Chapter 1

Notes on word order in Bashkardi

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This contribution discusses some features of word order in Bashkardi, a group of varieties of the Iranian branch of Indo-European spoken inland of the Strait of Hormuz in Southern Iran. The data are from recordings made by Ilya Gershevitch in 1956, when Persian influence was less strong than today. The findings include an average of 30% non-subject elements being in postverbal position. Goals of motion and of caused-motion show a strong preference for this position, except for Goals of 'put'-expressions, which are close to the overall average. More than 20% of nominal direct objects are postverbal, while pronouns are very rare in this position.

1 Introduction

1.1 Affiliation and location

For the purposes of this contribution, the term "Bashkardi" (ISO 639-3: bsg) refers to the varieties spoken inland of the Strait of Hormuz in Southern Iran in a region called Bašākerd (see the map in Figure 1).[1] By its being situated far away from the core of the Western Asian Transition Zone (see Haig et al. 2024 [this volume]), Bashkardi offers a convenient point of comparison with Iranian languages within that zone.

Bashkardi has been said to belong to the South-Western sub-branch of Iranian (e.g. Skjærvø 1989a: 846). However, the differences among the Bashkardi varieties – particularly between North (NBsh.) and South Bashkardi (SBsh.) – and the features they share with Balochi (which is classified as North-Western Iranian) suggest that "Bashkardi" could be the result of a linguistic area where Iranian

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[1]See Korn (2017: 79–80) for more details.

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varieties of different genetic affiliations have converged and developed shared features (cf. Korn 2021b: 302f.). In this sense, "Bashkardi" is a collective term "merely on the basis of territorial coverage" (Voskanian & Boyajian-Sureniants 2007: 122).

1.2 Data and previous works

The data for this article are from recordings made by Ilya Gershevitch during his visit to Iran in 1956. He did not publish any text, but did use his data for his articles on historical linguistics.[2] The data he cites there are summarised in Skjærvø (1989a,b).

Two of the texts (G and H in what follows) are published in Korn (2021a,b), and the corpus used for the present study is available at Korn & Gershevitch (2023a,b).[3]

Elements of Bashkardi grammar are summarised in Korn (2017, description of the nominal system with historical interpretation), and a brief sketch of North Bashkardi grammar is presented in Korn (2021b).

Some data are available from varieties spoken in the region today: Seddiqi Nejad (2010), describing the South Bashkardi of Dahwast; Barbera (2023, 2024) on the South Bashkardi of Garu; Barbera (2005, 2020) on the variety of the town of Minab; and Pelevin (2010) on the speech of Bandar-Abbas. A comparison with Gershevitch's recordings shows that the morphosyntax of Bashkardi has since become much more similar to that of Persian (see Korn 2017: 93–95), which highlights the importance of the data of 1956.

1.3 Some elements of Bashkardi grammar

For the discussion to follow, some grammatical features need to be kept in mind (see also Section 2.4.1). In Bashkardi as defined in Sections 1.1-2, there is no case distinction. The only elements which are (historically) case-marked are the pronominal clitics (enclitic pronouns, PC). They are used for the possessor and the indirect object as well as for the direct object in the present domain (i.e. in clauses whose verb form is based on the present stem), and for the transitive subject in the past domain (clauses with verb forms based on the past stem; this

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[2]See Gershevitch (1959) for an account of his journey, Korn (2015) for a description of Gershevitch's materials and Korn (2017: 81, 2021b: 301–302) for work on the data.

