâl Khân’s death.
It is thus clear that Pashto has had a continuous literary tradition for some four centuries, and the development of a standard literary Pashto language has been relatively successful, partly due to the fact that the dialects of Pashto differ mainly in phonological structure and that an orthography that hides these phonological differences has been devised. The two dialects differing most from each other are the south-western and the north-eastern ones. These dialects are frequently referred to as the Kandahar versus the Peshawar dialect. In addition to these two, MacKenzie identifies two more dialects, the south-eastern and the north-western ones. The phonological differences between these dialects are mainly limited to five sounds, and MacKenzie sums them up in this way:34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>SW (Kandahar)</th>
<th>SE (Quetta)</th>
<th>NW (Central Ghilzai)</th>
<th>NE (Yusufzai)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. /ts/</td>
<td>/ts/</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. /dz/</td>
<td>/dz/</td>
<td>(z)</td>
<td>(z)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. /z/</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>(j)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. /z/</td>
<td>(z)</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. /s/</td>
<td>(S)</td>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>(X)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(the brackets show that the sound coincides with an already existing phoneme)

Penzl also describes a slightly different dialect type, and calls it the 'eastern' dialect of Afghanistan.36 The sounds described above are in this dialect realized as:

1. /ts/
2. (z)
3. not commented on
4. (g)
5. /x/

We thus see that the south-western dialect has the largest number of consonant phonemes, whereas in the other dialects some of these five phonemes fall together with another phoneme, and in the north-eastern dialect this is the case with all five.

35 "The type of Pashto considered 'standard' in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province is the Yusufzay type, which is spoken in the northeastern part of the district of Peshawar." Penzl: A Grammar of Pashto, p. 8.
36 Ibid., pp. 8—9.
As for the orthography, it is based on the Arabic script, and it has modified the original Arabic alphabet to represent all the consonant phonemes existing in Pashto but not in Arabic. In addition to the four signs ب، ج، ز، ع (sometimes also written ك) already added in Persian, Pashto has added چ، خ، ذ، ین and څ (previously often written چ) to represent the retroflex consonant phonemes /t/, /d/, /r/ and /n/, which have entered the Pashto phonemic system from Indian languages.

Pashto has also invented symbols to denote the alveolar affricates /ts/ and /dz/ and the retroflex fricatives /s/ and /z/ (previously often written چ, خ, ذ). As for /s/ and /z/, they are written چ and خ. Since it is only in the south-western dialect that all the sounds for which Pashto has invented special signs exist as separate phonemes, it is actually the consonant system of this dialect on which the standard literary language is based, whereas the other dialects overrepresent some of these phonemes, writing چ، خ، ژ and خ، ژ, but pronouncing them identically with e.g. س/، ز/، خ/، ژ/ and گ/ (the corresponding phonemes in the north-eastern dialect). This leads Penzl to conclude that “these symbols were created in the area of the Kandahar dialect.” Against this Morgenstierne holds that “when the orthography of Psht. was fixed in the 16th century, the distinction between چ، خ and ژ, x, g seems still to have been preserved even among the north-eastern tribes, who were probably the creators of Psht. literature.” This point of view is also supported by MacKenzie.

Besides this overrepresentation of consonant phonemes in all dialects but the south-western one, there is a general overrepresentation of consonants in all dialects, since the signs for consonant phonemes existing in Arabic but not in Pashto are retained. These are ف، ح، ض، ص، ث، ع and ی is slightly different. These letters are described by Penzl as representing the elegant phonemes /h/، /f/، /v/ and /q/, sometimes pronounced by educated people, but varying with /h/، /p/، /θ/ and /k/.

When it comes to the vowels, the Arabic script leaves Pashto with a substantial underrepresentation/underdifferentiation. The vowel phonemes

37 This symbol was rejected by an orthography conference in 1948. See Penzl: A Grammar of Pashto, p. 6.
38 Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, I:2, p. 206.
39 Cf. Penzl: A Grammar of Pashto, p. 6 (written 1955), and Penzl: A Reader of Pashto, pp. 4—5 (first printing 1962). According to Syaال Kâkar the symbol چ has also previously been used for /dz/, but now only چ is used.
43 Penzl: A Grammar of Pashto, pp. 33—34.
of Pashto are more complicated to describe than those of Persian, partly due to its many diphthongs. MacKenzie enumerates the following vowel phonemes: /a/, /a/, /ã/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/ and the diphthongs: /øy/, /ay/, /aw/, /aw/ etc.44 The distinction between /ï/ and /i/ as well as /ü/ and /u/ seems to have been given up,45 and therefore “there is an increasing tendency in Kandahar and elsewhere to write the symbol for ii [ï/C. J.] also for i”46 which, being a short vowel, is traditionally unrepresented. The same is happening to short /u/.

Thus, /u/ and /i/ are sometimes represented, sometimes not. When they are represented, /u/ and /o/ are not differentiated, whereas /i/ and /e/ generally are differentiated by means of the dots, Ě representing /i/ and Ė representing /e/. The diphthongs /aw/ and /aw/ are written the same way as /u/ and /o/ and /øy/ and /ay/ identically with /i/, except in word final position, where /øy/ is either written Ė or Ė, Ė for a feminine ending, Ė elsewhere. To complete the picture /a/ and /a/ are unrepresented and /ã/ is represented by Ė.

In order to get a more adequate representation of Pashto phonemes a tentative alphabet based on Roman script for Pashto was outlined by Wolfgang Lentz in Ein Lateinalphabet für das Paschto, published in 1937. In advocating Roman script, he also points to printing advantages and to the fact that European languages taught in Afghanistan use Roman script, and he holds it possible that Persian and Urdu, too, will turn over to Roman script, following the example of Turkish and minority languages in the Soviet Union.47 Other European scholars, too, seem to have been in favour of Roman script for Pashto.48 So far, however, nothing has come of Lentz’s suggestion.

MacKenzie notes that “the increase in literacy among Pashto speakers has given rein to a natural tendency to use phonetic rather than standard spellings” within the Arabic script.49 Bellew also finds that “owing to the restricted employment of Pukkhto as a written language, there is noticeable a considerable diversity in the modes of writing and spelling the same words, not only in different districts or provinces, but even in the same district, and often by the same author.”50

47 Lentz: Ein Lateinalphabet für das Paschto, pp. 5—7.
48 Ibid., p. 14. Also oral communication with Josef Elfenbein, who in a conversation in Oct. 1984 stated that Georg Morgenstierne was in favour of Roman script for Pashto.
50 Bellew: Grammar of the Pukkhto or Puksho Language, p. 2.
Thus, although a standard literary language does exist, the comments made by MacKenzie and Bellew show that not all writers of Pashto are consistent in following the given norm. This is, of course, true for all languages, but it is especially likely to happen in a case like Pashto, where the alphabet diverges to a great extent from the pronunciation, and where most people spend relatively few years at school.

D. Kurdish

Spoken in the five countries Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and the Soviet Union, Kurdish is generally divided into the three main dialect groups, northern, central and southern. The northern dialect group consists of the dialects spoken in Turkey, Syria, the Soviet Union, the northern parts of Iraq and Iran and the dialects spoken by ‘displaced’ Kurds in Khurāsān and the Turkmen SSR. The main dialects within the northern group are, according to Fuad, Afrinī and Jazīrī in northern Syria, Botī, Hakari and Bāyazidī in eastern Turkey, Sinjārī and Bādīnī in northern and north-western Iraq, and Shkākī in north-western Iran. The central dialects are spoken in central Iraqi Kurdistan (districts of Arbil, Kirkuk and Sulaymānīya) as well as in the Mahābād and Sanandaj districts of Iranian Kurdistan. It can be divided into the Sōrānī and Sulaymānī dialects in Iraq, and Mukrī and Sināyī in Iran. To the southern group belong, among others, the Kirmānshāhī and Lakī dialects of Iran, and the dialect of Khānaqīn in Iraq. The Kurds themselves also regard Lurī as a southern Kurdish dialect, something that European linguists do not generally agree with. Two minor dialects closely related to each other, but spoken far apart are Zāzā (by the speakers themselves called Dimli) spoken in the western part of Turkish Kurdistan, and Gorānī spoken in the Hawrāmān district between Sulaymānīya and Sanandaj.51

Kurdish has a relatively long tradition as a written language, much thanks to the semi-independent Kurdish emirates, officially recognizing the Ottoman and Safavid overlordship, that came into existence in Kurdistan from the 14th century onwards. The three emirates that played the most important part in the development of the Kurdish language and literature were the emirates of Botān, Bābān and Ardalān.

The Botān emirate was founded early in the 14th century. Its capital was

Jazīra, situated in presentday Turkey, near the borders of Syria and Iraq. Here the dialect of the capital, Jazīri, developed into a literary language used, for example, by the mystical poet Malaysia Jazīri (1570—1640) and his disciple Faqee Tayran (1590—1660) as well as by Ahmad-i Khan (1650—1706), the author of the famous Kurdish epic poem *Mam u zīn*, written in the late 17th century. It was also used for prose, e.g. by 'Ali Taramakh in his grammar of Arabic written in Kurdish (in 1591) and by Malā Mahmūd-i Bāyazidi in a book on the Kurdish tribes.

The Botān emirate was dissolved in mid-19th century, but the dialect of Jazīra remained the standard literary language for speakers of northern dialects. When the modern Kurdish press came into being in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this dialect was used in a number of publications, e.g. in *Kurdistan*, the first Kurdish newspaper, founded in Cairo in 1898. Also after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, when the speakers of northern Kurdish dialects were divided into the new states of Syria, Iraq and Turkey the dialect of Jazīra has played a leading role as the standard literary language for the northern dialects, even if, in its development towards this standard, it has also been influenced by neighbouring dialects.

The second emirate that played an important part in developing a literary dialect was the emirate of Ardalan, founded in the 14th century. Its first capital was Shārazur, but after the Ottoman invasion of Shārazur, the Ardalan emirs emigrated to Iran, where they built the town of Sanandaj, which in 1612 became the capital of the emirate. Here the Hawrāmī (Gorānī) dialect developed into a literary language, mainly due to the fact that the religious sect Ahl-i haqq proclaimed this special dialect its holy language. According to Fuad, this dialect was already being used by the mystical poet Malaysia Pareshān-i Kurd in the second half of the 14th century. It was later used by a number of outstanding poets in the 17th to 19th centuries. After the Ottoman invasion of Shārazur and the subsequent persecution of members of the Ahl-i haqq sect, the position of the Hawrāmī dialect was weakened. When the Ardalan emirate was dissolved by the Qājārs in 1867, it ceased to play a major part as a literary language in central and southern Kurdistan, and in its place the dialect of Sulaymāniya won in prestige. Sulaymāniya was founded in 1784 to be the capital of the Bābān emirate.

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52 Fuad: "Kurdische Sprache und Literatur im Überblick", p. 118.
53 Encyclopaedia of Islam, V, p. 482.
55 Ibid., p. 100.
56 Ibid., pp. 100—101.
Adopting some features both of the dialect of Shārazūr and of the dialect of the former capital of the Bābān emirate, Qalāchuwalān, this new Sulaymānī dialect soon became the standard literary language of central Kurdistan. The Hawrāmī dialect, too, has had a certain influence on this new literary language. Many Kurdish poets in the 19th century used this Sulaymānī dialect, and in the 20th century it played an important part in the development of the modern Kurdish press. Several newspapers appearing shortly after the First World War, e.g. Peşkawtin and Rož-i kurdistān, both published in Sulaymāniyā, used this dialect.59

The Kurdish language thus entered the 20th century with two dialects, the northern dialect of Jazīra (frequently called Kurmanji or North-Kurmanji), and the central dialect of Sulaymāniyā (nowadays usually referred to as Söranī) as the major literary vehicles. Of these two Söranī has been in the most favourable position due to the fact that it is in Iraq that the Kurds have been granted the widest minority rights, which also include the right to publish in Kurdish and teach it in the schools.

After General Qāsim’s coup in 1958, the Kurds were recognized as equal partners with the Arabs in Iraq, and were thus able to use their language as a literary vehicle. At a congress in 1959 it was decided that the Söranī dialect was to be the standard literary language for all Kurds.60 Such a reform was, of course, impossible to implement outside Iraq, and even in northern Iraq there are still speakers of northern dialects who use Kurmanji61 as their literary language. This literary language is however not based on the Jazīrā dialect, but on the slightly different Bādīnī one, spoken in northern Iraq.

However, Söranī, being the officially favoured dialect in Iraq, enjoys the privilege of being used as the language of education in those areas of Iraq, where the Kurds constitute a majority of the population, in accordance with the 1974 Autonomy Declaration for the Kurds,62 and of being taught as an official subject in higher education. There is a Department of Kurdoology at the University of Baghdad, a Kurdish Academy of Sciences, founded in 1970, and a Kurdish University in Sulaymāniyā, founded in 1968. In later years there have also taken place a number of official reforms of Söranī in order to bring it closer to Kurmanji, and thus make Söranī a potential standard literary language for all Kurds.63

Another central dialect which has been used as a literary vehicle is Mukrī.

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59 Ibid., pp. 101—102.
60 Ibid., pp. 104—105.
61 Kurmanji is used as a term not only to denote the Jazīrā-based literary dialect employed by Kurds from Turkey, but to denote all literary dialects based on a northern spoken dialect.
62 McDowall: The Kurds, p. 22.
It was used in the Mahābād Republic (Jan.-Dec. 1946), and also, even if on a more limited scale, in Iran after the fall of the independent Republic of Mahābād. Literary Mukrī has, however, also adopted certain features of the Sulaymānī dialect.64

Kurmanjī as a literary dialect is used by the Kurds of Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union, as well as by speakers of northern dialects in Iraq. In Turkey and Syria Kurdish has never enjoyed any official position, but publication, mainly of political literature, in the Jazīrī Kurmanjī dialect did take place in Turkey in the 1960’s and 1970’s until it was banned in 1979.65 Publication in Kurdish was also possible in Syria before the 1960’s, and one of the greatest contemporary Kurdish poets, Jigarkhwen, had some of his poetry published there.66

It is in the Soviet Union that Kurmanjī has been able to develop more as a literary language. But also the dialect used as the standard literary language in the Soviet Union is slightly different from the Jazīrī one. It is here the Bāyazīdī dialect that constitutes the basis for the literary language, and it was in fact decided at a congress in Yerevan in 1934 that this dialect should be the standard literary language of all Kurds, a decision that was of course impossible to implement outside the Soviet Union, but which shows that the Kurds have for long been concerned with the problem of standardizing all Kurdish dialects into one literary language.67

A factor that complicates the creation of a unified literary language for all Kurds is the use of different alphabets in different countries. In Iraq and Iran a modified Arabic alphabet is employed, in Syria and Turkey a Roman alphabet, and in the Soviet Union an orthography based on the Cyrillic script.

The modified Arabic alphabet used in Iraq and Iran is interesting in the sense that it is the only alphabet based on Arabic script used for an Iranian language that attempts a phonemic representation. Important roles in the development of this alphabet have been played by Christian missionaries, who in the early 20th century translated parts of the New Testament into Kurdish, by Kurdish magazines, publishing articles where the orthography was discussed and carrying through orthographic reforms in the magazines themselves, by the Kurdish man of learning Taufiq Wahby, and by the Committee for Orthography and Grammar at the Kurdish Academy of Sciences in Baghdad.68

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64 Ibid., p. 103.
66 Kuutmann: Om kurder, p. 97.
68 Information obtained at an interview with Ferhad Shakely, lecturer of Kurdish at the University of Uppsala, Sept. 15, 1987.
The development towards a nearly full representation of the vowel phonemes has been gradual. Already in writings of the 18th and 19th centuries, there is a tendency to employ  for /a/,  for /i/ and  for /u/. In an article in no. 18 of the Kurdish journal  an orthography that suited the Kurdish language was requested, and an orthography with eight signs for vowel phonemes was proposed. The writing of  instead of  to introduce a vowel in word-initial position was also suggested in this article.

After years of experimenting, the present system of representing eight vowel phonemes and leaving the /i/ unrepresented, as well as using  to introduce a vowel in word initial position was accepted as standard in the mid 1950's. It is only the representation of /u/ and /i/ that has varied slightly from time to time since then. The system used by Joyce Blau in Manuel de Kurde suggests that /u/ was officially represented by  and /i/ by  in 1980, whereas at present these two vowels are represented by  and  (the short /i/ being unrepresented).

To avoid overrepresentation of consonants the whole Arabic alphabet has not been adopted. Those signs that do not represent a phoneme in Kurdish (\(\text{ط، ض، ص، ذ، ث}\)) are not found in its alphabet either. The three signs  and  are, however, retained, representing phonemes borrowed from Arabic. For consonant phonemes found in Kurdish, but not in Arabic, extra signs have been introduced as in Persian, Pashto and Balochi. In addition to  and  already introduced into Persian, the signs  for the velarized /l/ and  for the labiodental /v/ are also found in Kurdish.

The alphabet based on Roman script employed by the Turkish and Syrian Kurds was developed in the early 1930's, after the changeover to Roman script for Turkish. Its creator was Amîr Jalâdat Bâdir Khân, and he introduced it in his review, Häwär, published in Damascus between 1932—35 and 1941—43. This orthography is therefore frequently called the Häwär- or the Bâdir Khân-system.

This orthography represents all the eight vowel phonemes that occur in Kurmanji (not the /ö/ only existing in Sorâni). As for the consonants, the /h/ phoneme borrowed from Arabic is represented identically with /h/, even though it is a separate phoneme also in Kurmanji. Likewise, the /\(\ell\)/, borrowed from Arabic, whose phonemic status in Kurmanji is hard to determine, is left unrepresented. In the Cyrillic alphabet employed in the Soviet Union, also based on Kurmanji, it is represented. There is also underdifferentiation of two

69 May 8, 1919.
70 'Abdul Rahmân Ma'rüf: Nûsin-i kurdi, p. 30.
71 Encyclopaedia of Islam, V, p. 485.
other phonemes, namely /g/ and /r/, which are written identically with /x/ and /r/. Finally it may be noted that /I/ does not exist as a phoneme in Kurmanji, and is therefore not represented in the Hāwār alphabet.

The Cyrillic alphabet employed in the Soviet Union represents the same eight vowel phonemes as the Roman alphabet does, and has thus full vowel representation. It likewise represents all the consonant phonemes that exist in Kurmanji, and is in this sense more complete than the Hāwār alphabet. It may be worth noting that the sign у (in Russian signifying /ш/) is employed for the phoneme /j/, lacking in Russian, and that й is employed for the Kurdish phoneme /i/. The Cyrillic alphabet for Kurdish, unlike the Tajik alphabet, does not employ signs that do not represent a single phoneme in Kurdish (the Russian letters е, ю, ё, ю, я). The only exception from the phonemic principle is that ø is used both in Russian loan words and in Kurdish words to represent the phoneme /e/ in word-initial position, whereas the phoneme /e/ is elsewhere written e, and that e in word initial position represents the phoneme combination /ye/, in accordance with Russian orthographic rules.

It is also interesting to note that the Cyrillic alphabet for Kurdish has invented signs for /p’, t’, k’/ and /c’, i.e. the voiceless aspirated plosives and the voiceless aspirated affricate, which thus seem to have been phonemically separated from their unaspirated counterparts since they occur in words in such a way that no distribution rules can be established for the aspirated versus the unaspirated phones.

As for Russian loan words, they are spelled in accordance with the Kurdish orthographic rules, and their spelling thus differs from the Russian. Examples of Russian loan words which in Kurdish are spelled different from the way they are spelled in Russian are иңдүстрiйа ‘industry’ (Ru. индустрия), яңвар ‘January’ (Ru. январь), and р’еспублика ‘republic’ (Ru. республика).72

The present situation for Kurdish is thus that the two literary dialects Sorānī and Kurmanji predominate. Sorānī is exclusively written in Arabic characters with a standardized orthography, whereas Kurmanji is less unified than Sorānī, using three slightly different dialects as the standard in Turkey/Syria (Jazīrī), Iraq (Bādīnī) and the Soviet Union (Bāyazīdī), and also using three different scripts in these three different areas, Roman in Turkey/Syria, Arabic in Iraq and Cyrillic in the Soviet Union.

72 These words are found in Riysi r‘aza, 1988:5, p. 1.
E. Conclusions

It is clear from the examples given above that it is of great importance for a language to enjoy some kind of official position in order to develop into a standard. This has been the case for all the languages described here, but not for Balochi. One may also notice, especially in the development of standard literary New Persian and Kurdish (here into two standard literary dialects), that, even though one dialect has constituted the basis of the literary language, it has also adopted elements from other dialects and in this way become acceptable as a common literary language for speakers of different dialects.

In the case of Tajik and Ossetic we note that one specific writer has played a very important part in developing an accepted standard. It is also clear that the Soviet authorities, because of their strong central control of language development, have been able to carry out two changes of alphabets, something which is by no means easy to do.

The Pashto example is interesting, since it in this case has been possible to develop a standard alphabet, and thereby a standard literary language, due to the fact that dialect differences are of a mainly phonological nature. But this alphabet only represents the phonemic picture of the dialect with the largest number of phonemes, whereas the other dialects overrepresent some phonemes. This method of hiding phonological differences in the script is probably easiest to use when there is a one to one correspondence between the phonemes in question (e.g. Kandahar /ʁ/ always corresponding to Peshawar /x/). It is more complicated in the case of Balochi, where e.g. western Balochi /p/ sometimes corresponds to eastern Balochi [p], sometimes to [p'] and sometimes to [f], of which at least /p/ and /f/ have to be established as separate phonemes in eastern Balochi, and where the phoneme /f/ also occurs in western Balochi (cf. the discussion on Balochi phonemes, ch. 4.C). Morphological and syntactic differences are, of course, even harder to hide in the script.

The alphabets based on Arabic script have all added extra signs to represent consonant phonemes found in the specific language but not in Arabic, but only Kurdish has eliminated those signs that represent phonemes found in Arabic but not in Kurdish. New Persian and Pashto thus have an arbitrary overrepresentation of consonant phonemes in Arabic loan words. Kurdish and Pashto have, on the other hand, also borrowed a number of phonemes from Arabic, not found in the original phonemic inventory of the language. In a few dialects of Tajik, too, /h/ and /ʕ/ are pronounced, whereas they are not found as phonemes in the majority of the dialects or in literary Tajik. However چ is represented (with ۷) in Tajik loan words from Arabic, except

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73 Lazard: "Caractères distinctifs de la langue Tadjik", p. 123.
in word-initial and intervocalic position. As for vowels, it is only Kurdish (both in Arabic, Roman and Cyrillic script), Tajik and Ossetic that have a full, or in the case of Kurdish in Arabic script nearly full, vowel representation.

Using a basically ‘foreign’ script, be it Arabic, Roman or Cyrillic, carries with it some basic problems. First of all, the adoption of the whole foreign alphabet normally also means adopting some signs that do not correspond to any phoneme in the adopting language. It is only Kurdish that has not adopted the whole foreign (Arabic, Roman and Cyrillic) alphabet, and has thus avoided this problem. Secondly, the problem of how to spell loan words crops up. The languages that acquire the whole foreign alphabet also usually follow the policy of spelling loan words in accordance with how they are spelled in the original language, which in some cases also leads to the addition of foreign phonemes to the phonemic inventory of the language, whereas Kurdish has now adopted a different policy, spelling loan words in accordance with the Kurdish phonemic system. The issue of loan words is on the whole a disputed one, and there have been voices raised in favour of ‘purifying’ both Tajik and Kurdish of loan words, something which is equally true for Balochi (see ch. 5.F).

74 E.g. мүжизе mîjîza "a miracle" (Pe. معجزة), but табиат tabiat "nature" (Pe. طبيعة) in Istad: Parvozi mé'mor, p. 3, l. 1 and 10.
75 Nebez: "Die Schriftsprache der Kurden", p. 119.
A. Dialects

1. Previous dialect studies

As a background for the discussion of standardization it is necessary to give a fairly clear picture of the dialects of Balochi. Since I have made no systematic study of the dialects as such, I will have to draw mainly upon other studies. However, during my stays in Quetta and Karachi, when I frequently visited Baloch homes and met people from different parts of Balochistan, as well as through contacts with a number of Iranian Baloch settled in Sweden I have made some observations of my own as well.

The first scholar to make a more systematic study of the dialects of Balochi was Wilhelm Geiger, who divided Balochi into two main dialects, which he called northern Balochi and southern Balochi (or Makrānī). He holds these two to be mutually unintelligible, and to differ mainly in vocabulary and phonology. He further divides southern Balochi into an eastern and a western group, and northern Balochi into a northern and a southern group, represented by the dialects of the Leghārī and the Marri tribes respectively. As for the difference in vocabulary, Geiger points to the fact that northern Balochi borrows extensively from neighbouring Indian languages, whereas southern Balochi contains more loan words of Persian origin.

In his article on Balochistan in Enzyklopaedie des Islam, Longworth Dames follows Geiger’s division of Balochi into a northern and a southern dialect, with the above mentioned subdialects, but he suggests that the dialect of Khārān might be established as a third dialect. Dames, however, considers northern and southern Balochi to be mutually intelligible.

The next major description of Balochi dialects was made by Grierson in Linguistic Survey of India. He abandons the terms southern and northern Balochi and prefers the terms western (or Makrānī) and eastern for the same division as above. Grierson further offers a grammatical outline comparing

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1 See also Maps 1—2.
4 Enzyklopaedie des Islam, 1, p. 659.
5 Linguistic Survey of India, X, p. 329.
the two dialects. Since it is especially phonological differences that are of interest for the orthography, I will here concentrate on these. The phonological differences between eastern and western Balochi, as described by Grierson, are that the voiceless plosives and the voiceless affricate in word-initial or postconsonantal position are unaspirated in the western dialect, but aspirated in the eastern one. All western plosives and affricates (except the retroflex plosives) in intervocalic or postvocalic word-final position correspond to fricatives in the eastern dialect. The western voiceless unaspirated plosives and voiceless unaspirated affricate remain unchanged in the eastern dialect only in word-medial preconsonantal position.6

Grierson further recognizes sub-dialects within the two major dialects. For the sub-dialects of western Balochi he quotes Bray, who notes certain differences between the Kechi and Panjguri varieties of speech. Bray also remarks that "particular Makran dialects" spoken in Mand and along the coast have an "interestingly close connection... with Eastern Balochi."7

As for varieties of eastern Balochi, they "consist partly in the clipping of final syllables, and partly in the amount of borrowing of words from Sindhi or Lahnda."8 The Kasrani Balochi, spoken in Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Isma'il Khan, and the Kacceji Boli dialect spoken "in the hill country between the District of Karachi and the Baluchistan State of Las Bela",9 both contain aspirated plosives and fricatives, which phonologically associates them with the eastern dialects, whereas the /θ/ has developed into /ð/ in Kasrani10 and the /θ/ and /ð/ possibly to /s/ and /z/ in Kacceji Boli.11

Georg Morgenstierne travelled extensively in Afghanistan and Pakistan and made valuable contributions to Balochi dialectology. He sums up his general opinion on the dialects of Balochi by stating that "the dialectical variations within the two main groups of Bal. are not of very great importance, and even the difference between Eastern and Western Bal. is not so considerable as that which exists between some dialects of Psht."12 Morgenstierne thus follows the previously mentioned studies in his division of Balochi into two major dialects.

More systematic studies of Balochi dialects have been carried out by Josef

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6 Ibid., pp. 337—338.
7 Ibid., pp. 385—386. (Bray quoted from Census of India, 1911, IV, Baluchistan.)
8 Ibid., p. 329.
9 Ibid., pp. 330—331.
11 Ibid., p. 414. However, Grierson points to the fact that Indian writers of Balochi are often unable to pronounce /θ/ and /ð/ and therefore use the symbols for /s/ and /z/ to represent them in writing.
Elfenbein. He has presented his results in various articles as well as in *The Baluchi Language—A Dialectology with Texts*.

In an article on Balochistan in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Elfenbein follows the previous division of Balochi into one western and one eastern dialect group. In addition to the phonological differences between eastern and western Balochi already referred to, he also notes that western /u/ (e.g. *nūn* 'now') becomes eastern /i/ (*nim*), and that the western /m/ in e.g. *hamā* 'same' and *šumā* 'you' pl. corresponds to /w/ in the eastern dialects (*hawā, šawā*). As sub-dialects of western Balochi Elfenbein enumerates Kechī, Panjgūrī and the Marw-dialect, where the two latter are very similar. Sub-dialects of eastern Balochi are those “spoken in an area stretching from Quetta through Loralai to include Dera Ghāzi Khān and south to include Marrī and Bugtī territory, into the Upper Sind Frontier”, (these are described as the purest eastern dialects), the Ksrānī dialect and the dialects of Sind, south of Jacobābād, e.g. Kāč'e-jī Boli. Here Elfenbein thus closely follows Grierson’s classification of dialects.

In *The Baluchi Language*, however, written after extensive field studies, Elfenbein prefers to divide Balochi into six dialects, five dialects of mainly ‘western’ character, and Eastern Hill Balochi. For all six dialects Elfenbein examines a number of dialect criteria, of which only a few will be referred to in the following discussion.

Eastern Hill Balochi is spoken in the tribal areas of the Marrī, Bugtī, Leghārī and Mazārī tribes, but in many areas denoted as Balochi-speaking in the *Linguistic Survey of India* it has, according to Elfenbein, given way to Indian languages. Elfenbein describes this dialect group as “a very small and isolated group, with a rustic flavour.” Some of the characteristics of Eastern Hill Balochi enumerated among Elfenbein’s dialect criteria are /u/ > /i/ in e.g. *bīt* 'was', *sīr* 'wedding'; ergative construction in the past tenses of transitive verbs; *kūda* (*<kuta*) 'done'; past participles in -xt- e.g. *āxta* 'come' in the southern and central area and in -tk- (*ātkā*) in the north; -θ in e.g. *piθ* 'father', *māθ* 'mother', *brāθ* 'brother'; 1st person singular -ān and

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13 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 1007.
15 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 1007.
17 Elfenbein: *The Baluchi Language*, p. 10.
18 The dialect criteria enumerated here are the ones that are investigated in ch. 5.E.
19 In this work the term ‘ergative’ is used to denote the construction where the subject of a sentence takes the oblique case and the direct object the nominative case, and where the form of the verb agrees with the direct object. Cf. Lorenz: “Zum Präteritum in den modernen iranischen Sprachen”, p. 426.
1st person plural -un (with a common tendency to lengthen the u to ü) as the verbal endings in the present tense; the vocabulary items log 'house' and čuk 'child'; -h- epenthesis e.g. nahān 'I am not'.

The five other dialects are Rakhshānī, Sarāwānī, Kechī, Lāshārī, and the Coastal dialects.

The Rakhshānī dialects (divided into the sub-dialects Kalātī, Chāgai-Khārānī, Afghānī, Sarḥaddī, and Panjgūrī) are described by Elfenbein as “by far the most widely spoken”, and as used for broadcasting in Pakistan and Afghanistan. These dialects are characterized by /u/ kept unchanged (būt, sūr); the active construction as the more common one, especially in the north, but the old ergative survives everywhere, notably in the south; kurta; past participles in -ht- (āhta) where the tendency to drop the -h- is stronger the farther north one moves (āta); -s (pis, mās, brās); 1st person singular -in and 1st person plural -an; the vocabulary items gīs 'house' and zāhg/zāg 'child'; -w- epenthesis in the north (nawun) and -y- epenthesis in the south (nayun).

The Sarāwānī dialect is “used officially in Bal broadcasts from Radio Zāhedān. It possesses many of the features of a transitional, or mixed, dialect.” Traits of this dialect are that /ü/ is commonly fronted to /ū/ (būt, sūr); ergative is the usual construction; kurta is the usual form; past participles in -ht- (āhta); -t is usual (pit, māt, brāt); 1st person singular -an and 1st person plural -in; log or gīs 'house' and čuk or zāhg 'child'; -y- epenthesis (nayān).

The same features in the case of the Kechī dialect are /ū/ (būt, sūr); ergative construction; kūta; past participles in -tk- (ātka); -t (pit, māt, brāt); 1st person singular -in and 1st person plural -an (central and east) and 1st person singular and plural -in (Tump and west); log and čuk; -h- epenthesis (nahūn).

Lāshārī is characterized by /ū/ (būt, sūr); the ergative construction generally retained; kūta; past participles in -tk- (ātka); -t (pit, māt, brāt); 1st person singular -ùn and 1st person plural -in; log and čuk; -h- epenthesis (nahūn).
The Coastal dialects “possess a very large areal extent as well as an intensive literary cultivation.”

They are characterized by /i/ (bit, sir); ergative construction; kuta; past participles in -tk- (ätka); -t (pit, mät, brät); 1st person singular -än and 1st person plural -in; log and čuk; -h- epenthesis (naän).

Elfenbein stresses the uniformity of the Balochi language and holds that “all dialects are more or less mutually intelligible”. Having painted his picture of the dialects, he goes on to say that “words and forms constantly penetrate from one dialect into another”. He sums up by classifying the Coastal and Eastern Hill dialects as the more archaic ones, the Rakhshāni group as the more evolved one, and Sarāwānī, Kečī, and Lāshāri as transitional dialects between Rakhshāni and the Coastal dialects.

In A Course in Baluchi, Barker and Mengal “are in general agreement with Elfenbein’s formulation.” However, they desire “to re-emphasise his 1960 dichotomy between the Eastern Hill Dialects on the one hand, and all of the western and southern forms on the other.” Barker and Mengal thus identify two major dialect groups, eastern and western-southern, but use the terms Rakhshāni, Southern (or Makránī), and Eastern (or Eastern Hill) throughout the book to denote dialects. Thus the authors do not clearly state whether they prefer a division into two or three dialect groups. It is, however, evident that they consider Rakhshāni and Makránī to be closer to each other than either is to eastern Balochi. This is especially clear when phonological differences are discussed.

The Balochi dialects spoken in Iran have been described by Brian Spooner in “Notes on the Baluchi Spoken in Persian Baluchistan”. In agreement with Elfenbein’s observations, Spooner states that “there is a definite dividing line to be drawn between the dialects spoken in the Sarāvān area and those spoken in the rest of the Province... The dialects of the Sarhadd similarly distinguish themselves from the rest of the Province”. However there is no distinction between the Lāshāri and Coastal dialects noted in Spooner’s work. The Sarāwānī dialects are described as closer to Persian than those of Makrán. Two of the features common to Persian and Sarāwānī are the infinitives, formed on the past stem, and the use of the izāfa-construction instead of the

30 Ibid., p. 25.
32 Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, pp. 26—27.
33 Ibid., p. 3.
34 Ibid., p. 28.
35 Barker and Mengal: A Course in Baluchi, I, p. xxv.
36 Ibid., e.g. I, p. xxx, and II, p. 7.
37 Ibid., II, pp. 8—9.
38 Spooner: “Notes on the Baluchi Spoken in Persian Baluchistan”, p. 56.
normal Balochi genitive construction. Spooner further notes that “in any area there is always some dialect variation between the pastoral (nomadic) and the agricultural (settled) sections of the population.” He holds the different dialects spoken in the Iranian province of Sistan and Balochistan to be mutually intelligible, even though he testifies to variations in “usage and vocabulary... from area to area and village to village”.

A recent study of Balochi dialects is presented in *A Dialect Survey of Baluchi*, by Neil and Valerie Carleton. It contains an analysis of 20 word lists (collected from different Balochi-speaking areas) of 116 words each, as well as two word lists of 512 words each, and an intelligibility testing of sentences representing different dialects. The dialect division made here is a three-fold one; eastern, southern (Coastal, Makrānī) and western (Rakhshānī) dialects.

Among dialectal differences not already commented on above, this study stresses the tendency to drop a final -n or -nt and nasalize the preceding vowel in the southern as opposed to the western dialect. The western and southern forms in the present tense of the verb ‘to be’, as given in this study, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>western</th>
<th>southern</th>
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<tr>
<td>sing. 1st person man</td>
<td>man ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person taw</td>
<td>taw ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person ā</td>
<td>ā ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plur. 1st person ammā</td>
<td>mā ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person šumā</td>
<td>šumā ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person ā</td>
<td>ā ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the conclusions drawn in this study are in many ways different from those of previous studies. The Carletons hold that “the greatest barriers to communication exist between the Eastern dialect group and the other dialects.” The western and southern dialects are described as “closer together than either is to Eastern Baluchi, but still with significant differences.” The Carletons find that even between western and southern Balochi “there are significant comprehension difficulties at the first hearing of speech in the other dialect.”

Thus, whereas the high degree of mutual intelligibility between the various dialects is generally stressed in the other dialect studies, here it is seriously questioned.

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39 Ibid., pp. 56—57.
41 Ibid., p. 13.
42 Ibid., p. 22. Transcription adapted to the system used in this book.
43 Ibid., p. 16.
2. Opinion on the dialects of Balochi expressed by the Baloch themselves

When asked to define dialects of their language, some of the Baloch I interviewed first of all stressed the unity of their language and mutual intelligibility of all the dialects. However, they all recognized that in Balochi, as well as in all other languages, they quickly added, there exist dialect differences.

Some of the people interviewed recognize eastern and western Balochi as the two major dialects. They make this division on the basis of the phonological differences between these two dialects (or dialect groups), and also of the fairly heavy influence from neighbouring Indian languages, mainly Sindhi and Lahnda, on eastern Balochi.

Some prefer the three-way dialect division of eastern (frequently referred to as Marrl-Bugti), Rakhshānī (also referred to as central or western), and Makrānī (or southern). But they also add that dialectal differences are the greatest between the eastern dialect and the two other ones. However, 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldī points to the fact that the Coastal dialect in many ways goes with eastern Balochi against Rakhshānī, e.g. in the development of /ü/ to /I/ (Rakhshānī sūr 'wedding', eastern and Coastal sūr) and in the tendency to drop final nasals and nasalize the preceding vowel.

The west-eastern dichotomy is explicitly rejected by Sūrat Khān Marri. He prefers the four-way division of dialects spoken in a) Turbat and surroundings, b) Panjgūr and surroundings, c) Marr-Bugti areas, and d) Punjab and Sind. For a number of features he groups a) and c) together against b) and d), thus stressing the similarities between the Coastal and eastern varieties of Balochi also referred to by 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldī. It might be worth mentioning that Sūrat Khān Marri is a speaker of eastern Balochi himself, and that he might feel that the division of Balochi into an eastern and a western dialect group exaggerates dialect barriers in a way unfavourable to Easterners.

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44 In this and the following sections opinions expressed by various people are often quoted without any reference to the source for the information. In such cases the sources are the interviews I have made with the people in question. See List of Interviews.
47 By the Baloch often referred to as Siraiki. For a discussion of the term Siraiki, see Linguistic Survey of India, VIII:1, p. 359.
48 E.g. Munir Baloch, 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldī, La'l Bakhsh Rind and Raḥīm Bakhsh Āzāt.
49 In another place in the interview described together with Kečī as sub-dialects of Makrānī.
50 Sūrat Khān Marri: "Noken ḥayāle, noken zuwāne", pp. 117—118.
3. The dialect picture adopted here

Since this study is to a great extent concentrated on matters of orthography, the dialect differences that are of crucial importance are the phonological ones. The most expedient procedure here, as far as major dialect divisions are concerned, therefore seems to be to distinguish between Eastern Balochi and Western Balochi. All varieties of Balochi characterized by intervocalic fricatives are here classified as Eastern Balochi, and as Western Balochi those dialects that keep the plosives and affricates unchanged.

Within the two dialect groups one can then make a division into dialects. For Eastern Balochi there is not enough material available for any certain divisions to be made. However, some of the studies presented above contain evidence that the Eastern group is not entirely homogeneous. As for Kāĉ'e-jī Boli, Elfenbein remarks that it was originally 'Eastern Hill Balochi', but that it has now been heavily influenced by Sindhi "so as to have become virtually another dialect". Both 'Aziz Bugtī and Ghaws Bakhsh Ṣābir also stress the differences between the Marī-Bugtī dialect on one hand, and the dialect spoken in the Sulaymān Hills on the other.

Western Balochi can however with certainty be divided into the two dialects which the present writer prefers to call Makrānī (including Elfenbein's Coastal, Kechī and Lāshāri) and Rakhshānī (including Elfenbein's Rakhshānī and Sarāwānī), sharing basically the same phonemic structure, but with other dialectal differences, the most important of which are described by Elfenbein in *The Baluchi Language*. The word list presented by the Carletons in *A Dialect Survey of Baluchi*, pp. 41—50, also testifies to considerable differences in vocabulary between the Rakhshānī (Western) and the Makrānī (Southern) dialects.

That there are further sub-divisions possible within the Rakhshānī and Makrānī dialects is also evident. For sub-dialects of Rakhshānī see Elfenbein: *The Baluchi Language*, pp. 14—16. Makrānī is divided by both 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī and Mīr 'Āqīl Khān Mengal into the Coastal and Kechī sub-dialects, a division that is in agreement with Elfenbein's observations. The dialect spoken in Karachi might be regarded as a third sub-dialect of Makrānī. No attempt will be made here to identify or describe any sub-

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51 Henceforth capitalized, as proper names of the two dialect groups in Balochi.
52 But note the tendency to use the fricatives /f/, /x/ and /g/ in loan words in Rakhshānī.
54 Elfenbein: *The Baluchi Language*, p. 11.
55 Sarāwānī, too, is here treated as a sub-dialect of Rakhshānī, even if it is both fairly heavily influenced by Persian and also contains several features alien to other sub-dialects of Rakhshānī. Cf. also Rossi: "Senoubar a Mirjave", pp. 291—293.
dialects, in view of the fact that a description of the dialects is not the purpose of this study. The general dialect picture is rather given as a background for a discussion on language standardization. In the statistical investigation in chapter 5.E, however, it proved practical to divide both Rakhshānī and Makrānī into a northern and a southern variant. The main weakness of the division of dialects adopted here is that it does not adequately account for the fact that Makrānī, especially its Coastal variant, and Eastern Balochi sometimes stand together against Rakhshānī.

In this context it is also of importance to add some reflections on the mutual intelligibility of the dialects. Most scholars, with the exception of the Carletons, stress the high mutual intelligibility of the dialects, but, as 'Azīz Bugtī also points out, it seems that mutual intelligibility of the dialects is a problem on two different levels, very much linked with educational background, occupation and other related factors.

It seems fairly safe to state that among uneducated people, who have not travelled extensively, there is a low level of understanding of other dialects than the native one, at least when they are first exposed to them.57 I can personally give an example of this. The dialect I speak best is Rakhshānī, and in Karachi I often visited the home of my language informant, Nūrīn 'Azīz, who, herself educated, conversed with me in Balochi without problems, even though she is a speaker of Makrānī. But at one point a visitor from the Makrān coast entered the home, and when I asked this woman: ta'i činka zāgh ant? 'how many children have you got?', she was very puzzled and looked inquiringly at me. Only when Nūrīn 'translated' the question into Makrānī, ta'i čiču čukk ā?, was she able to answer.