[3] All examples in what follows are from Korn & Gershevitch (2023a,b), specifying North / South Bashkardi as well as the text and sentence number in https://multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/#corpora. Further examples can be found in the works mentioned in this section.
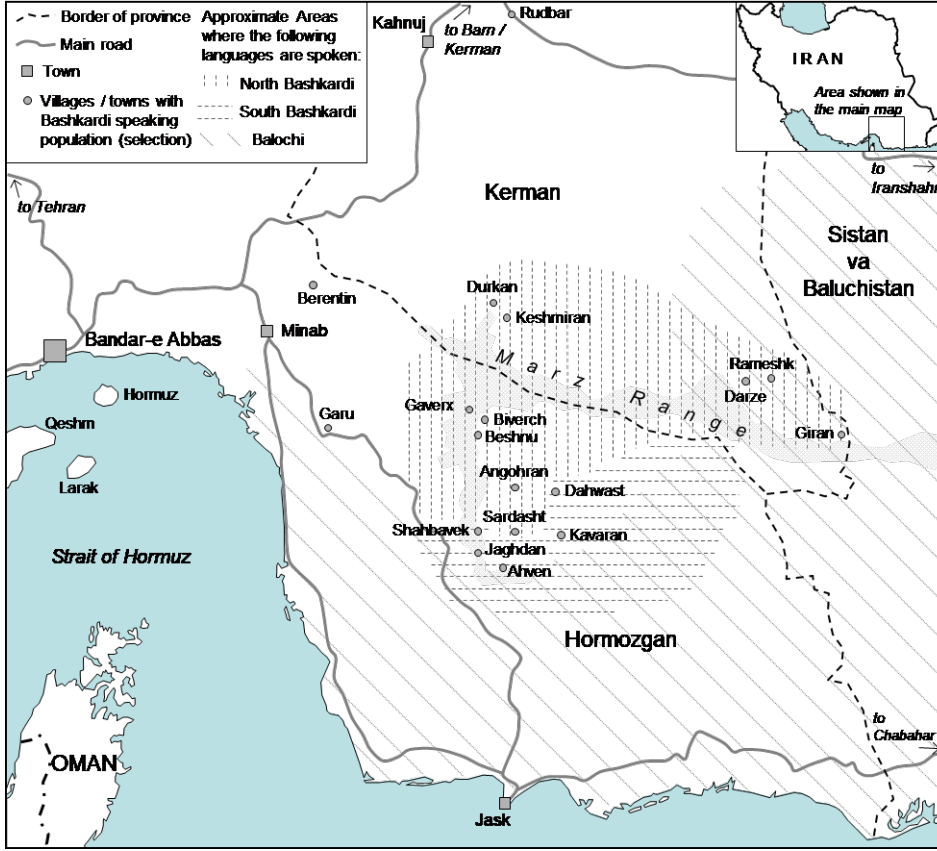
Figure 1: Location of Bashkardi varieties with locations mentioned in Gershevitch's materials

includes the perfect forms). In the latter domain, verbal agreement (if any) is with the direct object, and in some cases with the indirect object (recipient).

In both domains, nominal and pronominal indirect objects (see Section 2.4.3) and definite direct objects (see Section 2.4.2) can take a directional preposition ('to'), but are mostly unmarked, i.e. all elements marking syntactic relations mentioned in Section 2.1 are employed only sporadically.

Bashkardi is a heavily pro-drop language, which reduces potential examples of pronominal arguments as well as of other arguments that speakers can retrieve from the context.

In addition to the pronominal clitics, Bashkardi shows a number of other items which are consistently realized as enclitic to the preceding word, viz. the directional clitic (Section 2.1.3), the marker of specificity (Section 2.1.2), the possessor

clitic (Section 2.1.1), the forms of the copula, the subordinator *ke* (see Section 2.3) and the coordinating connective *o* 'and'.[4]

There are important differences between North and South Bashkardi (cf. Section 1.1), which include the use of TAM markers as well as the forms of the pronominal clitics and the verbal endings. Furthermore, there is a certain amount of variation also within each dialect group, and among speakers individually.

2 Word order profile

2.1 Noun phrases and adpositional phrases

Bashkardi noun phrases and adpositional phrases are head-initial (right-branching) as they are in Persian, but there are also left-branching patterns (which is the dominant pattern in Balochi). Demonstratives and numerals precede the noun.[5]

2.1.1 Adjectives and possessors

In general, adjectives and possessors follow the head noun and are linked to it by means of a clitic called "ezâfe" (=*i* and variants, EZ), which is also used for arguments of complex predicates (see Section 2.2).

Examples for the general pattern of an adjective being linked to its head noun by the ezâfe include (4) and (13a); an example without ezâfe is (11).

Some adjectives are preposed, cf. *aǰab* in (1) and *heil=o* in (3a) and (3b) – surely copied from Persian, where *aǰab* and *xeili* are preposed as well.

(1) North Bashkardi (I:59)
    aǰab   nöuk   ei mõ hast=ī
    amazing grandson to I   exists=PC.3SG
    'What an amazing grandson I have!'

The general pattern of a possessor being linked to the possessum by ezâfe is shown in *mahala=i* PN 'X's place' in (16d) and *čürak-e šēr* in (14). No ezâfe is required when the possessum is a body part, or when the possessor is a pronoun

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[4] *ke* and *o* are noted as independent words and without '=' in the examples below; the same applies to the forms of the copula unless they are part of a verb form.

[5] For the Bsh. nounphrase, see Korn (2017), specifically pp. 91–92 for adjectives, pp. 88–90 for possessive NPs, p. 85 for the marking of definiteness and p. 83–86 for number, and 86–87 for adpositional elements.

of the 1st or 2nd person (4, 8b) or the reflexive pronoun, although the ezâfe may be used here as well (13a, 17b).

There is also a (rare) head-final pattern (looking like a Balochi noun phrase), with or without the possessor clitic (=*ī*, POSS), (2).

(2) North Bashkardi (H:88, 103, 118, 134)
   tūlag-a=ī   sīr=å̊
   jackal-PL=POSS wedding=DIR
   '[I will go] to the jackals' wedding.'

Pronominal clitics are frequently used for the possessor (6a, 7b, 10c, 19).

They are also used for the possessor in the *mihi est* construction (the Bashkardi pattern expressing 'have', see Section 2.4.4), also in addition to a noun phrase (10d) or prepositional phrase (1) expressing the possessor. In most cases, 'exists' occupies the clause-final position (3a, 10b, 12a), but it can also be fronted (3b, 10b).

(3) South Bashkardi (C:31f.)

   a. [Kadxodā:] *heil=o   būv=et   heš*
                many=SPC date_palm=PC.2SG exists
       'Do you have many palm trees?' –

   b. *heš=om   haštåd ben   bū*
       exists=PC.1SG eighty trunk[6] date_palm
       'I have eighty palm trees.'

2.1.2 Demonstratives and numerals

Demonstratives precede the head noun without any linker. This is quite frequent, so that demonstratives approach the functions of a definite article (4, 5, 6a, 10c, 10d, 11, 14, 19).

There also is a (rare) suffix *-ak* that seems to express definiteness (4).

(4) North Bashkardi (H:18)
   tūla=i   xwara=ī   hamī måst-ak-ūn   mon a-xwar-ed
   jackal=EZ voracious=SPC DEM1 yoghurt-DEF-PL[7] I   IPFV-eat.PRS-3SG
   'A voracious jackal keeps eating this yoghurt of mine.'

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[6] *ben* can quite well be considered a numeral classifier here; 'trunk' is meant to render the literal meaning.

Numerals are followed by the head noun without (16b) or with an intervening numeral classifier (*ben* in (3b), *tå* in (10d)). In addition to the numeral 'one' (10d), singularity may be expressed by the specificity clitic (SPC, etymologically 'one')[8] *=ī, =ē*, SBsh. also *=ō*, which is placed at the end of the NP (4). When introducing a new entity, the NP frequently shows both (9, 10a, 10b, 14) so that 'one' is "circumposed"; (5) even shows two instances of the specificity marker.

(5) North Bashkardi (K:83)
     yak=ē gozer=ē hast=e hamē mahal
     one=SPC important=SPC exists=COP.3SG[9] DEM1 place
     'There is an important man in this place.'

2.1.3 Adpositions

Syntactic relations can optionally be clarified by prepositions, some of which are clearly borrowed from Persian (*barå_i* 'for' in (16c), *γeir=e* 'except for' in (17b), perhaps also *bå* 'with' in (11, 13a, 19)). Note the (sporadic) marking of objects with prepositions (see also Section 1.3).