On the other hand, it also seems that among educated people, and among those who have travelled widely, there is a fairly high level of mutual intelligibility between dialects, especially within the Western dialect group. It is also clear that several of the educated Easterners, who for the sake of education have had to leave their native district for Karachi, Quetta or other cities, have learned to master Western Balochi. On the other hand, a number of educated Westerners express the view that, even if they basically understand Eastern Balochi, they find it difficult to employ it themselves.58

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58 E.g. Munīr Baloch and Ni'matullah Gichki.
B. The influence of neighbouring, national and international languages on Balochi

Several of the people interviewed point out that the basic vocabulary of Eastern and Western Balochi is the same, especially the vocabulary employed in the classical poetry.\(^{59}\) One of the factors that has increased dialectal differences is that loan words from different languages have entered Balochi in different areas. In Eastern Balochi there are many loan words from Indian languages, such as Sindhi and Lahnda. In central Balochistan, where Balochi and Brahui speakers live side by side, many Brahui words are also employed in Balochi. In the same way one expects to encounter some Pashto, Arabic and Turkmen influence on the Balochi spoken in Afghanistan, the Gulf States and the Soviet Union. Western Balochi has also been very much influenced by its western neighbour, Persian. But the Persian and Arabic influence on Balochi as a whole, thus also on Eastern Balochi, is very deep, especially in the area of vocabulary. This is but natural, since Arabic is the religious language of the Baloch and Persian their traditional written language.

Another factor that widens the gap between the Balochi of different regions is that Balochi is spoken in different countries, where it is influenced by different national and international languages.\(^{60}\) This is especially evident in modern prose, where the Balochi of Pakistan borrows more frequently from English and Urdu than the Balochi of Iran. In Iran we also find more borrowings from and constructions parallel to Persian. In Afghanistan, likewise, the Dari influence is clearly felt, but here loans from English are more frequent than in Iran. In the same way, it must be assumed that the Balochi of the Soviet Union is being influenced by Turkmen, the official language of the Turkmen SSR, where Balochi is spoken, and by Russian.\(^{61}\) For the Balochi of the Soviet Union, however, there is no material available to prove such an influence.

It will not be out of place here to show how this influence can manifest, and therefore three texts, with translation immediately following, where influence from other languages is especially evident, are now presented.


(Extract from “Gulgidâre goŋ kârîm daštâa”, p. 134 in Bramš, Karachi 1984.)

59 E.g. 'Aṭā Shâd, Bashîr Ahmad Baloch and Mîr Mîthâ Khân Marri.
He (i.e. Karim Dashti) was born in 1939 in Kunchit, Dasht. He started his studies in 1951 in the Koshkalat primary school in Turbat. From 1956 to 1960 he did his Matric at the Turbat Government High School. From the 18th of August 1960 to December 1964 he studied at the Government Degree College in Quetta, and he passed his B.A. at Punjab Board. From November 1964 to April 1965 he worked in the office of the Tribal Publicity Organization in Quetta.

Here we see that, in addition to the English calendar, a number of English loan words are used, namely primary school, government high school, matric, pass, government degree college, board, B.A. and tribal publicity organization. An example of Persian influence can be seen in the following extract.

In the early days of the Iranian revolution, the heroes set out for the Embassy of Israel. When they enter the Embassy, there is no one there, as if the Israelis had realized beforehand that the revolutionaries would be victorious and the bastard king would be defeated. Therefore they had made arrangements and fled a few days earlier, but the Israelis had not had the opportunity to take all the things in the Embassy with them. Whatever papers and documents the heroes get hold of they take to Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of the Iranian revolution. One of these pieces of paper is a list of the spies of Israel. When our brave brother Yassir Arafat comes to Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini will give the list of the spies to Yassir Arafat.

Here we see two examples of several genitives lined up after one another, a construction probably influenced by Persian syntax (the izafa-construction), Trane inqilabe awwal rocan and Trane inqilabe rahbare gwar. Another interesting syntactic feature, frequently noted in the Balochi of Iran, is that in the plural the oblique case form (sarmacaran, isra’iliyan) is...
used in place of the nominative as the subject. This is most likely due to Persian influence, since Persian does not differentiate between nominative and oblique forms, and has a plural ending in -än.

In texts written by Iranian Baloch we also sometimes meet loan words from, or through, Persian that are not common in Pakistani Balochi, e.g. madrāk ‘document’, rahbar ‘leader’, ustāndār ‘provincial governor’ (Makkurān, p. 10, l. 7) and barnāma ‘programme’ (Baloche gwānk, 2, p. 11, l. 12). But also a couple of English loan words occur in the magazines published in Iran. In the articles in Makkurān written by Iranian Baloch the English word jel ‘jail’ (p. 1, l. 8) is found. In Baloche gwānk, 2, the English words redo ‘radio’ (p. 1, l. 8), daktar ‘doctor’ (p. 2, l. 15), jel ‘jail’ (p. 12, l. 1) and lidar ‘leader’ (p. 12, l. 3) occur, in addition to the words trāktor ‘tractor’ and büldüzir ‘bulldozer’ whose phonetic forms indicate that they are borrowed from English via Persian, where they also occur.

In the Balochi of Sob, published in Afghanistan, we note influence both from Dari, English and in a couple of cases from Russian as well.

dagārdār u mäldärān! bazgarien kūpirātīf u kumakien sundūxānī ‘izzatmanden bāsk u ‘ażīzen hāmkār mihmān u hāżiren kāsān!

(Extract from “Pa bazgare roče wāsitā kišārgārī u dagārānī islāhātī wazīre guštānk”, Sob, ćahār şanbe hamal 20, 1359 A.H., uşmār 3, p. 1.)

Honoured members of the Central Committee of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the Cabinet! Dear labouring farmers, landowners and owners of livestock! Honoured members and dear assistants of the farmers’ co-operatives and helping funds, guests and persons present!

Here again there is a tendency to use compound genitive constructions (e.g. awgānistāne ustumāne dimākrātīken gale markazīen kumīta inkilābīen šawra u wazirānt šawrāe ‘izzatmanden bāskān! bāz ‘ażīz u xwārikašān bazgar, dagārdār u māldārān! bazgarien kūpirātīf u kumakīen sundūxānī ‘izzatmanden bāsk u ‘ażīzen hāmkār mihmān u hāżiren kāsān!

From English we here encounter the word ‘democratic’, and the form of the words kūpirātīf and fābrīka (further down in the same text) show that they are borrowed from Russian.

The text samples quoted above thus indicate that there is a certain pressure on Balochi to borrow vocabulary items from the different national and international languages of the countries where Balochi is spoken, and in the case of the closely related Persian/Dari also syntactical constructions.66 This is no

66 Cf. also Spooner: “Notes on the Baluchi Spoken in Persian Baluchistan”, p. 57, where he testifies to the fact that the Persian izāfa-construction is used in the Sarāwān area instead of the normal Balochi genitive.
doubt a problem if one aims to establish a unified standard literary language to be used by all Baloch, whatever country they live in, but the problem must not be overstressed. Words from English and Indian languages that are incorporated into Pakistani Balochi do spread to Iran as well, especially since most of what is published in Balochi originates from Pakistan. As for Persian/Dari (and via Persian also Arabic) loan words, they are numerous not only in the Balochi of Iran and Afghanistan, but also in that of Pakistan. Besides, there is a relatively strong puristic movement with its centre among the followers of Sayyid Häshimi, who tried to lessen the dependence of Balochi on other languages, and whose ideas at least to a certain extent have influenced many Baloch writers (see also ch. 5.F).

C. The phonemes in Balochi

Any study of orthography presupposes the establishment of the phonemes of a language. As for the studies made so far of the phonemic structure of Balochi, they are well summarized by Adriano Rossi in “Phonemics in Balōčī and Modern Dialectology”. Here all relevant descriptions of Balochi phonology are presented and analysed.

As for the phonemes of Western Balochi, the picture that emerges from the various studies is fairly clear, and the present author tends to agree with the conclusions drawn by Rossi.67 The only point where I would like to establish a phoneme not established by Rossi is in the case of /r/. In most of its occurrences /r/ can be analysed as an allophone of the phoneme /d/, but Rossi points out that “it cannot be completely ruled out that some dialects having many borrowings with [ɾ] from some language with /r~ɾ/ have someway phonemicized this “foreign” [ɾ] ascribing to this /r/ also the phones [ɾ], allophones of /d/”.68 The words that do not fit into the allophonic rules of /ɾ/ after a long vowel and as a single consonant after a short vowel and /d/ elsewhere are, apart from the six words from Barker and Mengal: A Course in Baluchi, quoted by Rossi,69 mainly loan words from English, e.g. aḳedìmī ‘academy’ and redyo ‘radio’.

There are thus not many vocabulary items where the allophonic rules do not fit, and the few that exist could very well be described outside the phonemic

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67. See Rossi: “Phonemics in Balōčī and Modern Dialectology”, especially pp. 207—211.
system. The reason why, for practical purposes, I prefer to separate /d/ and /r/ into two different phonemes, and thus use separate letters for the two sounds is that indigenous grammarians, e.g. Agha Nasir Khan, Sayyid Hashimi, Khayr Muhammad Nadwi, Muhammad Zarrinnigar, and 'Abdul Rahman Pahwali and Ghulam Faruq Mihrzad do so. There is also a strong feeling among the Baloch that /d/ and /r/ are two different sounds, which must be differentiated in writing. Besides, since double consonants are not generally written in the Arabic script, words like ar 'entanglement, problem' and add 'construction' would be written identically if /d/ and /r/ were treated as allophones of the same phoneme and symbolized only with one letter.

The phonemes for Western Balochi are thus:

**Vowels:**
long: ä, i, ü, e, o
short: a, i, u

The combination of phonemes /ai/ and /au/ can either be analysed as diphthongs or as a combination of /a/ and the semivowels /y/ and /w/. In this analysis the second solution is adopted.

Rossi decides against Barker and Mengal's suggestion of giving nasalized vowels phonemic status, a decision which in my opinion is correct, at least for the majority of Balochi dialects, since the fuller form of vowel + nasal (sometimes also a dropped -t) usually appear before a suffix, e.g. jā 'he hits' but jantis 'he hits him' or man kanā 'I do' but man kanāne 'I will do it'. For the Balochi of Karachi, however, Farrell chooses to establish /ī/, /ē/, /ā/, /ū/ and /ō/ as separate phonemes. In a private conversation, he advanced the argument that, since there is a contrast between jān 'soul', jā 'he hit' (<jat) and jā 'he hits' (<jant), /ā/ must be established as a phoneme. He also points to the difference between janike 'a girl' and e mani janik ē (<int) 'this
It seems that nasalization is even heavier in Karachi than in the rest of Makrân, probably due to influence from Urdu and Sindhi. Until a more thorough investigation of the nasalization of vowels is made, it seems best to treat it as a conditioned feature, occurring mainly in word-final position in verbal endings and a certain number of other suffixes, and in other words like mā 'in' and gō 'with'.

Consonants:
Original Balochi phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveopalatal</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>glottal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosives, voiceless:</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced:</td>
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<td>d</td>
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<tr>
<td>fricatives, voiceless:</td>
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<td>ŋ</td>
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Borrowed phonemes:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveopalatal</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>glottal</th>
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<tr>
<td>plosives, voiceless:</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>q</td>
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The phonemes /f/, /x/ and /g/ require some additional comments. Especially in Makrân they are usually replaced by /p/, /k/ or /h/ and /g/, but in Rakhshānī they are more commonly preserved. Some Western Baloch are strongly of the opinion that these phonemes do not exist in Balochi. However, due to the position of /f/, /x/ and /g/ in Eastern

76 Ibid., p. 9. My own transcription.
77 /h/ is totally lacking in Marw-Balochi, and unstable in all subdialects of Rakhshānī.
78 According to Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, p. 4, /h/ is a recent development. There is also some dialectal difference, /h/ being more frequently found in Rakhshānī and /k/ in Makrânī, e.g. in hayāl (Ra.) versus kiyāl (Ma.) 'thought'.
79 Cf. Carleton and Carleton: A Dialect Survey of Baluchi, long word list, pp. 41—50, where /f/ and /x/ occur frequently in the Western list but are totally lacking in the Southern one.
80 Cf. e.g. Sayyd Hāshimī: Balōčī siyāhage rāstnibtsag, p. 16.
Balochi (see below), it seems practical to treat them as peripheral phonemes in Western Balochi, as is done by Rossi.\(^81\) As for /q/, it is an ‘elegant phoneme’ both in Western and Eastern Balochi, but it is very seldom pronounced. Normally it is replaced by /k/.

The phonemic picture of Eastern Balochi is much more complicated, due to a greater number of loan words from Indian languages. The vowels create no major problems, however. Concerning the nasalized vowels the same argument as for Western Balochi (especially Makrānī, where, like in Eastern Balochi, nasalization is stronger than in Rakhšānī) applies to Eastern Balochi as well.\(^82\) We thus have the same vowel phonemes as for Western Balochi.

It is the consonants that complicate the picture. The original phonemes established for Western Balochi occur also in the Eastern dialect group. The only problem is whether to analyse /w/ as a semivowel or as a bilabial fricative.\(^83\) The solution to this problem has no bearing on orthographic considerations, and in this study /w/ is analysed as a semivowel. As for /t/, /d/ and /r/, their status is the same as in Western Balochi.

As already mentioned in the description of the dialects, the voiceless plosives and the voiceless affricate are aspirated in word-initial position as well as after consonants in word-medial and word-final position in Eastern Balochi. All the plosives and affricates (except /t/ and /d/) are also changed into a fricative in intervocalic and word-final postvocalic position. Only in word-medial position before a consonant are the voiceless unaspirated plosives and the voiceless unaspirated affricate kept unchanged. We can thus establish a series of allophones for the plosives and affricates:

\[ /p/[^84] [p, p', f] \]
\[ /b/ [b, w] \]
\[ /t/ [t, 't', \&] \]
\[ /\&/ [\&, '\&'] \]
\[ /d/ [d, 5] \]
\[ /\&/ [\&, \&', 5] \]
\[ /j/ [\&, \&'] \]
\[ /k/ [k, k', x] \]
\[ /g/ [g, g] \]

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\(^81\) Rossi: “Phonemics in Balōçi and Modern Dialectology”, pp. 208—209.
\(^82\) Ibid., pp. 209—210.
\(^83\) See ibid., pp. 205, 211.
\(^84\) One can, of course, choose any allophone as the basic one. The unaspirated plosive and affricate is here chosen, being the only phone in Western Balochi, even though it has the most restricted distribution in Eastern Balochi.
/ʃ/, /ʒ/ and /w/ are already established as separate phonemes, to which [ʃ], [ʒ] and [w] as allophones of /ʃ/, /ʒ/ and /b/ also can be ascribed. We are thus left with the problem of the fricatives [f], [v], [θ], [x] and [g]. In the indigenous Balochi system they are all allophones of the phonemes /p/, /t/, /d/, /k/ and /g/, but due to loan words this indigenous phonemic picture has been disturbed. Thus as soon as a word with an intervocalic plosive is borrowed, without changing this plosive to the corresponding fricative, a phonemic contrast occurs and separate fricative phonemes have to be established. There are a number of such loan words which force us to establish /ʃ/, /θ/, /θ/ and /x/ as separate phonemes in Eastern Balochi. Furthermore, /f/, /x/ and /g/ also occur in word-initial position in loan words.

The same situation occurs for the voiceless aspirated plosives and the voiceless aspirated affricate. Within the indigenous system they are allophones of the phonemes /p/, /t/, /t/ and /k/, but also here loan words may disturb the picture. Thus as soon as a word with a voiceless unaspirated plosive in word-initial position is borrowed without changing the plosive into its aspirated counterpart there is established a phonemic distinction unaspirated vs. aspirated. Rossi gives examples of such words in “Phonemics in Balochi and Modern Dialectology”, footnote 253, p. 212. On the basis of such data we will have to establish /p/, /t/, /t/ and /k/ as separate phonemes. However, a more thorough study of Eastern Balochi might show that cases of the voiceless aspirated plosives and the voiceless aspirated affricate in non-predictable environment are rare and can therefore be described outside the phonemic system. The same applies to the voiced aspirated plosives and affricate /b/, /d/, /d/ and /g/, found in loan words from Indian languages. At this point the question as to whether the aspirated plosives and affricates ought to be established as separate phonemes or not is left open. A special study of this particular subject will be very important for a correct description of the phonology of Eastern Balochi.

There remains the question of [w], described by Grierson as “an aspirate of w” and a “true surd” i.e. a voiceless aspirated [w']. The vocabulary items given by Gilbertson in The Balochi Language, p. 7, seem to indicate a phonemic opposition /w/ ~ /w'/, but this question, too, needs further investigation.

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87 Most probably from a language with a phonemic contrast unaspirated ~ aspirated.
88 Morgenstierne holds that the aspiration of voiceless plosives in Eastern Balochi does not affect the phonemic system, see Morgenstierne: “Balochi Miscellanea”, pp. 255—256.
89 Linguistic Survey of India, X, p. 339. Gilbertson holds the [w'] to be an aspirated counterpart to /w/, that is, voiced. See Gilbertson: The Balochi Language, p. 7.
It may also be worth noting that Gulzār Khān Marri and Sher Muḥammad Marrī\textsuperscript{90} claim that there is a retroflex /n/ phoneme in Eastern Balochi. Sher Muḥammad Marrī also gives four words where this phoneme is found. It may well be possible that a certain number of words with this phoneme have been borrowed into Eastern Balochi from Sindhi and Lahnda, where /ŋ/ is a separate phoneme,\textsuperscript{91} but an investigation of the number of such loan words is necessary before establishing /ŋ/ as a phoneme in Eastern Balochi.

We thus have basically the same phonemes in Eastern Balochi as in Western plus the two phonemes /θ/ and /ð/. The distribution of the phonemes is, however, different between the two dialect groups. It might also be necessary to establish the twelve extra phonemes /p'/, /t'/, /t'/, /č'/, /k'/, /b'/, /d'/, /d'/, /j'/, /g'/, /w' and /n/ for Eastern Balochi.

\textsuperscript{90} In Balochi kuhnen Šahiri, pp. 15—17.
\textsuperscript{91} Trumpp: Grammar of the Sindhi Language, p. 7, and Bahri: Lahndi Phonetics, p. 102.
CHAPTER 5
Language Standardization in Balochi

In this chapter the process of creating a standard literary Balochi language will be discussed. At present there is no universally accepted norm for the written language and therefore most writers tend to write basically in their own dialect, but they sometimes also include a certain amount of elements from other dialects.

Among Baloch literary men, the lack of a standard norm for the written language is strongly felt to be one of the major problems that hamper the progress of Balochi as a literary language. There are several reasons for the lack of such a universally accepted norm. One is that Balochi has not been extensively used in religious writings or as a 'holy language'. Important in this connection is also the fact that Balochi was for very long regarded as a bastard dialect of Persian, not worthy of being used as a written language, and that therefore written communication generally has been carried on in Persian.¹

The fact that Balochi is spoken in several different countries, and that in none of these countries does it enjoy the status of official language or medium of instruction in the schools, however, must be seen as the main reason why Balochi, after it started being promoted as a literary language in the early 1950's, has not been able to develop a standard norm for the literary language, not even within one country, let alone for all the countries where it is spoken.

In this context it might be interesting to look at the status of minority languages, including Balochi, in Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

¹ Inayatullah Baloch: *The Problem of Greater Baluchistan*, p. 120, and *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series*, e.g. III, Sibi District, p. 49, and VI, Sarawan, p. 47.
A. Official status of Balochi

1. Iran
In the Constitution of 1906, which was in force during the time of the monarchy, no mention was made of language whatsoever. According to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, chapter 1, article 15, in addition to the official language, Persian, “the use of local and ethnic languages in the press and mass media is allowed. The teaching of ethnic literature in the schools, together with Persian language instruction, is also permitted.”

This means that it is in principle permitted to publish books and newspapers in Balochi, but, as we have already seen, there is at present no publication in Balochi taking place in Iran. The only time when Balochi books and periodicals were published was initially after the Revolution. As for radio programmes, the situation is different, however, and Radio Zähidän has daily broadcasts in Balochi. When it comes to teaching Balochi literature, because of the almost total lack of classical literature in written form, there is, of course, no provision being made for such a subject in the schools of Iranian Balochistan.

2. Afghanistan
In the Constitution of 1964, title one, article 3, Pashto and Dari are given the status of official languages of Afghanistan. This is the first time mention of language is made in the Constitution, and the same is repeated in the Constitution of 1977. No other ethnic languages are mentioned in the Constitutions of 1964 and 1977.

In ‘The Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan’ of 1980, it is stated that “the government will adopt measures . . . to instruction in mother tongues”, and that “laws and decrees of the Revolutionary Council will be published in Pashtu and in Dari languages; they can also be printed in the other languages of the peoples of Afghanistan.”

2 Iran (1969), chapter 5, pp. 51—76.
3 The constitution was ratified at a referendum held December 2—3, 1979. See Utas: Islam og samfundet, p. 126.
5 The word ‘title’ is used by Moltmann in Die Verfassungsentwicklung Afghanistans 1901—1981, pp. 106—122.
6 Ibid., p. 106.
7 Ibid., p. 128. (Chapter three, article 23.)
8 Ibid., p. 175. (Chapter two, article 29, point 5.)
9 Ibid., p. 178. (Chapter four, article 40.)
According to the Constitution of 1987, the official languages are Pashto and Dari, but certain provisions are also made for the other ethnic languages. To quote the Constitution: "The state shall adopt the measures necessary for the growth of the culture, language and literature of the people of Afghanistan as well as for the preservation and development of the valuable and worthy cultural, traditional, linguistic, literary and folkloric legacy of all nationalities, clans and tribes." "The state shall adopt the measures necessary for . . . education in the mother tongue". "The laws and resolutions of the National Assembly shall be published in Pashto and Dari and can be published in the languages of other nationalities of the country as well." "The consideration and judgement by the courts shall be conducted in the Pashto and Dari languages or in the language of the majority of the residents of the place." 

In accordance with these general provisions for ethnic languages, books in Balochi are being published by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, and there are also daily broadcasts in Balochi by Radio Kabul, according to 'Abdul Rahmān Pahwāl two hours and 45 minutes per day. Balochi is also being taught in Afghanistan, but exactly where and on what levels is unknown to me. For this purpose three primers in Balochi have been published.

3. The Soviet Union

Balochi is only a spoken vernacular in the Soviet Union, and has no official status, nor is it used in education. The majority of the Baloch live in the Turkmen SSR, where the official language and medium of instruction in primary schools is Turkmen. Even so, the Baloch in the Soviet Union have preserved their mother tongue very well. In the census of 1979, 98.1% of the Baloch claimed Balochi to be their mother tongue, and only 53.0% stated that they had a good knowledge of another language than Russian (most likely Turkmen) as a second language. According to Akiner, an attempt was made in the 1930's to write Balochi in Roman script. A few books and a

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10 Chapter I, article 8.
11 Chapter II, article 14.
12 Chapter III, article 56.
13 Chapter VI, article 98.
14 Chapter VIII, article 114.
15 Correspondence with 'Abdul Rahmān Pahwāl, Nov. 22, 1988.
16 In a telephone conversation with 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldinī (April 20, 1989) he told me that he had recently been informed about a newly started mother tongue education project in Balochi in the Soviet Union.
newspaper using this script were even published,18 but after the switch to Cyrillic script for minority languages Balochi was not further developed as a written language. According to Bennigsen and Wimbush, however, “there have recently been some attempts (with inconclusive results so far) to endow the Baluchi with a literary language of their own.”19 The recent information about a mother tongue education programme also indicates that there are attempts at turning Balochi into a written language in the Soviet Union.

4. Pakistan

In the Constitution of Pakistan, passed in 1973, part II, ch. 1, article 28, it is stated that “any section of citizens having a distinct language, script or culture shall have the right to preserve and promote the same and, subject to law, establish institutions for that purpose.”20 The national language is Urdu, but “without prejudice to the status of the national language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language.”21

The administrative languages of Pakistan are Urdu and English. Regional languages are also recognized in all provinces, but their status varies somewhat from province to province. As for their use in education, there is in Sind a long tradition of having primary, and even secondary education in the medium of Sindhi, whereas in the North West Frontier Province Pashto has just recently been introduced as the medium of instruction up to the fifth grade. In Punjab there is no use of Punjabi in education, nor are any of the regional languages of Balochistan, i.e. Balochi, Pashto and Brahui,22 employed as a medium of instruction or taught as a subject in primary schools.23

However, certain steps have been taken by the Provincial Government of Balochistan to promote the regional languages. There are academies for Balochi, Brahui and Pashto in Quetta, and there is a department at the University of Balochistan, the Pakistan Studies Centre, where M.A.-programmes (two years) in these three languages are given. One out of the lan-

18 Ibid., p. 361.
19 Bennigsen and Wimbush: Muslims of the Soviet Empire, p. 121.
21 Ibid., p. 118. Part XII, chapter 4, article 251.
22 According to the 1981 census, Balochi is spoken by 36.3 %, Pashto by 25.2 %, and Brahui by 20.7 % of the households of Balochistan. See Addleton: “The Importance of Regional Languages in Pakistan”, table 3, pp. 73—74.
23 Muhammad Anwar Kehtrân, interview. The information on Pashto is also confirmed by Prof. Syäl Käkar, Quetta.
guages Balochi, Pashto and Brahui can also be chosen as an optional subject at the secondary level and for the B.A.-examination.

Balochi radio programmes are at present being broadcast from Quetta six and a half hours per day. Also Balochi TV-programmes are being broadcast from Quetta over the Province of Balochistan, Pakistan, and the news is read in Balochi on TV every evening. Radio Pakistan started its broadcasts in Balochi from Karachi in 1949, and in 1956, when the radio station in Quetta was established, the Balochi radio programmes were transferred there. As long as the broadcasts were made from Karachi, Western dialects dominated, but when they were transferred to Quetta it was not thought proper by those responsible to prescribe that one certain dialect should be used. On the contrary, people from different parts of Balochistan were encouraged to take part in the broadcasts, and speak their own dialect on the air. In this way, as the present director of the radio station in Quetta, Bashir Ahmad Baloch, claims, radio is one of the most powerful tools in bringing the different dialects closer to each other and increasing mutual intelligibility between the various dialects.

What Baloch literary people find unsatisfactory is the total lack of primary education in Balochi. The importance of the mother tongue in primary education is frequently stressed24 and more and more voices are now being raised among the Baloch for introducing Balochi as the medium of instruction in primary education in Balochistan.25 Many of the people I interviewed also stressed that if Balochi was used in primary education and received more official promotion, it would be much easier to enforce both a standard literary language and an officially approved orthography as the correct norm, departures from which would be regarded as mistakes.26

The Secretary of Education in the Provincial Government of Balochistan, Muhammad Anwar Kehtran, sees three major problems with introducing Balochi in primary education in the Province of Balochistan. First of all, according to him, most communities in Balochistan are mixed, and problems would be created if one of the regional languages was to be favoured. Therefore provision would have to be made both for Balochi, Pashto and Brahui to be used as mediums of instruction. This would require separate schools for the separate ethnic groups, and might split up the community even more than

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24 See e.g. The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, chapter II.
25 E.g. in “Songäl—bungeji baločie wänenag”, “Sarpadien zubän”, “Šūbā‘i zabāne wānenag” and “Mätī zabānā bundādti wānag”.
it is today. 27 Secondly, there is no developed standard literary language with a universally accepted orthography, either for Balochi, or for Brahui, and there is also a lack of good educational material in these languages. To my suggestion that maybe steps taken by the Government to promote Balochi and Brahui could overcome these problems, the Secretary of Education answered that there might also be a danger of overburdening the children by teaching them too many languages if the mother tongue was to be introduced on the curriculum. As the third main reason for not introducing regional languages as the medium of instruction, he pointed to the lack of qualified teachers. I replied that hopefully the M.A.-programme at the University would supply the needed teachers, and the Secretary of Education agreed that this might be true.

It might be worth mentioning that, by individual effort, Balochi was for some time taught as a subject in one school in Lyari, Karachi, 28 and is at present taught in a couple of schools in Khārān, where approximately ninety children are learning to read and write Balochi. 29 More as a curiosity we might note that Balochi is being officially taught as a native language to about ten children and twenty adults in one of the towns of Sweden, Borås, where there are approximately a hundred Baloch refugees from Iran living. 30

Shortly after the completion of this book news reached me that permission has now officially been granted to introduce Balochi on the curriculum for primary education in the Province of Balochistan, Pakistan. At the moment preparations for this step are being made, and the leading people in the Balochi literary movement are very excited about the potential consequences of this new decision by the Government for the development and standardization of the Balochi language. 31

27 The problem of mixed communities might be overstressed by Muhammad Anwar Kehtrān. According to the 1981 census, in six of the 16 districts of Balochistan one language is spoken by more than 96 % of the households (Gwādar, Kohlu Agency, Panjgur, Pishn, Turbat, Zhob), in six districts the main language is spoken by between 56 and 88 % of the households (Chagai, Kalāt, Khārān, Khuzdār, Las Belā, Lorālā'i), and only in Kachhi, Nasīrābād, Quetta and Sibī there are three different languages, each of which is spoken by more than 15 % of the households. See Addleton: "The Importance of Regional Languages in Pakistan", table 3, pp. 73—74, and map, p. 60. It is also likely that the different communities to a certain degree live separate from each other. At least that is what I have been told about Noshke, where the Brahui-speaking Mengals live in one settlement and the Balochi-speaking Jamāldānis and Bādīnis in different ones.

28 Information obtained from Rahim Bakhsh Azāt. According to 'Abbūdālah Jān Jamāldānī (oral communication, Oct. 88) this project was unsuccessful and has now been abandoned.

29 Information obtained from 'Abdul Halim Šādiq. Oral communication, April 1988. 'Abdul Halim Šādiq has founded the Shāl Association for, among other purposes, promotion of mother tongue education throughout Balochistan. The Shāl Association is sponsoring the mother tongue education programme in Khārān.

30 Information obtained from Tāj Muhammad Baloch, Borås, Sweden, who is the teacher of these classes.

31 Telephone conversation with 'Abbūdālah Jān Jamāldānī, April 20, 1989. See also "Šongāl—mādarī Zubānā prā'īmirī tā'lim", p. 3.
B. Number of speakers and status of different dialects\textsuperscript{32}

Before entering the discussion about the creation of a standard literary language for Balochi and what dialect or dialects the Baloch feel it ought to be based on, it is relevant to take a look at the estimated total number of speakers of Balochi, how they are distributed between the dialects and if there is any difference in status between the different dialects.

To try to estimate the number of Balochi speakers is a very difficult task. The only country for which official statistics are available is Pakistan. The census of Pakistan made in 1981 contains an investigation of household languages, i.e. what main language is spoken in each household. Here it is more interesting to know how many people rather than households speak Balochi, and I therefore choose to multiply the percentage of Balochi-speaking households with the total population, realizing that this will give a slight margin of error, due to the possible variation in household size between the various language groups.\textsuperscript{33}

Balochi is reported to be spoken by 3.0 % of the total number of households in Pakistan, and with a total population of approximately 82 million that leaves us with about 2.5 million Balochi speakers in Pakistan in 1981. The annual increase in population in Pakistan between 1980—1986 was 3.0 % per year.\textsuperscript{34} I therefore add 25 % to 2.5 million to account for natural increase in population down to 1989, which gives the figure 3.1 million speakers of Balochi in Pakistan. This can be compared with the figure 3.1 million given in the 1987 Britannica Book of the Year, p. 808. If the figures for Balochi speakers in the districts of Balochistan, Punjab and Sind are added and updated with 25 %, the result obtained is 3.3 million. This figure indicates that Baloch households are slightly larger than the average. Harrison gives the figure 3.65 million Baloch in Pakistan, not stating whether all of them speak Balochi.\textsuperscript{35} In this figure he probably includes those Baloch who have switched over to speaking other languages, e.g. Sindhi and Lahnda, but still recognize themselves as Baloch.

For Iran the figure is much more uncertain. In 1976 Gehrke estimated ap-
approximately 0.5 million and the same figure was given by Whitley in 1979. A higher figure is given both by Harrison and Collett who estimate a total of 1 million Baloch in Iran. In the 1987 Britannica Book of the Year the figure given is 876,000, and Wirsing refers to a number of estimates varying between 500,000 and 750,000. In Statistik des Auslandes, Länderbericht Iran 1988 734,000 are noted as Balochi speakers in 1980. If this figure is updated with 3% per year to 1989 the result obtained is approximately 958,000. Official statistics thus indicates that there are about 900,000 speakers of Balochi in Iran. In a conversation with 'Atâ Muḥammad Husaynburr on this subject, he strongly questioned all these official statistics. He said that during journeys in Iranian Balochistan, he very frequently met people who had never been officially registered and did not even hold a birth certificate. He therefore estimates that there are more than 1.5 million, maybe even 2 million Balochi speakers in Iran.

The number of Balochi speakers in Afghanistan is also uncertain. Dupree gives the figure 100,000 Baloch, speaking the Balochi language, and 200,000 Brahui, who “often refer to themselves as a Baluch sub-group”, speaking Brahui, but generally also bilingual in Balochi or Pashto. Harrison gives the figure 90,000 Baloch for Afghanistan. Orywal refers to a number of estimates varying between 20,000 and 200,000, but concludes himself that 100,000 might be a realistic figure. Without stating the source, Elfenbein assumes that there are 200,000 Balochi speakers in Afghanistan. The troubled political situation in Afghanistan during the 1980’s makes any estimate more uncertain than ever. The estimate of 100,000 will, however, be used in the calculations below.

As for the Gulf States, Harrison reckons that there are approximately 335,000 Baloch there, but he does not state to what degree they have preserved the Balochi language. In the 1987 Britannica Book of the Year a figure of 40,000 is given for “Pakistani (mostly Baluchi)” in Oman, which would indicate that there are at least 30,000 maybe more Balochi speakers there. In

37 Whitley: “Fears of Iran’s Break-up”.
40 1987 Britannica Book of the Year, p. 807.
41 Wirsing: The Baluchis and Pathans, footnote 14, p. 18.
42 Statistik des Auslandes, Länderbericht Iran 1988, p. 23.
43 Dupree: Afghanistan, p. 62.
44 Harrison: In Afghanistan’s Shadow, p. 1.
45 Orywal: Die Balûcî in Afghânîscht-Sîstân, pp. 92—93. See also Die einischen Gruppen Afghansîns, pp. 34—35.
46 Encyclopaedia Iranica, III, p. 635.
Bahrain Balochi falls under the classification 'other' which amounts to 14,000, and likewise in Kuwait where the figure 134,000 is given for other languages. In the United Arab Emirates there are 190,000 speakers of other languages than Arabic. It is especially in the emirates of Abu Dhabi and Dubai that there are reported to be many Baloch. Elfenbein refers to "various estimates from local sources since 1979" and estimates as high a figure as 500,000. In view of these figures it is not unlikely that there are at least 200,000 maybe 300,000 or more Balochi speakers in the Gulf States.

In spite of their low number, the Baloch of the Soviet Union seem to have preserved their language very well. In the Soviet census of 1979, 98.1% of the total Baloch community of 18,997 persons referred to Balochi as their first language. We can thus reckon approximately 25,000 Balochi speakers in the Soviet Union, if we allow for natural growth of population since 1979.

This leaves us with a figure somewhere between 4.5 and 4.8 million speakers of Balochi, the lower figure estimating 3.3 million in Pakistan, 800,000 in Iran, 100,000 in Afghanistan, 200,000 in the Gulf States and 25,000 in the Soviet Union, and the higher one reckoning 1 million in Iran and 300,000 in the Gulf States (other figures being the same). These figures are still very uncertain, but they will have to serve the purpose intended here, namely a rough approximation of the number of speakers of different Balochi dialects.

What is of importance in this study is to try to estimate how many speakers there are of the different dialects. The distribution between the two dialect groups can be estimated very roughly thanks to the fact that the census of Pakistan is divided not only into provinces, but also into districts. For the Province of Balochistan, Western dialects are spoken in the districts of Chagai, Kalat, Khairan, Panjgur, Turbat, Gwadar, Khuzdar and Las Bela, whereas in Sibi, Lorulai, Pishin, Zhob, Kohlu Agency, NaSirabad and Kachhi Eastern dialects are spoken. As for the Balochi-speaking community in Quetta, the capital of the province, it is so mixed that I prefer not to count the Balochi speakers of Quetta at all, when estimating the number of speakers of the various dialects, even though Western dialects, especially Rakhshani, dominate in Quetta, due to its geographical closeness to Rakhshani-speaking areas.

In the North West Frontier Province there is no Balochi-speaking community large enough to be counted here, whereas in Punjab there are speakers of Eastern Balochi in the Dera Ghazi Khan and the Rahim Yar Khan districts. All the districts of Sind have Balochi speakers. In all of these districts except

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47 1987 Britannica Book of the Year, pp. 769, 806—809.
48 Encyclopaedia Iranica, III, p. 635.
49 Bennigsen and Wimbush: Muslims of the Soviet Empire, pp. 120—121.
50 According to the statistics, the Balochi-speaking community in Quetta amounted to 19,460 in 1981.
Karachi Eastern dialects are dominant. The Baloch of Karachi are mainly
speakers of Western Balochi.

For the two dialect groups we thus obtain the following figures (%
households speaking Balochi × total population).

Western Balochi:
Province Balochistan
District Châgai
Gwâdar 68 780
Kalât 110 474
Khârân 22 860
Khuâzdar 89 500
Las Belâ 130 739
Panjgûr 39 697
Turbat 159 785
Province Sind
Karachi Division 378 329

This amounts to 1 239 435 speakers of Western Balochi in Pakistan in 1981.
Adding 25 % to account for natural growth in population since 1981 gives us
approximately 1 550 000. To this we should add between 800 000 and 1
million in Iran, 100 000 in Afghanistan, between 200 000 and 300 000 in the
Gulf States and 25 000 in the Soviet Union, which gives a total figure of some¬
where between 2.7 and 3.0 million speakers of Western Balochi.

Eastern Balochi:
Province Balochistan
District Kachchi 1 118 729
Kohlû Agency 168 437
Lorâlâ’î 29 868
Naştrâbâd 164 487
Pishûn 3 407
Sîbî 19 732
Zhob 362

51 The number of Balochi speakers in Karachi is often estimated considerably higher. Cf. e.g.
Collett: A Grammar, Phrase Book and Vocabulary of Baluchi, p. vii, where the figure 700 000
Baloch is given, and Farrell: Basic Balochi, 1, p. 2, where he states that "there are somewhere
around one million Baloch living in Karachi, although most Baloch would give an estimate much
larger than that" and also that Karachi Balochi is "a language vigourously in use by a million
people or more." Reasons for the low figure obtained here could be that the Baloch households
are much larger than the average household in Karachi, that some households that are in fact
Balochi-speaking give themselves as speakers of other languages, that many people use Balochi
as a second language, or that the statistics are not totally reliable. On the other hand, the higher
estimates referred to here could also be wrong. The figure obtained in the census will, however,
be used in calculations made below.
Province Sind
District Badin
Dadu 6990
Hyderabad 79702
Jacobabad 24650
Khairpur 19624
Larkana 79701
Nawabshah 82357
Sanghar 48905
Shikarpur 24163
Sukkur 19768
Tharparkar 25532
Thattha 11416

Province Punjab
District Dera Ghazi Khan 257961
Raohim Yar Khan 11049

This gives us a total of 1,412,497 speakers of Eastern Balochi. Adding to this 25% for natural increase in population gives us approximately 1.8 million.

It is also possible to make a rough estimate of the distribution of dialects within the Western group, assuming that the Rakhshani dialect is predominant in the Chagai, Kalat, Khurran, Khuzdar and Panjgur districts as well as in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. In Iran it is, of course, hard to estimate the number of speakers of the two dialects, but Rakhshani is spoken in Sistan and in scattered colonies through Khurasan all the way up to Marw, and also in the Sarawan area south of Zahidan. It is here assumed that 40% of the Balochi speakers of Iran speak Rakhshani. The total number of Rakhshani speakers would thus be between 1.0 and 1.1 million.

Makrani is spoken in the Gwadar, Turbat and Las Bela districts. In Karachi and the Gulf States, too, it is the Makrani dialect which predominates. In Iran Makrani is the dialect spoken in the Iranshahr district and southwards, all the way to the Persian Gulf. It is here assumed that 60% of the Balochi speakers of Iran use this dialect. We can thus estimate approximately 1.7 to 1.9 million speakers of Makrani.

52 Elfenbein: *The Baluchi Language*, p. 15.
53 Ibid., pp. 19—20.
54 The estimate 40% is also made by ‘Ata Muhammad Husaynburr and by Taj Muhammad Baloch, both of whom are Iranian Baloch, now living in Sweden.
55 About 590,000 in Pakistan, 100,000 in Afghanistan, 320,000—400,000 in Iran and 25,000 in the Soviet Union.
56 The areas denoted as Lojuni and Coastal speaking in Elfenbein: *The Baluchi Language*, pp. 23, 26.
57 About 960,000 in Pakistan, 480,000—600,000 in Iran, 200,000—300,000 in the Gulf States.
It must, however, be stressed that these figures are still very uncertain, due both to the general uncertainty about the quality of the statistics and the very rough estimates that had to be made for those countries where no statistics were available, and also since there very well can be communities of speakers of a Western dialect living in a predominantly Eastern area and vice versa.\textsuperscript{58} On the whole, however, it is clear that the majority of Baloch are speakers of Western dialects, but also that approximately one third of all Balochi speakers use an Eastern dialect. It is also evident that, although the Rakhshānī dialect is spoken over a geographically vast area,\textsuperscript{59} Makrānī is spoken by a larger number of people.\textsuperscript{60} Counting as many as about 1.8 million speakers of Eastern Balochi, spread over as large an area as north-eastern Balochistan, south-western Punjab and the whole province of Sind, also strengthens the suspicion that it is not a homogeneous dialect, but rather a group of dialects. Further studies of varieties within Eastern Balochi are therefore urgently needed in Balochi dialectology.

There is a clear difference in status between the dialects. Important in this context is what dialects are used in classical poetry. Elfenbein refers to 'Rindi' as the conventional dialect for classical poetry, but states that it often contains "false forms or hyper-corrected ones, as well as 'mixed' forms from several dialects at once."\textsuperscript{61} It is, however, clear that classical poetry exists both in Eastern and Western Balochi, and that there have been renowned poets in the 18th and 19th centuries both in the 'eastern' and 'western' schools (see ch. 1.A.1). Within the Western dialect group, the Coastal variety of Makrānī is described by Elfenbein as possessing "an intensive literary cultivation" and as being the most important dialect in classical poetry.\textsuperscript{62} In another place Elfenbein states that "Kechi and the Coastal variety of Western Baluchi" are "the preferred dialects for classical poetry".\textsuperscript{63} 'Abdullāh Jān Jamālīnī, too, refers to Makrānī as more developed as a literary vehicle than Rakhshānī, a statement with which Elfenbein agrees.\textsuperscript{64}

In modern times, though, the importance of Rakhshānī has increased, be-

\textsuperscript{58} For the Kalāt district, Mir 'Āqil Khān Mengal reports that even though Western Balochi is spoken in the town of Kalāt, in the rest of the district Eastern Balochi predominates. There are, furthermore, speakers of Western Balochi in Sind, especially immigrants from Iranian Balochistan.

\textsuperscript{59} Cf. Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{60} Tim Farrell has often in conversations stressed the same observation.

\textsuperscript{61} Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, p. 2. On p. 25 in the same work, however, Elfenbein states that Rindi is another name for the Coastal dialects. It may also be worth noting that Akbar Bugtī claims that the Rindi dialect is Eastern Balochi. See 'Āzīz Bugtī: Naš u rugām, pp. 10—12.