For more precise meanings, nouns may be used as prepositions (relational nouns), e.g. *sar* 'head; on, above' or *dah* 'entrance' in (16e). Prepositions may also be combined with each other (6b) or with a relational noun.

(6) South Bashkardi (E:10f.)

     a. *ī dā=γom kāšt=om kūš*
         DEM1 hand=PC.1SG[10] draw.PST=PC.1SG knife
         '[With] this (= the other) my hand I drew the knife.'

     b. *zat=om be-rū der=e*
         hit.PST=PC.1SG to-on heart=PC.3SG
         'I struck [it] into his [the leopard's] heart.'

As for postposed elements, the (rare) directional clitic[11] *=å / =a* is appended to the noun, or to the NP (note its position following the pronominal clitic in (7b)). It may occur in combination with a preposition (16e).

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[7] Certain liquids, dairy products etc. are treated as plural in Bashkardi.

[8] This term follows HEINE, see Korn (2017: 85).

[9] Cf. the parallel constructions with COP.PST in (10a, 10b, 10d). For copula forms added to a finite verb in Balochi, see Korn & Nourzaei (2019: 651–652).

[10] *γ* is the hiatus-bridging element attaching the pronominal clitic *=om*.

[11] This clitic should be distinguished from the "directional clitic" that attaches to verb forms in Gorani and Kurdish, see Haig et al. 2024, Mohammadirad 2024 [this volume].

(7) North Bashkardi (K:126)

    a. *xo, hålå på ba-Ø*   *tå*   *be-rr-īn*
        well now foot become.PRS-IMP.2SG so_that MOD-go.PRS-1PL
        'Now get up; let's go,

    b. *tå*   *dehngōn*[12]*=et=a*   *seråk*   *be-dah-om.*
        so_that landlord=PC.2SG=DIR showing MOD-give.PRS-1SG
        [and] I will show [you] your landlord
        (and you will see how miserable he is now).'

Note also the possessive clitic mentioned in Section 2.1.1.

2.2 Verbal expressions

Auxiliaries are rare in Bashkardi; TAM categories are expressed by the presence or absence of verbal prefixes, as seen throughout the examples above and below. The perfect system uses the perfect participle followed by the inflected copula, as does the progressive, which is built from the past stem or infinitive.[13]

    The uninflected element *bååt* 'it is necessary' (certainly copied from Persian *bāyad*, but not a transparent verb form in Bashkardi) is occasionally found; it is placed towards the beginning of the clause; the main verb is in the subjunctive (8b).

(8) North Bashkardi (J:46f)

    a. *ei eståd=ī*   *go*   *gorg ke*
        to master=PC.3SG say.PST wolf SUB
        'To the blacksmith said the wolf:

    b. *to*   *bååt-ē*   *gap=e pošbår mo be-zan-ī*
        you.SG it_is_necessary-2SG talk=EZ support I   MOD-hit.PRS-2SG
        "You have to speak up for me, (...)."'

    Complex predicates are frequent, e.g. *på b-* 'get up' (7a) and *seråk da-* 'show' (7b). The nominal part can take an argument constructed like a possessor (8b), (9), so that it is positioned within the complex predicate.

    There is a continuum of combinations of a transitive verb with an indefinite (or generic) direct object to conventionalised complex predicates, which can be

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[12] *dehngōn* (cf. Persian *dehqān, dehgān*) shows an unetymological *-n-* throughout this text.

[13] See Korn (2022a) and Korn & Suleymanov (2017) for the functions of the prefixes, the progressive and the verbal system in general.

analysed as single predicative items. For instance, *šekåyat kan-* in (13b) could be analysed as a complex predicate 'to complain' or as 'lodge a complaint', thus *šekåyat* a direct object. (8b) could show *gap-e pošbår mo* 'my defense (talk of my support)' as direct object of *zan-*; alternatively, *pošbår mo* 'my support' could be the direct object of the complex predicate *gap zan-* ('talk-hit' is used for 'speak' also in Balochi, vs. Persian *ḥarf zan-*); or one could consider *gap-e pošbår zan-* as a complex predicate 'speak up', in which case *mo* would be the beneficiary.

There is thus a certain amount of subjectivity in the interpretation, which potentially affects the statistics of several categories.

(9) South Bashkardi (A:41)
hålå to   yeu gap=o seråk=i   yamah adeh-Ø
now you.SG one talk=SPC showing=EZ we[14]   give.PRS[15]-IMP.2SG
'Now show us some talk [from the tape recorder]!'

There are also directional preverbs such as *or-* in (16e).

In the case of clause-initial verbs, it is often unclear whether we are looking at an element postposed to the verb, or at an instance of fronting of the verb. The latter may occur at the beginning of a tale, introducing the tale's characters (10a, 10b)[16] or at the beginning of a new episode, but also in pragmatic contexts that still need to be established (potential examples include (6b); see also the *mihi est* pattern in Section 2.1.1).

(10) South Bashkardi (K:1-5)

a. *hast=a   ya måldår=ē*
exists=COP.PST.3sg one rich_man=SPC
'There was a rich man.
(someone in the background:) Hm.

b. *ya måldår=ē   hast=a*
one rich_man=SPC exists=COP.PST.3sg
hast=ar=ī   ya sålål
exists=COP.PST.3SG=PC.3SG one shepherd
There was a rich man, [and] he had a shepherd.

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[14]As in Persian, the non-verbal element of a complex predicate can take an argument, which is attached by the ezâfe.

[15]The PRS stem of 'give' is *adeh-* in Gershevitch's SBsh. data; prefixing the imperfective *a-* yields *ādeh-* (Skjærvø 1989a: 848).

[16]See Korn (2020) for features of folk tales in Bashkardi.

c. *ī   sålål=ī   fakīr a*
this shepherd=PC.3SG poor COP.PST.3SG
This shepherd of his was poor.

d. *ī   fakīr   do tå čuk=ī   hast=ī=a*
DEM1 poor_man two piece child=PC.3SG exists=PC.3SG=COP.PST.3SG
o   ya zã
and one woman
This poor man had two children, and one wife.'

2.3 Complex sentences

The subordinator *ke* introduces any kind of subordinate clause – i.e. relative (11), complement (13a), adverbial – as well as quoted speech (8a). The subordinate generally follows the matrix clause. Owing to its clitic nature (see Section 1.3), *ke* is attached to the first stressed element or to the first multi-word constituent if the subordinate precedes the matrix clause, as in (12a), where it even interrupts the noun phrase 'as many guns'.

(11) North Bashkardi (F:24)
hamå best-ōn   sorx ke bå   åteš sorx en
DEM2 pebble-PL red SUB with fire red COP.3PL
'those red-hot pebbles, which are red-hot from the fire'

(12) South Bashkardi (E:33f.)

a. *har-kader ke tofak=an   hat*
any-extent SUB gun=PC.1PL COP.PST.3SG
'Insofar as we had guns (any amount of guns that we had),

b. *doulat=ī   a   dā-y   a-bert-om*
State=PC.3SG from hand-HI IPFV-carry.PST-1PL
the State kept taking [them] from our hand.'

(13) South Bashkardi (D:13f.)

a. *hål   a-xåh-om*
now IPFV-want.PRS-1PL
ke ra-m   bå   ǰamīat=e   xailī=e xo
SUB go.PRS-1PL with population=EZ very=EZ REFL
'Now we want (that) we go with a large group of our [people]

b. *dar bandir-abbås šekåyat=ī   kan-om*
   in PN   complaint=SPC do.PRS-1PL
   [and] lodge a complaint in Bandar Abbas.'

When *ke* is combined with a nominal (e.g. '[the] time SUB' = 'when'), this neo-conjunction (borrowed or calqued on Persian models) is accentuated and introduces the subordinate clause. However, this is rare in the data.