\textsuperscript{62} Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{63} In Collett: A Grammar, Phrase Book and Vocabulary of Baluchi, p. iv.

\textsuperscript{64} Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, pp. 14—15.
ing the native dialect of both Gul Khân Naṣīr and Āzāt Jamāldīnī, two of the most famous poets of the post-Independence era. The increasing importance of Rakhshānī as a literary vehicle is also pointed out by Barker and Mengal who find that "with the growth of the city of Quetta as a centre for Baluchi culture, literature, broadcasting, etc., the amount of material written in Rakhshani Baluchi has expanded rapidly." 65

C. Opinions on the creation of a standard literary language expressed by the Baloch

1. Need felt for standardization

As already mentioned when discussing the issue of dialects, many Baloch stress the unity of their language. Ni'matullāh Gichkī points out that it is but natural that dialects exist in a language spoken in such a vast area as Balochistan, where the tribal system has kept the people of different tribes apart, rather than uniting them, and where there are considerable problems of communication, both due to lack of facilities, and due to the fact that Balochistan is divided between several countries.

Several reasons have been advanced for the lack of a standard literary Balochi language. The fact that Balochi enjoys no official status in any of the countries where it is spoken, and that it is not used in administration or education is seen by most of the people interviewed as the main reason why a written standard has not been able to develop. In a historical perspective, 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī also refers to the tribal, nomadic and pre-literate way of life that until recently was dominant among the Baloch as one of the reasons why there was no major need of writing, and why Balochi has not developed as a written language. 'Azīz Bugtī also points to the fact that the tribal system and nomadism have remained in force longer in areas where Eastern Balochi is spoken than in the Western areas, and that this is why the Eastern dialect is even less developed as a literary vehicle than the Western. Ni'matullāh Gichkī also mentions that Balochi until very recently was not thought proper as a written medium. He says that, when he was a student, he and his Baloch fellow students were even ashamed of speaking Balochi to each other, let alone of using it in writing, and that it is only in the past 20—25 years that this negative attitude towards Balochi has changed.

66 Here opinions expressed by various people are often quoted without any reference to the source of the information. In such cases the sources are the interviews I have made with the people in question. See List of Interviews.
La’l Bakhsh Rind sees the fact that Balochi speakers are divided between Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan (and also the Gulf States and the Soviet Union—my own addition) and within Pakistan between the three provinces of Balochistan, Sind and Punjab as one of the reasons why no standard literary language has been able to develop. Akbar Bârakza‘î mentions that Quetta and Karachi early developed into the two major centres of literary activities, and that from time to time there has been disunity between the literary men of these two places, mainly on the issue of what dialect ought to be adopted as the standard language and on political issues. As a result, there has not always been much communication between Karachi and Quetta, a fact that has further hampered the creation of a unified Balochi literary language.67

The need for a standard literary language to be employed by all Baloch is urgently felt among the Baloch literary men. Mansûr Baloch stresses that the written language must be a single one, whereas he feels that each person should be free to employ his own dialect in speech. Munîr Baloch, too, holds that no-one can ever be asked to give up his own dialect, but that the goal must be to create one standard literary language. G. R. Mullâ and Şâbâ Dashtyârî also stress the need for a universally accepted standard literary language, if Balochi is to develop successfully as a literary vehicle. ʿAbdullâh Jân Jamâldînî sees the lack of a standard literary language as one of the major factors which prevent Balochi from developing as a literary vehicle. He also mentions the problems of the orthography and the lack of good and comprehensive Balochi-Balochi dictionaries, containing vocabulary items from all the different Balochi dialects.68 In fact, already in 1973 Muhammad Husayn ʿAnqâ called for a unified Balochi language,69 and Barker and Mengal note that “the need for a standard written language is keenly felt by most Baluchi writers.”70

However, several people interviewed are at the same time pessimistic when asked if they hold it likely that such a standard language can be developed within the near future. They generally base their pessimism on the fact that they do not expect any support from the Government of Pakistan in their attempts at establishing and promoting a standard literary Balochi language.71 Yûsuf Naskanti even goes as far as to say that there is no chance of creating

69 Muhammad Husayn ʿAnqâ: “Balochi Zubân u a‘î nibištânke war”, p. 46.
71 E.g. Dr ʿAynl Baloch, Yûsuf Naskanti, Rahîm Bakhsh Azât, ʿAbdul Hakîm and ʿAbdul Ghaﬀär Nadîm.
and promoting a standard language until the Baloch receive either autonomy or a totally independent state of Balochistan. As long as we have no political freedom, he says, we have no cultural, economic or linguistic freedom either. We, the Baloch, thus cannot make any decisions in these spheres, because we have no authority to back them up with.

Another great hindrance to the development of a standard literary language is indicated by Mir 'Āqil Khān Mengal, namely the low literacy rate. Mass-media are very important tools in promoting a standard language, he says. We do not only need oral media, however, but rather written media, since the standard language we are aiming at creating is a written standard, not a spoken one. Therefore newspapers are needed to promote such a written standard, but in order to produce newspapers and for them to have an impact, we need readers. Thus, a rise in the general literacy rate among the Baloch, and especially their ability to read Balochi is seen by Mir 'Āqil Khān Mengal as a very important initial step towards creating a standard literary language.72

The still unstandardized orthography is seen by Šabā Dashtyārī and Mansūr Baloch as another major obstacle which hinders the establishment of a standard literary language. They therefore feel that a universal agreement among the Baloch to adopt one single orthography would greatly increase the chances of universal agreement also on a standard literary language. They both personally favour the orthography prescribed by Sayyid Hāshimī in Balochi stiyāhage rāstnibīsag (see ch. 6.B.1.iii).

The creation and promotion of a standard language is thus both a linguistic and a socio-political issue, and most of the people interviewed stress that both they, as the leading men in the Balochi literary movement, and the governments of the different countries where Balochi is spoken, especially that of Pakistan, carry a heavy responsibility for the development of Balochi as a literary language, for introducing it on the curriculum in the primary schools, and for deciding on and promoting a standard literary language. Munīr Baloch is actually of the opinion that the Baloch cannot only blame the Government for being indifferent to the Balochi language. To a great extent, he says, it is our own fault that Balochi has not developed very far as a literary language, since we have not yet been able to solve the issue of our orthography. As already noted, the lack of a standard literary language with a universally accepted orthography is one of the arguments Muḥammad Anwar Kehtrān raises against using Balochi as a medium of instruction in the schools of Balochistan.

72 The literacy rate in the province of Balochistan, Pakistan, (10 years and above) is according to the 1981 census 8.2 % (male 12.5 % and female 2.9 %). See 10 years of Pakistan in Statistics 1972—82, table 2.10, p. 46.
Recognizing the fact that Balochi is not at present enjoying any substantial official promotion in any of the countries where it is spoken, most people interviewed consider natural development of a standard literary language the only possible alternative, and they feel that planned reforms cannot be carried through in the present situation. By natural development they mean that it is necessary to continue to produce as much literature as possible in any dialect. When there is more and more literature available, they hope that more people will take an interest in learning to read and write Balochi, and they hold it likely that a standard literary language will shape itself by the process of time, as Balochi is being more and more used as a written medium.

La'l Bakhsh Rind and Yusuf Naskanti stress that it takes a long time for a standard language to develop by natural process, and that the Balochi language is still in its primary stage of such a development, since it was only after the Independence of Pakistan (1947) that Balochi started being extensively used as a written language. 'Abdullah Jân Jamaldînî points out that all languages that now have a standard literary form have gone through the same process of standardization which Balochi is now going through, and that the problems Balochi is now facing are in no way unique to this language.

However, some people hold that even under the prevailing circumstances language planning is possible. Ghanî Parwâz sees the Balochi Academy as a possible forum for such deliberate decisions on language standardization and other related issues. 'Aziz Bugtî also feels that some agreement could be reached to promote a certain standard literary language in the Province of Balochistan, Pakistan. If this could be realized, the Baloch in Karachi and other provinces (Sind, Punjab) as well as those living in other countries would have to reconsider their viewpoints and follow the decisions reached in Balochistan. Also Sûrat Khân Marri and G. R. Mullá find some sort of language planning necessary, and so does Ayyüb Baloch, who mainly concentrates on this issue throughout his interview. He holds that development by natural process will take far too long, and that conscious efforts are needed to create a standard literary language. He therefore suggests the setting up of a special language planning committee, with both Baloch literary men and international experts on linguistics and other related fields as members.

2. Normative ideas concerning the standard language

With this as a background, it is interesting to note what dialect or dialects the Baloch themselves desire as the basis for their standard literary language,

73 E.g. 'Abdullah Jân Jamaldînî, Ghulâm Fârûq, Yâr Muhammad Yâr, Mansûr Baloch, Zafar 'Ali Zafar, 'Abdul Hakîm and 'Abdul Ghaffâr Nadîm.
whether they prefer one single dialect or as much of a mixture of different dialects as possible, and how they propose to deal with the phonological differences between Eastern and Western Balochi.

Referring to the Sindhi example, where the dialect of Hyderabad has been adopted as the standard literary language, many of the people interviewed expressed the opinion that one specific dialect ought to be selected as the basis for the standard literary language. This idea is also supported by Muḥammad Ḥusayn 'Anqā. He writes that a European scholar, who had done research on the Balochi language, and who had travelled widely all over Balochistan, once wrote in a letter to Gul Khān Naṣīr that Rakhshānī Balochi is the sweetest and easiest dialect. Muḥammad Husayn 'Anqā agrees with this and suggests that Rakhshānī be adopted as the literary language of Balochi. Among others who favour the Rakhshānī dialect, recognizing it as the ‘purest’ dialect, we note Āḡā Naṣīr Khān, Qāẓī 'Abdul Raḥīm Sābir, Dr 'Āynī Baloch, Gulzār Khān Marrī and Muḥammad Sardār Khān Gishkōrī. However, when asked about particular forms, Gulzār Khān and Muḥammad Sardār Khān often prefer the Eastern form to the Western, even if they in theory find Rakhshānī, the mother tongue of Gul Khān Naṣīr, the most suitable dialect to base the literary language on. The idea that Rakhshānī “has stronger claims than any other group” to be chosen as the ‘standard dialect’ for Balochi, due to its wide geographical extension and because “it is spoken and understood by the majority of Baloch” is also expressed by Josef Elfenbein. (Whether it is in fact spoken by the majority of Baloch is, however, questioned in this study.) It may also be noted that in a decision mainly on orthography made by the Department of Balochi Language and Literature at the Academy of Sciences, Kabul, Rakhshānī is selected as the basis for the written Balochi language in Afghanistan, since it is the only dialect that is employed in that country at present.

Among the people who favour Makrānī we note Ghaus Bakhsh Sābir, who finds Kechī the best suited literary dialect. But here, too, there is a discrepancy between theory and practice, since he often prefers specific Eastern forms to the Western ones. Also 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī, as already mentioned, finds Makrānī better developed as a literary vehicle than Rakhshānī and therefore more suitable as the basis for the standard literary language. The same opin-

74  E.g. Ghaus Bakhsh Sābir, Āḡā Naṣīr Khān, Muḥammad Sardār Khān Gishkōrī, Gulzār Khān Marrī, Qāẓī 'Abdul Raḥīm Sābir, Yūṣuf Naskantī, Mowlī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī, Yār Muḥammad Yār and Sābā Dashtyārī.
75  Muḥammad Husayn 'Anqā: “Baločī zabān u ālī nibiştânke war”, p. 50.
77  “Taṛḥ u tašīb-ti alifbā-yi balučī tavasūṭ-i dipārmti-zabān u adabiyyat-i balučī, markaz-i zabān u adabiyyat, akādimi-yi 'ulum”, p. 3.
ion is expressed by Yüsuf Naskanti. Molwī Khayr Muhammad Nadwī points to the fact that there are more speakers of Makrānī than of Rakhshānī, and, since the majority carries the vote, Makrānī ought to be chosen as the standard language. Also Yār Muḥammad Yār and Şabā Dəştyärı favour Makrānī, following the opinion predominant in Karachi, which was also that of Sayyid Hāshimi.

'Abdul Ghaffār Nadm and 'Aziz Bugtā, however, oppose what they feel to be too heavy a promotion of the Makrānī dialect by some of the literary men in Karachi. They, and several other people interviewed,78 want to see a literary language based on a mixture of dialects. 'Abdul Ghaffār Nadm feels that the language will be far too limited if Makrānī is to be the sole basis for the literary language. Besides, he points out, there are many sub-dialects of Makrānī. Which one of them should be chosen? Also 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī wants to see a certain amount of dialect mixture in the standard literary language, even if he feels there ought to be one specific dialect as the basis for the literary language.

'Aṭā Shād, too, prefers a mixed standard language to evolve. Especially in the area of vocabulary he feels that Balochi ought not to limit itself to employing the words of one specific dialect only, but rather adopt as many synonyms as possible and thereby enrich the vocabulary of the language. He himself tries to promote such a mixture of vocabulary by employing words from different dialects in his poems. In this way he hopes to make these words known even outside their original area. Also many other people interviewed stress that they want the standard literary language to incorporate vocabulary items from all the different dialects, and Āghā Naṣīr Khān and Şūrat Khān Mārī even go as far as to say that the two dialectal forms mās and māt 'mother' both ought to exist parallel in the standard language. When it comes to the forms sūr and sīr 'wedding', however, Şūrat Khān Mārī feels that a choice of one form is necessary.

Another strong advocate of a mixed standard language is La'l Bakhsh Rind, who is afraid that the standard language will end up a very weak language, if it is limited to one particular dialect. Rather, he feels, if all the dialects are intermingled a strong and powerful language will develop. Such a mixed standard literary language is also advocated by Gul Khān Naṣīr in Grand, where he says that the language of that book is not based on any particular dialect, but rather on the whole Balochi language, and that whatever word from whatever dialect best conveys the intended meaning of the author is employed in his poetry.79 Also in the areas of morphology and syntax Gul Khān Naṣīr tries

78 E.g. 'Aṭā Shād, La'l Bakhsh Rind and Rahām Bakhsh Āzāt.
to carry through his ideas of dialect mixture, but in phonology he mainly employs the Western pattern.

Some of the people interviewed feel that the phonemes of one of the two dialect groups could be written and that each person ought to be free to pronounce the words according to his own dialect. This would mean that, for instance, the Western forms gok 'cow', āp ‘water’, roč ‘day’ and wāja ‘master’ would be written, but that the Easterners could read them out as gox, āf, roš and wāža. Such a suggestion is made by ‘Abdullâh Jân Jamâldînî, who wants to base the grammar and phonology of the standard literary language on Makrānî, but, at the same time allows for local pronunciation in reading. Also Şâbâ Dashtyârî touches upon this solution when he says that one can never change the accent, but that the standard literary language ought to be unified. He wants the phonology of the Western dialects to be written, but leaves everyone free to pronounce the words according to their own local dialect. ‘Abdul Ḥakîm, too, advocates the adoption of a common spelling, leaving every person free to read the words according to his own pronunciation. G. R. Mullâ feels that only those sounds that are universal to all the Balochi dialects ought to be written. He rejects the use of, what he calls, ‘tribal sounds’ using this term to denote those sounds that only exist in Eastern Balochi. Barker and Mengal also mention this solution, which they call “the development of a single script for all dialects”, but they are not in favour of it. The fact that many letters must be read out differently in different dialects would, they feel, “result in “double readings,” “silent letters,” and other complexities for the learner to master”.80

Another solution, which will also be taken up in ch. 6.B.3, is to invent a third letter, referred to as the ‘common letter’ in cases where the two dialect groups use different sounds.81 Here the Baloch refer to the example of Pashto, where phonological differences between the dialects are hidden in the orthography. They have, however, slightly misunderstood the Pashto orthography, probably due to the fact that they are familiar with the Quetta- and Peshawar-pronunciation of Pashto but not with that of Kandahar. Thus, those who see a ‘common letter’ as a possible solution feel that the ğ in Pashto is a common letter for the /z/82 and /g/83 phonemes, probably not realizing that it in fact represents a different phoneme, namely /z/ which is nowadays only found in the Kandahar dialect. The same is valid for ğ* which is seen as a common letter for /s/ (Quetta) and /x/ (Peshawar), whereas it actually represents the Kandahar phoneme /ʃ/.

81 A suggestion officially presented in a ‘Pamphlet’ by the Balochi Academy, Quetta.
82 The pronunciation of this letter in Quetta.
83 The pronunciation of this letter in Peshawar.
It is mostly speakers of Eastern Balochi who favour the idea of 'common letters', probably fearing that the Western phonemic system will otherwise be too dominant. Among those who suggest the introduction of common letters we can mention Mir Miṭhā Khān Marri, 'Azīz Bugtī, Șūrat Khān Marri, 84 all representatives of Eastern dialects, and Ghaus Bakhsh Sābir, a speaker of Western Balochi. Muhammad Husayn 'Anqā also refers to this suggestion, but he feels the introduction of these 'common letters' is not a good idea. In his opinion 'common letters' have created many problems in the spelling of Pashto, which he wants to spare Balochi from. He also wonders whether the 'common letter' would also be used in words where both dialect groups use the same sound.85

To give a concrete example of this problem (this example is not given by Muhammad Husayn 'Anqā who only describes the problem theoretically): if a 'common letter' was invented for /p/ and /f/ it would definitely be used in the word āp/āf 'water', but would it also be used in hapt 'seven'86 or in pād 'foot' where Eastern Balochi has pād, not *fād? Would the letters ฤษ and ษ be used at all, and if they would, according to what rules? And how would the loan word xiyyāl 'thought', which in Rakhshānī is pronounced hayāl, in Makrānī kiyāl and in Eastern Balochi xiyyāl be spelled? The same negative attitude towards these 'common letters' is expressed by Barker and Mengal, who feel they "would multiply the number of diacritics beyond reasonable limits, would increase learning problems considerably, and would still not account for a number of "special cases"".87

The solution advocated by Barker and Mengal is that "two varieties of script and spelling" be set up, one for Western and the other for Eastern Balochi.88 This would mean that two standard literary dialects be set up for Balochi, something similar to the development in Kurdish, where both Sorānī and Kurmanji have been established as literary standards (see ch. 3.D). In principle it seems that most Baloch would oppose this solution as a permanent one, since they are generally very keen to stress the unity of the Balochi language and thereby also the Baloch people. Aiming for one standard literary language is also often combined with political ambitions, and the establishment of two standard literary dialects could be regarded as a deliberate at-

84 Cf. also Șūrat Khān Marri: "Noken ḥayāle, noken zuwāne", p. 121, where the same suggestion is made.
85 Muhammad Husayn 'Anqā: "Balōčī zuvān u ā'ī nibištānke war", pp. 49—50.
86 Unaspirated plosives in word-medial preconsonantal position are found also in Eastern Balochi. See Dames: A Text Book of the Balochi Language, part IV, p. 111. This word is, however, due to Persian influence often pronounced haft both in Eastern and Rakhshānī Balochi.
88 Ibid., pp. 8—9.
tempt at splitting the Baloch nation, something which G. R. Mullā already accuses the Pakistani Government of trying to do, by too heavy an official support for speakers of the Marri-Bugtī dialect, as he calls Eastern Balochi.

The long-term aim among the Baloch is rather to work towards one standard literary language, but many of the people interviewed feel that the time is not yet ripe for promoting such a standard language on a large scale. This is why the editors of magazines and other journals do not change any dialect forms in articles that they receive for publication, whereas they often change purely orthographic points to conform to the orthography that they personally favour. Not to make any changes as far as the dialect is concerned is the policy of Munir Baloch, editor of Nawā'e waṭan, of the acting editor of Ulus, Pīr Muḥammad Zubayrānī, of the Sayyid Hāshimī Academy,89 of the Īlum Publications90 and of Māhtāk balōcī.91 These editors feel that, even though the ultimate aim is to create a unified standard literary language, for the time being the best service is done to the Balochi language if all the dialects are allowed to develop as literary vehicles.

This idea is also expressed in several interviews.92 ‘Aẓīz Bugtī is in this connection especially worried about the very limited development of Eastern Balochi as a written medium. He hopes that, as education spreads also to areas where Eastern Balochi is spoken, more Eastern Baloch will take an interest in reading and writing their native dialect. At present, he points out, there are no representatives of Eastern Balochi engaged in publishing books or editing periodicals in Balochi, and there are very few Eastern writers.

The same fear of too fast a standardization process, which will alienate a large number of Baloch from reading their own language is expressed by Tim Farrell, who in a private letter writes that in his opinion “people want to read their own language but it has to be in a form that they can cope with . . . If it [Balochi C. J.] is standardised . . . too soon there will, as at present be a large majority of Baloch who will have no interest in reading it.”93 The problem of alienation is also treated by Ulfat Nasīm, who presents figures which show that the number of Balochi speakers is decreasing year by year. He finds it important to develop a standard language which can be understood by speakers of all the different dialects in order for all Baloch to desire to use it in reading and writing.94

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89 According to G. R. Mullā.
90 According to Yār Muḥammad Yār.
91 According to Sabā Dashtyārī, who, although not editor, does most of the editorial work of this magazine.
92 By e.g. La’l Bakhsh Rind, Rahim Bakhsh Āżāt and Mīr ‘Āqīl Khān Mengal.
94 Ulfat Nasīm: “Balōcī adīf u balōcī zubān”, p. 32.
The problem that many Baloch are abandoning their own language in favour of other languages is also touched on by Jaffrey, who considers literacy in other languages than Balochi one of the factors causing this language shift.\(^5\) It seems important that the form of Balochi presented to the readers, at least at an initial stage, is fairly close to their native dialect, and not a totally different dialect, which may appear almost as foreign as another language. It must be remembered that at present all reading and writing of Balochi is done out of interest and not by compulsion. If the introduction of Balochi in the educational system is successful, the prospects for a rapid standardization process are much brighter than they have been so far.

Even though most literary men are reluctant about making normative statements as to what dialect forms ought to be employed in the standard literary language, and what forms ought not to be employed, one occasionally finds such statements. In Balōčī siyāhage rāstnībsag, Sayyid Hāshimi on several occasions (e.g. in the case of the dialect difference /ü/ versus /i/) feels that nobody has the right to prescribe the one as correct and the other one as incorrect.\(^6\) However, he feels that būt, not bīt, ought to be used for the third person singular past tense of the verb 'to be, become' in order to avoid confusion with the present/future tense bīt 'he/she becomes, will be'.\(^7\) As for the first person singular and plural verbal endings, -ān and -en are presented as the standard forms, but a note is also added that it is not wrong to use other dialect forms.\(^8\) Other forms used in the grammatical description, probably unintentionally and without reference to other dialectal variants, are āyānī (not āwānī or āhānī)\(^9\) and the ergative construction.\(^10\) On the whole, Sayyid Hāshimi, who is very strongly normative as far as purely orthographic matters are concerned, is notably reluctant to prescribe 'correct' dialect forms.

The ‘Pamphlet’ of the Balochi Academy, Quetta, although mainly presenting an attempt at developing a common script for Eastern and Western Balochi by introducing the ‘common letters’ described above, also prescribes the Rakhshānī and Eastern form šā ‘from’ instead of the Makrānī form ac as the best one to be used in the written language. Furthermore it states that the use of ‘aspirated letters’ ought to be limited to the instances where they are the only differentiating feature between two otherwise identical words.\(^10\)

\(^{6}\) Sayyid Hāshimi: Balōčī siyāhage rāstnībsag, pp. 41—42.
\(^{7}\) Ibid., pp. 82—83.
\(^{8}\) Ibid., pp. 75—79.
\(^{9}\) Ibid., p. 91.
\(^{10}\) Ibid., e.g. p. 134.

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Sayyid Häshimi feels that the aspirated letters ought not to be employed in the standard literary language at all, an opinion which Ni’matullāh Gichkī shares, whereas Mīr Miṭhā Khān Marrī is of just the opposite opinion. Otherwise people do not generally prescribe ‘correct’ dialect forms in the interviews.

It is actually in an article by Muḥammad Husayn ‘Anqā, written as early as 1956, that we find the boldest statements concerning standard forms. He prefers the forms with /i/ (e.g. sîr) instead of the ones with /ū/ (sûr) since /i/ is the sound he feels is used by the majority of the Baloch. However, for the third person singular past tense, būt is preferred to bit. Past participles in -tk- (atka ‘come’) are preferred to those in -ht- (āhta) or -xt- (āxta). As for the verbal ending in the first person -ān is preferred in the singular and -ān in the plural, since, according to Muḥammad Husayn ‘Anqā, these are the endings employed in the classical poetry. As far as the aspirated plosives and affricates are concerned, they ought to be abandoned in the written language.

Even though there is such a careful attitude towards prescribing what is right or wrong when it comes to dialect forms, there is a heavy leaning towards Western Balochi in the written language, both due to the lack of writers among the Eastern Baloch and also due to the fact that some Easterners have taken to writing Western Balochi. ‘Aziz Bugtī sees the lack of readership among the Eastern Baloch as the main reason for Easterners writing Western Balochi, but he hopes that, as readership among Eastern Baloch also increases, the opposite, namely the fact that Western writers will have to consider the needs of Eastern readers, will also occur.

Due to the present dominance of Western Balochi, Ni’matullāh Gichkī feels that Western Balochi will take the lead as the standard language. This opinion is shared by Jaffrey, who writes that “since the Western Baloches maintain radio programmes and run periodicals and since they are in majority and far-scattered, it has been as natural as accidental for the Western Branch to be in a position to go on the air and in the press and thus be promoted.” Jaffrey also notes that the use of /ū/ (sûr) is more common than /i/ (sîr) in writing. He moreover feels that verbal endings have been standardized, and that it is -ān which has been adopted as the standard ending in the first person singular.

Even if Jaffrey is going too far, there is no doubt that there are certain standardizing tendencies in written Balochi, and that some dialect forms occur

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102 Sayyid Häshimi: BalocT siyāhage rastnībasag, p. 126.
105 Ibid., p. 22.
more frequently than others. This is seen in the investigation of eight dialect features in texts written after 1950, the results of which are given in section E. But it is equally clear that Balochi still has a long way to go before it can be called a standard literary language, especially if the standardization is to take place as a 'natural process'. If standardization is to happen gradually, it is, as already mentioned, important first of all to develop all the different dialects and arouse an interest in reading Balochi among as many Baloch as possible. In this way the risk that speakers of certain dialects will never be interested in reading Balochi can be lessened. The hope is that later there can be made some kind of agreement between all the writers to use certain 'standard' forms and that in the long run there will develop a universally accepted norm.

There is a certain tendency among the Baloch writers to cling to their own dialect as the best or purest one. It is possible, however, that the higher prestige of Makrānī over Rakhhānī, being the Western dialect used in the classical poetry, and also the fact that it is spoken by a larger number of people than Rakhhānī might give it such an advantage that it could be accepted as the basis for the standard literary language. The fact that there are also several features which Makrānī, especially its Coastal variant, and Eastern Balochi have in common increases the possibility that a standard language based on Makrānī also might be accepted by Eastern Balochi.

D. Use of Eastern Balochi as a literary medium

It has already been stated that Western dialects dominate in written Balochi. It is at this stage necessary to look more closely at this dominance and to try to ascertain just how dominant Western Balochi is. I will also investigate whether the proportions of Eastern versus Western Balochi have changed since the beginning of the modern, post-Independence era of Balochi literature, and whether there is any major difference between material published in different places.

In this context it ought also to be pointed out that many of the Eastern authors frequently write a mixed Eastern-Western Balochi. One reason for this can be that they have lived in Quetta for a long time, where Western dialects dominate. Here they live outside the actual Eastern-speaking area, and are influenced by Western dialects, especially Rakhhānī, which is the predominant dialect in Quetta. Another reason why Eastern writers may try to mix their native dialect with Western traits is to make it easier for Westerners to understand. Most of the readers of Balochi are, as 'Azīz Bugtī points out, speakers of Western dialects, and they often find it hard to read pure Eastern Balochi.
For text samples of pure Eastern Balochi, mixed Eastern-Western Balochi and Western Balochi written by Easterners, see Text Appendix 1, samples 1.1—1.6.

1. Periodicals 1986—1988

In order to get a picture of the present distribution between the two major dialect groups, I have looked at the periodicals that are at present being published in Balochi. These are Mähtäk balocẽ, Ulus and Nawa‘e waţan from Quetta, and Sawgat from Karachi. Sadâ’e baloc is not included, since it is mainly in Urdu, neither are Minzîl and Bahârgâh since they are so recent that this study was almost completed when the first issues of these periodicals appeared.

As Western are here classified those texts where the Western phonemic pattern is the predominant one. Occasional Eastern forms do occur in these texts, however, especially when the writer is a speaker of an Eastern dialect. The letters ū, ḫ, ẑ, ẑ, and ē occur in these texts, but only in loan words from Arabic and Persian. As Eastern are classified those texts, where the Eastern phonological pattern is predominant, even though there might also be a certain number of Western forms in these basically Eastern texts.

i. Mähtäk balocẽ, Quetta

Investigated issues run form January 1987 to April 1988, and in all these issues not one single article, story or poem in Eastern Balochi is to be found. The total number of pages of these 16 issues is 1475, out of which, however, 142 are in Brahui.

The complete absence of Eastern Balochi in Mähtäk balocẽ is remarkable, especially since it is published in Quetta, where the influence of Eastern Balochi has traditionally been stronger than in Karachi. One possible explanation is that the co-editor of Mähtäk balocẽ, Şabā Dashtyârī, who in fact does most of the editorial work, comes from Karachi and has very strong links with the literary movement there, especially with the Sayyid Hâshimi Academy.

The total absence of Eastern Balochi does not mean a total absence of Eastern writers, but the Easterners who write in this journal, one of whom is Wâhid Buzdâr, employ Western Balochi. I suspected that, contrary to Şabā Dashtyârī’s general statement that dialect forms are never changed in the articles published in Mähtäk balocẽ, there might have been some changes in these articles by Eastern writers. Şabâ Dashtyârī, however, assured me that these articles were published in the dialect they were written. Articles in Western Balochi by, for example, Wâhid Buzdâr are also found in Ulus, where articles in Eastern Balochi are also published. This indicates that Wâhid Buzdâr in fact writes in Western Balochi.
The issues of *Ulus* I have been able to look at are October 1986—August 1987 and January—March 1988. (The September—December 1987 issues were not available to me). Here we find material in Eastern Balochi in every issue as described below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Eastern Balochi</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan.-Feb. 87,  (joint), 40 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 8 pp.</td>
<td>Hammal Khan Josh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 87, 41 pp.</td>
<td>Poem, 1 p. Poem, 1 p.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Ishāq Sājid Buzdār Mu'min Buzdār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 87, 41 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 10 pp.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Ishāq Sājid Buzdār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 87, 41 pp.</td>
<td>Poem, 1 p.</td>
<td>Mu'min Buzdār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 87, 40 pp.</td>
<td>Short story, 3.5 pp.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Ishāq Sājid Buzdār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 87, 41 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 7 pp. Article, 8 pp.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Ishāq Sājid Buzdār Muḥammad Ishāq Sājid Buzdār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

106 The total number of pages in Balochi in every issue, which generally contains a smaller Brahui section as well.
107 With several Western forms.
The total number of pages in Eastern Balochi is thus 118 out of 521 pages in Balochi, which amounts to 23%. *Ulus* is the only magazine that publishes any substantial amount of Eastern Balochi at present, and among the most active writers we note Muhammad Ishāq Sājid Buzdār and Mu‘min Buzdār.

iii. *Nawā‘e watan*, Quetta

Issues investigated are November 25, 1986—December 25, 1987. No articles in Eastern Balochi are to be found in a total of 242 pages, 59.5 of which, however, are in Urdu. One of the reasons why *Nawā‘e watan* contains no articles in Eastern Balochi can be that the present editor, Munir Baloch, originates from Ormāra, Makrān, and therefore has stronger links with that area than with the regions where Eastern Balochi is spoken.

iv. *Sawgāt*, Karachi

Issues I have been able to investigate here are January 1987—May 1988, where no material in Eastern Balochi at all is to be found. All these issues together contain 884 pages, of which 661 are in Balochi and 223 in Urdu.

2. Distribution between Eastern and Western Balochi over time

It is worth noting that *Ulus* is the only journal where contributions in Eastern Balochi occur at present. I have therefore chosen this magazine in order to investigate whether the proportion of Eastern versus Western Balochi has changed considerably since it started being published in December 1961 up till the present time or whether it has remained more or less the same. For this purpose I have investigated issues of *Ulus* from two periods, one in the 1960’s and one in the 1970’s.

Unfortunately I was not able to obtain more than five issues from the first period. These are March 1964, May—July and September 1965. The distribution between Eastern and Western Balochi in these issues is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Eastern Balochi</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 64, 40 pp.</td>
<td>Poem, 1 p.</td>
<td>Mu‘min Buzdār108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 65, 48 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 3 pp.</td>
<td>Miṭhā Khān Marrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Article, 2 pp.</td>
<td>‘Abdul Raḥmān Ghawr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poem, 1 p.</td>
<td>‘Abdul Raḥmān Ghawr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poem, 1 p.</td>
<td>Mu‘min Buzdār109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 65, 48 pp.</td>
<td>Poem, 0.5 p.</td>
<td>Malik Muḥammad Ramazān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

108 With several Western forms.
109 Fairly mixed.
In these five issues there are thus 32 pages of basically Eastern Balochi out of a total of 232 pages, which amounts to 14%.

From the mid-1970’s I was able to obtain more issues of *Ulus*. Here I have looked at those from January—April, June and July 1973, July, September and October 1974 and February—April, June, August and October 1976, and the results are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Eastern Balochi</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 73, 35 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 3 pp.</td>
<td>Molwī ‘Abdul Bāqī Durkhānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short story, 3 pp.</td>
<td>Mīr Ahmad Shāh Marrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short story, 2.5 pp.</td>
<td>Mu‘min Buzdār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poem, 2 pp.</td>
<td>Zāhir Bābar Baloch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mu‘min Buzdār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb, 73, 35 pp.</td>
<td>Poem 1 p.</td>
<td>‘Abdul Ghafūr Durkhānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 73, 35 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 2 pp.</td>
<td>Amīr Jān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Article, 3 pp.</td>
<td>Pir Muhammad Zubayrānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Article, 2.5 pp.</td>
<td>Zubayr Ahmad Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Folk story, 6 pp.</td>
<td>Na‘īm Shāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poem, 1 p.</td>
<td>Mīr Ahmad Shāh Marrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 73, 28 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 1.5 pp.</td>
<td>Mahmūd Marrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 73, 24 pp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 73, 28 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 2.5 pp.</td>
<td>Amīr Jān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 74, 40 pp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 74, 40 pp.</td>
<td>Article, 2.5 pp.</td>
<td>Mīr Miṭhā Khān Marrī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

110 This and the four following items in this issue contain several Western forms.
In these issues there are thus 98 pages of Eastern Balochi out of a total of 522 pages, which amounts to 19%. It might also be noted that the editor of the July, September and October 1974 issues was a speaker of Eastern Balochi, namely Şurat Khân Marrî, a fact that does not seem to have caused any changes in the distribution between Eastern and Western Balochi. In fact, Şurat Khân Marrî used to write his editorials in Western Balochi.

On the whole we notice an increase in the percentage of Eastern Balochi published in Ulus over time from 14% in the issues from the 1960’s to 19% in those from the 1970’s and 23% in those from the 1980’s. The material in Eastern Balochi written in the 1980’s is also generally ‘purer’, i.e. more free from Western forms, than that written in the 1960’s and 1970’s. On the other hand, there were many more Eastern writers active in the 1960’s and 1970’s, especially from the Marrî tribe, whereas in the 1980’s it is mainly authors from the Buzdär tribe in the Sulaymân Hills who provide the material in Eastern Balochi. One of the more outstanding writers from the Marri tribe, Mîr Miţha Khân Marrî, passed away at an advanced age in April 1988, and the other ones do not seem to be active as writers any longer. As for ‘Azîz Muhammed Bugtî, the main writer from the Bugtî tribe, he has recently returned to Pakistan after finishing his studies abroad, and he will probably be back on the literary scene again. As already mentioned, there are also a few speakers of Eastern dialects who prefer to write in Western Balochi.
3. The dominant position of Western Balochi in Karachi

In order to see whether the predominance of Western Balochi in Karachi is a recent phenomenon, or if Western dialects have dominated the literary language there from the beginning of the post-Independence era, I have investigated whether any articles in Eastern Balochi were to be found in Mähtäk baločī and Zamāna baločī while they were published in Karachi (1956—1958 for Mähtäk baločī and 1968—1975 for Zamāna baločī). I have looked at the issues from January 1957—May 1958 of Mähtäk baločī, and, where Zamāna baločī is concerned, I was able to obtain the issues from November 1, 1968, November 15, 1968, January 15, 1969, April 1969, January 1971, March 1971 and February 1972 (7 issues). In all these issues, with a total amount of 744 pages (Mähtäk baločī 600 and Zamāna baločī 144), only one article in Eastern Balochi was to be found, namely “Baloci lawzänk u darī zuwānāni lafz”, by Gulzār Khān Marrī, p. 10 in Zamāna baločī, January 15, 1969. It is quite clear from these figures that Western dialects have dominated the literary movement in Karachi from the 1950’s onwards. A recent publication which confirms this statement is Sanj, published in 1985 by the Sayyid Hāshimī Academy, Karachi. In this book of 528 pages, containing articles, short stories, reports, interviews and poems by a large number of writers, only one article (9.5 pages) by Muhammad Ishāq Sājid Buzdār in Eastern Balochi is to be found.

One reason for this Western dominance in Karachi is, of course, that the dialect spoken there is mainly Makrānī. There is also a feeling, although not normally expressed openly, among many of the literary men in Karachi that Western dialects, especially Makrānī, are superior to the Eastern ones, and that only these are suitable for being used in writing. This is, however, a very sensitive issue, and it is very seldom that anyone dares to state such a feeling openly. It is nevertheless clear from the opinion of Sayyid Ĥāshimī, when he states that the letters ݎ, ݱ and ݬ ought not to be employed for writing Balochi, that he intends the written language to be based on a Western dialect. The same idea is adhered to by G. R. Mullā, who feels that ‘tribal sounds’ ought not to be used in the literary language.

4. Quetta and other places of publication

As already noticed, it is only in Ulus, published in Quetta, that a substantial amount of Eastern Balochi is encountered. In Quetta, the capital of Balochistan, one meets people from all over the Province. Some of the more

111 Sayyid Hāshimī: Baloci siyāhage rāstnībīşag, p. 16.
productive Eastern writers, e.g. the late Mîr Miṭhâ Khân Marrî, Şûrat Khân Marrî and Gulzâr Khân Marrî have spent a major part of their life in Quetta. The Balochi Academy in Quetta has also published several books in Eastern Balochi by, for example, Mîr Miṭhâ Khân Marrî, Mahmûd Khân Marrî, Gulzâr Khân Marrî, Sher Muḥammad Marrî, Muʿmin and Ishâq Buzdâr and ‘Azîz Bugtî.112

As for publications from other parts of Balochistan (Turbat and Panjgûr) as well as from the Gulf States, Afghanistan and Iran, they are without exception in Western Balochi.

In fact it seems that, thanks to the publication of a fair number of books (about 20) in Eastern Balochi by the Balochi Academy, Quetta, and also since contributions in Eastern Balochi are frequently published in Ulus, Eastern Balochi is becoming more and more accepted as a literary medium equal in status to Western Balochi. Still it can hardly be overstressed that if Balochi as a language is not very far developed as a literary medium, this is even more true of Eastern Balochi. It is therefore important that more Eastern Baloch take part in the Balochi literary activities, and also that the number of readers of Balochi is increased in areas where Eastern Balochi is spoken, if Eastern Balochi is to develop further as a literary medium.

E. Western Balochi as a literary medium

Western Balochi is much more frequently used as a literary medium than Eastern Balochi. But Western Balochi is, as already noted in the description of Balochi dialects, by no means one homogeneous dialect. For practical purposes it has here been divided into two major dialects, Rakhshânî and Makrânî. This division is the main north-south division in Western Balochi, but there are certain dialect features which cross over this border, or which occur only in the very north, in the very south or in other limited areas. For text samples of Western Balochi, see Text Appendix 1, samples 1.7—1.14.

In order to investigate whether Makrânî, Rakhshânî or a mixture of both is the most common form of written Western Balochi, I have selected a number of texts written by authors from different parts of Balochistan and during different periods of time.113 In these texts I have studied eight features which vary in different dialects. The eight features are as follows:

1. The use of /ʊ/ versus /i/ in words like bût/bît ‘was’, sûr/sîr ‘wedding’

112 See Catalogue of the Baluchi Academy Publications and Bibliographical Appendix 1.
113 A list of these text is found in Bibliographical Appendix 2.
and zūrag/zīrag ‘to take’. /ū/ is employed in Rakhshānī and northern Makrānī, and it is only in the very south, on the Makrān coast and in Karachi, that /i/ predominates. This is thus a feature which crosses the main Rakhshānī-Makrānī division.

2. Active or ergative construction of transitive verbs in past tenses. In addition to these two constructions one sometimes encounters a mixed construction, e.g. zinde hālatān āzātā paddā wātī dehā rashen ‘the circumstances of life later brought Āzāt back to his country’ (Āzāt Jamāldīnī: Rużn, p. 15, l. 3). Active construction is predominant in northern Rakhshānī, whereas southern Rakhshānī and Makrānī employ the ergative construction. As for the mixed construction, it is, according to Elfenbein, naturally employed in what he calls Sarḥaddī Rakhshānī, Sarāwānī, and Loţūnī (Lāshārī), i.e. mainly in Iranian Balochistan. There is also another possible explanation for mixed constructions occurring in these texts, namely that a writer, whose native dialect employs the active construction, wants to use the ergative when he writes, and that sometimes his spoken dialect influences him to decline both subject and object, or to leave both in the nominative.

3. Forms of the past stem kurt versus kut of the verb kanag ‘to do’. This feature follows the main dialect division, kurt being the Rakhshānī form and kut the Makrānī one.

4. Past stems in -ht- versus -tk- in e.g. āht/atk of the verb āyag ‘to come’, where -ht- belongs to Rakhshānī and -tk- to Makrānī.

5. -s versus -t in relationship words, e.g. mās/māt ‘mother’, pīsś/pīt ‘father’, brās/brāt ‘brother’, where -s is employed in Rakhshānī and -t in Makrānī.

6. The verbal endings in the first person singular and plural of the present tense, where the main endings are -in (singular) and -än (plural) in Rakhshānī, and -ān (singular) and -ēn (plural) in Makrānī. There are also several other endings, which will be commented on as they occur in the statistics.

7. The vocabulary items gis ‘house’ and zahg ‘child’ found in Rakhshānī versus log ‘house’ and čukk ‘child’ used in Makrānī.

8. -w-, -y- or -h- epenthesis in e.g. āwān/āyān/āhān ‘them’, where, according to Elfenbein, northern Rakhshānī has -w-, southern Rakhshānī has -y- and Makrānī -h-. The frequent occurrence of -y- in otherwise purely Makrānī texts makes me suspect that -y- might occur in some sub-dialects of Makrānī.