Indeed, chains of main clauses are often preferred to overt marking of subordination, as is demonstrated by (10) and (16). These passages also show that Tail-Head-Linkage is frequent. Repeated material often appears in a different word order, e.g. with old information placed in front of the verb (10b, 10c, 16b).

2.4 Word order in main clauses

2.4.1 Generalities

Like other Ir. languages, Bashkardi main clauses with NPs as constituents are for their majority SOV. However, other word orders are not rare, and this in spite of the absence of marking of noun phrases (see Section 1.3). In the data used for this project, Bashkardi shows 30% of non-subject elements in postverbal position. This count includes nouns and pronouns (following the WOWA project's concept, pronominal clitics are not taken into account in the discussion and percentages to follow), with or without adpositional elements, but excludes clauses (e.g. complement clauses, which could likewise be considered as direct objects).

Information structure seems to play an important role for word order, and the status of an element as new or old information may override the SOV pattern and also the preferences for the placement of a particular element mentioned below (see also Sections 2.2 and 2.3).

Many of the phenomena discussed below are also found in other Iranian languages, but references are limited to other chapters in this volume.[17]

2.4.2 Direct objects

Overall, 21% of all direct objects are in postverbal position (Table 1). Compared to other Iranian languages in the WOWA sample (cf. Haig et al. 2024 [this volume]), Bashkardi has the highest frequency of nominal postverbal direct objects.

Nominal direct objects (see also Section 2.2) are predominantly preverbal (4, 7b, 9, 16b, 16e). However, postverbal direct objects such as in (6a) and (14) make up

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[17]Percentages in the text to follow are rounded, and refer to North and South Bashkardi taken together.

Table 1: Position of direct objects (n / %)

	Preverbal		Postverbal		All positions	
Nominal	198	(77%)	58	(23%)	256	(100%)
Pronominal	30	(94%)	2	(6%)	32	(100%)
All direct objects	228	(79%)	60	(21%)	288	(100%)

23%, which is an important percentage, even if significantly less than the overall average of 30% mentioned for postverbal non-subject elements in Section 2.4.1.

(14) North Bashkardi (K:46)
hamē čürak=e šēr   zar=ī   ya gart=ī
DEM1 kid=EZ   lion hit.PST=PC.3SG one roar=SPC
'The lion cub gave a roar.'

Pronouns as direct objects only occur under specific pragmatical conditions, since being expressed by a pronoun would imply that the referents are known, in which situation pro-drop applies (see Section 1.3); this is the case for the knife in (6b), the guns in (12b), the goat kid in (15a) and the talk in (17c). When they do occur, they are nearly always in preverbal position, and indefinite pronouns always so (15a, 17a).

(15) North Bashkardi (G:29)

   a. *har-čī   mon a-g-om: ma-koš-Ø,*
      any-thing I   IPFV-say.PRS-1SG PROH-kill.PRS-IMP.2SG
      'However much I say: "Don't kill [it] (the goat kid)!",'

   b. *å   a-koš-i=e*
      DEM2 IPFV-kill.PRS-3SG=PC.3SG
      he will kill it.'

2.4.3 Targets

Targets, a cover-term for elements indicating the end point of an action or event (see Table 2 and Korn 2022b: 90), occur postverbally in more than 50% of all instances, which is significantly more than the 30% found across all non-subject

elements. Pronouns are rarely used in these functions; they do not share the postverbal tendency.[18]

Table 2: Postverbalness of Targets[19]

	total n	of which postverbal		pronouns/ of which postverbal		
Goals of motion	102	74	(73%)	2	1	(50%)
Goals of caused motion proper	25	18	(72%)	3	0	(0%)
'put'-expressions	22	8	(36%)	1	0	(0%)
Recipients	35	21	(60%)	16	5	(31%)
Beneficiaries and rec-ben[20]	16	6	(38%)	9	1	(11%)
Addressees	7	2	(29%)	2	0	(0%)
Final states	39	6	(15%)	1	0	(0%)
Sum	246	135	(55%)	34	7	(21%)

As for all languages discussed in this volume (cf. Haig et al. 2024 [this volume]), Goals of verbs of motion show the highest postverbal percentage. Preverbal instances are often part of a Tail-Head-Linkage chain (see Section 2.3), as in (16b).