115 This ending is also used in parts of Kech, northern Makrānī dialects.
116 Or rather -ā and -ē.
117 Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, pp. 18, 21, 22, 24, 27.
as well. In fact -y- is the form reported to be used in Karachi Balochi, which basically represents Makrāni.118

The criteria have been selected to include features of both phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary. The chosen features are also relatively common in the language, and they are among the criteria for distinguishing Makrāni from Rakhshāni which the Baloch most frequently refer to when asked to describe differences between these dialects. Furthermore, they are all treated by Elfenbein in *The Baluchi Language*, where he gives a good picture of all the variants of these features found in the various sub-dialects.

The texts where these eight dialect features are studied have been selected from three different periods of time, 1951—65, 1970—76 and 1979—88 (mainly 1983 onwards). The main material is from the last period, where texts both from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran occur. The total number of pages is here 255. From the first two periods a smaller number of pages has been investigated (60 pages from 1951—65, and 57 pages from 1970—76). The texts from 1979—88 are written by a broad selection of writers who speak different dialects, and the texts from the earlier periods, also by writers from different parts of Balochistan (only Pakistan) are meant to provide reference material, where possible changes over time can be studied. It ought to be noted, however, that most writers active in the 1980’s are speakers of Makrāni, and that even though I have included two texts by some Rakhshāni speakers, there are still more pages written by speakers of Makrāni. I have also intentionally included texts from different periods written by the same author, in order to see whether the writers use the same dialect throughout, or whether they change their written language over time.

It must also be noted that I have refrained from including poetry, whenever it appears in the texts, due to the fact that it can be suspected of containing certain features which are in imitation of classical poetry and which are not found in the rest of the text. In the same way I have not included quotations found in the texts, since they are written by a different author, and therefore often contain different traits than the ones found in the actual text.

The statistics in the texts from 1979—88 are now presented for the different features:

1. /u/ versus /i/

Out of a total of 1299 occurrences of words where this difference appears, 1130 or 87 % contain /u/ and 169 or 13 % contain /i/. It is thus clear that Jaffrey is correct when he states that "written Balochi has taken to . . . retaining the u’s and not changing them into i’s".119

118 Farrell: *Basic Balochi*, 1, p. 28.
2. Active, ergative or mixed construction
Out of a total of 1513 occurrences, 357 or 24 % are active, 1101 or 73 % ergative and 55 or 4 % mixed. The ergative construction is thus the predominant one, and it is not uncommon that speakers of northern Rakhshānī also employ ergative in writing.

3. kurt versus kut
Out of a total of 776 occurrences, 442 or 57 % are kurt and 334 or 43 % kut. The slight predominance of kurt is notable, since it is a feature where the Rakhshānī form is more frequent than the Makrānī one. It is not uncommon to find kurt in texts written by speakers of Makrānī.

4. Past stems in -ht- versus -tk-
Out of a total of 155 occurrences, 54 or 35 % are past stems in -ht- and 101 or 65 % in -tk-. It may be noted that the words rodrāht/rodratk ‘east’ have not been counted, since there are other synonyms of this word, which do not employ the past stem studied here (e.g. roṭikk, roāsān, mašriq).

5. -s versus -t in relationship words
Out of a total of 240 occurrences, 40 or 17 % contain -s and 200 or 83 % contain -t. Also adjectives, e.g. māsi/māti ‘mother-’, have been counted. The predominance of the Makrānī forms are clear.

6. Endings in the first person singular and plural
Out of 221 occurrences in the singular, 63 or 29 % are -in, 156 or 71 % are -än and 2 or 1 % are -ün,120 and out of 132 occurrences in the plural, 36 or 27 % are -an,121 85 or 64 % -en and 11 or 8 % -än.122 On the whole, the endings of the Makrānī dialect are strongly predominant.

7. gis and zahg versus log and ēukk
Out of 105 occurrences, 17 or 16 % are gis and 88 or 84 % are log (+ one uncounted occurrence of the Eastern form log), and out of 69 occurrences,

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120 The forms in -ün occur in “Gapp u trän”, Baloĉe gwānk, 2, and according to Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, p. 25, -ün occurs as the first person singular ending in ‘Lotüni’ (Lāshārī) dialects spoken around Irānshāh.

121 Written e.g. کن, which of course can be read kanin and kanun as well. Forms occurring in texts written by Rakhshānī speakers from Pakistan must no doubt be interpreted as -an, but the 19 occurrences in Baloĉe gwānk, 2, could be -in, (see Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, pp. 21, 25), which would give 17 or 13 % -an and 19 or 14 % -in. Elfenbein reports no plural ending -ün in Western dialects.

122 The -än endings are mainly found in the text “Zir tahār int”. Elfenbein reports no ending -ān in the first person plural.
42 or 61 % are zahg and 27 or 39 % are čukk. Adjectival forms like gisi/logi 'domestic' have been included, as well as nouns like giswaja/logwaja 'husband', but not logi 'wife', since there is no corresponding form *gisi (Rakhshâni uses jinen for 'wife'). Compound words like brâzahg 'paternal nephew/niece' have not been counted since *brâčukk never occurs (Makrâni uses brâzâtk). It is interesting to note that in one case the Makrâni word is predominant and in the other the Rakhshâni one.

8. -w-, -y- or -h- epenthesis

Out of a total of 271 occurrences, 50 or 18 % are -w-, 68 or 25 % are -y- and 153 or 56 % are -h-. Only the declined forms in the plural of the third person pronoun ā 'he, she' have been counted. The -h- forms are the most frequently employed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rakhshâni</th>
<th>Makrâni</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ū/ 87 %</td>
<td>/i/ 13 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. act. 24 %</td>
<td>erg. 73 %</td>
<td>mixed 4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kurt 57 %</td>
<td>kut 43 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. äht 35 %</td>
<td>atk 65 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. mäs 17 %</td>
<td>mät 83 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.a. -in 29 %</td>
<td>-an 71 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -an 27 %</td>
<td>-en 64 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or -an 13 %</td>
<td>-en 64 %</td>
<td>8 % + 14 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.a. gis 16 %</td>
<td>log 84 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. zahg 61 %</td>
<td>čukk 39 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. -w- 18 %</td>
<td>-y- 25 %</td>
<td>-h- 56 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results from 1951—65 are as follows:

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<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ū/ 173, 56 %</td>
<td>/i/ 134, 44 %</td>
<td>307</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ergative: 358, 76 %</td>
<td>active: 98, 21 %</td>
<td>468</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mixed: 12, 3 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kurt: 70, 36 %</td>
<td>kut: 123, 64 %</td>
<td>193</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

123 Southern Rakhshâni form also occurring in certain Makrâni dialects, e.g. in the vernacular of Karachi.
The results from 1970—76 are:

1. /ü/: 284, 85 %  
   /i/: 49, 15 %  
   Total: 333

2. active: 184, 35 %  
   ergative: 342, 65 %  
   Total: 526

3. kurt: 150, 60 %  
   kut: 101, 40 %  
   Total: 251

4. -ht-: 30, 45 %  
   -tk-: 37, 55 %  
   Total: 67

5. -s: 87, 70 %  
   -t: 37, 30 %  
   Total: 124

6.a. -in: 63, 29 %  
   -an: 156, 71 %  
   -än: 6, 23 %  
   Total: 219

6.b. -än: 13, 50 %  
   Total: 26

7.a. gis: 39, 45 %  
   log: 47, 55 %  
   Total: 86

7.b. zahg: 28, 54 %  
   čukk: 24, 46 %  
   Total: 52

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124 āxt (the Eastern form) occurs without apparent reason three times in ‘‘Arz-i hāl’’.

125 In ‘‘Jitâ’î’’. -in is the ending given by Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, p. 23, for ‘‘łečî dialect, Tump and west’’. No -an or -un ending is reported for the first person singular.

126 Once in ‘‘Baločî ilm i u adabe ıbtidâ’, and three times in ‘‘Peśgâl’’, Ĉapgirok. -än is the ending found in Eastern Balochi.

127 Too few occurrences to be a statistically reliable result proving Makrānī predominance. Five of the occurrences of log are found in ‘‘Grand’’.

128 This figure is slightly too high, due to a large number of occurrences of active construction in ‘‘Kismil u garrîho’’.

129 Far too high a figure due to very frequent occurrence of mās, piss and brâs in ‘‘Wänag pa zâlbûlâ’’ and in ‘‘Kismil u garrîho’’.

130 All in ‘‘Sarlawz’, Baloci rasm ul-xatje kanwinnîn.

131 In ‘‘Wänag pa zâlbûlâ’’, ‘‘Hâji murâd’’ and ‘‘Wazîr-i ta’îlîm-i balôcîstân mir gul xân nasîrî guştânî’’.

132 Too few occurrences to provide a statistically reliable result.
In the results from 1979—88 it is the Makræni form that predominaates for all the features, except kurt and zahg, and in the case of /ü/ versus /t/, which crosses the dialect division, the Rakhshâni + northern Makræni form is the most frequent. In the case of /ü/, -t and log this form occurs in more than 80 % of the instances, which must be considered as quite a strong predominance. Also the ergative and the first person singular ending -än account for over 70 % of the occurrences, whereas there is no very strong tendency in the case of kurt/kut, äht/atk, the first person plural ending and čukk/zahg. In the case of the epenthesis, -h- dominates over -w- and -y-, even though it only accounts for altogether 56 % of the occurrences. It must thus be concluded that, although there are certain tendencies towards standardization within written Western Balochi, the language is still far from standardized. As will be seen below, there is a strong inclination among most authors to use basically their own dialect form when writing Balochi.

A comparison of the results from the different periods shows that there is a tendency towards increased standardization. Of the reliable results in the earliest texts, it is only the ergative which accounts for over 70 % of the total occurrences, and in six of the cases the scores for the two main features vary between 40 and 60 % (/ü/-/t/, -ht/-tk-, -s/-t, -än/-en, zuhg/čukk). The texts from 1951—65 are thus characterized by a very low level of standardization.

In the texts from 1970—76, we see a slightly increased level of standardization. Here /ü/ is heavily predominant, as in the most recent texts, and so would the ergative construction have been, had it not been for the many occurrences of active construction in the text “Kismil u garrho”. Also -än (first person singular) is dominant in these and the later texts. It is interesting to note that the Rakhshâni forms kurt and zahg predominate slightly in these texts, as well as in those from the last period.

The results of the investigation for the different dialectal features can be summarized in the following way:

1. Heavy predominance of /ü/ from the 1970’s onwards.
2. Fairly heavy predominance of the ergative construction from the 1950’s onwards.
3. A slight predominance of kut in the earliest texts, and of kurt from the 1970’s onwards. Possible explanations for this are the increased importance of Quetta as a centre for literary activities in the 1960’s and 1970’s (Ulus, the Balochi Academy) and the influence of Gul Khân Naṣîr and Āzår Jāmâlînî.

133 Frequent occurrences of -w- in the texts written in Rakhshâni distort the statistics.
4. A slight but increasing predominance of \(-tk-\) (50\% - 55\% - 65\%).
5. A statistically reliable heavy predominance of \(-t\) in the 1980's.

   b. \(-en\) predominates in the 1980's.
7. \(log\) heavily predominant over \(gis\) and \(zahg\) slightly over \(čukk\) in the 1980's.
8. \(-h-\) is the most frequent form in the earliest and latest texts.

Finally it must once more be stressed that there are two traits in written Western Balochi that stand out in the investigation, namely an increased level of standardization from the 1950's to the 1980's but also a still fairly low level of standardization in the 1980's.

It is also interesting to see whether the writers mainly employ their spoken dialect in writing or if they frequently switch to another dialect or include certain features from another dialect in their written language. Another issue which is noted is that of pure dialect versus dialect mixture. The origin of the authors and the characteristics of the investigated texts are found in Bibliographical Appendix 2.

It is clear that in the texts from 1951—65 the writers very commonly employ their spoken language in writing. In fact, all the writers with Makrānī as their spoken dialect use it also in writing. The dialect they use is a fairly pure Makrānī with only occasional occurrences of Rakhshānī forms. The Rakhshānī speakers also generally write in Rakhshānī and there is a tendency to use the ergative construction, which occurs in southern Rakhshānī and Makrānī, more frequently than the active. Three fairly mixed texts also occur, one by an author on whom I have no further information, and the other two by Gul Khān Naṣīr (Rakhshānī speaker) and Ghawṣ Bakhsh Šābir (who also speaks a fairly mixed dialect). It is interesting to note that two texts by Rakhshānī speakers are written basically in Makrānī, one by 'Abdullāh Jān Jamālīnī and the other by Azāt Jamālīnī. These authors employ Rakhshānī in other texts from the same time. It is possible that they choose the more prestigious dialect Makrānī in "Pešguftār", Mistāg, and "Drustī rāsti", Dāstān-i dosten širen, both of which are introductions to books, whereas they use their own dialect in, for example, the short stories "Leb", Māhtūk balōčī, June 1956, and "Čon kanīn", ibid.

In the texts from 1970—76 we still see that most authors use their native dialect in writing. It is worth noting, though, that here two heavily mixed texts written by Makrānī speakers occur, and that on the whole there is an increased tendency towards dialect mixture. There are only four texts which are written in totally pure dialect, three in Makrānī and one in Rakhshānī. It is also interesting to observe the dialect Gul Khān Naṣīr uses in the "Sarlawz", Balōčī rasm ul-xatte kanwinśin, which is a formal, written, introduction. Here he carries through his ideas of dialect mixture, whereas in the speech "Wazīr-
ta'lim-i baločistān mīr gul xān naṣīre guštān”, ibid., he basically employs his native dialect Rakhshānī.

In the texts from 1979—88 written in Pakistan, we notice several occurrences of pure Makrānī, but no occurrence of pure Rakhshānī. Most frequently, however, the authors write basically in their own dialect, mixing it with certain forms from other dialects. There also occur a certain number of totally mixed texts, mainly written by Rakhshānī speakers. One of the writers of such heavily mixed texts, 'Ātā Shād, has settled outside the area of his native dialect, and, as for 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī, he has lived for several years in Karachi. Rakhshānī-speaking area but he was born in Karachi, and, in fact, he speaks what would be described as a mixed dialect. This is possibly true also of other authors whom I do not know personally. On the whole it is very rare that writers basically employ another dialect than their native one, but it is interesting to note that Wāhid Buzdār, a speaker of Eastern Balochi, who has studied in Quetta, uses pure Makrānī as his written dialect.

The texts from Afghanistan are all, except one, which is written by an author born in Pakistan, written in more or less pure Rakhshānī, the dialect spoken in Afghanistan. The texts from Iran, where the authors are generally unknown, are written in Makrānī and mixed dialect.

It is also worth noting whether writers change their written language over time or not. For several of the authors there are texts from two or three of the periods. Among those who keep their language fairly unchanged 'Āghā Naṣīr Khān (Rakhshānī), Akbar Bārakza‘ī and Qāzī 'Abdul Rahīm Sābir (Makrānī), and Ni'matullāh Gichkī (approaching Rakhshānī) can be mentioned. Among those who have changed the dialect of their written language, we note Ghaws Bakhsh Sābir, who has gradually approximated his written language to Makrānī, Nasīm Dashti, whose text from 1956 is in pure Makrānī and that from 1970 shows a fairly mixed dialect, Ghulām Fārūq, who in 1973 wrote a mixed dialect and in 1986 pure Makrānī, and Gul Khān Naṣīr, who in 1964 wrote in a dialect approaching Rakhshānī, but in 1972 used a written language where he mixed elements from all dialects, even Eastern Balochi. 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī, too, has changed his written language both over time and according to style. Among the texts from 1951—65 one text by him in fairly pure Makrānī and one in fairly pure Rakhshānī appear, and in the texts from 1979—88, three texts, two approaching Rakhshānī and one more mixed, are found.
F. Vocabulary

The Baloch have for centuries lived with Persian as their written language and Arabic as their religious language, and it is therefore but natural that for a long time there have been many loan words from these languages in Balochi. But in the twentieth century the traditional tribal and nomadic lifestyle of the Baloch has been confronted with an urban and technically more advanced lifestyle. This has carried with it a great need for new vocabulary items, to denote new concepts and objects for which there is not as yet any term in Balochi. Therefore many loan words from neighbouring languages have recently been incorporated into Balochi.

When a language needs new vocabulary items, there are three main ways of obtaining them. It is possible to make use of old indigenous words that are becoming obsolete and/or find suitable words used in a certain dialect and employ them in new senses. Totally new words, neologisms, may also be coined, and a third way is to borrow words from other languages.

The method of finding words that already exist in the Balochi language and reusing them, sometimes in new senses, was employed by Sayyid Häshimi, who for many years travelled extensively throughout Balochistan doing research in the field of vocabulary. The result of this research will be published in Sayyid ganj, a dictionary of Balochi, which is now, after several years of compilation of the material that Sayyid Häshimi left uncompleted at his death in 1978, almost ready for publication. One example of how the method of reusing old words in new senses is employed is Sayyid Häshimi’s suggestion to use tin, which traditionally means ‘a round iron plate for baking bread’ to denote ‘record’. The method of using obsolete or dialectal words is also mentioned by Ashraf Sarbäzi, who sees this as an important method of extending the vocabulary, and by Mir 'Āqil Khān Mengal and Qāzī 'Abdul Raḥīm Ṣābir.

To create neologisms for new concepts and things is also a method of acquiring new vocabulary often referred to by the Baloch. Sayyid Häshimi has been one of the most active persons in coining neologisms. He presented a number of them in Balōčī siyāhage rāstnībisag, pp. 140—143, and more will also be presented in Sayyid ganj. The policy of Sayyid Häshimi was in fact to coin new, pure Balochi terms also for loan words that have existed in

134 The compilation work of Sayyid ganj is described by 'Ābid Āskānī in “Sayyid ganj”.
Balochi for a long time and/or have been very well accepted as the term for a certain concept. He thus suggests the neologisms wänagi for kitāb ‘book’, watgus for redyo ‘radio’, nekräh for din or mazhab ‘religion’ and nimdī for xatt or kāgad ‘letter’.137

Another person who was active in the introduction of neologisms was Āzāt Jamāldinī, who, in his articles in Māḥtāk baločī used to introduce neologisms in various fields.138 ‘Ātā Shād and others involved in radio broadcasts in Balochi also created and promoted many neologisms in the late 1950’s and 1960’s. The literary circle of Warnā Wāninda Gāl, Balochi Labzānī Dīwān, was a forum where ‘Ātā Shād, ‘Abdul Ḥakīm, Šūrāt Khān Marrī, Amānūlāh Gīchkī and other Baloch students used to discuss the matter of neologisms. In his interview ‘Ātā Shād tells of the origin of the word kasmāṅk ‘drama’ (often wrongly pronounced kismāṅk). We had coined the word labzāṅk for ‘literature’ by adding -āṅk to labz ‘word’, he said. Now we asked ourselves what to invent for drama. Nobody had any good suggestion, so finally we decided on kasmāṅk since kas nazānt (nobody knows) what word to create for drama.

Since there were many people active in the creation of neologisms, it sometimes happened that two different words were created for the same thing. This has happened, for instance, with ‘ghazal’, which was called gāl by ‘Ātā Shād and dastūṅk by Sayyid Ĥāshimī. Also for ‘university’ there are two neologisms, namely zāntjāḥ, which is used, for instance, by ‘Abdullāh Jān Jamāldinī and mazānšahdarbārjāḥ, invented by Sayyid Ĥāshimī. To avoid such double creation Ismā‘īl Amirī suggests that those who take part in creating neologisms take better counsel with each other.139 This would also make the neologisms more easily accepted, since there would be wider agreement on them from the beginning. The writers are then more likely to use the same neologisms, with the result that they are more easily and more quickly made known to the public.

In the adoption or rejection of neologisms the preference of the users plays an important part, something which also ‘Ātā Shād points out. Some neologisms are instantly adopted as a suitable term, whereas others are just as quickly rejected. Abū Bakr Shanba requests that neologisms be well introduced, e.g. in a special column in periodicals, in order for people to learn what they mean before they are used extensively and without explanation in articles and books.140 At present, when a writer uses a neologism which he

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137 A list of some more of these neologisms is presented in the appended list called Sayyid Ĥāshimī’s Neologisms. For an example of how he reasoned when he created his neologisms, see Text Appendix 2, no. 2.45.


suspects is not commonly known, he often puts a loan word in brackets to explain the term. Extensive use of neologisms with such explanations is met with in Mansur Baloch’s article “May zūbān u labzānk”.

Neologisms can be coined both by derivation and composition as well as by arbitrary creation. Two of the most common derivational suffixes in Balochi are -änk (e.g. in labzānk ‘literature’, kasmānk ‘drama’, ridānk ‘prose’,[141] niwīštānk ‘writing, article’, guştānk ‘saying, speech’) and -ok (e.g. in niwīsok ‘writer’, tarrenok ‘translator’, sarok ‘leader’). Composition is a very frequently employed method for creating neologisms. Common composites are those with -jäh (e.g. zāntjäh ‘university’, bunjāh ‘capital’), -kār (e.g. tākkār ‘journalist’, šingkār ‘publisher’, nādkār ‘writer’, laččakār ‘poet’), -gāl (e.g. pešgāl ‘introduction’, šongāl ‘editorial’), -tāk (e.g. rotāk ‘daily newspaper’, māhtāk ‘monthly periodical’) and -zānt (e.g. zubānzānt ‘linguist’, labzānt ‘literary person’). There are also other composites that try to describe the object or idea they denote, e.g. bālt jihāz ‘(winged) ship’ ‘airplane’, sarwāzir (head minister) ‘prime minister’, kārmastir (work greater) ‘chief’ and xwārikašš ‘oppressed’ (which is probably a translation into Balochi of the Persian word zahmatkaš). As for arbitrary creation, it has not played any important role in the creation of new vocabulary items for Balochi.

As already noted in Chapter Four, there are many loan words in Balochi, both old borrowings, mainly from Persian, Arabic and neighbouring Indian languages, and more recent borrowings from the national and international languages of the different countries where Balochi is spoken. It is concerning these loan words that the main disagreement between the Baloch literary men in the area of vocabulary arises.

Nobody is totally against finding and reusing obsolete words or coining neologisms, but Sayyid Hāshimī and his followers strongly oppose the presence of loan words altogether in Balochi.[142] They hold that all loan words, even those that have been incorporated into the language a long time ago, such as kitāb ‘book’, qalam ‘pen’ and din ‘religion’, ought to be replaced by pure Balochi words. Sayyid Hāshimī has therefore coined a large number of neologisms, all of which presumably will be found in Sayyid ganj, and of which a small selection is found in Sayyid Hāshimī’s Neologisms. But like most other puristic movements, e.g. that of Atatürk (see ch. 2.D), this attempt at replacing well known loan words with unknown ‘pure’ Balochi neologisms, has also met with difficulties.

Among those who agree with Sayyid Hāshimī’s puristic attempts and feel that loan words only complicate the language and make it lose its identity,

[141] Sayyid Hāshimī prefers ram instead of ridānk for ‘prose’.
G. R. Mullâ, 'Abid Āskâni, Yār Muḥammad Yār and Mīr Āḥmad Dīhānī may be mentioned. The same idea is expressed by Munīr Baloch.143

Against the Sayyid Ḩāshimī school, many of the literary men hold it impossible for a language not to be influenced by neighbouring languages. They see this contact as a benefit to the Balochi language. It is true, they recognize, that the minor and less developed languages, such as Balochi, borrow more from, and give less to the larger languages, such as Arabic and Persian, but they do not feel that Balochi is threatened, on the contrary, it is enriched by such borrowings. They also hold that too many neologisms, the meaning of which is not widely known, will ruin the language and make it impossible to understand, except for those few people who have coined and/or learned all the new words. Criticism is often also raised against the actual terms chosen by Sayyid Ḩāshimi, especially against words like gwâṅko ‘telephone’, watguš ‘radio’, gindguš ‘television’ and trundâb ‘wine’.

Among those who raise such arguments are 'Āṭā Shād, Ni’matullâh Gichkî, Mîr Mîthâ Khan Marri, 'Abdullâh Jân Jamâldînî, Lâl Bakhsh Rind, Qâzî 'Abdul Rahîm Şâbir, who praises Sayyid Ḩâshimi’s strivings for Balochi, but feels that he went too far in the area of neologisms, Ghûlâm Muḥammad Nûredi, Yûsuf Naskantî, Raḥîm Bakhsh Āzât, who feels that a language which is not allowed to borrow words will soon die of suffocation, Ghanî Parwâz, 'Abdul Ḥâkîm, Muḥammad Beg Baloch,144 Ashraf Sarbâzî,145 Gul Khân Nasîr146 and Tâj Muḥammad Baloch.147 Zafar 'Ālî Zafar also states that in previous years he was against loan words, but that he has now changed his mind. After working on translating news bulletins into Balochi, he now recognizes that the language cannot do without a certain number of loan words especially in the area of scientific and technical terminology. He means that, since Sayyid Ḩâshimi’s writings are mainly his own ideas, it is possible for him to do without loan words, whereas this is not possible when one wants to deal with political and scientific subjects. Ghûlâm Fârûq is also in favour of borrowing, especially scientific vocabulary.

If the Balochi language is to borrow words, there is also the question from what language or languages it ought to borrow. Sayyid Ḩâshimi feels that if there is an urgent need for a word in Balochi, for which no suitable neologism yet has been coined, one can for the time being borrow from Persian, since Persian and Balochi are sister languages.148 This is an opinion also expressed

143 In ‘‘Sarpadîn zubân’’, pp. 3—4.
144 In ‘‘Balocî likwar 3’’, pp. 25—27.
145 In ‘‘Balocî zubâne bârawâ 2’’, pp. 13—14, 6.
146 In Grand, pp. 21—22.
147 In ‘‘Mas’âla-yi kitâbat-i balocî’’.
148 In Balocî siyâhage râstnibîsag, p. 24.
by G. R. Mullā. 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī prefers Balochi mainly to borrow from Urdu, Persian and Arabic in order to keep its trait as an 'eastern' language and remain close to its neighbouring languages. Gul Khān Naṣīr mentions Brahui as a particularly suitable language to incorporate loan words from, due to its geographical closeness to Balochi. It must, however, be assumed that Brahui also lacks many of the words Balochi needs to borrow. 'Abdul Qayyūm and Raḥīm Bakhsh Āzāt feel that Balochi should be free to borrow from any language that can offer a suitable word, and Ghulām Fārūq points out that for technical and scientific words this often means borrowing from English.

At the same time as there are many voices raised for allowing and accepting loan words, there is general agreement that if a Balochi word exists, it should of course be used rather than a foreign word.

There is thus a fairly strong opinion for keeping the loan words that have been incorporated into Balochi as well as adding new ones whenever a loan word is felt to meet the need of a new vocabulary item better than a neologism or an old word reused in a new sense. Many of Sayyid Hāshimī's neologisms are criticized, but several of them as well as of those created by others have been adopted. It is, however, unlikely that the purist movement will be successful in ridding Balochi of all, or even most of the loan words it has made part of its own vocabulary.

G. Conclusions

The issue of creating a standard literary language is, of course, a very sensitive one, especially in view of the fact that a certain dialect or certain forms from different dialects must be selected as the ones to be used in the written language, while other forms must be ruled out. Such decisions are likely to encounter opposition from those who use the eliminated forms in their spoken language. They might even be turned off by the prescribed standard language and avoid using it in reading and writing. This is an especially important problem when there is no compulsion to study the language, as is the case with Balochi, and it must be regarded as one of the main reasons why there is such a reluctance among the Baloch to prescribe what dialect or dialect forms ought to be used in the written language.

149 In "Baločī lawzānk—nokēn lawzānī kārmārī kanag".
150 In Grand, p. 21.
151 In "Likware bäbatā yakk nimdie", p. 13.
152 See e.g. Muhammad Beg Baloch: "Baločī likwar 3", p. 25.
In view of the fact that the speakers of Balochi are divided between several countries and that the language does not enjoy any substantial official support in any of these countries, it is also very hard to enforce a certain dialect or certain forms from different dialects as the standard norm for the written language throughout the whole Balochi-speaking area.

Any attempts at deciding on a dialect basis for the written language and implementing it in a larger area will probably have to be carried out from Pakistan, since that is where most speakers of Balochi are found and where all the major dialects are represented. It was in that country that the literary movement in Balochi started in the 1950's and almost all the existing books in Balochi have been published there. It is also in Pakistan that plans are being made to introduce Balochi as a subject in primary schools in the Province of Balochistan and where Balochi is already taught in higher levels of education. There is an official Balochi Academy in Quetta, and the Government of Pakistan also publishes a magazine, Ulus, in Balochi. It is true that certain provisions have been made for minority languages such as Balochi in Afghanistan. Due to the very limited number of Baloch in that country, and also because of the very unstable political situation there, the decision to adopt Rakhsâni as the dialect on which to base the standard literary Balochi language in Afghanistan is, however, unlikely to influence the literature produced outside that country.

The very limited use of Eastern Balochi in writing makes it hard to imagine that any dialect within this group would be selected to constitute the basis for a standard literary language. Concerning Western Balochi, it was noticed in the investigation of this dialect group as a literary medium that most Baloch writers write basically in their own dialect, but that there is an increasing tendency to mix it up with a certain amount of elements from other dialects. It is therefore likely that, whatever standard literary language is going to develop for Balochi, it will contain some dialect mixture, possibly with Makrânî as its basis, since Makrânî is the dialect that at present is proving stronger than Rakhsâni. There are hardly any texts in pure Rakhsâni written in Pakistan, but several in pure Makrânî. This means that speakers of Rakhsâni are generally more inclined to mix elements of Makrânî into their written language than the opposite. One of the reasons for this is, of course, the greater prestige of Makrânî due to it being used in the classical poetry. There are also more writers active whose native dialect is Makrânî than there are writers who speak Rakhsâni.

Any attempt at developing a script that hides the phonological differences between Eastern and Western Balochi, is unlikely to be successful. Such an orthography would, as already pointed out by Muhammad Husayn 'Anqâ and Barker and Mengal, create more problems than it solves. The phonetic differences between the dialects are too extensive and complicated to be over-
come by the invention of common letters, and there are no straightforward sound correspondences in Balochi of the kind encountered in Pashto.

It thus seems likely that the phonological system of one specific dialect must be chosen as the basis for the standard literary language. The same applies to grammar, whereas in the area of vocabulary one could aim for as much mixture as possible. Even if one dialect is chosen as the basis for the standard language it will, in fact, probably adopt a certain amount of features from other dialects as well. It is, however, generally not recommended to adopt the policy of maximal dialect mixture when trying to create a standard literary language (see ch. 2.A).

In the long run, if the predominance of Makrānī continues, it is not unlikely that the standard literary language will be a dialect approaching Makrānī, but with certain phonological and grammatical elements from other dialects (mainly Rakhshānī) incorporated as well. As for lexical items, the standard language might well incorporate elements from all the different dialects of Balochi. The similarities between Makrānī and Eastern Balochi might also make Easterners more ready to accept a standard literary language based on Makrānī than one based on Rakhshānī.

As for vocabulary, the strivings to keep Balochi as free from loan words as possible will probably continue. It may be assumed that creation of neologisms will continue, even if the most acute need for new vocabulary has probably been met by now. It is, however, rather unlikely that it will be possible to purge Balochi of all its loan words, especially those loan words which have been so well incorporated into Balochi that hardly anyone recognizes their origin, and which have been present in the language for a long time. Such loan words will probably, just as in Turkish (see ch. 2.D), be hard, if not totally impossible, to replace with pure Balochi words.

The standardization process will no doubt be speeded up considerably if Balochi can be successfully introduced in the educational system. Certain 'standard literary forms' can then be decided on and taught in the schools. If such an agreement could be reached and certain 'standard forms' would be taught in the planned primary education in Balochi, the written language would probably reach at least a certain degree of standardization fairly quickly. Whatever dialect forms are chosen as the 'standard' ones, they will still be easier for the children to learn than the totally different language, Urdu, which all the Baloch school-children in Pakistan have to learn and master. The success or failure of such 'standard forms', of course, also depends on whether the various writers of Balochi are prepared to employ these forms. Official promotion of a standard literary language has been successful for Tajik and a large number of other minority languages in the Soviet Union, where deliberate planning for half a century has achieved what may have taken several centuries to accomplish by natural development.
But the creation of a standard literary language is a politically very sensitive issue, especially if it goes hand in hand with political demands, such as independence or autonomy, which has frequently been the case in Balochistan. It is therefore very uncertain whether the central governments, especially those of Pakistan and Iran, will be ready to take measures that serve to promote the standardization of written Balochi. As for Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, very small minorities of Baloch live there, and it is therefore unlikely that either of these countries could play a leading part in the development and promotion of standard literary Balochi.

153 See e.g. Harrison: *In Afghanistan's Shadow*, ch. 3, pp. 21–40, where the Baloch independence struggle in Pakistan is described.
A. Pre-Independence orthographies

In the books written in Balochi during the colonial period both Roman and Arabic script are encountered. The Arabic script was invariably used by indigenous authors, and it was also recognized by, for example, Dames and Grierson as the only script employed by the Baloch for writing their own language. The Arabic script was also used, in addition to the Roman, in translations of the Bible made in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Arabic script was, furthermore, invariably used in Islamic religious books written during this period. As for Roman, it was used by some of the Englishmen who wrote grammar books and edited texts of Balochi, more as a transcription meant for the Europeans who wanted to learn the language. Other Englishmen used the Arabic script or gave samples of it. Reference to these pre-Independence scripts and orthographies are occasionally made in the present day debate, but they have had no major influence on the development of Balochi as a written language in the post-Independence era.

In the texts using Arabic script the whole Arabic alphabet is generally used, thus keeping the original spelling of Arabic loan words, but examples of balochified spelling of loan words are also found. In some texts short vowels are frequently marked (e.g. Marston [2.4], Bibles [2.8]), and in the text representing the Durkhānī school [2.7] there is full vowel representation by means of diacritic symbols. The retroflex phonemes /t/, /q/ and /r/ are sometimes written in Pashto style; ꞇ, ꞉, ꞊ (Codex Oriental Additional 24048 [2.1], Durkhānī [2.7]), sometimes as in Urdu; ꞌ, Ꞓ, ꞓ (LSI [2.5, 2.6], Bibles [2.8]). In Oriental 2921 [2.2] Ꞓ is found both for /t/ and /d/, and Marston uses the symbols Ꞓ, ꞔ and ꞕ, which were also formerly used for the same phonemes in Sindhi. There is no Ꞓ (nūn gunna) in the texts and no differentiation of /i/ and /e/ by means of Ꞓ and ꞔ. In the texts where ꞔ is used, it is used interchangeably with Ꞓ both for /i/ and /e/. In Oriental 2921 there is, fur-

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1 References to text samples in Text Appendix 2 are given in square brackets, e.g. [2.1].
3 Trumpp: Grammar of the Sindhi Language, p. 7.
thermore, no ص symbol is written both for /k/ and /g/. In the texts written in Eastern Balochi [2.6, 2.8] ۸, ۷, ۷, ۷ and ۸ are used to represent the Eastern phonemes /θ/, /ð/, /ʃ/, /χ/ and /g/, and ۷ is used to indicate aspiration.

In all these texts the accusative/dative/oblique singular ending -ā is invariably written ۸, whereas the way of representing the genitive singular ending varies in the different texts. It is sometimes written ۷/۷/, sometimes ۷, sometimes ۷, and sometimes not at all. This has, of course, to do with the pronunciation of the genitive, which varies between -ay, -e, -a and zero. It is interesting to note that ۷ is used for in 'he is' in the Durkhānī text [2.7].

The Roman script [see samples 2.3, 2.5, 2.6, 2.8] attempts full vowel representation, even if this is sometimes poorly realized in practice. Nasalization of vowels is also marked. The retroflex phonemes in these samples are written т, д and r, and the digraphs ch, sh and zh are used to symbolize /č/, /š/ and /ž/. For the Eastern phonemes /θ/, /ð/, /ʃ/, /χ/ and /g/, Dames [2.3] and the Bibles [2.8] use th, dh, f, kh and gh, whereas LSI [2.6] writes these phonemes θ, δ, f, χ and γ. The letter h (Dames, Bibles) or the symbol ٠ (LSI) indicates aspiration. The Arabic letter ج is generally symbolized by q, and occasionally ۷ is symbolized by ۷, but otherwise no attempts to keep Arabic spellings have been found.

B. Styles in modern Balochi orthography

1. Western Balochi

i. The earliest development

The development of Balochi as a written language in the post-Independence era, with its different styles of orthography, had in fact already started during the last decades of the colonial period. One of the forerunners in this development was Muhammad Husayn 'Anqā, who as early as 1929 wrote one of his first poems in Balochi. In the 1930's he was on the editorial board of several newspapers published in Karachi. These were among others Al-baloč, Balocistān, Balocistān-i jadid, Yang (Young) baloč and Ittihād-i baloč, all in Urdu, but where 'Anqā occasionally also published poems in Balochi. According to 'Inayatullah Baloch one such poem was published in Balocistān on the 24th of October 1937. Akbar Bārakza'i also writes that Muhammad Husayn

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'Anqā regularly published poems in Balochi in the weekly *Bolān*, edited from Mach in the late 1940's.7

Unfortunately no complete files of these newspapers have been kept, and in the occasional issues I was able to find, mainly from 1933—34, nothing was written in Balochi. I have therefore not been able to investigate the orthography of these earliest modern attempts at writing Balochi, but Josef Elfenbein informs me that the orthography Muhammad Husayn 'Anqā used for Balochi is a "makeshift at using Urdu conventions for Bal [Balochi C. J."].8 On the other hand Akbar Bārakza‘ī writes that Muhammad Husayn 'Anqā, together with Molwi 'Abdul Šamad Sarbāzī, is responsible for introducing the hamzas in the modern orthography.9

Another of the forerunners in the early development of Balochi as a literary language and the author of the first book published in Balochi in the post-Independence era, Gul Khān Našrī, was awakened to the idea of writing in Balochi at a political gathering in Peshawar shortly before the Independence of Pakistan. At this gathering most of the speeches that were held and poems that were recited were in Pashto. On hearing this, Gul Khān Našrī, already a poet in Urdu, asked himself why he did not compose in his mother tongue, and after the gathering he returned home and wrote his first poem in Balochi.10

The very earliest samples of post-Independence literature available to me are the first issue of *Omān* (Feb. 1951), and the books *Gulbāng* (1952) by Gul Khān Našrī, *Masten tawār* (1953) by Azāt Jamāldini and *Bahā‘ī dīn* (1954) by Sayyīd Ḥāshimī.

The orthography used in the first issue of *Omān* [2.9] is the Arabic script, with basically the same orthographic conventions as those found in Urdu. In the two books *Gulbāng* [2.10] and *Masten tawār* the orthography is somewhat different from that of *Omān*. Now the morphophonemic symbols, which later are to abound in Balochi orthography, and be a very much debated issue, are introduced. With morphophonemic symbols I here mean the attempt at inventing new symbols for various declensional and conjugational suffixes, and, on the whole, strivings to symbolize different, but homonymous, morphemes with different orthographic symbols. The morphophonemic symbols found here are ť for -ā (the acc./dat./obl. singular ending) on nouns and infinitives, on words of other classes mainly ť, ť for -en (attributive ending on adjectives)11 and ť for -e (the genitive singular ending). Arabic spellings are mostly kept unchanged in these two books.

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10 *Biyā o baloč*, published in *Gulbāng*, pp. 43—50.
11 Also found in ťgwāzen 'spend', imperative of a causative verb, *Gulbāng*, p. 18, l. 4.
We encounter a different style of orthography in Bahāʼī din [2.11], written by Sayyid Hāshimi. He uses ɣ for the same suffix as in the previous books, not only on nouns and infinitives, but also on pronouns, postpositions and adverbs. ɣ is used for the genitive and ɣ for u 'and'. Furthermore Sayyid Hāshimi rewrites most of the Arabic loan words without the Arabic letters, in accordance with the theory he later presents in Baloci siyāhage rāst-nibisag.12

On the 22nd of July 1955 a gathering of a few literary men was held in Magasi House, Karachi. At this meeting, where among others Muhammad Husayn 'Anqä, Gul Khān Naṣīr, Sayyid Hāshimi and Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī were present, a few decisions concerning the morphophonemic symbols were taken. ɣ was to be used for the genitive, ɣ was to be used on nouns13 for the acc./dat./obl. and ɣ was to be abolished for the attributive ending on adjectives, which were to be written ین, e.g. ین suhre 'red'.14

This meeting is often referred to in the orthography debate, especially when the morphophonemic symbols are discussed.

ii. The Āzāt Jamāldinī system

When the publication of Māḥtāk baloci started in 1956, Āzāt Jamāldinī tried to use a consistent orthography throughout the journal. According to his brother, 'Abdulläh Jān Jamāldinī, Āzāt Jamāldinī used to rewrite all the articles in Māḥtāk baloci according to his orthographic system [2.12]. Some of its characteristics are that it keeps the Arabic letters, and that it uses ɣ for the acc./dat./obl. ending on nouns and generally also on infinitives and pronouns, but mainly ɣ on postpositions and adverbs, ɣ for the genitive, ɣ for the indefinite -e, for the verbal ending in the second person singular and for the enclitic pronoun in the third person singular and ɣ for u 'and'. In the early issues of Māḥtāk baloci the words ant and at are often written ین and ین, but this was later given up. Vowel + ɣ is frequently employed to indicate a nasalized vowel, and the infinitives are written without a hamza. Verbal endings are mainly written joined to the stem, especially in the present and past tenses, but the verbal prefixes are written both joined to and separate from the stem.

It must be noted, however, that the rules of this system have never been put into print the way those of the systems described below have been. It is therefore not totally fixed, and certain variations within the general system, as it is described here, frequently occur. An orthography approaching the Āzāt Jamāldinī system is also employed in Barker and Mengal: A Course in Baluchi, vol. II.

12 Sayyid Hashimi: Baloci siyāhage rāst-nibisag, e.g. p. 19.
13 The word ism is used in the Balochi text.
iii. The Sayyid Häshimî system

The Sayyid Häshimî system [2.13] is so far the most fixed orthographic system that has been presented for Balochi. It is characterized by balochification of all Arabic loan words, and a written language based on the phonemic pattern of the Makränkî dialect, which means a total absence of the letters ث, خ, ع, ط, ض, ص, ذ, ح, ف, غ, د, س, ق, except in Arabic proper names, the original spelling of which is left unchanged (ch. 2).

It also presents a complicated system of morphophonemic symbols, where, in addition to the š (genitive) (ch. 11) and š (acc./dat./obl.), which in this system is employed on words of all classes (ch. 10), š is used for u 'and' (ch. 13), š for wa 'emphatic particle' (ch. 14), and š for o 'oh' (ch. 16). The different morphemes pronounced -e are all written differently. In addition to the š (genitive), Sayyid Häshimî proposes š for the indefinite -e marde 'a man'/ š warña 'a young person' (ch. 17), š for the demonstrative adjective š mard 'this man' (ch. 19), š for the second person singular verbal ending š taw rawe 'you go' (ch. 26) and š for the third person singular enclitic pronoun š dagäre kist 'he planted the field' (ch. 18). The latter morpheme is pronounced -i in some dialects, but Sayyid Häshimî rules out the spelling š since it is already employed for the -i of relation š mātī zubûn 'mother tongue' (ch. 18 and 22). š is, furthermore, proposed as the correct way of writing š 'oh' (ch. 20). This system of morphophonemic symbols is so constructed that suffixes with different grammatical function are never to be written the same way, even if they are pronounced identically.

š and š are given as the correct spellings of the attributive adjective ending -en and the plural ending -ān, and š of the genitive plural ending -āni (ch. 21 and 23). The verbal endings in the second and third person should be written separate from the stem in all tenses, e.g. š känān 'they do' š šutant 'they went', whereas the first person endings are joined to the stem, e.g. š känāg 'I do' š šutān 'I went' (ch. 26). The 'correct' way is also to write š bi-, š na- and š ma- separate from the verb (ch. 50).

The lack of full vowel representation in the Arabic script is also treated, and it is suggested that š be used to mark the absence of a vowel between two consonants (šškūn, or ššt as Sayyid Häshimî calls it) e.g. ššgwar 'side' (ch. 5), and that škas (kasra or zer) šš (fatha or zabar) and šš (zamma or pes) also be employed to denote intended pronunciation (ch. 29). The use of hamza to denote /a/ in infinitives is ruled out and ridiculed. Infinitives are thus to be written without a hamza, e.g. šškänag 'to do' (ch. 30), but on the other hand the hamza is to be employed in šškā'i 'whose', ššti ta'i 'your' sg., ššsumay 'your' pl. and ššmay 'our' (ch. 32).

15 In Sayyid Häshimî: Balocî siyâhâge rāstnībīsag.
16 The pronunciation of these morphemes varies slightly in different dialects.
iv. Orthographic uses in Gul Khan Na`ir’s writings

The highly appreciated Balochi poet, Mir Gul Khan Na`ir, who published five books of poetry between 1952 and 1971, varied his orthography in all of them, adopting some features from the orthographic systems in current use and also making some inventions of his own. The orthography of the first book Gulbang [2.10] has already been described.

In Sapgirok [2.14], Da`stän-i dosten širen [2.15] and Hammal-i ji’and [2.16], Gul Khan Na`ir mainly adopts Sayyid Häshimi’s suggestion of balochifying the spelling of Arabic loan words (with certain exceptions in Da`stän-i dosten širen), but he follows Äzät Jamaldini in writing the verbal endings joined to the stem. ّ is used for the genitive, ّ for the acc./dat./obl. on words of all classes (occasionally on postpositions and infinitives, especially in Hammal-i jı’and), and َّ for u ‘and’ (occasionally ٌ in Hammal-i jı’and). In Da`stän-i dosten širen and Hammal-i ji’and there is a fairly strong tendency to use a hamza both to denote /a/ and in hiatus. ant and at are written ّت and ّط in Hammal-i ji’and.

In his last book, Grand [2.17], Gul Khan Na`ir presents and employs his own orthographic system.17 He now goes back to using Arabic letters again, since he feels that many are dissatisfied with the policy of balochifying the spelling of Arabic loan words. Instead of خ, however, he chooses to write ك, and for خ he writes ك, since, according to him, that is the way these letters are pronounced in some parts of Balochistan. Furthermore, Gul Khan Na`ir tries to accomplish a fuller representation of short vowels by employing the hamza for /a/ in infinitives جنگ َّاج ‘to hit’, to be distinguished from جنگ jang ‘war’, and َّ for /i/ in كنیت ُکنیت ‘you (pl.) do’ to be distinguished from كنیت kant ‘he does’. ّ, َّ, َّ, ّ, و and ٌ are used like in Hammal-i jı’and, int ‘he is’ is mainly written ٌ and ant ‘they are’ ّت and verbal endings are written joined to the stem.

v. Religious style

Although not an orthographic system the way the orthography of Sayyid Häshimi and to a lesser degree also that of Äzät Jamaldini are, there is another orthographic tradition which also deserves being mentioned, namely that which tries to approximate the Balochi orthography as closely as possible to Arabic [2.18]. This school of thought is represented by the religious classes, among others by Molwi Khayr Muhammad Nadwi, editor of Sawgät, and Qäzî Abdul Rahîm Säbir, editor of Sadâ’e baloc.

In its morphophonemic symbols, this style usually approaches the Äzät Jamaldini system, but varieties and different spellings of the same morpheme

17 Grand, pp. 23—24.
frequently occur. The characteristic trait of this style is its attitude towards the Arabic letters. The Azat Jamaldini system keeps Arabic spellings for practical considerations, mainly because they are kept in Urdu and Persian, and the Baloch are educated in these languages, whereas the representatives of this style give a religious significance to the spelling of Arabic loan words, and claim a kind of sacredness for the original spelling, which therefore must be kept.

vi. The 'Abdul Qayyüm system

Another orthographic system, which was officially presented in Zamâna baloci in the early 1980's by its editor Häjl 'Abdul Qayyüm, is built on the same principles of morphophonemic symbols as the Sayyid Häshimi system [2.19]. It is actually in the spelling of the different morphemes -e that 'Abdul Qayyum makes his main innovations, or rather changes the Sayyid Häshimi system around somewhat.

He prefers to write the genitive singular ending ñ, since its phonetic value is /e/ rather than /i/, and he also writes the second person singular ending ñ. This system does not therefore separate all the morphemes in writing as strictly as the Sayyid Häshimi system does. ç is suggested as the symbol for the enclitic pronoun in the third person singular, e.g. ç gwaštå 'he said'. As for the demonstrative adjective and the indefinite suffix, 'Abdul Qayyum follows the Sayyid Häshimi convention of writing them ç and ç, but nothing is said about the way of writing the indefinite suffix after vowels. For the acc./dat./obl. -ä 'Abdul Qayyüm wants to keep the symbol ç only on nouns, and on pronouns, postpositions, infinite verbal forms and adverbs he prefers 1. The symbol ç for u 'and' is used without comments.

Another idea of 'Abdul Qayyüm's is that of fuller vowel representation. He presents a suggestion where ç stands for /o/ e.g. ñod 'cloud', ç for /aw/ e.g. ñawr 'rain' and ç for /u/ e.g. ç sûr 'wedding'. ç and ç stand for /e/ e.g. ç hel 'learning' and ç hame 'this very', and ç for /i/ e.g. ç sûr 'milk' and ç dôsi 'last night' and ç and ç for /ay/ e.g. ç kät 'he comes' and ç say 'three'. /a/ is thus sometimes to be represented with a hamza, as is the case with the infinitives, which 'Abdul Qayyum prefers to write e.g. çanag 'to hit' as distinct from çanag jang 'war'. In practice çanag is written. I have not found any practical example of the other suggestions for fuller vowel representation. 'Abdul Qayyum fur-

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20 "Sayyid u baloci nibistae rähband", pp. 7—11.
thermore suggests that *int 'he is' be written انت and *ant 'they are' انت.

As for the way of writing verbal endings, 'Abdul Qayyüm suggests that they be written joined to the stem, at least in the present tense. In actual texts, however, both ways of writing the verbal endings occur, which is also true of the way of writing the verbal prefixes. Vowel + ظ is frequently used to denote nasalized vowels without being commented on. When it comes to the orthography of Arabic loan words 'Abdul Qayyüm prefers to balochify the spelling as much as possible, but in practice he actually employs Arabic spellings fairly frequently.

This orthographic system was mainly employed by 'Abdul Qayyüm himself in the editorials of *Zamâna baloči in the early 1980’s. It did not win major support, and must be regarded as a very limited phenomenon in the orthographic debate.

vii. The Akbar Báarakza’i system

The future will show whether the most recently presented orthographic system is going to be as marginal a venture as the 'Abdul Qayyüm system, or whether it will attract followers and present an alternative to the systems employed at present. This new system is presented by Akbar Báarakza’i on pp. 61—64 in his book of poems *Ročä kay kušt kant (published in 1988) [2.20]. He claims that his orthography, even though it is new, is in fact the oldest one, since it is the one predominant in the texts from the pre-Independence era.

What Akbar Báarakza’i objects to in the orthographies employed at present is the use of the symbols ظ, ظ and ظ. He wants to rid Balochi of these symbols altogether, and he adopts the symbol ظ for the genitive, ظ for the acc./dat./obl. and ظ for *u ‘and’. He feels however that the genitive could equally well be written ظ, which is identical with the suggestion he makes for the indefinite suffix, since context generally makes it clear which one is the intended morpheme. But in order to keep the two morphemes distinguished in writing, he chooses for the time being to write the genitive ظ and the indefinite suffix ظ/ظ. The second person singular verbal ending is written ظ and the third person enclitic pronoun is ظ/ظ. On the whole these suggestions can be seen as an attempt at eliminating both the symbols ظ, ظ and ظ, and also the complicated system of morphophonemic symbols found in the Sayyid Häshimi system. But the suggestion also proves that the idea of morphophonemic symbols has sunk very deep into the mind of the Baloch writers.

22 "*Sayyid u baloči nibistae rähband", p. 6.
24 After vowels written e.g. سعیریا ‘the art of poetry’ (p. 110, l. 19) عامیا gamiyā ‘sorrow’ (p. 122, l. 16) and دنیاها dunyâhâ ‘the world’ (p. 150, l. 2).
On the issue of the Arabic letters Akbar Bārakza’ī makes no statement, but he mainly keeps them in the actual texts, and in a private letter to me he also gives his opinion that the original spelling of the Arabic loan words must be retained in Balochi.25 The verbal endings are sometimes written joined to the stem, sometimes separately, and so are the verbal prefixes. Vowel + ū is employed to symbolize a nasalized vowel, and infinitives are written without a hamza.

There are a certain number of literary people who support this new orthographic suggestion, most of whom are active in the Āzāt Jamāldīnī Academy. Rahim Bakhsh Āzāt is in fact trying very hard to promote this orthography in Pakistan, since he feels that it will make it much easier for people literate in other languages, where the ū, ŋ and ŋ symbols are not found, to read Balochi, and thus hopefully make more Baloch interested in reading their own language. It will also simplify writing if the number of morphophonemic spellings is decreased, he feels. He is planning for the Āzāt Jamāldīnī Academy to reprint Āzāt Jamāldīnī’s book Masten tawär in this new orthography, and also to publish one book by Akbar Bārakza’ī and another one by ’Abdul Samad Amīrī, both presenting an orthography without the ū, ŋ and ŋ symbols.

viii. Orthography employed in Afghanistan

The orthographic system predominant in the material published in Afghanistan26 [2.21] is similar to the Akbar Bārakza’ī system insomuch that it does not use the symbols ū, ŋ and ŋ. In fact it employs no morphophonemic symbols at all. Furthermore, it sometimes keeps the Arabic spellings, sometimes not. In accordance with the Pashto orthography, it writes the retroflex phonemes *w, a and w. It also does not employ Ǻ and Ǿ. Verbal endings are written joined to the stem, and so are the verbal prefixes. Infinitives are written without a hamza.

In an official decision on Balochi orthography made by the Department of the Balochi Language and Literature at the Academy of Sciences, Kabul, it was decided that written Balochi in Afghanistan should be based on Rakhshānī. Attempts at a fuller vowel representation, similar to that encountered in Pashto are also being made. /i/ and /e/ are distinguished by means of dots, ی/ for /i/, and ی/ for /e/ as in Pashto. ğ is also suggested for ay, š for aw and ۦ for wa, but no attempt has been made to differentiate between /û/ and /o/ in writing.

26 Found in Sob, in Sol u sāsiylizme mas’ala, and in all books available to me except Hafiz Hasanābādī: Hošām.
As for the spelling of Arabic loan words, it was decided that some loan words, whose pronunciation is balochified, should be written the way they are pronounced, but that other loan words ought to keep their original spelling, especially since this spelling is kept in Dari and Pashto, and since it would only confuse the children if they had to learn two spellings of the same word. Since no mention is made of the symbols ـ، ـ and ـ or other morphophonemic symbols, it must be assumed that these are not to be found in the official orthography for Balochi in Afghanistan.

It is not stated when these decisions were made, but a handwritten report on the decisions was given to me by 'Abdullâh Jân Jamâldînî in October 1988. There are no text samples available to me where this 'official' orthography is employed, but the reason for this might well be that it was so recently decided on that it has not yet been implemented.

ix. Orthographic systems in Iran

In the very few publications in Balochi from Iran that I have been able to obtain, namely Makkurân, Balóčë gwânk, 2, and Muḥammad Zarriṅnîgâr: Dastür-i taštîq-i-yi zabân-i balûčî bâ pârsî (basically written in Persian), different orthographic styles are employed. In the periodicals the system is influenced by the orthographic systems in use in Pakistan, using ـ، ـ and ـ (Makkurân) or ـ (Balóčë gwânk, 2), whereas Muḥammad Zarriṅnîgâr uses a more traditional orthography, without the ـ، ـ and ـ symbols. Arabic loan words are sometimes balochified, but often the original spelling is left unchanged. Since there are no letters ـ and ـ on the Persian typewriter, they do not occur in the texts from Iran [2.22].

2. Eastern Balochi

Eastern Balochi is, as already noted, far less frequently employed as a literary medium than Western Balochi. When it is, it generally follows the main orthographic conventions of Western Balochi, most frequently those of the Āzât Jamâldînî system. The letters ـ، ـ، ـ، ـ and ـ are in Eastern Balochi, in addition to their normal use in Arabic/Persian loan words, also employed to symbolize the phonemes /θ/، /ð/، /f/، /x/ and /g/، and ـ is used to indicate aspiration [2.23].

In some texts, mainly from the late 1960’s and 1970’s, the two letters ـ and ـ (or ـ) are employed for /θ/ and /ð/ [2.24, 2.25]. The two letters ـ and ـ

and ŋ are also found in the Sindhi script, where they represent the aspirated plosives /tʰ/ and /dʰ/.

A slightly different system of writing Eastern Balochi is suggested by Sher Muhammad Marri in *Baločī kuhnūn šāhīrī*, pp. 15—18. He establishes the retroflex nasal /n/ as a phoneme in Eastern Balochi, and uses the symbol ᵃ to represent it. This means that ᵃ cannot be used to denote /t/ since the initial and medial forms of these two letters are identical. Therefore ᵃ is used for /t/, just as in Sindhi. ᵃ and ŋ are used to represent /ɵ/ and /ð/. Even among the Baloch *Baločī kuhnūn šāhīrī* is recognized as very difficult to understand, but an attempt has been made at transcribing and translating a sample of this orthography, which, as far as I know, has not been used elsewhere [2.26].

3. A common script for Eastern and Western Balochi

The idea of developing a ‘common letter’ for those sounds where regular sound changes between Eastern and Western Balochi occur has already been referred to in chapter 5.C.2. Such a suggestion was made by 'Abdul Qayyum in 1967, when he devised the two letters ᵃ and ᵃ, to exist in the Balochi alphabet in addition to ᵃ, ᵃ, ᵃ, and ᵃ. ᵃ is chosen as a common letter for ᵃ and ᵃ, and ᵃ for ᵃ and ᵃ. ²⁸

A suggestion covering all the phonemes where regular correspondences between Western and Eastern Balochi exist was made by the Balochi Academy Quetta. A committee started working on the issue in February 1968, and it later published an undated report, usually referred to among the Baloch as the ‘Pamphlet’, probably due to its size (five pages A5). Here four new letters have been invented, ᵃ for ᵃ /g/ and ᵃ /g/, ᵃ for ᵃ /k/ and ᵃ /x/, ᵃ for ᵃ /t/ and ᵃ /ð/ and ᵃ for ᵃ /d/ and ᵃ /ð/. For the other sound correspondences one of the two letters is chosen. ᵃ is chosen out of ᵃ /p/ and ᵃ /f/ and ᵃ /t/ and ᵃ /j/ (the letters representing the pronunciation in Western Balochi). Out of ᵃ /s/ and ᵃ /ʃ/ is chosen, and out of ᵃ /j/ and ᵃ (the letters representing the pronunciation in Eastern Balochi).

One of the working committees at the Convention of Balochi Orthography in Quetta 1972 (see below) also made a proposal concerning ‘common letters’. It suggested ᵃ for ᵃ and ᵃ, ᵃ for ᵃ and ᵃ, ᵃ for ᵃ and ᵃ, and ᵃ for ᵃ and ᵃ. ²⁹

In practice, however, nothing has come of these proposals to employ common letters, and there are therefore no samples where these orthographic suggestions are carried out available to present here.

²⁸ 'Abdul Qayyum: ‘Baločī hijjl’.
²⁹ *Baločī rasm ul-xatte kanwinšin*, pp. 32—33.
C. The issue of Roman script

The lack of full vowel representation in the traditional Arabic script is, especially in languages with many vowel phonemes, felt as a hindrance to correct reading. This is why there was at one time a proposal to introduce Roman script for Pashto, although nothing came of it (see ch. 3.C). In the case of the Kurdish language, when written in Arabic script, the problem has been tackled by introducing separate symbols for each vowel phoneme with one exception (see ch. 3.D) whereas Turkish has changed over to Roman script (see ch. 2.D). There has also been a discussion concerning the introduction of Roman script for Persian and Urdu, but such a reform seems totally out of the question for these two languages at present.31

The issue of introducing Roman script for Balochi was very much debated in the early 1970’s. Already in 1962 Sayyid Häshimi had written that the Roman script is the best one for Balochi, since it solves the problem of the vowel representation, and he also outlines a suggestion for a Roman alphabet for Balochi. He feels, however, that Roman script cannot be introduced without a unanimous decision being taken by all Baloch writers and/or strong Government support, and that therefore the Baloch have to make do with the Arabic script at present.32

With the coming of the autonomous National Awami Party (NAP) Provincial Government in Balochistan (1972—73),33 whose Secretary of Education was Gul Khan Nasir, the question of education in the mother tongue in Balochistan and the universal acceptance of a standard orthography for Balochi became urgent. To solve the problem a ‘convention’ was assembled in Quetta by Gul Khan Nasir. It was held in September 1972, and was an attempt at gaining formal support from the literary men gathered to introduce Roman script for Balochi. In a speech Gul Khan Nasir pointed out that the Arabic script was not a script chosen by the Baloch themselves; they had been influenced by the writing systems of the Persian and Arabic languages. There are still many unsolved orthographic problems within the Arabic script for Balochi, he said. He therefore suggested the introduction of a ‘phonemic-Roman’34 script, with 36 letters, which he felt would both be easy to learn.

30 In this and the following parts of Chapter Six, opinions expressed by various people are often quoted without any reference to the source for the information. In such cases the sources are the interviews I have made with the people in question. See List of Interviews.
32 Sayyid Häshimi: Balootsi siyâhage rástnibisag, pp. 20—32.
34 In Balochi called sawtiyät roman.
and also would be profitable to the language in the present scientific era.35

Among those present who expressed their support for Roman script, 'Aṭā Shād, Mir 'Āqil Khān Mengal,36 Bashīr Aḥmad Baloch, Karīm Dāshī, Jān Muḥammād Dāshī, Yār Muḥammād Yār, Gulzār Khān Marri, 'Azīz Buktī, Ibrāhīm Nīgwarī, Naṣīr Baloch (BSO), Bizhān Baloch, Rashīd Baloch, Nek Muḥammād Buzdār, Rashīd Ahmad Baloch, 'Abdul Qādir Shāhwānī and Manzūr Aḥmad Baloch can be mentioned.37 On the other hand Ishāq Shamīm, Molwī Khayr Muḥammād Nādwī, Malik Muḥammād Ramāzān, Ahmad Jīgār, Tāhir Mīrzā, 'Abdul Hakīm, Muhammad Husayn 'Anqā, Murād Sāḥīr, Murād Āwārānī and Mu'mīn Buzdār were in favour of retaining the Arabic script.38 Siddīq Āzāt held that since those present at the Convention were not linguists but only laymen, they were not able to decide on the matter of script, and he suggested that a committee be appointed for further investigation of the arguments for and against the two scripts. The same opinion was expressed by Bashīr Bedār, and Nābī Bakhsh Baloch. Muḥammād Beg Baloch, too, felt that linguists, not laymen, ought to decide on a script change.39

The main arguments for Roman presented at the Convention were that it represents the phonemes of Balochi better than the Arabic script, that it is easier to learn and that its letters have fewer shapes, which also simplifies typing. Furthermore, it was held to be the script of science and technology, which could help the Baloch develop faster in the present scientific era. It was also pointed out that the Roman script is used more throughout the world than the Arabic, and that its adoption therefore ought to make international contacts, as well as learning English, French and other international languages, easier for the Baloch.

Other arguments in favour of Roman script are that so far no good and universally accepted orthography based on the Arabic script has been developed for Balochi, and that both Roman and Arabic scripts have been used in the pre-Independence literature. Apart from Urdu, English is also taught in Pakistan, which means that people are familiar with the Roman script, and also in Balochi-speaking areas outside Pakistan the Roman script is held to be known. Many Baloch from Muscat even use Roman script for writing letters in Balochi. Besides, one must not be too afraid of being isolated from neighbouring languages, and Gulzār Khān Marri even holds that this

35 Balōčī rasm ul-xattē kanwīnšin, pp. 43—45.
36 Mir 'Āqil Khān Mengal also wrote an article in Urdu in defence of Roman script for Balochi, “Balōčī zabān ke rasm ul-xatt kā mas’ala”, published in Sangat, Quetta, Aug. 15, 1972.
38 Ibid., pp. 7—13, 49.
39 Ibid., pp. 8—13.
might be good, since it might decrease the pressure on the Baloch to adopt other languages and forget Balochi. Last, but not least, several of those in favour of Roman script stressed that script is not a religious issue, and that many Muslim peoples employ other scripts than the Arabic one.

The arguments presented in favour of retaining the present Arabic script were, among others, that it links the Balochi language to the neighbouring languages, and that the national languages of the countries where Balochi is spoken use the Arabic script. It is the script that, by tradition, has been employed in the literature written by the Baloch up till the present time, and also in the holy book of the Muslims, the Koran. More Baloch are therefore familiar with the Arabic script than with Roman and it will be both difficult and costly to launch the Roman script.40 Religious arguments for the Arabic script were kept to a minimum at the Convention. They were stressed mainly by Muḥammad Ḥusayn 'Anqā, who also in an article written in 1973, arguing for the Arabic script, brings up the argument that the Baloch are Muslims and readers of the holy Koran, and that they therefore honour the Arabic script, which they are not ready to exchange for Roman.41

Even though most of the people at the Convention were in favour of the Roman script, no formal decision on the issue was made, and no practical attempts were made to introduce Roman script before 1973, when the NAP Government was overthrown. Incidentally, nobody seems to remember what the actual ‘phonemic-Roman’ alphabet with 36 letters for Balochi presented at the Convention looked like.

In the article “Balochī labzānk kujā oštātāg”, pp. 34—39, answers to the question of whether the adoption of Roman script would speed up the development of Balochi as a literary language were presented. Of those responding to the question, 'Atā Shād, 'Abdullāh Jān Jamālān and Mīr 'Āqil Khān Mengal definitely think it would, whereas Nīmatullāh Gichkī, while holding the Roman script to be the best one, feels that the present circumstances do not allow a change of scripts. Muḥammad Beg Baloch, 'Abdul Qayyūm, Murād Sāhir and Ahmad Zahīr feel that Roman script might even hinder the development of Balochi, isolating it from neighbouring languages, and making the books written in Arabic script impossible to read. G. R. Mullā is neither in favour of the Roman, nor the Arabic script, but feels that the Baloch ought to invent a script of their own.

At present the issue of Roman script is no longer very much debated. There are only a few open supporters of a change of scripts. One of them is La’l Bakhsh Rind, who in fact is the only Baloch who has written books in Balochi

40 Ibid., e.g. pp. 29—30.
41 Muḥammad Ḥusayn 'Anqā: “Balochī zubān u ā’ī nibištānke war”, p. 47.
in the Roman script after the Independence of Pakistan, apart from *A Course in Balochi*, of course, which is rather meant for foreigners, not for the Baloch themselves. These are two primers called *Baloci bwän* and *Baloci hel bikan*. La’l Bakhsh Rind is also working on a book where he presents his orthographic system, available to me as an unpublished manuscript. La’l Bakhsh Rind suggests the following Roman alphabet for Balochi: A, A, B, Č, D, Ď, E, F, G, Ġ, H, I, Į, J, K, L, M, N, Ň, O, P, Q, R, Ř, S, Š, T, Ť, U, Ū, W, X, Y, Z, Ž.42 The vowel phonemes are thus symbolized by Ė, Ė, Ū (long) and Ė, Ė, U (short). Ū, Ř, and Ť are the symbols for the retroflex phonemes and a vowel + Ň is used for a nasalized vowel. Ġ for /ğ/, F for /f/ and X for /x/ are kept, even if these phonemes are rare in Western Balochi. In addition to these, Q also is kept, to represent the ‘elegant’ phoneme /q/, which is generally pronounced /k/. The only letter in the English alphabet that has been omitted is V. The spelling of loan words from English is balochified, e.g. RŪD ‘road’ DASEMBAR ‘December’ and PRINTARS ‘printers’.43

It is already clear from the titles of the two primers that the vowel representation in the books is poor. Even though there are letters for all the vowel phonemes, they are employed very inconsistently in the actual words. Here are only a few examples from *Baloci hel bikan*: DĀRU (for DĀRŪ) ‘medicine’ (p. 6), DAYAGA and DAYAGĂ ‘giving’ (p. 8), GUNIYAN ‘the sacks’ and NADURAHĂN ‘the sick’ (p. 9), ŠIȘAGE (for ŠIȘAGE) ‘of glass’ (p. 10) and GWĂZI (for GWĂZI) ‘play’ (p. 11). The vowel representation is better in the unpublished manuscript, but also here occasional mistakes occur.

La’l Bakhsh Rind favours the Roman script because it can more adequately represent the phonemes of Balochi than the Arabic script can, and it is also better for international contacts. Against the Arabic script he further holds that no universally accepted orthography in this script has yet been developed for Balochi. He realizes, however, that a changeover to Roman script, will meet strong opposition, especially from the religious classes.

Another advocate of Roman script is Munir Baloch, who in the October 1981 issue of Sawgāt published an article on the subject, in which he stresses that it is only the Roman script which can adequately represent all the sounds of Balochi, since nobody bothers about marking the short vowels in the Arabic script.44 Munir Baloch refers to two suggestions for a Roman script for Balochi, both presented in articles published in *Zamāna baloči*, one by Jān

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42 All three books are written totally in capital letters. No mention is made of small letters.

43 These three words are found on the front cover of *Baloci hel bikan*. In ibid., p. 10, the word JAG ‘jug’ is also found. One can clearly see that this word was first written JUG but thereafter corrected to JAG.

Muḥammad Dashtī and the other one by Bilràj Baloch. Munir Baloch prefers that of Bilràj Baloch, who puts all the diacritic symbols on top of the letter, and in fact suggests an alphabet identical to that presented by Laʾl Bakhsh Rind. Both Bilràj Baloch and Munir Baloch also suggest that loan words from English be written in accordance with their pronunciation, without paying attention to their spelling in English. One may further note that in the sample words given both by Bilràj Baloch and Munir Baloch the vowel representation is poor.

In the interview, Munir Baloch also brought up basically the same arguments for Roman script that Laʾl Bakhsh Rind did. To Munir Baloch Roman equals phonemic script (he himself uses the term phonetic), and he found the Kurdish system of a nearly totally phonemic Arabic script very strange. He further felt that adopting Roman script would make it possible to create an orthography that incorporates all the dialects, but he was not able to develop this idea further. He pointed out that the NAP Government was overthrown in 1973, and was therefore unable to fulfill its intention of introducing Roman script for Balochi. Also in “Sarpadien zubān” Munir Baloch makes clear his support for Roman script, but he admits that there might be a fear of alienating the Baloch from Islam by introducing Roman script, and he therefore suggests that a unanimous decision be made among all writers on what script to use.

Another person in favour of introducing Roman script is 'Aziz Bugtī. Many others recognize Roman as the best script, but also see major difficulties with introducing Roman script at present. In this group we find several of those who were strongly in favour of Roman script in the 1970's. Their arguments for Roman script are basically the same as in the 1970's, i.e. that it can better represent the phonemes of Balochi (Mir Ḥaqī Khān Mengal also disliked the Kurdish orthographic system), it has fewer forms of each letter, it is easier to learn, and it brings Balochi closer to English and other international languages. At the same time, however, they realize that it would be very hard

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45 No exact reference to these articles is given. Unfortunately I was unable to find these articles in Zamdna balocT, but I have obtained Bilràj Baloch's article in manuscript form.

46 This article was an editorial in Nawā'e watan, and it is therefore assumed that the editor of this journal has written it.

47 Mir Ḥaqī Khān Mengal, Āghā Naṣīr Khān, Ni'matullāh Gichki, Ghulām Fārūq, Rahīm Bakhsh Azāt and Ghānī Parwāz. The same idea is also expressed by Ashraf Sarbāzi in “Zubāne bārāwā l”, pp. 11—14, 18 (this article was originally a personal letter to me), and by Abdullah Jān Jamāldīn in “Roman likwar u balocī”, the fifth instalment in a series of articles on Balochi orthography in Ulus in the early 1980's. Exact reference is not possible, since I got the article from the personal notebook of Zīnat Sanā Baloch, who had copied it from Ulus without noting down the reference. The editor of Ulus also knew about this series of articles, but he was unable to find the references.
to introduce Roman script for Balochi at present. All the surrounding languages use Arabic script, more Baloch are familiar with Arabic script than with Roman, and a fair amount of literature has already been produced in Arabic script. The fact that there are also strong religious ties to the Arabic script makes it even more difficult to imagine a successful change of scripts, at least as long as it is not backed by financial resources and very strong authority in the form of a central government which is interested in establishing an orthographic norm for Balochi. 'Atā Shād notes that the proposal of a script change in the 1970's encountered heavy opposition, and that many people suspected it to be a political move. Bashīr Ahmad Baloch also questions whether indeed Roman script can solve the problem of standardization, as some of its supporters claim. He also holds that Balochi, due to its close relation to Persian, ought to be written in the same script as Persian, and is thus no longer in favour of Roman script.

Those who are strongly opposed to Roman script refer to the same arguments as in the 1970's namely the religious and cultural ties to the Arabic script, which is probably the most important argument for many in this group, the fact that neighbouring languages employ this script, that many Baloch are familiar with it and that a certain body of literature has already been produced in it.

The issue of script is thus one where not only pragmatic and theoretical arguments, but also religious and cultural ones are involved, and it is hard to see that it would be possible to introduce another script than Arabic without very strong official support, since such a change of scripts must reckon with massive opposition from religious circles.

48 Such a suspicion is in fact expressed by Murād Sābir in “Baločī labzānk kujā oštātag”, pp. 37—38.
49 Şurat Khān Marri, Pir Muhammad Zubayrānī, Dr 'Aynī Baloch, Mir Mithā Khān Marri, Ghaws Bakhsh Sābir, Mir Ahmad Dihānī, Qāzī 'Abdul Rahīm Sābir, Molwi Khayr Muhammad Nadwi, Ghulām Muhammad Nārīdīn, G. R. Mulla, 'Abdul Ḥakīm and 'Abdul Ghaffār Nadim. Cf also 'Ināyatullāh Qawmī: “Pa baločī roman rasm ul-xatt yakk palend ‘et”.
50 More as a curiosity one may note that other alternatives to the Arabic script than Roman have been presented. G. R. Mulla has invented his own unique script for Balochi, and Ghaws Bahār has in “Rasm ul-xāṭī pa baločī” suggested that the Bengali script be used for Balochi, a suggestion that probably must be seen as a joke.
D. Orthographic problems within the Arabic script

1. Nasx versus nastā’īq

The fact that there has been no agreement among the Baloch writers whether to use nasx or nastā’īq is sometimes referred to by advocates of Roman script.51 This issue is also occasionally brought up in articles and interviews. In 1956 Muḥammad Ḥusayn 'Anqā expressed himself in favour of nasx,52 whereas Ghaws Bakhsh Ṣābir and Dr 'Aynī Baloch prefer nastā’īq.

The difference between nasx and nastā’īq is basically that nasx is written on the line, and it is the common style in texts which are typeset or written on a typewriter, whereas nastā’īq is ‘hanging’, i.e. the words are written sloping downward. This is the style predominant in books written by calligraphers. The issue of nasx versus nastā’īq is thus a matter of style, not a matter of actual orthography, and it is therefore hardly an orthographic problem at all.

2. The ‘Arabic letters’

The problem of how to spell Arabic loan words and proper names is indeed one of the major issues in the present orthography debate. The question is whether to retain the letters ث، خ،ش،ظ،ع،ز and ق in loan words or to re-spell them in accordance with Balochi pronunciation.

The status of د، چ، خ and غ is different from the other letters since they all represent phonemes in Eastern Balochi. The phonemes symbolized by د، چ and غ also occur as ‘peripheral’ phonemes in Western Balochi, especially in Rakhshānī. In the debate among the Baloch this difference is, however, generally not discussed. Supporters of keeping the Arabic letters simply point to the fact that some of these letters represent sounds found in certain dialects, and therefore feel that all the Arabic letters ought to be kept in Balochi. Those who are against retaining the Arabic letters, mainly followers of Sayyid Ḥāshimi, also follow his suggestion of basing the written language on the Makrānī dialect, where none of these twelve Arabic letters represents a phoneme. They therefore regard all the twelve letters as superfluous in the Balochi orthography.

There are thus two extreme views standing against each other on this issue. One of them is held by the religious classes, who strongly oppose changing the

51 E.g. by 'Atā Shād and Mir 'Aqil Khān Mengal in Baloĉī rasm ul-xatte kanwīsin, pp. 17, 24.
52 In “Baloĉī zobān”, p. 4.
spelling of Arabic loan words. At the other extreme we find Sayyid Ḥāshimī and his followers, who choose to balochify the spelling of all Arabic loan words, except proper names, where for the time being the Arabic letters are left untouched.

Between these two extreme positions we find several people who are ready to compromise by balochifying the spelling of those words which have been well enough incorporated into the language not to be recognized as loan words. On the other hand they want to keep the original spelling of those loan words which are recognized as such, and especially those that are found also in Urdu and Persian, where the original spelling is retained, since almost all Baloch are educated in either of these two languages.

The issue of the Arabic letters is indeed one where strong feelings are involved. This is proved by the fact that it is dealt with in many articles by Baloch writers and also by most of the people interviewed. Among those who are in favour of retaining the original spelling of Arabic loan words we note Bashar Ahmad Baloch, ’Abdullāh Jān Jamālīmī, Pir Muhammad Zubayrānī, Muhammad Sardār Khān Gishkārī, Mīr Mithā Khān Marri, Ghawš Bakhsh Sābir, Sūrat Khān Marri, ’Abdul Ḥakīm, ’Abdul Ghaffār Nadīm, Dr ’Aynī Baloch, Qāzī ’Abdul Raḥīm Sābir, Zafar ’Alī Zafar, Ghulām Muḥammad Nūredīn, Mowlī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī, Raḥīm Bakhsh Āzāt, Fāqīr Muḥammad ’Anbār, Mālik Muḥammad Panāh, Muḥammad Beg Baloch, Abdul Ṣamād Amīrī, Akbar Bārakzā’ī and Tāj Muḥammad Baloch.

These people advance various arguments for keeping the Arabic letters, among others the religious and cultural links to the Arabic language. Mīr Mithā Khān Marri is afraid that balochifying the spelling of loan words will conceal the origin of these words from the Baloch. The fact that Urdu and Persian keep these letters is another strong argument in favour of not respelling loan words. It would only confuse the readers and make word recognition more difficult if the same word was to be spelled differently in Urdu/Persian and Balochi. The fact that some of these letters represent sounds found in certain dialects is, as already noted, another argument in favour of keeping the Arabic letters. Bashar Ahmad Baloch fears that the gap between the two main

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53 In “Pajjār”, pp. 20—21, and in a letter to the editor in Māḥtāk balochī, May 1987, p. 57.
54 In “Baloch likhwār (imlā)”, pp. 300—301.
55 In “Baloch likhwār 1”, pp. 92—93.
56 In “Baloch zubāne muskīlāt u āhānī ġišenāg rāḥ 1”, pp. 16—17, and in “Baloch nibištāe rāḥband”, pp. 21—22.
58 In an unpublished article “Mas’āla-yi kitābat-i balūčī”, available to me in manuscript form.
dialect groups will be widened if Western Balochi discards the Arabic letters totally. The argument that, since Arabic proper names are not balochified, these letters must in any case be included in the Balochi alphabet, is also brought up. It is true, those in favour of retaining the Arabic letters agree, that most of these Arabic letters are not pronounced in Balochi, and in some of the dialects none of them is, but neither, they argue, are they in Persian or Urdu, or, for that matter, in certain colloquial dialects of Arabic.

Among those who suggest that Arabic letters be kept, but also add that certain words, which are completely balochified, ought preferably to be written in accordance with their pronunciation in Balochi are Mîr ʿAqîl Khân Mengal, Āghâ Naṣîr Khân, Niʿmatullâh Gîchî, Ghanî Parwâz, Ashraf Sârbâz, and Ghulâm Fârûq, who in previous years was in favour of balochifying the spelling of all loan words, but now has changed his opinion. In fact most of those who support the retaining of Arabic letters do indeed balochify the spelling of some loan words, e.g. bâz (Ar. ʿabûz) ‘many’, wâhd (Ar. waḥd) ‘time’ and lîb (Ar. ʿalîb) ‘game’, which are generally written in accordance with the Balochi pronunciation. One must therefore assume that there is a general agreement among most writers, except a few of those who find strong religious reasons for keeping the original Arabic spelling, that certain words can, or maybe rather ought to be spelled in accordance with their pronunciation in Balochi.

Then there are those who are strong adherents of Sayyid Hâshimi’s idea of balochifying the spelling of all Arabic loan words, except proper nouns. These are members and associates of the Sayyid Hâshimi Academy and a few others, namely Ahmad Zahir, G. R. Mullâ, ‘Abîd ʿAskâni, Mansûr Baloch, Sabâ Dashtyârî, Yâr Muḥammad Yâr, Mîr Ahmad Dîhânî, Munîr Baloch, ʿAzîz Bugtî, Bânul Dashtyârî and Anwar Shâh Kahtânî. Muḥammad Husayn ʿAnqâ, too, was in favour of balochifying the spelling of Arabic loan words, and he even suggested that the spelling of proper names be changed.

The main argument in favour of balochifying the spelling is, as already mentioned, the fact that there are no phonemes corresponding to the twelve letters in question in the dialect of Balochi (Makrânî) that Sayyid Hâshimi and his followers suggest as the basis of the standard language. Yâr Muḥammad Yâr also claims that it is good for Balochi to have its own identity as a language, and not always look to other languages. Sabâ Dashtyârî and G. R.
Mulla also mention that some linguists feel that these letters have created unnecessary problems in the orthographies of Persian and Urdu, and that there are voices for ridding the Urdu language of the Arabic letters. If this is not possible, they argue that Balochi ought at least to be saved from the orthographic problems that these extra letters create. As for the proper names, 'Abid Askani points out that if the Baloch gave their children pure Balochi names, there would be no problem as to whether to spell them with or without Arabic letters.

Just as in the discussion about what script ought to be used, here, too, religious and cultural arguments are used as well as purely theoretical ones. What theoretical arguments carry the greater weight depends on whether one aims at a phonemic script or one which concentrates on word or morpheme recognition. Here Sayyid Hashimi chooses to aim at phonemic representation, whereas in the other main issue of Balochi orthography, that of the use of hamzas and other morphophonemic symbols, he prefers to leave the phonemic principle and concentrate on morpheme recognition.

3. The morphophonemic symbols

The use of the different morphophonemic symbols found in Balochi within the different orthographic systems has already been presented. The main problem is at present whether to use i, e, and ā and the other morphophonemic symbols suggested by Sayyid Hashimi or not.

The viewpoints expressed in interviews and articles vary between full use of the morphophonemic symbols (the Sayyid Hashimi system), more limited use of them (the Azat Jamalldini system) and very limited use or no use at all of them (the Akbar Barakza'i system). There are also occasional suggestions that the various symbols which at present denote certain morphemes be exchanged for other symbols, but one hardly finds any followers of the 'Abdul Qayyum system.

Quite a few people express themselves in favour of the system of morphophonemic symbols invented by Sayyid Hashimi, among others Munir Baloch, Ghulam Faruq, Mir Ahmad Dihani, Banul Dashtyari, Yar Muhammad Yar, G. R. Mullah, Mansur Baloch, Ahmad Zahiri, Sabah Dashtyari, 'Abid Askani, Ghan Parwaiz and 'Abdul Ghaffar Nadim. Also Inayatullah Qawni favours Sayyid Hashimi's morphophonemic symbols, especially those of the various morphemes -e.65

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64 They mainly refer to Shawkat Sabzwari: Urdu lisaniyat, pp. 59—62.
65 In e.g. “Gicen rähband kujäm int”, pp. 41—42. In “Balouch likhware rahband 3”, p. 30, however, he suggests the symbol ç for the enclitic pronoun in the third person singular (instead of ç, suggested by Sayyid Hashimi).
The main argument they use to support their position is that the symbols for different phonemes have special grammatical functions and that they therefore must be employed ‘grammatically correctly’. They also hold that the Sayyid Ḥāshimī system regarding the morphophonemic symbols is the most complete system that has so far been suggested for Balochi orthography. They also often refer to the decisions made in Magasi House in 1955, and feel that £ and £ were officially and definitely approved of there.66 G. R. Mullā also holds that £ was approved of, something which might be questioned, since there is no mention of £ in the report from the gathering in Magasi House.

Then there are those who favour a more limited use of morphophonemic symbols, but do not especially mind the symbols £ and £, since they are now in common use and since they allow the noun (in the singular) to keep the shape it has in the nominative and in this way make word identification easier when reading. Here we note Mīr 'Āqīl Khān Mengal, Nī'atullāh Gīchki, Mīr Miṭhā Khān Marrī, Qāzī 'Abdūl Raḥīm Sābir, Molwī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī, 'Azīz Bugṭī and Ashraf Sarbāzī.67 G. R. Mullā also holds that £ was approved of, something which might be questioned, since there is no mention of £ in the report from the gathering in Magasi House.

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Those who feel that the time is already ripe to do away with the £, £ and £ symbols are Akbar Bārakza'ī and Rahīm Bahshkīnā. The arguments they use for this are that these symbols are not found in neighbouring languages, and that they do not represent additional phonemes. Furthermore they find

66 E.g. 'Ināyatullāh Qawmī in “Balōcī likwar”, p. 2, G. R. Mullā and Mansūr Baloch.
67 Mīr Miṭhā Khān Marrī suggests £ for * 'and'.
69 In “Balōcī imlā”, pp. 8–9. It may also be noted that £ is suggested instead of £, and £ instead of £ by 'Abdūl 'Azīz Jāzāmī in “Balōcī imlāe bahṣ”, p. 36.
70 In “Balōcī zabāne muškilāt u āhānī gīşenage rāh 1”, pp. 18–19.
71 In “Mas'āla-yi kitābat-i balōčī”. Tāj Muḥammad comes from Iran where £ is not in common use. The genitive could according to him also be left unwritten like the izāfa-construction is in Persian.
the argument that a noun ought not to change its written shape in the singular invalid, since everybody is prepared to let the plural noun change its shape. Both Akbar Bārakza‘ī and Rahīm Bakhsh Āzāt also point out that many writers find it difficult to employ the Sayyid Ḥāshimi system of morphophonemic symbols correctly, and that only a few people, such as ‘Ābid Āskānī and Šābā Dashtyārī have mastered it. Rahīm Bakhsh Āzāt fears that writing will become an art only for a few specialists if the morphophonemic symbols are incorporated for good into the Balochi orthography.