(16)   South Bashkardi (A:2–8)

   a. *sabåh   a-rra-īn   gaverx*
      morning IPFV-go.PRS-1SG PN
      'In the morning I go to Gaverx.

   b. *gaverx a-rra-īn   čūr xom būr a-kan-īn*
      PN   IPFV-go.PRS-1SG four date load IPFV-do.PRS-1SG
      I go to Gaverx (When I have arrived in Gaverx...), I load four [loads of] dates.

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[18]The non-pronominal instances include nouns and adverbial expressions (e.g. 'here, to this place'), which are common for Targets.

[19]The n here refers to the total number of the category, e.g.: there are 102 goals of motion in the data, of which 74 (73%) are postverbal; 2 of the 102 instances are pronouns, of which one is postverbal.

[20]"rec-ben" is a category for items where it is difficult to decide whether they are recipients or beneficiaries.

c. *a-p-īn   ba mahala barå_i amīrī*
   IPFV-come.PRS-1SG   to home   for   PN
   I come [and bring them] home for Amiri.

d. *az_bād_e a-rra-īn   mahale=i ahmad=i madī*
   after_that IPFV-go.PRS-1SG home=EZ PN=EZ   PN
   Then I go the house of Ahmad Mahdi.

e. *ahmad=i mādī or-gir-īn   a-p-īn   dah gare=a*
   PN=EZ   PN   up-take.PRS-1SG IPFV-go.PRS-1SG into PN=DIR[21]
   I take Ahmad Mahdi [and] I come to Gaverx.'

Targets of expressions meaning 'put' (18) pattern like the overall average. They thus differ from Goals of caused motion such as 'bring', 'send', which pattern like Goals of motion (17c).

(17)   South Bashkardi (A:47f.)

a. *to   heč   a-n-k-en*
   you.SG nothing IPFV-NEG-do.PRS-2SG
   'You don't do anything

b. *γeir=e   gap-an=e yamah a-čīn-e*
   besides=EZ talk-PL=EZ we   IPFV-collect.PRS-2SG
   but collect our talk,

c. *o   or-gir-e*
   and up-take.PRS-2SG
   o   a-rr-e   a-bar-e   ba tehrūn
   and IPFV-go.PRS-2SG IPFV-carry.PRS-2SG to PN
   take [it] and go [and] bring [it] to Tehran.'

(18)   North Bashkardi (F:32)
   å   wurå dega a-hr-end=eh
   DEM there again IPFV-put.PRS-3PL=PC.3SG
   'Then they put it (the bread) there (aside).'

Recipients are somewhat Goal-like in terms of placement, while Beneficiaries pattern like Goals of 'put'.

Addressees are rare, as they are usually retrievable from the context (see Section 1.3). Where they are expressed (8a), they pattern like the overall average.

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[21]It is not clear whether *gare-a* refers to Gaverx or to another place.

A postverbal example of postverbal final state ('turns into a stone / is turned into a stone') is 'snakes' in (19), which is even marked by a preposition, recalling a similar pattern in Kurdish (see Haig 2022). However, this position is rare in the data.

(19) North Bashkardi (K:129)
hamå mål=ī   kolliya büd-e   vå   mår
DEM2 cattle=PC.3SG entirely become.PST-PRF with snake
'… [and] that cattle of his had all become snakes.'

2.4.4 Other obliques

Non-subject elements other than direct objects and Targets occur mostly preverbally, but all categories do show postverbal instances (Table 3).