There are, in fact, certain indications that this is true, at least to some extent. One sometimes encounters long explanations of how to use the morphophonemic symbols correctly. Mīr Ahmad Dīhānī also says in his interview that ‘Ābid Āskānī helped him correct the orthography in his book Gāren kārwān, and Bānūl Dashtyārī states that she is in favour of the Sayyid Hāshimi system of morphophonemic symbols, but does not use them correctly in practice. During the interview I asked her to write down a few words, and, contrary to the orthographic rules of Sayyid Hāshimi, she employed ٠ for the genitive ending and ٠ for the acc./dat./obl. ending.

It is true that some of the morphophonemic symbols, especially ٠ and ٠ have won acceptance among most Baloch writers. The use of other morphophonemic symbols is not equally widespread. It is at this stage impossible to say what will be the reaction of the Baloch writers to the suggestion of doing away with all the morphophonemic symbols (except possibly one). A couple of writers, among others Mīr ʿĀqīl Khān Mengal and Ghaws Bakhsh Ṣābir, were not totally enthusiastic about doing away with ٠ and ٠, symbols which they feel both simplify writing and reading. On the other hand ʿAbdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī expresses himself in favour of abolishing all morphophonemic symbols after visiting London in the autumn 1988, where he had an opportunity to study the Balochi manuscripts in the British Library. Since there are no morphophonemic symbols in these manuscripts, he says, I am now convinced that Balochi can do without them. It would, in fact, be better off without them, since they only complicate the orthography, he argues.

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72 Sg. كتاب kitāb ‘book’ (nom.), كتابّ kitābe (gen.), كتابك kitābā (acc./dat./obl.). Pl. كتاب kitāb (nom.), كتابك kitābā (acc./dat./obl.).

73 In “Sayyid u balocī nibīstae rāhband”, pp. 8—10, ‘Abdul Qayyūm explains the difference between noun and postposition, ﻋ“She’ on the head” and ٥ sarā ‘on’, and in “Balocī likhware rāhband 3”, pp. 29—30, ʿInāyatullāh Qawmī tries to explain how to use the symbols for the various morphemes pronounced ٠ correctly.

74 Conversations, April 1988.

4. Other points of dispute

Apart from the issues of Arabic spellings or balochification and the morphophonemic symbols, there are several other, minor points of dispute regarding the Arabic script employed at present. One is whether to use the hamza to represent /a/ in the infinitives or not. The suggestion of writing گنگگ instead of گنگگ kanag ‘to do’ was made by Gul Khan Nasir, and followed by ‘Abdul Qayyum in his orthographic system. Also Ghawsh Bahar approves of it. In the interviews only Ghan Parwaiz feels that it is good to put a hamza on the infinitives, especially when the letters are joined together, e.g. گنجگ ‘to do’, whereas گرگ, گرگ ‘to go’, where the letters do not join, can be written without a hamza. Gulzar Khan Marr suggests that hamza be used in the hiatus, in e.g. یبگگ bi’ag ‘to be’, but not on infinitives in general.

Sayyid Hashimi is strongly against the use of hamzas in infinitives, and ridicules it as ‘hamzahi’ instead of proper Balochi, and also ‘Inayatullah Qawmi writes against it. ‘Abdul Samad Amiri finds in 1987 that the use of hamza in infinitives has hardly any following nowadays.

A second question is whether the hamza is to be used for /a/ in monosyllabic words such as kay ‘who’, may ‘our’, sumay ‘your’ pl. and say ‘three’. Sayyid Hashimi suggests that these words be spelled with a hamza (e.g. گنگگ may, گنگگ sumay), and so does Ashraf Sarbazi, as well as several of the people interviewed, whereas Ni’matullah Gichki, Mir Mitha Khan Marr and Dr ‘Ayni Baloch feel they could equally well be written گنگگ may, گنگگ sumay, گنگگ kay etc.

Another use of the hamza is in a hiatus e.g. in گنگگ تاگ ‘your’ sg., گنگگ آگ ‘his, him’, گنگگ کاگ ‘whose’, گنگگ ما ‘ours’ etc. Here it is generally agreed that hamza ought to be used, but Mir ‘Aqil Khan Mengal and Dr ‘Ayni Baloch

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76 In Grand, p. 24.
78 In Baloçi sivâhage rästiñisag, pp. 86—90.
80 In “Baloçi zubänçe bärâwâ 2”, p. 5.
81 In Baloçi sivâhage rästiñisag, p. 91.
82 In “Baloçi zubänçe bärâwâ 2”, p. 12. This article was originally a private letter to me. The text in the article is slightly different from the letter. In the letter Ashraf Sarbazi writes that words like گنگگ kay ‘who’, گنگگ bayt ‘he may come’, گنگگ mayt ‘he may not come’, گنگگ may ‘our’ and گنگگ sumay ‘your’ pl. might be misread if the hamza is omitted.
83 E.g. Rahim Bakhsh Azat, Mir ‘Aqil Khan Mengal, G. R. Mullä, Pir Muhammad Zubayrani, Qazi ‘Abdul Rahim Säbir and Ghlâm Färüq.
84 Sayyid Hashimi in Baloçi sivâhage rästiñisag, p. 91, Pir Muhammad Zubayrani, Ni’matullah Gichki, Mir Mitha Khan Marr, Ghawsh Bakhsh Säbir, Ghlâm Färüq, Qazi ‘Abdul Rahim Säbir, Molwi Khayr Muhammad Nadwi, Rahim Bakhsh Azat, G. R. Mullä and Ashraf Sarbazi in “Baloçi zubänçe bärâwâ 2”, p. 12, with more examples in the private letter mentioned above.
feel that َت could equally well be written َتِ, since it is pronounced ِت in some dialects. Āghā Naṣīr Khān suggests the spelling َتِ tahī, where h fills the hiatus.

Another point that sometimes is brought up for discussion is the use of a vowel + ن (nūn gunna) to denote nasalized vowels. It was noted in the description of Balochi phonemes (ch. 4.C) that the strongest nasalization is found in Eastern Balochi and Makrānī, especially the variant spoken in Karachi. In the dialect spoken in Karachi it has, according to Farrell,85 obtained phonemic status, even though an underlying unasalized form of verbs appears before an enclitic pronoun, e.g. jā 'he hits' but jantis 'he hits them'. In the written language the full verb forms are generally written, e.g. جنت rather than جان, but the plural ending on nouns is both written َن- ān and َن- ān, and the ending used on attributive adjectives ِن- en and ِن- en. It may in this context be noted that ن is also found in the Urdu alphabet, but not in those of Persian and Pashto. ن is therefore not used in Iran and Afghanistan. Most people interviewed feel that ن is a necessary letter in the Balochi alphabet.86 It is also interesting to note that La’l Bakhsh Rind has invented a parallel symbol in his Roman script, namely N, which he uses both word-medially, in e.g. AṅGūR 'grape', and word-finally, in e.g. GOṽ 'with'.87 There is no sign for nasalization used in word-medial position in the Arabic script. ن is, of course, only used word-finally. Among those who feel that the symbol ن is superfluous, and that ن could be used instead, Ni’matulläh Gichkhī, Molwī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī, Āghā Naṣīr Khān and Dr ‘Ayīnī Baloch can be mentioned.

There is also some dispute when it comes to the way of writing verbal forms. The two problems are whether to write stem and ending separately or joined together, and whether to write the verbal prefixed bi-, na- and ma- onto the verb or separately. It was suggested by Sayyid Hāshimi that the verbal endings in the second and third person be written separate from the stem in all tenses, whereas the endings of the first person ought to be written joined to the stem.88 ‘Ābit ‘Āskānī, Šabā Dashtyārī, Zafar ‘Ali Zafar, G. R. Mullā, Manṣūr Baloch, Ghani Parwāz and Yār Muḥammad Yār follow the Sayyid Hāshimi system, whereas Mīr ‘Āqil Khān Mengal, Dr ‘Ayīnī Baloch, Ni’matulläh Gichkhī, Mīr Mithā Khān Marri, Qāzī ‘Abdul Rahīm Ṣābir, Molwī

85 Farrell: Basic Balochi, 1, p. 8.
87 La’l Bakhsh Rind: Baloci hel bikan, p. 4.
88 In Baloci stiyhage rāstnibisag, pp. 133—139. The only exception is the short ending -ت in the third person singular كت kant 'he does', but لودُ ِتً лотл 'he wants'.

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Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī, Rahīm Bakhsh Āżät and ‘Abdul Šamad Amīrī prefer writing the endings joined to the stem. Pir Muḥammad Zubayräni feels that the copula ought to be written separate from the past participle, but that personal endings ought to be written joined to the stem of the verb. Ghulām Fārūq holds that it makes no major difference whether the endings are written separate from the stem or not. The endings could be written separately in material meant for beginners, for the sake of easy comprehension, whereas in more advanced material he prefers the more ‘fluent’ forms, with stem and ending written together.

As for the verbal prefixes, Sayyid Hāshimī suggests that in general they be written separate from the stem, but they can also be written joined to the stem in certain cases, e.g. if the verb begins with a vowel. This way of writing the verbal prefixes is followed by members and associates of the Sayyid Hāshimī Academy, whereas e.g. Mīr ‘Āqīl Khān Mengal, Āghā Naṣīr Khān, Ni’matullāh Gichkt, Ghulām Fārūq, Qāzī ‘Abdul Raḥīm Šābir and Molwī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī prefer the prefixes written onto the verb for the sake of fluency in writing.

There are also, of course, other minor points where the orthographic decisions made by different people vary somewhat. The reason why these points of dispute have been described is that they are the ones selected for a statistical investigation of what orthographic uses are the most common at present in the various publications that appear in Balochi.

E. Presentation of the statistical investigation

In order to study what orthographic uses are predominant in the periodicals and books published in Balochi at present, I have selected 91 pages of text from different periodicals and books published by different academies and publishing houses in the 1980’s. I have also limited the investigation to material published in Pakistan, since the orthographic conventions in Iran and Afghanistan on certain points differ from those in use in Pakistan, and it was felt that including material from these countries would only confuse the investigation. Furthermore, only texts in Western Balochi have been selected. In the selected material I have counted the occurrences of the orthographic features described in sections D.2, D.3 and D.4. A list of the texts included in the investigation is to be found in Bibliographical Appendix 3. Here are the results of the investigation.

89 In “Balocī zubāne muškilät u āhāni gišenage rāh 2”, pp. 7—8.
90 In Balocī siyāhage rāstniabisag, p. 129.
1. Arabic letters versus balochified spelling

Here the number of occurrences of loan words spelled with Arabic letters versus balochified loan words have been counted. Each word is only counted once, even if it contains more than one Arabic or balochified letter. Only if the word contains both Arabic and balochified letters, e.g. مَحْلُوك mahlük 'creatures', is each letter counted separately. The word بَاز baz 'many', which is almost invariably balochified is not counted. Hardly anyone recognizes its Arabic origin (بعض). Since all the texts are in Western Balochi -brand, and  have also been counted as Arabic letters. Bracketed explanatory words, for neologisms that are not commonly known, have also been counted, whereas proper names, where almost invariably the original Arabic spelling is kept, are left uncounted.

Out of a total of 1458 occurrences, 950 or 65 % use Arabic letters and 508 or 35 % balochified spellings. The predominance of the Arabic spellings is clear, but one must keep in mind that the use of Arabic spellings often goes hand in hand with frequent use of Arabic loan words, whereas those who balochify the spelling also generally try to employ as few Arabic loan words as possible.

2. The way of writing the morphemes -ä (acc./dat./obl. sing.) and -rā (emphatic acc./dat. sing./plur.)

The morpheme -ä is either written ḫ or ƙ. Since the use of these two symbols varies slightly with the class of the word it is attached to, its occurrences are counted separately for the different word classes.

Out of a total of 1372 occurrences on nouns, 1333 or 97 % are ḫ and 39 or 3 % are ƙ, and out of 176 occurrences on infinite verbal forms (infinitives and present participles) 152 or 86 % are ḫ and 24 or 14 % are ƙ. On years and numerals all the 45 occurrences are ḫ, whereas on words of other classes (pronouns, postpositions and adverbs) out of a total of 710 occurrences 452 or 64 % are ḫ and 258 or 36 % are ƙ. As for -rā, it is almost invariably written ƙ. Out of 96 occurrences 91 are written ḫ, and the five forms ƙ are all found in one text (Ulus, May 1987, pp. 29—31).

On nouns, years, numerals and infinite verbal forms the symbol ḫ thus predominates strongly, whereas it becomes less predominant on words of other classes. Postpositions and adverbs are especially frequently written with ƙ, e.g. مَرَا sarâ ‘on’ in addition to مرَا, and اَيِّادَ edâ ‘here’ in addition to اَيِّادَ (ایدَیه).
3. The way of writing the various morphemes -e

i. The genitive singular

Out of a total of 1641 occurrences 1481 or 90% are esseract, 130 or 8% are 3. There are also a few occurrences of other symbols namely 2 of 2, 6 of 4, 12 of 12 and 10 of 3.

ii. The indefinite article

The way of writing the indefinite article varies depending on whether the noun ends in a consonant or in a vowel. Separate statistics have therefore been made for the two categories.

Out of a total of 439 occurrences after a consonant 421 or 96% are esseract, 9 are 3, 7 are 2 and 2 are 4, and out of 35 occurrences after a vowel 15 or 43% are 2, 12 or 34% are 3, 6 or 17% are esseract and 2 are 3.

iii. The verbal ending in the second person singular

Out of a total of 37 occurrences 23 or 62% are 2, 7 or 19% are 3, 4 are 3 (all in one text, namely Ulus, May 1987, pp. 29–31), 2 are 2, and 1 is 5.

iv. The enclitic pronoun in the third person singular

Out of a total of 84 occurrences 58 or 69% are 3, 14 or 17% are 2, 7 are 3, 4 are 2 and 1 is 3.

v. The demonstrative adjective

The demonstrative adjective 3 'this' is almost invariably written 2, and in compounds 2, e.g. 3 hame 'this very'. Since there are virtually no competing spellings, the occurrences of 2/2 are not counted. 93

On the whole, it is thus clear that the morphophonemic symbols suggested by Sayyid Hashimā are predominant, except in the case of the indefinite article after a vowel, but that also the phonemic spelling 3 is employed for the verbal ending in the second person singular and the enclitic pronoun in the third person singular. The symbol 2 for the genitive, suggested by 'Abdul Qayyūm and Akbar Bārakza'ī, occurs mainly in texts written by these two authors. There are also for all the morphemes a limited number of other spellings, not prescribed in any of the official systems.

91 Also 3 3 3 'his, her' has been counted.
92 All after final -a, e.g. 3 laččāe 'a poem'.
93 The demonstrative adjective is written 3 8 times in Ulus, Jan.–Feb. 1987, pp. 4–5, but this text is on the whole characterized by what the Baloch probably would classify as very odd spellings.
4. The way of writing u ‘and’

Out of 1517 occurrences 1012 or 67 % are ٍ، 405 or 27 % are ُ، 80 or 5 % are ُ، 18 are ٌ (all in Ulus, Jan.-Feb. 1987, pp. 4—5), 1 is ٍ and 1 is ُ (the word for ‘and’ in Urdu).

5. The way of writing the infinitives

Out of a total of 433 occurrences of infinitives 381 or 88 % are written without a hamza and 52 or 12 % with a hamza. The suggestion of writing infinitives with a hamza has thus not won any major support among the writers of Balochi.

6. Use of the hamza for /a/ and in hiatus

To study the use of the hamza for /a/ in other words than infinitives and in a hiatus I selected the following words and noted their various spellings.

- kay: 7 occurrences of the spelling ١ and 4 of ١.
- may: 58 occurrences of the spelling ١.
- šumay: 5 occurrences of the spelling ١ة and 1 of ١ة.
- say: 11 occurrences of the spelling ١، 5 of ١ and 4 of ١.
- kaʾi: 2 occurrences of the spelling ١ة.
- taʾi: 17 occurrences of the spelling ١ة.
- maʾi: 2 occurrences of the spelling ١ة.

In all the examples of a hiatus the hamza is used, and for /a/ it is invariably used in ١ (maybe ١ is felt to look too short). In the other cases the form without hamza occurs more frequently. The spelling ١ is probably to be explained as Persian influence.

7. ح versus ﺻ

In order to study whether nasalization is marked in writing or not, I have chosen to count the occurrences of the plural ending -än/-än and the ending -en/-en on attributive adjectives. Since the use of ﺻ versus ح may differ be-

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94 622 connecting words or phrases, 390 connecting clauses.
95 340 connecting words or phrases, 65 connecting clauses.
96 24 connecting words or phrases, 56 connecting clauses.
between word-final position and before a vowel suffix (ə and ə), where the nasalization is lost, these two categories are counted separately.

Out of a total of 814 occurrences in word-final position of the attributive adjective suffix 752 or 92 % are spelled with ə and 62 or 8 % with ɨ. Before a vowel suffix 8 occurrences of ə and 3 of ɨ are found. For the plural ending a total of 433 occurrences in word-final position were found. Out of these 346 or 80 % are spelled with ə and 87 or 20 % with ɨ. Before a vowel suffix 42 occurrences of ɨ were found and only 1 of ə.

From the above it seems fairly clear that nasalization is a conditioned feature in these two suffixes. It is marked in 1098 out of 1247 occurrences (88 %) in word-final position, but only 4 times out of 54 (7 %) before a vowel suffix. It must also be added that nasalization is not as strong in Rakhshānī as in Makrānī, and that most of the occurrences of ɨ in word-final position are found in texts written by Rakhshānī speakers, where, however ɨ also frequently occurs.

8. The way of writing verbal endings

In order to investigate whether verbal endings are written joined to the stem or separate from it, I have chosen to count the occurrences of verbs in the third person singular and plural present tense, the third person plural past tense and the third person plural present perfect tense. (In the two latter tenses the third person singular has no ending.)

Out of a total of 245 occurrences in the present tense 124 or 51 % of the endings were written joined to the stem, and 121 or 49 % separate from it. Out of the 101 occurrences in the past tense 47 or 47 % were written together and 54 or 53 % separate. In the three cases among those endings that are written separately where the past stem contains the morpheme -it-, e.g. loṭit- ‘to want’, rather than only -t-, e.g. burt- ‘to take away’, two divisions are made (e.g. لوتشانگانت loṭitant ‘they wanted’). Out of the 57 occurrences in the present perfect tense 15 or 26 % are written joined together and 42 or 74 % separately. Also here there are three occurrences of -it- in the past stems among those endings that are written separate from the stem. Here, too, two divisions are made, e.g. لوتشانگانت loṭitągant ‘they have wanted’.

It is thus more common to write the copula in the present perfect tense separate from the past participle than joined to it. In the present and past tenses both ways of writing are equally common.

97 If the suffix is written onto the word, there is of course no distinction ɨ/ɨ made (e.g. كتابانی kitābānī ‘books’ gen.)
9. The way of writing verbal prefixes

Here only occurrences of the prefixes bi-, na- and ma- before consonants are counted, since before vowels they are often slightly changed in order to avoid two vowels meeting, e.g. *nayatk ‘he did not come’ rather than nayatk.

Out of a total of 339 occurrences of the prefixes 133 or 39 % are written joined to the verb and 206 or 61 % separate from it.

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<tr>
<th>Number</th>
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<th>Solution B</th>
<th>Other solution(s)</th>
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<td>67 % ً</td>
<td>27 % ً</td>
<td>7 % ً</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>88 % with hamza</td>
<td>12 % without hamza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>for /a/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in hiatus</td>
<td>71 % with hamza²</td>
<td>24 % without hamza</td>
<td>5 %³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word-final</td>
<td>88 % ُ</td>
<td>12 % ُ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bef. vowel suffix</td>
<td>7 % ُ</td>
<td>93 % ُ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres. tense</td>
<td>51 % together</td>
<td>49 % separate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past tense</td>
<td>47 % together</td>
<td>53 % separate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres. perf. tense</td>
<td>26 % together</td>
<td>74 % separate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>39 % together</td>
<td>61 % separate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the results of the investigation it can easily be seen that there are some orthographic points where there is a very strong uniformity in the orthographic use at present. These are ً for -ä on nouns, years and numerals, and

² ً for say ‘three’.
³ A high figure due to the fact that the frequently occurring ُ is invariably written with a hamza.
to a slightly less degree on infinite verbal forms, the spelling \( \text{\textdollar} \) of \( \text{ra}, \) \( \hfill \) for the indefinite article after a consonant, \( \$ \) for the genitive singular ending, the writing of infinitives without a hamza and the employment of a hamza in hiatus, as well as \( \text{\textdollar} \) in word-final position and \( \& \) before a vowel suffix in the endings studied here. In noting this I do not in any way state that these are the correct or best spellings, which ought to be used by everybody, I merely make a statement of fact that these orthographic uses are predominant at present.

For the other features the results indicate that \( \& \) is invariably spelled with a hamza, whereas the other words in this category are more frequently written without a hamza, and that the copula is mainly written separate from the past participle in the present perfect tense. As for the morpheme \(-\text{\textdollar} \) on ‘words of other classes’, the second person singular verbal ending, the third person enclitic pronoun and \( u \) ‘and’, the spellings suggested by Sayyid Häshimi predominate and account for between 62 and 69 % of the total occurrences, but there are also alternative spellings which occur fairly frequently. For the indefinite article after vowels, the verbal endings in the present and past tenses and the verbal prefixes, there is no clear tendency at all, and for the Arabic versus balochified spellings the same is true since the score for Arabic letters must be modified slightly, due to the tendency to combine the spelling of loan words with Arabic letters with a frequent use of these Arabic loan words.

It is also clear that for the \(-\text{\textdollar} \) morphemes as well as for \( u \) ‘and’, a small number of ‘inofficial’ spellings occur. This is also true of \(-\text{\textdollar} \), which is spelled \( \text{\textdollar} \) on nouns 18 times in other texts than Akbar Bārakza’i: \( \text{Rōcā kay kušt kant}, \) pp. 66—67, where this spelling is ‘official’, and of \(-\text{\textdollar} \) which is spelled \( \text{\textdollar} \) five times. By unofficial spellings I here mean spelling not officially prescribed in any system, and/or not in common use among the Baloch writers, such as e.g. \( \$ \) for the second person singular verbal ending and \( \& \) for \( u \) ‘and’.

F. Orthographies used in Pakistan in the 1980’s

In addition to the statistical investigation, the results of which are presented in section E, it is also important to investigate what orthographic systems are used in journals and books published at present. Again I have limited the investigation to Western Balochi published in Pakistan, in order to avoid the confusion of bringing into the discussion the orthographic systems used in

\[100 \] References to text samples in Text Appendix 2 are given in square brackets, e.g. [2.27].
Afghanistan and Iran and for Eastern Balochi. It is also the material in Western Balochi published in Pakistan which dominates in the Balochi literature at present. Furthermore only periodicals and books from the 1980’s have been included, since I attempt to determine what orthographic systems are at present the most favoured ones among the Baloch writers, editors and publishers. For more information on the journals, academies and publishing houses the reader is referred to ch. 1.B.2.

In the interview I made with Pīr Muḥammad Zubayrānī, the acting editor of Ulus, he said that he sometimes makes minor changes in the articles that are sent to Ulus for publication. However, no major orthographic changes are made, and there is no uniform orthographic system used throughout Ulus. Furthermore, many of the articles in Ulus are characterized by what has been described above as unofficial spellings, and also of inconsistencies, i.e. the same word or morpheme is spelled in different ways in the same article. These characteristics are true both of the editorials and of other contributions. It is therefore not possible to say that any particular orthographic system is used in Ulus, but the orthography in the articles more often approaches the Āzāt Jamāldīnī system than the Sayyid Hāshimī one. In fact, many of the articles are written in what has here been described as the religious style [2.27, 2.28, 2.29].

The orthographic system used in Māhtāk balōcī is that of Sayyid Hāshimi’s. This is confirmed by Sabā Dashtyārī, the co-editor of Māhtāk balōcī, who has told me that he re-writes all the articles sent in for publication in accordance with the Sayyid Hāshimi orthographic system. However, from the September 1987 issue onward one major departure from the Sayyid Hāshimi system is noticed, namely the use of Arabic letters also in other words than proper names. The fact that the Arabic letters are now used ‘officially’ in Māhtāk balōcī, and not only in articles where the writer might have added a note that the orthographic uses in his article must not be changed, is confirmed by the fact that Arabic letters appear in the editorials, which are written by Sabā Dashtyārī himself [2.30, 2.31].

In the editorials of Zamāna balōcī written up till January 1982 there is an attempt at using ‘Abdul Qayyūm’s orthographic system, but from February 1982 onwards the system in the editorials varies between the ‘Abdul Qayyūm system and a more conventional system, approaching the Āzāt Jamāldīnī one.101 It is possible that some of the articles, presumably those where the author had not clearly stated that he did not want his article rewritten, were rewritten in accordance with the ‘Abdul Qayyūm system in the issues of spring

101 The files from 1981—1982 were available to me, as well as a few other issues.
and summer 1981. On the whole, though, there is no unified orthographic system employed in Zāmāna bālōcī [2.32, 2.33, 2.34, 2.35].

The orthographic system in Sawğāt is not unified, even though Molwī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī says that he makes certain ‘corrections’ in the orthography of the articles that he receives. The editorials and many of the articles are written in a style approaching the Āzāt Jamālīnī system, generally with a lot of Arabic loan words spelled with Arabic letters. The subjects treated in many of the articles are also religious. In other articles the morphophonemic symbols approach the Sayyīd Hāshīmī system, even with a certain number of balochified spellings [2.36, 2.37, 2.38].

As for the orthographic system used in Nawā‘e wātan, it is in principle the Sayyīd Hāshīmī one, even if occasional departures from it occur, such as the presence of Arabic letters. Munīr Baloch also confirms that he re-writes the articles published in Nawā‘e wātan in accordance with the Sayyīd Hāshīmī system [2.39, 2.40].

The orthographic uses in Ṣadā‘e bālōcī vary between different articles. In some of the articles the orthography approaches the Āzāt Jamālīnī system, in others the Sayyīd Hāshīmī one. Articles where the orthographic system is rather inconsistent and/or approaches the religious style are also found [2.41, 2.42, 2.43].

In the one issue of Noken dawr after its reappearance in 1988 that I have been able to obtain, namely Jan.-Feb. 1988, the Sayyīd Hāshīmī orthographic system is employed, even if, here too, occasional departures from it occur [2.44].

The journal Bahārgāh, whose editor is 'Ābid Ṭāshānī, employs the orthographic system of Sayyīd Hāshīmī in an almost perfect way. I have, in fact, not noticed any departures at all from this system in the first three issues of the journal [2.45].

The newly established periodical Minzīl is not treated here, since copies of Minzīl after it received publication permit as a periodical reached me at a very late stage of this work. The first three issues of Minzīl are treated below, together with the other magazines from Ilūm Publications.

Among the academies and publishing houses, the Mullā Fāzīl Academy [2.52], the Sayyīd Hāshīmī Academy [2.47, 2.48], the Balochī Adabī Society [2.56] and Ilūm Publications [2.54, 2.55] have adopted the Sayyīd Hāshīmī orthography, even if some departures from it frequently occur, both in the use of Arabic letters and of morphophonemic symbols. In a book published in Arabic script by Balochī Publications the Sayyīd Hāshīmī orthographic system is also used [2.53]. Labzāŋkī Kārwān, too, mainly employs an orthographic system where the morphophonemic symbols follow the Sayyīd Hāshīmī system, even if there are exceptions in some of the articles published in Kārwān, 1 and 2. Apart from the morphophonemic symbols, there is no unified orthographic system used in Kārwān, 1 and 2 [2.61, 2.62].
Books where such a mixture of different orthographic systems, often also with a certain lack of consistence, is found, have also been published among others by Labzânki Sarchammag [2.63], BSO [2.64, 2.65] and the Baloch dod u rabadagi u paṭṭ u loṭi Anjuman [2.66]. Also in the one book published by Sayyid Labzânki Majlis available to me, Šakkal u mājin, varying orthographies are used throughout the book [2.57, 2.58, 2.59].

An orthographic system approaching the Àzät Jamāldīnī style is used in several of the books published by the Balochi Academy, Quetta, although often with a certain lack of consistence [2.46], in Zirde armān published by the 'Izzat Academy [2.60] as well as, with minor exceptions, in the books published before 1988 by the Àzät Jamāldīnī Academy [2.49, 2.50]. In the most recently published book by the latter Academy, Ročā kay kušt kant, the Akbar Bārakza’ī system is used [2.51].

From the review of what orthographic systems are predominant at present, it is clear that it is those of Àzät Jamāldīnī and Sayyid Hāshimī, whereas it is still too early to know how the Akbar Bārakza’ī system will be received. As already mentioned in the description of the Àzät Jamāldīnī system, it is not a fixed system the way the Sayyid Hāshimī one is, but rather an orthographic style, where some variations within the system may very well occur. The Sayyid Hāshimī system, which is much stricter, does not allow for such variations. It has, however, been noticed that variations in, or departures from, the rules of the system, in fact occur somewhere or other in nearly all the periodicals and books which are officially written in the Sayyid Hāshimī orthography, even if there are some writers, mainly some of those who are members of and associates with the Sayyid Hāshimī Academy, who very firmly cling to the Sayyid Hāshimī orthographic system and know its rules well enough not to ‘make mistakes’, i.e. depart from the system.

On the whole, though, the orthographic use is frequently characterized by spellings on the basis of the individual preference of the writer. This is clear from the articles published in those magazines where no major changes are made in the orthographic uses of the writer, and one can assume that this is true of the original manuscripts of articles published in periodicals and books where an attempt at unification of the orthography is made as well.

To spell a word according to individual preference also frequently leads to the occurrence of inconsistent spellings. The author does not always ‘prefer’ the same spelling throughout his article, something which leads to lack of consistence. Another characteristic feature, especially of articles written by less well-known authors, is a great confusion in the area of morphophonemic symbols. The same symbol may be used for different morphemes in one particular text, some of which uses would definitely be ruled out as wrong by most of those who write Balochi.

Among the periodicals it is at present Māhtāk balocī which is regarded as the most prestigious one, where most of the leading writers prefer to publish
their articles. The standard of Ulus is frequently criticized by the Baloch, and Zamäna balocén now appears as a small newspaper, with several of its articles written in Urdu. Also in Sawgät many articles are written in Urdu, and as far as Sada’e baloc is concerned, it is mainly in Urdu, with only a few pages in Balochi in every issue. Nawä’e watan seldom contains more than 20 pages, out of which often a couple are in Urdu, and the Jan.-Feb. 1988 issue of Noken dawr also contains only 16 pages. The reason why the standard of the periodicals is not higher is, of course, lack of subscribers and therefore of money.

As for the Balochi Academy, it has often been criticized for not using its position as the 'official' Academy of the Balochi language in Balochistan, supported by the Government, to promote the Balochi language in a consistent way. It has been accused of only being interested in publishing books by a limited number of authors, often written in a dialect not widely understood or in a 'strange' orthography not easily read by everybody. Several of the books published by the Academy have also been in English, Urdu and Persian. The present leadership of the Balochi Academy is, however, fairly new, and time will show whether it can lead the Academy towards more constructive work on issues of language standardization and orthography, and at least adopt a unified orthographic system for its own books.

G. Conclusions

In “May nibištæ rahband 1” Akbar Bärakza’i points to a few main reasons why no universally accepted orthographic norm has developed for Balochi. He sees the fact that Balochi is not an official language, nor is it used in education anywhere, as one important reason. Furthermore he points out that it is only during the last thirty to forty years that Balochi has been more extensively used as a written language.

A reason for disunity among the Baloch writers on orthographic matters is that Quetta and Karachi early developed into the two main centres of literary activities, and that the leading literary figures in these two centres held different opinions on literary and political issues. This led to a split between the Makränï school, whose leading figure was Sayyid Hashimi, and the Quetta school, represented, among others, by Gul Khän Naśir, Āzät Jamalldinī and

102 The standard of the newly established periodicals Bahārgāh and Minzil is also very good.
103 Only the issues principally in Balochi have been consulted.
104 Akbar Bärakza’i: “May nibištæ rahband 1”, pp. 7—8.
Muhammad Husayn 'Anqā. The two orthographic systems of Sayyid Hāshimi's and Āzāt Jamāldini's are, of course, one of the results of this split. It is now, however, strongly felt among the Baloch literary men that an agreement on the issue of orthography is urgently needed in order for Balochi to continue to develop as a literary language. This was also one of the points which the late Mīr Mīthā Khān Marrī stressed in an interview published a few months before his death.

Qāżī 'Abdūl Raḥīm Sābir suggests that a meeting of literary men from all over Balochistan should decide on the matter of orthography, but Faqrī Muhammad 'Anbar holds that only a couple of people, who have made particular studies in the field of orthography, ought to participate in such a decision. It must be assumed that the more people that are consulted, the harder it will be to reach unanimity, but, on the other hand, the more people participating in the decision, the more hope it is that it will be implemented successfully.

What then are the prospects for an agreement on adopting a single orthography for Balochi? The issue of Roman versus Arabic script is now more or less solved. There are only very few advocates of Roman script left nowadays, and one of their strongest arguments, namely the fact that several books were written in Roman script before the Independence of Pakistan, is hardly a valid one, since these books were almost totally written by or for Europeans. It is true that it would be easier to get a one-to-one representation of the Balochi phonemes, and that the problem of Arabic letters could be avoided, if the Roman script was adopted, but at the moment the non-linguistic (cultural, religious, etc.) arguments which support the Arabic script are felt by most Baloch to be more important. It is also likely that the introduction of Roman script for Balochi would cause a great deal of suspicion and opposition from the governments of the countries where Balochi is spoken and be seen as a step towards demands for greater autonomy or even independence.

Concerning the issue of the Arabic letters it is likely that the national governments will favour keeping them, in order to obtain as high transfer as possible between Balochi and Persian/Urdu. The fact that these letters are retained in Persian and Urdu, and that all Baloch school children in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan have to learn one of these two languages, is an argument in favour of keeping them. This does cause the orthography to divert from the principle of one phoneme-one symbol, and spelling problems will


106 "Gulgidārē gōn balocī šahzānt wāja mīr mīthā xān marīā 2", p. 4.

107 In "Balocī rasm ul-xaṭṭ u may adīb", p. 29.

108 In "Balocī rasm ul-xaṭṭ (likwar) u may adīb", p. 50.
arise for the children, at least in the initial stage. But one may suspect that the spelling problems will be even greater if the children have to learn to spell the Arabic loan words in different ways in Balochi and the national language. For the keeping of the Arabic letters one may also refer to the argument that they sometimes lead to different spelling of homonyms and other words that otherwise would be spelled identically in the Arabic script, and thus speed up silent reading. To keep the Arabic letters would thus be an advantage in advanced silent reading, but a disadvantage to the writer, who has to learn to employ the various symbols for the same phoneme correctly in each specific word.

The morphophonemic symbols found in Balochi also complicate writing, since they add extra symbols for special morphemes, such as declensional and conjugational suffixes. Those who defend the morphophonemic symbols claim that they are necessary to indicate which particular suffix is intended or to keep the original form of a word unchanged. It is true that keeping the original form unchanged makes word recognition easier and speeds up silent reading, but this is equally valid for a noun in the plural as in the singular. It must also be assumed that it is usually clear from the context what particular morpheme is intended. It seems, for example, rather unlikely that the indefinite article -e would be confused with the verbal ending in the second person singular -e. The system of morphophonemic symbols therefore complicates writing a great deal without providing any major improvement in word recognition and silent reading. It is also true that the morphophonemic symbols are an invention of the post-Independence literature, and that there is no such thing in the earlier works.¹⁰⁹ If the morphophonemic symbols are to be abandoned, it seems logical to get rid of all of them and not save one, as is at present done by Akbar Bārakza’i.¹¹⁰ Further arguments for abandoning the morphophonemic symbols are that they are not used in the Balochi written in Afghanistan, they are not found in Persian/Dari and Urdu, and they are not available on ordinary typewriters.

The two main points of dispute within the Arabic script as used for Balochi are, in fact, the Arabic letters and the morphophonemic symbols. It is here that the opinions of the Baloch diverge the most, and where a decision in either direction is likely to meet with the strongest opposition. For other points of dispute, some of which are described in section D.4, a decision will probably not be as hard to implement.

¹⁰⁹ Except in ‘he is’ in the Durkhāni text, Text Appendix 2, no. 2.7.
¹¹⁰ ṝ for the gen. sing. versus ṝ for the indefinite suffix. Akbar Bārakza’i notes, however, that generally context will make clear what suffix is intended and that both the suffixes could be written ṝ.
Epilogue

In view of the fact that the two main chapters of this book, the fifth and the sixth, as well as Chapter Three, have their own separate conclusions, it was felt that a general conclusion would be superfluous. Instead I have chosen to conclude this study with some personal thoughts.

Already at the beginning of my work I realized that the problem of creating a standard literary language for the Baloch themselves was both a very delicate and a very urgent matter. It is delicate to the extent that there are very strong and often diverging opinions among the Baloch especially on the orthography to be used for Balochi. The creation of a standard literary language for a minority group, such as the Baloch, is also a politically sensitive issue, since it is often combined with demands for increased political autonomy.

At the same time, the Baloch feel that it is high time to start very serious promotion of Balochi as a literary language and to establish a standard norm for this literary language. This is why the importance of education in the mother tongue was one of the major themes at the Silver Jubilee of the Balochi Academy, Quetta, held in 1988 (two years late), and why much pressure has been put on the authorities to allow the teaching of Balochi in the primary education in Pakistan.

Now that such permission has been granted, another problem has become even more urgent, namely the need to create a norm for the literary language. Questions regarding what orthographic system and what dialect ought to be taught are being raised. Decisions in these matters are in fact needed before any large-scale educational programme in Balochi can be launched.

This is why, in an editorial in Mahtak balocî, the Balochi Academy, Quetta, has been urged to assemble a Convention of those Baloch and others, from within and outside Pakistan, who are taking an interest in and who have opinions on the development of the Balochi language. I was, in fact, informed by 'Abdullâh Jân Jâmäldînî that such a Convention is planned to be held in the near future, and that I will be welcome to participate.

It is a great honour for me, as a European researcher, to be invited to participate in a gathering where decisions on a norm for the literary Balochi lan-

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1 "Songâl—balocî siyâhag (rasm ul-xaṭṭ)â gišenag may awli kâr bibît" (bibît is wrongly written bibant), p. 4.
2 Private letter, dated March 6, 1989.
guage and its orthography are to be made, but it is, of course, in the hands of the Baloch literary people to decide what course they want to take for the development of a standard literary language with a unified orthography. It is true that official institutions, like the Balochi Academy and the Pakistan Studies Centre at the University of Balochistan, both in Quetta, carry a heavy responsibility for such decisions, but without the cooperation of other Baloch writers and publishers it may still take many years before any agreement on the issue of a standard literary Balochi is reached and implemented.
Full reference with place and year of publication is given here only if the work is not included in the bibliography.

A. Eastern Balochi

1. Fairly pure Eastern Balochi

No. 1.1: firdawsī yakk hāğa u sujāgen qawme šahir at'. hawāntī žrāne ustumānā ānhī guptārānī yakk yakq lawz dilā goṇ dāsta, lekin rahm'ālī yakk nāzāntī u nāqōhēn qawme šahir av' phawāntī ānhī nām u tawār marī žā, darā, dūrīrā šut nawīśa. marī mardumān albat rahm'ālīrā, wātī rāj u ulusī šahir zānto' ānhī gāl u guptārānra, yāt dārağe juhd zarūr khuta. alba be 'ilmī sawābā ānhī guptār likha u parhā mān nayāxtagant hawāntī ānhī bāzen šayr sarjamītī u kharde šayrāntī bāzen gāl, mardumānī dilā žā er kapto, gār u berān bīxtagant.

(Extract from Mir Miṭhā Khān Marri: Rahm'ālī marī, Quetta 1975, p. 1.)

Firdawsī was the poet of an awakened and aware people. This is why the people of Iran have kept each and every word of his sayings in their hearts. But Rahm'ālī was the poet of an uneducated and uncomprehending people and therefore his name and voice did not go further out than the Marri area. The Marrīs, of course, recognized Rahm'ālī as their national poet and certainly tried to remember his poems. Of course, due to lack of knowledge, his words did not come into written form. This is why, on the whole, many of his poems and many words in some of the poems have been forgotten by the people and been lost.

1 Note this and a few other Western forms in this and the following text.
2 Wrongly written नाराना.
3 The most likely explanation of this -ो attached to a verb is that given by Elfenbein in The Baluchi Language, p. 5, namely that it is the attached conjunction उ ‘and’. It is here, however, invariably transcribed -ो.
No. 1.2: ya bādsāhe u ānhē do zāl aŭvant. ša ya zāleā haft baĉ  SHALLAWANTH. domt zālā ya jinikhe bītī. jinikh khasān ēt. baĉh kull mazān SHALLAWANTH. bādsāhā haftēn baĉh dost nayaùn. jinikh bāz dost ēt. roše haftēn baĉh ša loga resenthō khaštāgūn. ānhān ya ēnunde dem khuvo rāt bīdāgūn. net šuto ya handēa ya jangale nīyāmā sahrišā’ khūsīš. wātī phajjiā ānhān ya billē dī šamođā burthō, hamān jangal nīyāmā koth u’ hand jorentaghūnthis. haftēn brād roṣā sar gift sīkārā šūtūn. beghā tharrīd gardīvi khatkūn wātī logā sahrišūn. roṣā billī ekhawā hamođā logā ú. hame dawlā zīnde roṣ guzarānā šutاغūn.

(Extract from GeōT khissaw, 5, ed. by Ḥāji Mahmūd Mu’min Buzdār, Quetta 1970, p. 27.)

There was a king, and his two wives. From one wife he had seven sons. From the second wife he had one daughter. The daughter was small. The boys were all big. The king did not like his seven sons. He liked his daughter very much. One day he sent the seven sons away from home. They set out in one direction and went away. At last they went and camped in a place in the middle of a forest. They took a cat with them from there, and they put in order a place to live in the middle of that forest. The seven brothers went away hunting during the day. In the afternoon they returned to their house and stayed there. During the day the cat was there in the house alone. In this way the days of life passed.

2. Mixed Eastern—Western Balochi

No. 1.3: kostārikāā 15 sitimhir 1821ā goṃ endigā nīyāmī amrīkāā ša ispenā ājū’ī giptağat. hameśīā zīt rand e ’ulqa wāğ u ḥākimī jange pîr jor bītā par kostārikā siyāsī dastūre tahēnągā mān ātkī bītā. ān siyāhagnāmā ki ājū’i lehtèn roṣān phāsā tayār bītağat a tārā amṣalāhēn managnāmāc nām dayāg bītā. hame siyāhagnāmā u hamiśī sarḥālā ša kostārikāe mahlūqe bārawā say tok padhar bant.


Costa Rica had obtained independence from Spain together with the rest of Central America on the 15th of September 1821. Shortly afterwards, this country became the battlefield for power and rule. A constitution was in the

Wrongly written sahrišā.

Here the attached  is clearly means ‘and’, and is therefore transcribed u.
process of being created for Costa Rica. The document, which was ready a few days after Independence, was called the ‘unanimous agreement’, and from this document and its preface three points are clear about the people of Costa Rica.

No. 1.4: mā dītā ki insānā hošā āgā gōn ša quzratā nawikalā’ēn u ’ajaben šayān par watī fā’ida u kaṭopārā kār girāg rā’īt kuta. ša be sar u sāmānīā insān hand u jāga, nangār, dās, zāhm, kāntār, kārē, tor u tīrkawānā wāja bita. āgāde insānā duhmī pallawā par wat kārīgar, gox, mādin, meš, buz, lero u kukkur lā’ō kuto māldār bīva. zamāndārī, muṣawwarī, singtārāšī u śa āsīnā šayānī ūhāg rā’īt kūtī.

(Extract from Gulzār Khān Marri: Zānt u sā’īns, 4, Quetta 1982, p. 3.)

We have seen that, at the same time as man began to become aware, he employed his own powers to start using unique and wonderful things for his own profit. From a state of deprivation, man became the master of place and house, plow, sickle, sword, knife, dagger, arrow and bow. Again, on the other hand, man tamed the ox, cow, mare, sheep, goat, camel and hen and became the owner of livestock. He started cultivation, painting, stone-carving and making things from iron.

No. 1.5: tawkālī mast baloĉī zuwāne yakk šūf’tēn śā’īre at ānlīā wātī gāl u guftārān xudādostī xudāturī u rāstī rāh niśān ātā u xudā’ī rahmatānī ometwārīe dars ātā . . . tawkālī mast islāmī dōd rāhbandānī rūā qudratā ā śā sidhā’ēn u nīxēn rāhā rawage tawfiq lofīt pačeki damoz ki xudā’ī nazār mābīt insān rāsten rāhā ūhā šuṭ nakant.

(Extract from Mir Mithā Khān: “Balochī lawzānke islāmī gonişt”, p. 12 in Zamāna baloĉī, April 1981.)

Tawkālī Mast was a mystic poet (writing) in the Balochi language. In his poems he dwelt on love for God, fear of God and the way of righteousness, and he taught the hope of God’s mercy. Tawkālī Mast requested from God, in accordance with the rules of Islam, the power to walk the straight and good path, because unless the blessing of God is present, man cannot walk the right path.
3. Eastern authors writing Western Balochi

No. 1.6: rahmalī marī may baločistāne hame paymane šā'īre ki ā’te šā’īri baločī rājī zinde kirdār u drošumānī yakk zīndāneg akse int rahmalī baločī šā’īre tahā hame rangeñ bunyāte er kutag ki ā’te sarā rājī šā’īrē diwāl oshtātagant. rahmalī horken hayālānī šā’īre naint balkin a grastagen pikree wāja int. rahmalī baločī šā’īrē pirā wati jītā’en rāhe kaşšītag rāst es int ki rahmalī baločī šā’īre niyāmā yakk gahgīrī (bagāwat) u inkilābe dawr binā kutag.

(Extract from Wähid Buzdār: “May rājī šā’ir rahmalī marī”, p. 12 in Māhtāk baločī, April 1987.)

Rahmalī Marrī is such a poet in our Balochistan that his poetry constitutes a vivid picture of the deeds and features of Balochi social life. Rahmalī has laid down such a foundation in the Balochi poetry, that on it the walls of the national poetry are standing. Rahmalī is not a poet of empty imaginations, but rather the master of a ripe thought. Rahmalī has laid out his own separate way in the field of Balochi poetry. It is true (to say) that Rahmalī has founded a rebellious and revolutionary era in the Balochi poetry.

Other articles written in Western Balochi by Eastern authors:


6 The /r/ is an Eastern trait.
7 Explanatory word in Urdu.
B. Western Balochi

1. More or less pure Rakhshânî

i. Northern Rakhshânî

No. 1.7: āzät ṭasāy 1920 sālā hame handā paydā būtagi u watti ta‘limā bi noške u kwete āsār kurtagt. ta‘lim u maktabī dawrā ša yūṣuf ‘alī xān magasī āzātī tahrīk kalāt nišnal pārtī jidd u juhde u ār šagīr u trāne taraqqī-pasunden tahrīkān āsār zurt u e wārā āyī majgān jidd u juhde xiyāl u nazar tījg jat. āzät sārā watti pīss u prūkten halk u dayārā watti pīkṛ u xiyālē tālān kanagā hārāw binā kurt. āyī e ware baloĉistāne lotok at ki ša darī wāk u īstīmārā čāt āzät btt. kuhnen pīkṛ u xiyālānī maktabe wāwund xās sardār xēl āyī muxālīf būtant. čāt ki āwānī majgān e xiyāl nawat ki ročē āwānī watti jinde sardārī āngrezānī xilāfā pāda kāyī u baloĉistāne ājūyī u sardārī band u boje bungwaj kanage bayrākā burza kant. pamešā āyī sārā “bālšíwikt” nāmā īstant.

(Extract from ‘Abdul Rahmān Pahwāl: Ās u angaren šayrānī wāwund āzāt jamāl dinī, p. 17.)

Āzät was born at this place (i.e. Noshke) in 1920 A.D., and he carried out his studies in Noshke and Quetta. During the time of his studies he was influenced by Yūṣuf ‘Alī Khān Magasī, the Freedom Movement, the strivings of the Kalāt National Party and the progressive movements in the Indian subcontinent and Iran. In this way thoughts and ideas of struggle took root in his mind. First of all Āzät started a fire by spreading his thoughts and ideas in the village and region of his forefathers. He desired a Balochistan of a sort that would be totally free from outside influence and oppression. The masters of the old thoughts and ideas, especially those of the chieftain family were against him, since this thought was not present in their minds that one day their own chieftainship would rise against the English and lift the banner of independence of Balochistan and of the uprooting of the chieftainship system. Therefore they gave him the name “Bolshevik”.

ii. Southern Rakhshânî

No. 1.8: do say roč hame rangā gwast u dilmūrād ča sudd u sārā šuṭi wāzdārā ā’ī bāz xiyāldārī kurt, u darmāne gipt u dāt bale hiċč pa hiċč. wahde ča watti dārā darmānā nāumet būtant wāzdārā dilmūrādā gōn mās u jānā watti moṭālā sawār kurt, u nazzikā kasānēn darmānjāhā burt suhb nemoḍō rasti dilmūrād xudā’ī umetā kaptag mās u bewasēn jan ča dard dorākā be sudd demān śutagatant. wāzdār dam pa sāhatt šuṭi u aht, dilmūrādī guḍḍī dam at ā sāhe jān u girā at.

(Extract from Ni’matullāh Gichkī: “Zind at pa hazār janjāl”, p. 370 in Giçen āzmānak.)
Two or three days passed in this way and Dilmurād became unconscious. His employer took good care of him, and got medicine and gave it to him, but to no use. When they had lost hope in their medication, the employer put Dilmurād with his mother and wife in his car and took them to a small clinic nearby. Morning came, Dilmurād’s last hope lay in God’s mercy. His mother and poor wife had lost consciousness in front of him from pain and agony. The employer went and came every moment, it was Dilmurād’s last breath, he was about to give up his soul.

2. More or less pure Makrānī

i. Northern Makrānī

No. 1.9: maročī ki may inqilāb peroz būtag har kasā u har mahlākā e ijāzat rasīt ki pa watti maṭtī zabānā binibisīt u biwānt, u rotāk ham śing bikant. e īrānī inqilābe ūktī int ki īrānī mahlākān, dayag būtag eś int ki man iṛāda kutag balocī zabānē awīn māhtākā ća iḥrān śing bikānān, ọme tī int ki wānin-dahen balocān, dāpāwarān watti nibištāgen āptārān u rotāknibitsān balocī rotāk śing bikānāt.

(Extract from Khāliqdād Āryā: “Sargāl”, p. 1 in Makkurān.)

Now that our revolution has been victorious permission is given to every person and all peoples to read and write in their mother tongue, and also to publish newspapers. This is the gift of the Iranian Revolution, which has been given to the peoples of Iran. This is why I have desired to publish the first monthly periodical in the Balochi language from Teheran. It is hoped that educated Baloch (and) poets will publish their writings, and that journalists will publish newspapers.

ii. Southern Makrānī

No. 1.10: karīm daştīte gwašage parmānā šargidārī yakk “maţmūn” yā “nibištānke” at ki ą’tā pa ‘ulus’ e ēpāgā bungej kutagat, bale anču drāj bit ki andāzan yakk kitābē kačča mazan bit. ġurā hamā wahdī ą’te sangatań gwašt ki eštā mā kitābee drōsumā čāp bikaneń ki sārrīr int. karīμā watt bramšē gulgidāre tahā gwašt ki šargidārī manī sangatań hanču dost būtag ki āhān čāp kutag. ēc ki watti sangatẹe nāmā gipt ki “imām Ṣaxh lehrā manā gwaštągat ki eštā manā kampā’īl . . . bikan u bide man eštā čāp kanan. man ą’t kampā’īl kut u dat u ą’ta čāp u śing kut.”

(Extract from G. R. Mullā: “Śargidārī nagdkār”, p. 246 in Sanj.)

According to what Karīm Dashti says, Šargidārī was an article or written piece, which he began (writing) for printing in Ulus, but it turned out so long
that it became as big in size as a book. Therefore at that time his friends said: it is better if we print this in the form of a book. Karim said in his interview in Bramš: Šargidārī was so liked by my friends that they printed it. He also mentioned the name of a friend of his: “Imām Bakhsh Lehrī told me: compile this and give it to me, and I will print it. I compiled it and gave it, and he published it”.

3. Approaching Rakhshānī

No. 1.11: šadr ul-dīn ‘aynī 27 ipril 1778ā bi buxārāā yakq bezgāre logā wādī būt. ā yāzdhā sāle atat, ki ā’te piss u mās ā grimpuke marazā mutant. ā watī piss u māse markā rand ā u ā’te brās u gohār gōn zinde baden jāwarān dem pa dem būtānt. watī zinde baden rōčānī tahā ā ša wātt himmat u mardānagā buxārā watārā sar kurt u ā jāgāe yakq kādimān madrisāeā want ki ā’te tahā mazhābī u hušķen wāntinā abed hiċčī nestat . . . mān pa ‘baloč’t’e wānkān šadr ul-dīn ‘aynī nībištānk “buxārā—čīze yātḡirī” e awlī bahrā peš kanān.

(Extract from Jī’and Jamāldīnī: “Buxārāe8 dagg (čīze yātḡirī)”, pp. 17—18 in Māhtāk baločī, Aug. 1987.)

Ṣadr ul-Dīn ‘Aynī was born on the 27th of April, 17789 in a farmer’s home in Bukhārā. He was eleven years old when his father and mother died from smallpox. After the death of his father and mother he and his brother(s) and sister(s) found themselves in difficult circumstances. During these hard days of his life, he brought himself to Bukhārā by means of his ambition and manliness, and at that place he studied at an old religious school, where there was nothing besides religious and dull reading . . . I present to the readers of (Māhtāk) baločī the first part of Ṣadr ul-Dīn ‘Aynī’s work Bukhārā-Reminis-
censes.

4. Approaching Makrānī

No. 1.12: nūn mā logā ništāgiten. manī awlī just hameš at ki “sayyid taw kujā būtage? anču sāl tarā pa mā zahīr nabūtag?” “zahīr wa būtāg, bale sāriā taw manā e justā bikān ki ča kujā atkāgūn u dem pa kujā rawūn?” padā watī juste passaw wate dāt ‘man ča bamba’ta pedākān. pa do kalākā bālīgurābā karāčīa

8 Wrongly written buxāre.
9 Wrong for 1878.
Now we were sitting in the house. My first question was “Sayyid where have you been? Have you not been longing for us during all these years?” “Of course I have, but first ask me where I have come from and where I am going?” Then he answered his question himself. “I am coming from Bombay, the airplane stopped for two hours in Karachi, and I wanted to go and see sister Nāzi briefly”. We sat down and chatted a little. While taking some refreshments, he told about his illness and his operation. At that moment his eyes fell on a Zamāna baločī which was lying on the table. He picked it up and started to read.

5. Totally mixed

After hundreds of years a part of Balochistan has now received a provincial government. The first duty of every national government is to provide easily obtained and cheap education for each person. It is also an accepted fact that primary education can only be given well in the mother tongue, and our mother tongue has not yet got its own script, so how should we educate our children? This is the sort of question that confronted the Provincial Government of Balochistan, and your Government has asked a meeting of the linguists and knowledgeable people of the nation for the answer.

10 Spelled بحوانيسن, probably due to influence from the spelling in Persian.
No. 1.14: pite nām gul muḥammad pīrāke nām 'alī muḥammad int ... ahmad jigar do såleg at ki āˈī mās berān būt ā watī trūzakke kirā jekubābdā ṣut. hannādī sindī iskulā wante. ahmad jigarā bāz sakkī u sūrī dist ... ahmad jigarā watī šīˈr wāja xayr muḥammad nadwī peš dāstān āˈī tā pasund kurtān. ā zamānāgā diga šāˈir dost muḥammad bekas āt ... āˈī kuwˈīteā roman rasm ul-xatte kāñfīriñs gög xayr muḥammad nadwī, isḥāq šāmīm, muḥād sāhir u muḥād āwārānī hamrāˈī tā bahr zurt. odā11 āˈī tā roman rasm ul-xatte xilāfā taq̃rank kurt. hame kāñfīriñs12 dāktar nabī bax̄ baloč ham ātagatat. 

(Extract from Rahim Bakhsh Āzā: “Āḥmad jigar zinde ahwāl”, pp. 5, 7, 9, 13 in Brānz.)

The father’s name is Gul Muḥammad and the grandfather’s name ‘Alī Muḥammad ... Ahmad Jigar was two years old when his mother passed away. He went to his cousin in Jacobābād. There he studied in a Sindhi school. Āḥmad Jigar has experienced much hardship ... Ahmad Jigar showed his poems to Mr Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī. He liked them. At that time another poet, Dost Muḥammad Bekas, came ... He (i.e. Ahmad Jigar) participated in the conference on the Roman script in Quetta together with Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī, Isḥāq Shamīm, Muḥād Sāhir and Muḥād Āwārānī. There he spoke against the Roman script. To that conference Dr Nabī Bakhsh Baloch had also come.

11 Wrongly written 12
12 Wrongly written kāñfīriñs.
Appendix 2

Full reference with place and year of publication is given here only if the work is not included in the bibliography.

A. Pre-Independence orthographies

No. 2.1: N-,7* (Jlj Xd yj i—i "1^ 1 hX jJt di t Jl jij.11A (_£ j yA

(Extract from Codex Oriental Additional 24048, Manuscript, British Library, author unknown, no y., pp. 1—2.)

marde hasten mardā zāl nagipt har kasā gušt taw par če zāl nagire guštag mant dilā nakaššit mard gir šut dittage1 yakk zāle šarren mardā hame zāl gipt šarren kalāte u māte mardā bast ... kāzi šut just purs kanānān e mulkā u ā šahrā fulānī mulk kutānin rapt u mulk dar getk nazzīkā šut u rasiš min bāgā pāgpānā2 gušt nazzīkā mayā dir boj ā mard šut gon bāgpānā dočār bū gušte ťukkure āp manā bide man tunnīgān bāgpānā āp dāt dast min kīsāgā kut dast purr kute ťupīyāyā dāte pa bāgpānā

There is a man. The man did not take a wife. Everybody said: why do you not take a wife? He said: I do not feel like it. The man went out3. He saw a beautiful woman. The man took this woman. The man built a good fort and a large house... The judge went asking around in this kingdom and that town: which is the kingdom of so-and-so? He went and found the kingdom.

1 Or t, some dialects pronounce the enclitic pronoun 3rd person singular -e, others -i.
2 Mistake for bāgpānā.
3 The word gir šut was not definitely known to any of the Baloch I met. Mir 'Āqil Khān Mengal thought it might mean 'to go out idly'.
He approached it and arrived in the garden. The gardener said: do not come close, unload at a distance. That man went and met the gardener. He said: give me a little water, I am thirsty. The gardener gave him water. He put his hand into his sack, he filled his hand with rupees (and) gave them to the gardener.

No. 2.2: 

پارے سلطان روم هرودسا جنگ کے سلطان فتح کہے۔ هرودسا ارادہ

ہیں شنت هندستان روے مر وہدا بیٹا بادشاہ انگلستان سرکار رائے ساحب بادشاہ

بہادر دولت سکے جنگ کے ... سرکار انکریزیاں یک یکری دلا هست بلئے کس

نژات چہ یکری مستی ایش ولائتہ حاکم بہوپی رونت کامہنت سپاہی میں کراچی بازنے،

کاپا نشته کنت پوجی مِستر کجام ساجہنہہ۔ هنبرانا انکریز براجوی دارست مستنک

انتکنہت خانیش لوہیتک اورتک بند بست سلہم کہے۔

(Extract from Oriental 2921, Manuscript, British Library, written by Kamālān Gichkī, 1294 A.H., pp. 1–2.)

pārī sūltān-i rūm hurūsā jang kuta sūltānā fath kuta. hurūsē irāda hameš int
hindustānā rā'īn har wahdā bayt bādsāh-i ingilīstān sarkār rāne sāhib bād-
sāḥ-i bāhādur-i dawlat-i hind sākkt jang kant ... sarkār angrezārā yakk pikre
dilā hast bale kas nazālī či pikre haste, ās wala'ītā ḥākaboż rawant kāhant,
sipāhī man karačī bāz int, ki āpā niṣṭagant pawje mastir kujām sāhib int.
hinbarānā angrez brahūs drust mastung atkagant xānīšt loṭītāg awūrtāg band
bast salāḥiš kuta.

Last year Russia made war with the Sultan of Rome. The Sultan was victorious. The desire of Russia is this: I will go to India. Whenever the king of the Realm of England, the Queen, the honoured king of the Realm of India, comes, she will fight hard . . . The Realm of England has something in mind, but nobody knows what this thought is. From England5 boats go and come. There are many soldiers in Karachi, who are sitting in the water. Which Sir is the chief of the army? At this time the English (and) Brahui have all come to Mastung and asked for their Khān. He was brought, they made arrangements and took counsel.

No. 2.3: Hazrat Mūsá ki Hudhāi dost-ath shutha go Hudhā, arz khuḥhai

“Tho ummat Hudhāi, thai ummat khase shudhīn, khase ser-en, khase

4 Probably ought to be nazānt.
5 The meaning of wala'īt ‘the state’ was during the colonial period ‘England’.
The prophet Moses, who was a friend of God, went and said to God: you are the God of the people, among your people somebody is hungry, somebody is full, someone is poor and someone rich. You satisfy all your people. God said: this is what you see fit. I will do this. For God it was an easy thing, everybody became full and satisfied. The friend Moses returned and came home. God ordered the angels: demolish the house of the prophet Moses. Then the building fell down. Moses says to the people: I will pay for your labour, you build up my house.

A dog was crossing a river with a piece of meat in his mouth. When he saw his shadow in the water, he said in his heart: I know that this is another piece of meat, and he opened his mouth in order to take it. He lost the meat which was in his mouth.

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6 Normally pronounced maría.
7 Here the genitive is transcribed -a.

(Ibid., p. 366.)

(There is) a man (who) has two sons. The youngest of these said to his father: oh my father, whatever part of this property is mine, give it to me. He divided his property among them and gave it (to them). A few days later the younger son gathered together all his belongings and went to countries far away. Then he lost his property there in idleness and luxury. When he had wasted all his possessions a severe famine occurred in that country. He got into straitened circumstances. He attached himself to a man in that country. He kept him in his fields to tend the pigs. Whatever bush the pigs ate from, he would have eaten from himself with a happy heart to fill his stomach, but nobody gave him anything.

No. 2.6: P'ilā-mardēyā dō bach' biṭhayant'. K'ast'arē-bach'ā wāṭī-p'iṭā-r gwasht'a, 'abbā, wāṭī-mīrāṭā har bahar k'i manā k'afīth, t'au manā dāi.' Gudā wāṭī māl
bahar k'uθö dəθa-ı. K'ardê-rôsh-p'aðä k'ast'arê bach' t'ëwayê mâl much'
k'uθö dîrê-dëhê shuθö nisht'a. Hamöðä wañî mâl shâhîyä w'är k'uθa-ı.  
(Ibid., p. 391.)  

(Part of the same text as above.)

No. 2.7:  

Extract from Molwi Hazûr Bakhsh Jatû'i: Xâksârî fireb, Quetta 1360 A.H., pp. 2, 4.)

xudâwand a'lä kabîr akbar in  
ki maxlûq rabb in jîhân parwar in  
riziq roz dayağâ pa beanşar in  
ça talbâ madat xwâhtâyigä dar in  
estin azl abadî awwal âxir in  
tuwândär u har çîyâ qâdir in . . .  
maroçî mâñ hame âxir zamânä  
fasâde kapta šore mâ jîhânä  
ki čândan âdâm şûrîwa batâl ant  
xârâb guftâr u ibîlis u dajjâl ant  
fuqat îmân pulox ant jâhilînî  
musulmân kalmago'en siyâh dilâtî  

The supreme Lord is great and greater  
who is the Lord of the people, the nourisher of the world.  
He needs no helper to give daily bread,  
he has no need to ask for help and assistance.  
He is from eternity to eternity, the first and the last,  
he is mighty and able to do all things . . .  
Today in this end of time,  
there has fallen corruption and uproar on the world  
when so many people are diverted and led astray,  
they are evil in speech and are the Devil and Antichrist.  
They only snatch the faith of the ignorant  
Muslims by the creed, but black in their hearts.
(Extract from Päken injil yuhannâ, Lodiana 1900, Arabic script, ch. 1, verses 1—5, 9.)


(Ibid., Roman script.)

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was also God. This was in the beginning with God. All things have been (created) by its knowledge, and apart from it nothing has been of that which has been. In it was Life and that Life was the Light of man. And that Light was shining in the darkness, and the darkness did not understand it . . . The true Light was that which gives light to everybody who came into the world.

B. Styles in modern Balochi orthography

1. Western Balochi

(Extract from "'Arz-i hál" (editorial), p. 3 in Omân, Feb. 1951.)
The Baloch nation is an old and historical nation, which for thousands of years has been settled in the province of Balochistan and its surrounding areas. The bravery of this people, its skill with the sword, soldiership, using arrows and guns is on everybody’s tongue. In hospitality and entertaining of guests nobody can meet the standards of the Balochi. Historical records can testify to the fact that, in the Asian Continent, manliness and strength have reached the Baloch as an inheritance.

No. 2.10:

(Extract from Gul Khan Nasir: Gulbâng, p. 56.)

8 Written -ay. The second person singular ending is pronounced -ay in Northern Rakhshâni, see also Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, p. 17.
The banner of the Emirs is being overturned the slavery system is being brought to an end in every direction a stream of blood is running (announcing) that the slave is coming out from his bondage. Do you not see how the revolution is coming? Mankind will be free from slavery this old world will be lost and annihilated a world of the poor will prosper upon no-one will there be oppression and injustice. Do you not see how the revolution is coming?

No. 2.11

allähê paygambarâni sarâ geštir hamâ mardumân närâwâ’ên zulm kutag ki pa hamâyânî madatâ ätkag bütagant. bale âyân allâh dem dant pameškâ gûddî sob hamâyânî bit. çonâ’îgâ haçrat-i îsâ ä’î dužminân kunťa kușt bale â’î kulâh9 (paygâm) sar dân sare jîhânâ rasenag büt. hame dawlâ haçrat-i muhammade sarâ ca har demâ birîš burt bale gûdısârâ haçar lakkânt mardumânî sar pa a’î nâmâ jahl bütant.

It is mostly those people, whom the prophets of God have come to help, who have inflicted unjust tyranny on them. But God sends them (i.e. the prophets), and therefore the last victory is theirs. In this way Jesus’ enemies killed him on the cross, but his message was spread through the whole world. In the same way, there were attacks on Muḥammad from all sides, but in the end thousands of lakks10 of people’s heads were bowed in his name.

9 The normal pronunciation of this word is kulaw, written كولو.
10 One lakk is 100 000.
This work, which we have undertaken for the promotion of the Balochi language, is such a heavy load that it cannot be lifted up by our strength,11 so long as our language-loving brothers do not help their friends and colleagues. Hopefully they will come forward for this work, and not back away from making our burden lighter.

As a matter of fact it is a miracle that also my fourth book of poetry may be printed during my own pitiful lifetime. I turn the attention of my educated

11 The word balad actually means ‘height’.
brothers and writers and poets to myself, and a moment later I remind them that after *Angar u trångal*, *Britkagen bîr* and *Träpkunen tramp* this is my fourth book of poems. As I said in the introduction to *Träpkunen tramp*, these, too, are expressive and, in the same way, valuable poems from that one heart, welcoming the reader to the scenery and views of its fourth height.

No. 2.14:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مُرتَه دلّان شاد كنت</td>
<td>my heart aches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>زنده ببيت انكلاب</td>
<td>my heart aches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بنت نه كسم شكار</td>
<td>my heart aches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>زنده ببيت انكلاب</td>
<td>my heart aches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>همَه نصير ٢ سلام</td>
<td>my heart aches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>زنده ببيت انكلاب</td>
<td>my heart aches</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Extract from Gul Khan Naṣīr: *Şapgirok*, p. 21.)

murta dilân şâd kant
gušnâqân âbâd kant
tupakk u tîre rabâb
zinda bîbît inkilâb
bazzag u muhtâj u wâr
bant na kase šikâr
bit na mir u nawâb
zinda bîbît inkilâb
gușta sâčâreën kalâm
hamrah našīrā salâm
kull buguşit dar juwâb
zinda bîbît inkilâb

It makes the dead-hearted happy, it makes the hungry prosperous the rebeck of gun and arrow, may revolution live.

The poor and needy and despised will not be the prey of anyone there will be neither Mir nor Nawâb¹², may revolution live.

Comrade Naṣīr, peace (on him), has spoken a truthful word all say in answer: may revolution live.

No. 2.15:

١٩٤٢ ماه ات اتانا يي بيكشي "شيرين فرهد" نامه یک درملکی فلیت، چارگری، صنعتی شتات، یک فلم ترکانی نامداری شاهر ناظم حکمت، نوشتگان "شیرین فرهد" نامه داستانی چه درگاه بیست در داستان، رادیوی بیلیکه "شيرین فرهد"، همو کوهرن ایرانی آزمانکوه سرئات مکن، زنده‌مانی نوکیه راهبندانی سرئ ناظم حکمت، سرخالی، آنرا چیه و نستادی آلشین رنگی دانکت که، شیرین فرهد، هم کوهرن و یی موانی داستان، خسرو بوژیه و تسریه‌نگار واداشته‌ه، زدته، لوگیده و پیلیکان واخ و گیپیلی پرماران جنگی درا بوت.

(Extract from Gul Khan Naṣīr: *Dâstân-i dosten širen*, pp. 7—8.)

¹² Honorific titles.
It was in April 1962, I was in Rawalpindi. One afternoon I went to the cinema to watch a foreign film called Shiren Farhäd. This film was taken from the story called Shiren Farhäd, written by the famous Turkish poet Näzım Hikmat. Of course, the story was based on that old Iranian story of Shiren Farhäd, but, in accordance with new social conditions, Näzım Hikmat had with masterly skill given it such a popular shape that this old and unattractive story of Shiren Farhäd had been turned into the brave movement of the plundered and robbed poor and wretched (people) against the royal dictatorship of Khusraw Parwez.

Concerning the life-story of Hammal-i Ji'and we have no documents or evidence from that very time. (There are,) of course, three or four such poems among the old poems, like “Hammal’s Fight with the Tiger”, “The Tension between Hammal and Châkar Kuhdâ’i” and the poem of “Hammal and the Europeans”. They are such that from them we can know this much about
Hammal-i Ji’and: that he was a brave Baloch. Concerning the poem of “Mîr Hammal and the Europeans”, people who know say that this poem was declaimed by Mîr Hammal’s sister when he was taken prisoner in his war with the Europeans.

No. 2.17:

(Extract from Gul Khan Naşîr: Grand, pp. 121—122.)

Today there is a thunder in the clouds, in the lightnings of the monsoon time, there is a smile in the black prison of Sâhiwâl there is an imprisoned patriot . . . Imperialism is a plague, its lackeys hyenas the former a killer, the latter a licker of his hands both are cursed, both are hangmen, both are busy looting and pilfering.

\(^{13}\) Nobody I talked to knew the meaning of this word. Mîr ’Aqil Khân Mengal thought the intended word might be dâli ‘agent’, which also fits the context.
No. 2.18: نون وزیراً موقعه رست آنی گوشت که وقتیکه تو وت این خبری fost که معمولی باغ و محل وت جوهر و آن یا ویخو درست بیت که ای مخلوقات تسماقتسين گون وتی کمال تربیت و این یارا یا زمین گون وتی عجیب و غیرپیر نظام یا نگیر کاریگر و خالق این یا ویخو درست وزیری جوابی رند بادشاه خبردار بوت و خُداً وجود یافتری کت.

(Extract from Molänä `Abdul Ṣamad Jamälza‘i: "Xudä mawjüd int", p. 20 in Sadä‘e baloc, Oct. 24-Nov. 8, 1987.)

نین wazīrā mawqī‘a rast a‘t gwašt ki waqte ki taw wat e xabarā manne ki mā‘mūl bāg u mahal wat jor u adź nabant to e xabar con drust bit ki e maxūlīt qismāqismen gon waqti kamāl tarbiyatā u e āsmān u zamān gon waqti 'ajib u garīben nizāmā bi gāyr kārtīgur u xāliqā adź bibant wazīrā juwābā rand bādūlū xabardār būt u xudāe wujūde igrātī kut.

Now the vizier got an opportunity (and) he said: when you yourself believe that ordinary gardens and habitations are not created and built by themselves, how then is it true that these different kinds of creatures with their perfect nature and this heaven and earth with its marvellous order be created without an agent and a creator. After the answer of the vizier the king came to his senses and acknowledged the existence of God.

No. 2.19: Čeh wātī sērkārī nawkārī shē waḥdē sārdī pīnseh būṅgā Ronaldo mī ‘dēmā pe jeht zār dekhe gīsh nafī ‘ayn kār astat. koñaltā’ lānsēns hām mīm kēntāt. bī dekhe dēl ő āstr kīptā chērtē kē mīna ḥindā bār waqti shēk jēntē. māna nān 9 nam dōnīs dāntēk ānt. mān ānt dekhe bāzīn jūhiān bākīn. shērtā ānt kē qömē kē kār 9 bāntēk 9 ānt dērēt 9 mīm hāma kārē hāma bākīn, kē mīn kēh nē yēk rēntē 9 šē gūstōkānī sē šālē 9 gōn 9 nēy śēlānē ānt.

(Extract from "Šōngāl", p. 5 in Zamānā balōcī, Dec. 1981.)

ča watī sarkārī nokariā ša wadhā sārī pīnshīn bū‘aḡā rand may demā pā jihat zarr diga gēş nafšēn kār āstāt. wīkālate lā‘isins ham man gitagat. balē man watī dīlā kāpt u ērīt kī manā xūdāā pār watī šank jatag. manā nān u nām dō’en dātagant. man čīa diga bāzen jūpahān pīkapīn. šārrīr int kī qawme kārā biyā’īn, u e dargatā man hamā kārā dastā bigirīn, kī man yakk na yakk rangea ša gwastagēn sī sālā gon ā’tā gūlā‘iś un.

14 ani must be a calligrapher’s mistake.
15 Written ፲.
After having previously received a pension from the Civil Service, there were other, where money is concerned, more profitable jobs for us (=me) to do. But then I went down into my heart and saw that God had blessed me and both given me bread and a name. Why should I fall into more excessive greed. It is better for me to enter into the work of the people and at this time take up this work, which I somehow or other have been involved in during the past thirty years.

No. 2.20:

(Extract from Akbar Bārakza’ī: Ročā kay kuşt kant, p. 65.)

Before I write something about my book, I would like to offer my thanks to brother Rahīm Bakhsh Azāt and my young friend ‘Abdul Wahhāb Jān, who have taken great trouble in collecting and gathering my poems. If they had not collected these poems, this book would never have been completed, nor would it be in your hands today, since I have lost most of my poems.

No. 2.21:

(Extract from Sob, čahār šanbe ḥamal 20, 1359 A.H., ušmār 3, p. 4.)

\[^{16}\] Written probably a calligrapher’s mistake.
The Organization for Unity of the Asian and African Peoples has announced its full support of the Revolution in Afghanistan and has strongly opposed the interference of imperialism in the private affairs of Afghanistan. According to a statement from Tass, the assistant of the general secretary17 of this organization, Nüri 'Abdul Razzāq, said at a press conference in Nicosia on the 15th of Hamal that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has undertaken a struggle against imperialism.

(Extract from Baloče gwänk, 2, p. 3.)

We saw it as very important in this monthly magazine, to start research on and give consideration to the revolutionary battles and struggles of the Kurds,

17 Ought to have been written منشی کمک کار munšie kumakkār. The translation 'general secretary, assistant,' seems wrong to me. Probably منشی was not liked in writing.
18 zänogiren is recognized as the correct form by several people I asked about this word in Quetta.
19 Could equally well be kanan, but kanin is chosen, being the form in use in the Irānshahr area.
from of old down to today, for the sake of our knowledgeable sisters and valiant brothers, in order for us to know how and in what way and with what kind of firmness and endurance they, from of old till now, have fought and struggled with past traitor governments, so as to get their independence and lawful rights, and what kind of sufferings they have endured in this field, and how many hundreds of revolutionary youths and political men have been put into dark graves without shrouding and washing (of the dead body).

2. Eastern Balochi

No. 2.23: (Extract from Muhammad Ishäq Säjid Buzdär: “Wäza mazärkhus”, p. 24 in Ulus, June 1987.)

A man used to weave cloth. A mouse had learned about the place where he weaved cloth. Every morning that he went to weave cloth, he saw that the thread of the cloth had been cut off. One day, when the man went to the place where he weaved cloth, he saw that the mouse was walking about there. The man took a stick and hit the mouse and killed it. After having killed the mouse, the man quit his weaving, and sat down in idleness. When his wife brought food, she saw that the man had left (his) cloth-weaving and crossed his arms and was sitting. The wife said: why have you left your work today and are just sitting there with your arms crossed?

20 For a comment on the -o, see Text Appendix 1, footnote 3.
21 This word was unknown to 'Aziz Bugtl. 'Abdullah Jän JamäldinI thinks it might mean 'to sit idle'.
It is a story from days of old, when there was an old wretched, wrinkled, lonely woman in the king's city. The old woman was poor and owned nothing. She got up early in the morning. From your house, from my house, here a piece of bread, there a mouthful, in one place an old piece of cloth, in another place a torn dress, a pair of trousers, someone gave the old woman something or other in charity.

There was a king. In the king's city there was a great merchant. One day the merchant died. Now the trade of the town stopped. Now that the son of the merchant has grown up, he can do the trade.
Now we will occupy ourselves with the second period of the old poetry of Balochi. First of all, it is actually very hard to find a yardstick in order to draw the line between old and new literature. When speaking, one can call all the past things old, the present things new and the future things newer.

C. Orthographies used in Pakistan in the 1980’s

1. In periodicals

In the life of the Pakistani people the 23rd of March is a blessed and fortunate day. That day in the Iqbal Park in Lahore in 1940 there was a great gathering in which the agreement concerning Pakistan was approved of, that is, the demand for (the independence of) Pakistan was made.

22 Spelled اولوس.
23 Here spelled ـ, probably due to Persian influence.
24 Ought to be مارچ.
No. 2.28:

kasänen otäke tahä häkdänë battle rosnä’tä yakk waśsrangen warnän jinikke xudä’ti yäte tahä ancüs be sudh u samä at ki gułsmäin bijäskiten çappî u räst büten a’irä samä naat. anägat wäjae çamm ša purren wäbä päč bütant. a uštat diste ki ša domi otäke tahä rosnä’të gindag bit.

In a little room in the light of an oil-lamp a beautiful young girl was so absorbed in the remembrance of God that if the earth had shaken or had been turned upside down, she would not have noticed it. Suddenly the man’s eyes were opened from a deep sleep. He stood up and saw that a light was visible from the other room.

No. 2.29:

It is not necessary for a household-doctor to have studied medicine. Even the people of the house themselves can act as one and look after their health by being careful. In this (context) good and clean food, personal hygiene and keeping the house and children clean are necessary (measures). In this way the women can raise their children in a good way.
No. 2.30:

Bale baloch raj-e biden ro znaji berkt aNT ke an-sh her kara b raja hukan:

No. 2.31:

(Extract from “Songal—bungeji balochie wäneng” (editorial), p. 2 in Mähtak balochi, May 1987.)

bale baloch räje baden ročánî barkat int ki a’re har kár u räjî hakkàn gon mudâm maskarak u maland kanag bútak u ča drustän geš a’re dod u rabedag u zubanà gon geši kanag bútak. e gappâ dunyâe har zänogir u kawwas mannit u pallamurzike kant ki napsiyâti hisâbâ har zahgâra agân a’re mätt zubanà wäneng bibit gurâ a’re “learning-process” bizân hel kanage riwâji juwân u trund bit u a bâz ilkâpi u juwânițe číze dar burt kant. bale e mulke tahâ ča drustän geš mardume hame mätt zuban lagatmâl kanag bútak.

But it is the blessing of the bad days of the Baloch people that constantly all its activities and national rights have been ridiculed, and, most of all, its culture and language have been treated with injustice. Each learned man and expert of the world agrees to and admits the fact that, in accordance with psychology, if every child is taught in its mother tongue, then its learning process will be good and quick, and it can very quickly and thoroughly learn something. But in this country, most of all, this very mother tongue of the people has been trampled down.

(Extract from “Songal—balochistane śan’at u ide mahlûk” (editorial), p. 2 in Mähtak balochi, Oct. 1987.)

ča e râstița kas watti čamman bast nakant mân balochistane śan’âti demrawîe gâmgej na ewakâ kunî int balken mardumà yakk ware puštrawîe samâ kapân int. śan’âtkâri yâ industriala’izešine ‘amale e sustên riwâje çâgirdî sabab čt ant?

No one can close his eyes to the fact that not only are the steps of industrial development in Balochistan slow, but people even experience a kind of regression. What are the environmental reasons for the slow process of industrialization?

202
In the (Indian) subcontinent, before the arrival of the English, all the people of Balochistan regarded themselves as Baloch, and do so still today. But after their arrival, the English tried to create a condition among the local people such that, because of the (different) origin of the Brahui and Balochi languages, they should not consider themselves as one people.

The year of Zamāna balocē ended with the (special) annual issue of 1981. If we add the January and February issues it amounts to fourteen issues. How we have printed these fourteen issues only our own heart knows. By the readers our evident shortcomings or a ray of our efforts are seen.
No. 2.34: Wājja abū 'alī sinā san 370 hijri bizān 980 'tsawīn āʃānāe alq u metagā wadī but. e alq u metag mān turkistāne mazanen šār buxrūqe gwar u gegā int. e zamānāgā musalmānāni bādšāh amir nūh-i šānti-yi šāmānī at

(wājja abū 'alī sinā san 370 hijri bizān 980 'tsawīn āʃānāe alq u metagā wadī but. e alq u metag mān turkistāne mazanen šār buxrūqe gwar u gegā int. e zamānāgā musalmānāni bādšāh amir nūh-i šānti-yi šāmānī at)

Master Abū 'Alī Sīnā was born in 370 A.H., i.e. 980 A.D., in the village of Afshānā. This village is situated in the vicinity of the big town of Turkistan, Bukhārā. At this time, Amīr Nūh the second of the Sāmānid dynasty was the king of the Muslims.

No. 2.35: čhē bāngle lišeq gēnajāe 6 har Rasteg kē arodā al-s āštāma wājja lišeq ĉēn gēnajāe ĉhē bāngle lišeq gēnajāe 6 har Rasteg kē arodā al-s āštāma wājja lišeq ĉēn

(Čhē bāngle lišeq 6 bēnajāe 6 har Rasteg kē arodā al-s āštāma wājja lišeq ĉēn)

(Extract from "Man bangladesā jāwar sakkiā nigeg ant", p. 1 in Zamāna balōći, Feb. 7, 1988.)

ča bangladesā bunjähā hāl rastag ki odān ulus ustumān wājahē činn u lāncān čappen dasie bāske gallāni dazbandie sarā mazanen hārtāle būtag

From the capital of Bangladesh news has come that a big strike has occurred there as a result of the appeal of leftist parties to make preparations for democracy.

No. 2.36: ma āצjakī čhānārā mān mānt wārīn kē āni 6 mā nākikāni ģaorrāni ba waqūd ma ra ale sob dāt kē ĉhēbra ma māhtaak sówāqat čhēl takaaksi sra ĉēhāb bēnijin. mētā rē takaaksi ĉhē nēshānān kē sāyākan ģaakē dīk buktēkē čhē mā nākikāni ģaorrāni ba waqūd ma ra ale sob dāt kē ĉhēl takaaksi sra ĉehāb bēnijin.

(Extract from "Čappare may watī bābatā" (editorial), p. 3 in Sawgāt, Aug. 1987.)

mā pāken parwardigāre mazan minnatwāren ki ā'īn may nāgegen jāwarānti bā wujūd mārā e sob dāt kī ĉebarā mā māhtāk sawgātā čihil tākānī sarā čhāp

25 Wrong for bangladesē.
We are deeply thankful to our holy Creator that in spite of our bad circumstances he has granted us the victory of printing the monthly Sawgät on 40 pages this time. In this issue those articles have been given room which were left over and not included in the (special) annual issue. That means that no new articles have reached us for this issue.

_true and false, good and bad, strong and weak, for ever dig trenches one against the other, and for ever their trench-digging will not reach an end, since each of them, as long as they live, does not like the other._


After refreshments, in the second part of the literary gathering, Ghulām Rīzā Husaynburr talked about the need for such gatherings and their profit for the nation. In this part of the gathering it was suggested and agreed that in the current year, i.e. 1987, nine literary gatherings would be held.

The President of Pakistan, Muḥammad Ziyā-ul-Haqq, said in a speech in Karachi at an international seminar of doctors that to expel English from the country would bring no benefit. English is an international language (and) he said that, according to the plans of the Government, teaching will be given in Urdu next year for the pupils in the schools up to matric level. But the Government is reinvestigating this matter.

He went half crazy, he constantly said: the whole fault is mine that my poor child became unhappy.
Zahur Shah was in the frontline of those (working to) get rid of the Arabic letters. His reason for this was that, since we cannot pronounce the Arabic letters like the Arabs, we must take them out of the alphabet.

In the evening of the 28th of February a gathering of writers and poets in the Balochi language was held in Pasni under the leadership of Mr Beram Baloch. The purpose of calling together this gathering was to establish an association for the development of the Balochi literature and language.

(Extract from 'Abdul Samad Amiri: "Baloçi diwän", p. 17 in Šadā'ē baloč, July 24 and Aug. 8, 1987.)

No. 2.41: ٢٤١: 
عربية حرفان دور دیگر، بیش رمباآ ظهور شاه بیتک. پر لئے کارہ: یت، نیال کیئے بیتک کہ ما عربی حرفانی بیانی پیمانہ ادا آدا نکینگ پمشکا باید انت آمانی جندن چ کئے الف پآ کئے بکشیئے.

(Extract from 'Abdul Samad Amiri: "Baloçi diwän", p. 17 in Šadā'ē baloč, July 24 and Aug. 8, 1987.)

'arabī harfānī dawr dayage pešumbā zahūr šāh bitag. par e kārā a'te dalīl e bitag ki mā 'arabī harfānī 'arabānī paymā adā kut nakaney pameškā bāyd int āhānti jindā ča alifbāā bikaššēn.