Table 3: Postverbalness of other obliques[19]

	total n	of which postverbal		pronouns/ of which postverbal		
Instrument and Comitative	12	8	(67%)	2	2	(100%)
Location	16	6	(38%)	—		
Predicative location	13	2	(20%)	—		
Predicative	50	5	(10%)	7	0	(0%)
Possessum	47	6	(13%)	5	0	(0%)
Ablative, Cause and Stimulus	32	3	(9%)	2	0	(0%)
Time	62	3	(5%)	—		
Other	49	12	(24%)	2	0	(0%)
Sum	281	45	(16%)	18	2	(11%)

Instrumentals and comitative expressions are predominantly found following the verb (6a), while the preverbal position also occurs (13a).

Locational expressions are found both preceding (13b) and following the verb (5). Even more strongly preverbal are predicative expressions of location ('X is in the house / on the table') and other predicatives ('X is green / Y is my uncle').

The same applies to ablative-like expressions (12b).

Patterning similarly are possessed items, which in the WOWA project refers to the X in the *mihi est* pattern 'to me is/exists X = I have X' (see Section 2.1.1).[22]

Temporal adverbials are found in clause-initial position in the vast majority of cases (9, 7a, 13a, 16a, 16d); their placement thus is not so much a question of pre- vs. postverbal.

3 Areal features

As mentioned in Section 2.4.1, Bashkardi shares the basic SOV order and other features with other Iranian languages. Its basically head-initial structure of nominal and adpositional phrases is shared with Persian, which obviously has influenced all other languages spoken in the country (and beyond). In other respects, however, Bashkardi is closer to Balochi, by which it is geographically surrounded (and with which it must surely have been in contact for centuries), for instance in the preservation of (some type) of (post-)ergativity. Bashkardi differs from both Persian and Balochi (but somewhat agrees with late Middle Persian) in the absence of marking of arguments, since the prepositions and postposed elements mentioned in Section 2.1 are used only sporadically to mark the direct or indirect object or the Goal of movement.

Some of the features just mentioned are discussed in Korn (2022a), which also suggests the possibility that only (some of) North Bashkardi is of the Persian sub-branch (South West Iranian) to which Bashkardi has been held to belong, while (some of) South Bashkardi could be a Balochi dialect historically (see Section 1.1). In this case, both head-final and head-initial noun phrase structures could be inherited in Bashkardi, contributing to the variation found in the data.

Seeing that word order is rather free in many Iranian languages (including colloquial Persian, but excluding more strictly verb-final standard Persian), I assume the same freedom for their Middle Iranian predecessors. I also think that a tendency towards the postverbal position of Goals of verbs of movement (and maybe some other types of Targets) could be inherited from Middle Iranian.[23]

There is a rather far-reaching agreement of Bashkardi word order with the South Balochi data investigated in Korn (2022b), while there are also some points of difference. A systematic comparison of the two languages will be the topic of a separate article, which will also discuss the influence of weight, flagging, etc. to the placement of non-subject elements.

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[22]The possessor in the *mihi est* construction could alternatively be interpreted as recipient or beneficiary, which would affect the statistics.

[23]Cf. Korn (2022b: 122), and see Jügel (2022) for a study of word order in Middle Iranian. See also Nourzaei & Haig 2024: Section ?? [this volume] for discussion.

Abbreviations

COP	copula	NP	noun phrase
DEF	marker of definiteness (see 2.1.2)	PC	pronominal clitic (see 1.3)
DEM	demonstrative pronoun (1: proximal, 2: distal)	PL	plural
		PN	name
DIR	directional clitic (see 2.1.3)	POSS	possessor clitic (see 2.1.1)
EZ	ezâfe (see 2.1.1)	PRF	perfect (participle)
HI	hiatus-bridging consonant	PROH	prohibitive prefix
		PRS	present stem
IMP	imperative	PST	past stem
IPFV	imperfective prefix	REFL	reflexive pronoun
MOD	modal prefix (for subjunctive and imperative)	SBsh.	South Bashkardi
		SG	singular
		SPC	marker of specificity (see 2.1.2)
n	number of instances		
NBsh.	North Bashkardi	SUB	subordinator (see 2.3)
NEG	negation	TAM	tense-aspect-mood

See Footnote 3 for the citation of examples.

Acknowledgements

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