No. 2.42: ٢٤٢: 
اٰرجہ بیرم بلوچ، سرکیئے بر جا دارگ بوتک. ای دیویئے لونہینگئے مولہ مراد بلوچی لیزانکہ زبان و دیمارہ، هاترہ یک کلیئے لونہینگئے بوتک.

(Extract from Mubarak Qazi: "Šingkārī majlis pasnī", p. 18 in Šadā'ē baloč, March 24 and April 8, 1987.)

28 firvirīe šapā mān pasnīā baločī nadkārā?7 šā'īrānī yak mučcie waqya beram balloch sarokīa birjā dārag bītag. e diwāne lofāhenage mol u murād balloch labznāk u Zubāne demra'īe hātīrā yak galle jāhenag bītag.

In the evening of the 28th of February a gathering of writers and poets in the Balochi language was held in Pasni under the leadership of Mr Beram Baloch. The purpose of calling together this gathering was to establish an association for the development of the Balochi literature and language.

(Extract from Nāsir Koshqalātī: "Say roć sariā murtag", p. 16 in Šadā'ē baloč, June 24 and July 8, 1987.)

7 Wrong for nadkār u.
A king ordered his vizier and said to him: you go and bring an old wise man such as knows when the faith and trust of this time will end. The vizier acted upon the order of the king, (and) to whatever village he went, no one gave the answer to this question of the king's.

No. 2.44; iui^j'^—ui^j'^—ui^j'*

(Extract from Tähira Baloch: “Minzil”, p. 7 in Noken dawr, Jan.-Feb. 1988.)

Then he lost consciousness, previously happiness had made him lose his consciousness and now sorrow and distress had made him unconscious. The heavy mountain of sorrow had fallen on him. Only that person who has tasted sorrow and distress can feel it.

No. 2.45; *£^CjL"^"^»AjI «

(Extract from Sayyid Häshimi: “Čakäs”, p. 3 in Bahärgäh, 1, Jan. 1989.)

28 Written ".
This word, tanqīd, is now being used in the Urdu language, and it has been adopted for the meaning of the English (word) ‘criticize’... For this meaning many of our men have used the word šargidārī, and some others šargindī, but neither of these two words is correct for this meaning... šargidārī... was formed from two words, šarr + gidār. šarr means ‘good’ and gidār ‘to see’... Now, what relation does this word have with the Urdu/Persian tanqīd or the Arabic naqd u intiqād, even though this šargidārī is a sweet-sounding word... If, instead of it, we use the words aybqīrī or kaqočīnī, the meaning also of these words is only appropriate for determining the mistakes and bad qualities of something... čakāsī or čakās gives both these meanings. It is long since we adopted this word for the meaning of imtihān (= examination), and it is liked by all the writers. This criticism is also a (kind of) examination.

2. In other publications than periodicals

No. 2.46:  

Dunyā hame gindag bīt, ki dunyādārī kārān gīštīr mardīn kēnt. 

(Extract from Āghā Naṣīr Khān: Zālbūl u nokarī, Quetta 1982, p. 3.)

dunyāa hame gindag bīt, ki dunyādārī kārān gēštīr mardēn kanant. māxiūkē xiyāl hamos int ki dunyā'ī kār pa mardēnān ant pa janēnān naant. janēnān xudā pa gisā paydā kurta, u ā logī kārān bikanant, ki janen mardēnē barābar naint, u mardēn wāren kār ham kurt nakant... pamešā dunyāe tahā aś gisā dar, dānī kārān gēštīr mardēn kanant dunyādārī kārān mā do barā bašx kanan.
It is seen in the world that men usually look after the public matters. The thought of the people is that matters to do with the (outside) world are for men, they are not for women. God has created the women for the house and they should do housework, since the women is not equal to the man, and also cannot work like a man... Therefore, in the world, men usually do the duties outside the house. We divide the public responsibilities into two parts.

No. 2.47: Baločistăne daptarăn čăr u bečăr kanagă rand zänag bît ki angrezăn hindăştăne dast girăgă rand honwären gurkănă paymă may gulzamîne sară āruśś āwurt. angrezăn demă baloč oštātăn u bāzen sarmačăr sahīd bittăn u diga bāzenēa gon wōtī zagren honān mulke huśkāwēn paṭṭ āp dāt u wōtī tavārīś dunyāā jaksent.

After looking thoroughly at the official records of Balochistan it is clear that the English, when they had seized power in India, attacked our land like bloodthirsty wolves. The Baloch stood up against the English and many brave men became martyrs and many others watered the dry land with their pure blood and shook the world with their cries.

No. 2.48: Če āištē pēš kē ē pēš pēmān gūrān mēzhbīn aškōńkanī dīm bōokīn blōńchē šaumārē pārānī mīlānī bēt bēt bēt, blōńchē šaumārē tārīxē sērē gūntēhī tēmshānē dīgī ālīm zānān.

Before talking about the clear tendencies of Balochi new poetry in the presence of the noble listeners of this literary gathering, I find it necessary to give a short review of the history of Balochi poetry.
In the new time Mr Mīr Muhammad Ḥusayn 'Anqā deserves to be put on a par with Shīh Murīd, he whose more than 70-year-long life is such a record of troubles and difficulties that, if these problems stood against a mountain, that mountain would start to shake. It is no small fortune for me that it is my pen that is writing the preface of the book of my master, the matchless child of my land, the outstanding poet of Balochi, the bright star of politics.

Life and its environmental conditions has forced man to change the path and pattern and customs of his social life from one form, and to make it into another form.

(Extract from Ghaws Bakhsh Śābir: “Peşgāl”, p. 1 in Muhammad Ḥusayn ‘Anqā: Tawār.)
labze äsä jahängiren kay kuşt kant?
labzâ taw sinâge žimbâ bandî makan
labzâ darşân kan! labzâ darşân kan!

Who can kill the world-conquering fire of the word?
Do not imprison the word in the darkness of the breast!
Spread the word! Spread the word!

No. 2.52:

ji ër mullä säl 1939ä baloçistäné hand makrâne nîlbomen zire tiyâbdap bâgen jiwanlâ paydak bitag. e hamâ wahd int ki gul xân naşîr jiwanîne tahşîldar int. mulke sarâ parange râj int, domî jihânî jang wait zore sarâ int.

(Extract from Mansûr Baloch: “Pajât”, p. 5 in G. R. Mullâ: Bažn.)

G. R. Mullâ was born in 1939 in the beautiful port of Jiwanî on the blue Makrân Coast in Balochistan. This is at the very time when Gul Khân Naşîr is the local administrator of Jiwanî. In the country it is the Europeans who rule, the Second World War is at its height.

No. 2.53:

manî hayâl u zânagä marochi çoschen zubânî nest ki nibisag u wânag bibit paştkaptag ki marochiçên dawr u zamânage drustan çà mastiren lot u zant ki märksi falsafae nâmä pajjârag bit, tarrenag u badal kanag nabîttag bale danîgä may şahden zubân u zânte dâmun çà e tangâheñ bahrâ hålîg int.

As far as I imagine and know, there is today no language left which is written and read, into which the greatest research and science of our time, which is known as the marxist philosophy, has not been translated, but the realm of our sweet language and our knowledge is still empty of this golden part.
No. 2.54: 

(Extract from Yār Muhammad Yār: “Balochi film par čā mabīt”, p. 25 in Bandīg.)

1975 ā yakk balochi filme bizān ā’ie nām “hammal u mahganj” at add būt bale angat sīnamāā narasitagar ki mazānēn dāh u sore paydāk būt ki balochi film naloṭīt, balochi film naloṭīt, gon filme ayagā may īman u gayrat u lajj īlām bant u mā dunyāā kaseā ham watti demā peš dāśi kut nakanēn.

In 1975 a Balochi film was made, the name of which was Hammal u Mahganj, but it had not yet reached the cinema when a great uproar was started that there is no need for films in Balochi, there is no need for films in Balochi; with the coming of the film our faith and manliness and honour are being auctioned away, and we can no longer show our face to anyone in the world.

No. 2.55: 

(Extract from Nī’matullāh Gichkī: “Pīṭī mīrāş”, p. 27 in Bandīg.)

uf! manī wājahēn xudā. man čon kanēn, man par čā čo bewass būtin . . . . wassūn hast bale bewassūn, uf manī nukk čon huš int, manā kas trumpe āp dāpā nadant, jānuṭ ēnd int. kase nest ki pādānūn biprinčīt

Oh, my Lord God, what should I do, why have I become so helpless. I have power but I am helpless, oh, how dry my palate is, nobody gives me a drop of water in my mouth, my body is all worn out. There is nobody to massage my legs.
On the eastern side of the University a road started, which was the only road used for going and coming from the bazaar, because the University was surrounded by a wall on all its other sides. A few days later people saw that close to that road a mosque made of mud was visible. There were actually numberless mosques in all directions, but for the sake of following the religion well, people kept quiet.

(Extract from Muḥammad Beg Baloch: Šakkal u mājīn, p. 7.)

At this request, the Sayyid Ḥāшимī Academy decided that my book would be published after Sayyid ganj and the other books by Sayyid. But, at the same time, with the coming of Zafar ‘Alī Zafar to Karachi, he encouraged me to give my book for printing to Sayyid Labzānḵī Majlis in the Emirates.

29 Form used in Karachi. See Farrell: Basic Balochi, 1, p. 67. The more common form is ant.
In life also such times come when the greatest flag-bearers of new and fresh thoughts and ideas are dumb and without voice.

At the very start of the coming educational year, Balochi as the mother tongue will be introduced as (a) compulsory (subject) on primary level in all schools in the whole province of Balochistan.

I have many things worthy of attention to tell the readers, but in this little review I cannot take so much space that all my topics can appear. I want to
make a brief presentation of some of these matters worth attention, which are worthy of being read and listened to.

No. 2.61: "Kārwān" e kaššage jār har nemagā waššat kənag būtag, u parešīā māra šayr u nibištānk bāz rastag, bale ma awli tākā durāheň šayr u nibištānk hor kut nakutagant. Eše lahten hässen sawab būtagant ki čar āhan mastireň sawab jāgāe\(^{30}\) kammi būtag u diga hässen sawabe bāz šayr u nibiştānkāni derā rasag būtag.

The announcement of the publication of Kārwān was welcomed on all sides, and therefore many poems and articles reached us, but we could not include all the poems and articles in the first issue. There were some special reasons for this, the main one being lack of space, and another special reason was that many poems and articles arrived late.

No. 2.62: Nārawa’eň dāńde dawr u bāťa awgān zālbūlāni sara bāz zulm butagat ... anču ki angat pākستان u diga hančen sāmrāje zerdasteň mulkāni tahā būagā int. bale awgān ingilābā rand zālbūl zinde bōzen pirān zūt zūtā marden ādamānt hamkopag būān ant.

In the time of the cruel Dā’ūd there was much oppression of the Afghan women ... such as is still the case in Pakistan and other such countries under imperialism. But after the Afghan revolution, women are very quickly becoming equal with men in many fields of life.

\(^{30}\) Note the spelling of this word, چاگچیه.
The poetic language of Mr Yär Muhammad Nawqalätî shows great taste, and he uses a beautiful popular language in his poems. The meters of his poems are correct and his words are comely and attractive. There is spirit and atmosphere in his poems.

(Extract from Ghawš Bahär: "Balochi labžānk", p. 32 in Girok 1, no pl. 1986.)

Yesterday suddenly a brother came and urged me to write a review of Balochi literature for Girok, and for this task he gave me four days. I was surprised at how it would be possible to write a review on the literature of three or four hundred years in three or four days.

(Extract from Yahyä Baloch: "E noken čist u er par ča?", p. 4 in Girok, 5, no pl. April-May 1988.)
e durähen čizän mardum gindit hame samä bit ki yakk mazanen jangee činn u länç büagä int. mä e habarä zaneŋ ki e mulkä ča hičč danni mulkä hatar nest ... e hamä gall ant ki pa amrikî ısti’mär u a’le bahä zurtanen ħäkimän dallärı kanant u pa ide qawmänı proşag u nizor kanagä goň ıchämän hamrah ant.

When people see all these things, they gather that preparations are being made for a great war. We know that in this country there is no danger from a foreign country ... These are the very groups who are the agents for American imperialism and its bought-off rulers, and who join with the rulers in breaking and weakening the peoples here.

Our goals and desires have all been written in the statutes of the Society, and the goals and wishes of Taptän are only and solely to develop the Balochi language, to recognize the Balochi culture and to study the life, literature and history of the Baloch and other nations. These goals and desires will be accomplished when we receive literary and financial help from knowledgeable, young and nationalistic people. We wanted to print Taptän once every three months, but here it needs to be said that we will publish it whenever its articles and money are available, and this can also be every month or every two months.

(Extract from “Sargäl” (editorial), p. 4 in Taptän, 1, Karachi 1988.)
Books published by the Balochi Academy, Quetta, not listed in Catalogue of the Baluchi Academy Publications.

Akram Sāhib Khān, Yāt u sawgāt, 1979, 144 pp.
Māhmūd Marri, Rāj rāḥband, 1979, 60 pp.
List of the texts included in the statistical investigation of dialect features, chapter 5.E.

Classified as Rakhshāni are those texts, where the following features predominate: /ʊ/, active or ergative construction of verbs (noted), kurt, äht, mās, man kanän/mā kanan, gis and zahg, -w- or -y- (noted, if present).

Classified as Makrāni are those texts, where the following features predominate: /ü/ or /i/ (noted), ergative construction of verbs, kut, atk, mät, man kanän/mā kanen, log and ēkk, -y- or -h- (noted, if present).

The forms given above have been used throughout to describe dialect features even if they do not occur in the text. Thus, e.g. the verb kanag is always used to describe what endings are used in the first person, even if this verb does not always occur in the first person in the texts.

A. Texts written 1951—1965

Gul Khān Naṣīr, Dāstān-i dosten širen, Quetta [1964]:
“Durusti rásti”, pp. 3—6, author Āzāt Jamāldinī, born in Noshke, living in Karachi between 1954 and 1958, had also previously lived in Zāhidān, Iran. Speaker of Rakhshāni. Dialect of text is approaching Makrāni, /ʊ/, -h-, but kurt is the common form.

“Sarlawz”, pp. 7—13 line 11, author Gul Khān Naṣīr, born in Noshke, in the mainly Brahui-speaking tribe Mengal, but bilingual in Rakhshānī Balochi. Has mostly lived in Quetta. Dialect of text is mixed, tending towards Rakhshānī, with mainly /ʊ/ but also /i/, mainly active construction, kurt, man kanän/mā kanan, äht (but nayatkaq), mät, -w-.

Gul Khān Naṣīr, Sapgīrok, Karachi [1964]:
“Pešgal”, pp. a-h, author Akbar Bārakza‘ī. His forefathers originate from Irān-shahr, Iran, but he was born in Shikarpūr, Sind, and moved as a child to Karachi, where he lived until 1964, when he left Pakistan. Now living in London. Speaker of Makrānī. Dialect of text is basically Makrānī, /i/, -h-, but note mā kanān, and äht in addition to atk.

1 For geographical names, see Map 2.
Mähtäk baloći, June 1956:
‘Con kanin’, pp. 15—17, 26, author Mullā Rodī, pen-name for Āzāt Jamāldīnī (see above). Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, mainly ergative, -w-.

‘Gorkan’, pp. 18, 21, author unknown, text translated into Balochi by Hammal, pen-name for Ghulām Muḥammad Shāhwānī, Brahui speaker from Kalāt, but bilingual in Rakhshānī Balochi. Dialect of text is basically Rakhshānī, both ergative and active, -w-, but note ēııkk.

‘Hāl u aḥwāl’, p. 2, (editorial), author unstated, probably Āzāt Jamāldīnī (see above). Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, ergative.

‘Jītā’ī’, pp. 22—26, author Rasūl Bakhsh Shāhin, no further information about him. Dialect of text is very mixed, mainly /ū/, mainly ergative, kut and kurt, āht, pit, man kanān and man kanin but also man kanan, zag, -y-.


Mähtäk baloći, Jan. 1957:

Mistāg, Karachi [1959]:
‘Gul xān nasīr’, p. 10, ‘Āzāt jamāldīnī’, p. 22, ‘Sayyid hāšimi’, p. 33. Author of these three texts is unknown, possibly Akbar Bārakza’ī (see above). Dialect of texts is Makrānī, mainly /ʊ/, -y-.

‘Peşguftar’, pp. 7—9, author ‘Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī (see above). Dialect of text is Makrānī, /ʊ/, -y-.

Oman, Feb. 1951:
‘ ‘Arz-i hāl’, pp. 3—4, (editorial) author unknown, probably Molwī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī, whose forefathers originate from Sarbāz, Iran, but he himself was born in Karachi. Speaker of Makrānī. Dialect of text is Makrānī, mainly /ɪ/, but note āxt.


‘Baloch ilim u adabe ibtidā’, p. 8, author Molwī ‘Abdul Rāhman Sarawānī Baloch, no information about author, but name suggests that he originates from Sarawān, Iran, which is the case with many Baloch in Karachi (cf. Molwī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī). Dialect of text is Makrānī, /ʊ/ and /ɪ/ both occur.

‘Gapp u rapp’, p. 4, author Mullā Naqdl, no further information about him. Dialect of text is Makrānī, /ɪ/, -y-.

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"Qawme xidmatä gužäris u 'arz", pp. 6—7, author Molä'i Shaydä'i Baloch, pen-name for Mir Raḩimdäd Shähwäni, Sindhi writer (text translated into Balochi by unknown translator). Dialect of text is Makräni, mainly /û/, -y-.

Oman, Jan. 1956:
"Sir", pp. 10—11, 15, author Naslm Dashtï born in Dasht, Kech. Speaker of Makräni. Dialect of text is Makräni /û/ and /û/, -h-.

Ulus, May 1965:
"Karbalâe pullen sarmačär sayyidnä husayn", pp. 10—12, 47, author Mir Naşir Kháñ Aḩmadza'i, born in Kalât, related to the former Kháns of Kalât, now long resident in Quetta. Bilingual in Brahui and Rakhshänl Balochi. Dialect of text is Rakhshänl, active.

Ulus, Sept. 1965:
"Buzurg u sarok", pp. 45—47, author Qäzi 'Abdul Rahim Säbir, born in Pasnl, long resident in Karachi. Speaker of Makräni. Dialect of text is Makräni, /ü/, -h-.

"Qä'id-i a'zame gudd", pp. 12—14, author Ghaws Bakhsh Säbir. His family originates from Panjgür, but settled in Mach, where the author was born. He now lives in Quetta. Speaker of a mixed dialect towards Rakhshänl. Dialect of text is mixed, approaching Rakhshänl, /û/, mainly ergative, kurt, äht, mät, man kanän/mä kanün and mä kanen, -y- and -h-.

B. Texts written 1970—1976

Balocï rasm ul-xatte kanwinšîn, Quetta 1972:
"Sarlawz", pp. 3—6, author Gul Khán Naşir (see above). Dialect of text is mixed, mainly /û/ and /û/, active and ergative, kurt, atk and äht, mät, man kanän/mä kanün, zahg, -w-.

"Wazîr-i ta'lim-i balocistän mir gul xän nasîre gustänk", pp. 43—45. Oral speech delivered by Gul Khán Naşir (see above). Dialect of text is Rakhshänl, active and ergative, -w-, but note mä kanän in addition to the more frequent mä kanan.

Gedî qissaw, 7, Quetta 1973 (ed. by Mir 'Āqil Khán Mengal):
"Kismil u garriho", pp. 35—43, a folk story collected in Noshke and edited by Mir 'Āqil Khán Mengal, himself also from Noshke, now living in Quetta. Speaker of Brahui and Rakhshänl Balochi. Dialect of text is Rakhshänl, active, -w-.

Gicen äzmänakk, Quetta 1970 (ed. by 'Abdul Hakim):
"Ber", pp. 317—324, author Nasîm Dashtî (see above). Dialect of text is mixed, mainly /û/ but also /û/, mainly ergative but also active and mixed, kurt and kut, mät, atk and äht, man kanän and man kanin, zahg, log, -y-.

"Zind at pa hazär janjâl", pp. 369—371, author Ni'matulläh Gichki, born in Panjgür, but his tribe also has close connections with Kech, now living in Quetta. Speaker of Rakhshänl. Dialect of text is approaching Rakhshänl, mainly ergative, but note mäti in addition to mäs.
Labzänk, 1, Karachi 1976:
"Läp", pp. 47—49, author Muhammad Akram Dasht, born in Dasht, Kech. At the time a student at Karachi University. Now living in Turbat. Speaker of Makrâni. Dialect of text is Makrâni, /ü/, -h-.

Labzänk, 2, Karachi 1976:
"Dihqân", pp. 59—60, author Murad Baloch, Malir, Karachi. No further information about him. Dialect of text is Makrâni, /u/, but note zahg in addition to ġukk.

Malguzâr, Quetta 1973 (ed. by Ghaws Bakhsh Sâbir):
"Häj murad", pp. 108—116, author Sadiq Hidayat, translated into Balochi by Ghaws Bakhsh Sâbir (see above). Dialect of text is approaching Makrâni, mainly /ü/, mainly ergative, mainly kurt, atk, mäi, man kanân and also mà kanân, log and ġukk.

Ulus, Oct. 1971:
"Irâne štâkârî", pp. 2—4, by Salim Khân Gimml, Urdu writer, no translator named. Dialect of text is mixed, /ü/ and /i/, mainly ergative, but also active and mixed, kurt and kut.

Ulus, Jan. 1972:
"Wänag pa záltbûlâ", pp. 23—25, 29, author Nâz Baloch, wife of Nasir Shähin. According to Zinat Şana, it is the husband who writes the articles in the name of his wife. He was born in Khârân, but now lives in Quetta. Speaker of Rakhshânî. Dialect of text is basically Rakhshânî, ergative, -w-, but note occasional use of kurt, mät, log and ġukk in addition to the frequent forms kurt, mäs, gis and zahg.

Ulus, July 1973:
"Balocištâne šerandaren dawlat", pp. 17—21, author Ghulâm Fârûq, born in Nazarâbâd, Kech, now living in Karachi. Speaker of Makrâni. Dialect of text is mixed, /ü/, ergative, kurt, atk, -h-.

Zamâna baloĉî, Jan. 1971:
"Čit u čingag", p. 2, author Siddîq Azât, born in Nazarâbâd, Kech, has lived for several years in Karachi, now living in the United Arab Emirates. Speaker of Makrâni. Dialect of text is Makrâni, /ü/.

Zamâna baloĉî, Feb. 1972:

"Lunjen zimistânî šape goç karim daštîâ", pp. 14, 16, author Muhammad Ibrâhim Nigwari, born in Nigwar, Dasht, now living in Tump. Speaker of Makrâni. Dialect of text is Makrâni, /ü/, -h-.

Zamâna baloĉî, Aug. 1973:
"Baloc zâl maç pirâ garmen", pp. 8—9, author 'Abdul Qâdir Shâhwâni, Brahui speaker from Sariyâb, near Quetta, bilingual in Rakhshânî Balochi. Dialect of text is basically Rakhshânî, mainly active, but note log, and ġukk in addition to zahg.

1. In Pakistan

Äzät Jamäldin, Ružn, Karachi 1985:
“Äzät zinde ḥāl”, pp. 6—16 line 11, author ‘Abdullah Jän Jamäldin (see above). Dialect is approaching Rakhsän, /ū/, mainly ergative but also active and mixed, kurt, āht, mainly mät, man kanän, log, zahg, -y- and -w-.

Bandig, Karachi 1986:
“Kågad u karrāc”, pp. 3—4, author Ulfat Nasim, born in Panjgur, now living in Khuzdär. Speaker of Rakhsän. Dialect of text is mixed, /ū/, ergative, kurt, āht, man kanän, -y- and -h-.

“Miyän ustumänj juhdä labzántänj bahr”, pp. 9—14, author Maňšür Baloch, born and living in Karachi. Speaker of Makrän. Dialect of text is Makrän, mainly /i/, mainly -y-, but note one occurrence of kurt in addition to kut.

“Mullā fazīle šā’iri lahten takk u pahnät”, pp. 5—7, 32, author Ghulām Färūq (see above). Dialect of text is Makrän, /ū/.


“Pešgāl ‘may siyahage rahband’ ”, pp. 2, 26, author Yār Muḥammad Yār, born and living in Karachi, speaker of Makrän. Dialect of text is Makrän, /ū/ and /i/, -h-, but note kurt in addition to kut.

“Pīt mīrās”, pp. 27—28, author Ni’matullāh Gichki (see above). Dialect of text is basically Rakhsän, mainly ergative, -y-, but note mät in addition to mäs.

Brams, Karachi 1984:
“Labzänk u zind”, pp. 162—163, author ‘Abdullah Jän Jamäldin (see above). Dialect of text is approaching Rakhsän, /ū/, ergative, active and mixed, kurt, mä kanän, -w- and -y-.


“Wāja zahür sāh hasimī”, pp. 36—38, 47, author Bānul Dāshṭārī, forefathers from Dāshṭārī, Iran, born and living in Karachi. Speaker of Makrän. Dialect of text is approaching Makränk, /ū/, but note mainly kurt.
Bränz, Karachi 1986:
“Ahmad jigare zinde ahwâl”, pp. 5—14, author Râhîm Bakhsh Åzât, born and living in Karachi, but forefathers originate from Mashke. Speaker of a mixed dialect approaching Makrânî. Dialect of text is mixed, /ü/, ergative, kurt, mât, mainly äht, zahg, -h-.

Kärwän, 1, Turbat 1986:

“Zir tahâr int”, pp. 77—96, author ‘Atâ Shâd, born in Turbat, Kech, now living in Quetta. Native dialect Makrânî. Dialect of text is mixed, mainly /ü/, mainly ergative, mainly kurt, atk and äht, mäst and mät, man kanên/mâ kaneg and mâ kanân, log and gis, çuck and zahg, -w-.

Mähtäk baloçi, Feb. 1987:

Mähtäk baloçi, April 1987:
“May niištâc rahband”, pp. 5—8, 44, author Akbar Bârakza’î (see above). Dialect of text is Makrânî, mainly /ü/-, -h-.

“May râjî šâ’îr rahmalî mari”, pp. 12—14, author Wâhid Buzdâr, born and living in the Sulaymân Hills, has also studied in Quetta. Speaker of Eastern Balochi. Dialect of text is Makrânî, /ü/ and /i/-, -h-.

Mähtäk baloçi, May 1987:
“Adabî jáwârân—baloçî divânè bungejî”, pp. 48—50, author Mubârak Qâzî, born and living in Pasni. Speaker of Makrânî. Dialect of text is basically Makrânî, /ü/-, mainly -h-, but note kurt in addition to kut.

“Kitâbànî sarâ čammsânk”, p. 53, author ‘Abdullâh Jân Jamâldînî (see above). Dialect of text is mixed, /ü/-, ergative, kurt, man kanân.

“Songâl—bungejî baloçîe wânenag”, pp. 2—3, (editorial), author not stated, but the editorials are written by Şâbâ Dashtyârî, ancestors from Dashtyârî, Iranian Makrân, born in Karachi, now living in Quetta. Speaker of Makrânî. Dialect of text is basically Makrânî, /ü/-, but note zahg.

Mähtäk baloçi, Aug. 1987:
“Buxârâe’ dagg (čîze yatgirî)”, pp. 17—20, author Sadr ul-Din ‘Aynî, translated into Balochi by J‘i’and Jamâldînî, born in Noshke, now living in Quetta. Speaker of Rakhshânî. Dialect of text is mixed, tending towards Rakhshânî, /ü/-, ergative, active, mixed, kurt, äht and atk, mainly mäst, man kanân, log, -w-.

2 Wrongly written buxârê.
“Insānī zubānānī rudom u pirāh u šāhīgānīe sarā čammšānke”, pp. 9—12, author Badal Khān Baloch, born in Buleda, Makrān, now studying abroad. Speaker of Makrānī. Dialect of text is Makrānī, /û/, -h-.

Maḥtāk balōčī, April 1988:
“Śā’irle šargidārī”, pp. 15—22, author Mīr Āqīl Khān Mengal (see above). Dialect of text is mixed, mainly /û/, ergative and active, kut and kurt, atk, man kanān, -w-.

Minzil, 3, Karachi [1988]:
“‘Izzat panjgürl”, pp. 33—36, author Ināyatullāh Qawmī, born and living in Panjgūr, speaker of Rakhshānī. Dialect of text is mixed, /û/, ergative, kut and kurt, atk, māt, man kanān and man kanīn, čukk, -y- and -h-.

Muhammad Ḥusayn ‘Anqā, Tawār, Karachi 1986:
“Pešgal”, pp. 1—7 line 5, author Ghaws Bakhsh Šābir, (see above). Dialect of text is basically Makrānī, /û/, -h-, but note kurt in addition to kut.

Nawā’e watan, Jan. 25, 1987:
“Landanā balōč bāhoṭānī diwāne nadkārī u wānāγī mučēr”, pp. 11—14, author Ashraf Sarbāzī, ancestors from Sarbāz, Iran, born in Karachi, lived in Zāhidān several years until after the Islamic Revolution, after some time in London now living in Quetta. Native dialect Makrānī. Dialect of text is basically Makrānī, mainly /û/, -h-, but note āht.

“Sarpāḏen zubān”, pp. 2—4, author unstated, probably Munīr Baloch, born in Ormāra, Makrān coast, now living in Quetta. Native dialect Makrānī. Dialect of text is Makrānī, /û/, -h-.

Sadā’e balōč, July 24 and Aug. 8, 1987:
“Balōči diwān”, p. 17, author Abdūl Šamad Amīrí, ancestors from Sarbāz, Iran, born in Karachi, now living in the United Arab Emirates. Speaker of Makrānī. Dialect of text is Makrānī, mainly /û/, -h-.

Sadā’e balōč, Sept. 24 and Oct. 8, 1987:
“Īrāne balōčistāne gwastagēn šā’ir”, p. 19, author Ghulām Nābī Shirāzī, from Sayyidābād, Sarāwān, Iran, has also lived in Karachi, native dialect Rakhshānī (Sarāwānī). Dialect of text is basically Makrānī, /û/, -h-, but note active and mixed in addition to ergative.

Sanj, Karachi [1985]:

“Balōči zubān u labzānke demrāwīl”, pp. 258—262, author Āhīrdād Baloch, born in Sarāwān, Iran, at the time living in Karachi, now living in Sweden. Native dialect Rakhshānī (Sarāwānī). Dialect of text is Makrānī, /l/ and /û/, but note both -h-, -y- and -w-.
"Gwądare rąjdaptari pajjăr", pp. 59—61, 119, author Muḥammad Akram Dashti (see above). Dialect of text is Makrānı, mainly /ü/, -y- and -h-.

"Kasmänk män baločiā", pp. 193—196, author `Aṭa Shād, translated into Balochi by Fazl Khāliq, who was born in Turbat, Kech, and now lives in Quetta. Speaker of Makrānı. Dialect of text is approaching Makrānı, /ū/, -y-, but note kurt.


Sawgät, July 1987:
"Balocı 'ilm u adab", pp. 16—19, 39, author Qāżı `Abdul Rahim Sābir (see above). Dialect of text is Makrānı, /ū/, -h-, but note zahg.

"Balocı may šahdı̊n zubān int", pp. 6—7, author Muḥammad Hasan Baloch, lecturer in Panjgūr, no further information about him. Dialect of text is basically Rakhshānī, ergative, -y-, but note kut in addition to kurt.

Sawgät, Aug. 1987:

Sawgät, Sept. 1987:
"Čize may watı babata", pp. 2, 18, (editorial), no author stated, but Molwī Khayr Muḥammad Nadwī (see above) writes the editorials. Dialect of text is Makrānı, /ū/, -h-, but note one occurrence of kurt in addition to kut.

Ulus, Jan.-Feb. 1987:
"Tārīx-i baloch u balochistān", pp. 8—21, author Aghā Naṣīr Khān Aḥmadza‘ī (see above). Dialect of text is basically Rakhshānī, active, but note one occurrence of /ü/ in addition to /ū/, log in addition to gis, and mainly -h-.

Ulus, March 1987:
"Adame zarr", pp. 37—41, author Jl‘and Jamāldin (see above). Dialect of text is mixed, tending towards Rakhshānī, /ü/, mainly ergative but also active and mixed, kurt, aht, log and zahg most frequent but also gis and čukk, -w-.

Ulus, April 1987:
"Logı daktar", pp. 8—10, author Zinat Şanā Baloch (see below).

Ulus, Aug. 1987:
"Logı daktar", pp. 19—21, author Zinat Şanā Baloch, forefathers from Iranian Balochistan, born in Sibī, now living in Quetta. Spoken dialect mixed, tending towards Rakhshānī. Dialect of both texts is basically Rakhshānī, ergative, but note log.
2. In Afghanistan


"Āzāt jamāldānī", pp. 17—32, 34 (p. 33 missing in my copy of the book), author 'Abdul Rahman Pahwäl, from Chakhānsūr, Afghanistan. Speaker of Rakhshānī. Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, active, -w-.


"Baloč šā'ir u baloč zurumbīš", pp. a-j, author Šarwar Māmūnd, by 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldānī not recognized as a Baloch author, text probably translated into Balochi. Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, active, -w-.


"Bill ki amrīkā modag bikānt u irtijā' bigret ammā demāyī rawān'", author unknown. Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, active, -w-, but note log, and čukk in addition to zahg.

"Mazānen jidd u juhd kanok bāčā xānī paygām pa kawmā", author unknown. Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, active, but note log.


"Babrak kārmāl kūbābe dannī kārānī wazīr útitā munnit", author unknown. Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, active.

"Mutaraqqi̇en jihān šā inkilābīen awgānīstānī pušīwānī kant", author unknown. Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, active.

"Pa bazgare roč wāsitā kişārgarī u dagārānī islāhātī wazīre guštānī", author unknown. Dialect of text is Rakhshānī, active, -w-, but note log and čukk in addition to zahg.

3. In Iran

Baloč gwānk, 2, Irānshahr [1979]:


"Kārgare šāddahie roč ma Irānā", p. 27.

3 Ought to have been bāčā xānī.
"Kurdānī gwastagen inkilābī jang u jedahānī talwāsag", pp. 3—10.

"Sargāl", pp. 1—2.

"Yāt u būte ča balochānī sarmačārīā", pp. 15—17.

The authors of all the texts in Baloche gwānk, 2, are unknown, and the dialect is similar in all of them. It is a mixed dialect characterized by mainly /ü/ but also /i/, mainly ergative but also active, kut and kurt, mainly mät, atk, man kanān and mainly mā kanin (the form which according to Elfenbein: The Baluchi Language, p. 21, is the common one in the Sarāwān area, but which could also be read mā kanān) but also mā kanen, log and ċukk, -h-.

Makkurān, Teheran Farvardin 1358 A.H. (1979 A.D.):
"Hāl dayok hāl dant", pp. 7—11, author unknown. Dialect of text is basically Makrānī, /ū/, -y-, but note zahg, and yaht and āht in addition to atk.

"Sargāl", pp. 1—2, author Khāliqdād Āryā, born in Sarbāz, Iran, now living in Teheran. Speaker of Makrānī. Dialect of text is Makrānī, /ū/, -y-.
Bibliographical Appendix 3

List of the texts included in the statistical investigation of orthographic uses, chapter 6.E.

Ahmad Dihânî, Mir, Gâren kârwân, Pâzil Academy, Karachi 1983, pp. 5—7.
Gul Khân Naşîr, Şâh lašîf gwaśtît, Balochi Academy, Quetta 1983, pp. 3—7.
Kârwân, 1, Labzânkî Kârwân, Turbat 1986, pp. 14—16.
Kârwân, 2, Labzânkî Kârwân, Turbat 1987, pp. 61—62.
Man pâkistâni āg, ed. by Bânuk Şâqiba Raḩîm, Pakistan Children’s Academy Balochistan, Islâmâbâd 1985, pp. 25—27.
Muhammad Beg Baloch, Nîlot zîr, Balochi Academy, Quetta 1980, pp. 3—6.
Munîr Ahmad Baloch, Kišî u kišârîe aţbâb, Balochi Academy, Quetta 1982, pp. 6—8.
Nâşîr Khân Ahmadzâ’î Baloch, Āghî Mîr, Zâlbûl u nokarî, Balochi Academy, Quetta 1982, pp. 3—5.
Şâda’e baloĉ, May 24 and June 8, 1987, pp. 18—19 (first and second columns).
Samad Bihrangi, Koten kapodarî, translated into Balochi by Ji’and (’Âtâ Muḥammad Husaynbur), Karachi 1983, pp. 7—9.
## Sayyid Hāshimi’s Neologisms

A list of some of Sayyid Hāshimi’s neologisms and old words reused in other senses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neologism</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Other words in Balochi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bungapp</td>
<td>‘subject’, ‘issue’</td>
<td>mawzū’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dastünk</td>
<td>‘ghazal’</td>
<td>gåzal, gāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāl</td>
<td>‘word’</td>
<td>lawz/labz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gālwār</td>
<td>‘dialect’</td>
<td>lahja, bolī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gindguš</td>
<td>‘television’</td>
<td>teliwīžin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulgūdår</td>
<td>‘interview’</td>
<td>intriwīū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulnām</td>
<td>‘pen name’</td>
<td>taxallus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwāŋko</td>
<td>‘telephone’</td>
<td>telifūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kārgāl</td>
<td>‘verb’</td>
<td>fi’il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lačča</td>
<td>‘poetry’, ‘poem’</td>
<td>šī’r, nazm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laččakār</td>
<td>‘poet’</td>
<td>ša’ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazanšahdarbargāh</td>
<td>‘university’</td>
<td>yūntwirsi, zāntjāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nad</td>
<td>‘pen’</td>
<td>qalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadkār</td>
<td>‘writer’</td>
<td>qalamkār, niwisok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nekrāh</td>
<td>‘religion’</td>
<td>din, mazhab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimdī</td>
<td>‘letter’</td>
<td>xaʃʃ, kāgad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rahband</td>
<td>‘rule’</td>
<td>qā’ida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram</td>
<td>‘prose’</td>
<td>nasr, ridānk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šahdarbargāh</td>
<td>‘college’</td>
<td>kālij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tämur</td>
<td>‘film’</td>
<td>film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trundāb</td>
<td>‘wine’</td>
<td>šarāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāŋagi</td>
<td>‘book’</td>
<td>kitāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāŋguš</td>
<td>‘radio’</td>
<td>reḍyo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Maps

Map 1. The geographical distribution of New Iranian languages.
Map 2. Balochi-speaking regions in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan.
Map 3. Percentage of Balochi-speaking households in the different districts of the Province of Balochistan, Pakistan.
Map 4. Percentage of Balochi-speaking households in the different districts of the Province of Sind, Pakistan.
Map 5. Percentage of Balochi-speaking households in the different districts of the Province of Punjab, Pakistan.
A. Works in Balochi

1. Books and articles


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List of Interviews

These interviews were all made during my field trips to Pakistan from October 1986 to January 1987 and from April to May 1988.

For books by these persons and their literary activities see also *Catalogue of the Baluchi Academy Publications*, Chapter One and Bibliographical Appendix 1.


'Abdul Razzaq Sābir. Born in Kardagāp, Kalāt District, living in Quetta. Mother tongue Brahui. Lecturer in Brahui at the University of Balochistan, Quetta. Former editor of *Ulus*. Interview made in Quetta in December 1986, together with the interview with Pīr Muḥammad Zubayrānī (on tape in Balochi).

'Abdullāh Ḥān Jamāldīnī. Born in Noshke, living in Quetta. Professor of the Balochi Language at the University of Balochistan, Quetta. Leading literary figure since the 1950's. Writer of articles on language and literature. Member of the Balochi Academy. Interview made in Quetta in December 1986 (on tape in Balochi). Also many private conversations.


Aqīl Khān Mengāl, Mīr. Born in Noshke, living in Quetta. Professor of the Balochi Language at the University of Balochistan, Quetta. Co-operated with A. R. Barker in writing *A Course in Baluchi*. Writer on linguistic issues and literary criticism. Vice chairman of the Balochi Academy, Quetta. Interview made in Quetta in October 1986 (not on tape, only written notes). Also many private conversations.

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1 For geographical names, see Map 2.
`Atä Shäd. Born in Turbat, living in Quetta. Secretary of Tourism, Culture and Information in the Provincial Government of Balochistan. Renowned poet and drama writer. Member of the Balochi Academy, Quetta. Interview made in Quetta in December 1986 (on tape in Balochi and English).

(Abū Yahyā) `Aynr Baloch. Dr. Born and living in Khärän. Doctor and teacher of Islamics in a college in Khärän. Member of the Balochi Academy, Quetta. Interview made in Quetta in November 1986 (on tape in Balochi).

Ayyib Baloch. Born and living in Khärän. Doctor and teacher of Islamics in a college in Khärän. Member of the Balochi Academy, Quetta. Interview made in Quetta in November 1986 (on tape in Balochi).

`Aziz Bugti. Born in Dera Bugti, has studied in the USA, now living in Quetta. Head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Balochistan, Quetta. Member of the Balochi Academy. Interview made in Quetta in May 1988 (on tape in English).


Bashir Ahmad Baloch. Born in Kalätuk, Kech, now living in Quetta. Station director of the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (Radio Pakistan), Quetta. Chairman of the Balochi Academy, Quetta. Interview made in Quetta in November 1986 (on tape in English).


Ghani Parwäz. Born and partly living in Nazarābād, Kech, but also partly living in Turbat, where he teaches Political Science in a college. President of the Labzānī Kārwān, Turbat, and editor of Kārwān. Interview made in Quetta in May 1988 (on tape in Balochi).


The late Mithā Khān Marri, Mr. Born in Kāhān, living in Quetta many years down to his death in 1988. One of the leading literary men in Quetta. Writer of several books, mainly on classical poetry. Interview made in Quetta in November 1986 (on tape in Balochi).

Muhammad Anwar Kehtrān. Secretary of Education in the Provincial Government of Balochistan. Interview made in Quetta in May 1988 (on tape in English).


Muhammad Zubayráni, Pir. Born in Dasht, Kalāt District, living in Quetta. Mother tongue Brahui. At present acting editor of Ulus. Member of the Balochi Academy, Quetta. Interview made in Quetta in December 1986, together with the interview with 'Abdul Razzāq Sābir (on tape in Balochi).

Munir Baloch. Born in Ormāra, living in Quetta. Editor of Nawā’e watan. Member of the Balochi Academy, Quetta. Interview made in Quetta in December 1986 (on tape in Balochi).

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Ṣārat Khān Marri. Born in Kohlū, now living in Quetta. Former editor of Ulus. Interview made in Quetta in April 1988, partly together with the interview with 'Abdul Hakīm (on tape in Balochi).


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From 'Abdullâh Jân Jamâldînî, dated March 6, 1989.
From Karîm Baloch, dated May 12, 1988.
From Munîr Baloch, undated, received in Sept. 1987.
Indices

Three indices are appended to this work. In the first one names of persons are found. People solely mentioned in the dedication and acknowledgements are not included. The second index contains names of publications and publishers. Only primary sources, works from which text samples have been extracted and works listed in the Bibliographical Appendices are included. The third index contains languages and dialects. Balochi as a general term has here been excluded. The fact that references found in the Bibliography are not listed applies to all the indices.

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