U.S.S.R. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

M. S. ANDRONOV

THE BRAHUI LANGUAGE

EDITORS' NOTE

The "Languages of Asia and Africa" series was founded in 1959 by the late Prof. G.P. Serdyuchenko, under whose general supervision more than 75 language monographs were published. These publications aroused considerable interest among the Soviet and foreign readers.

After Prof. G.P. Serdyuchenko's death the publication of the series has continued under the Editorial Board.

The monographs comprising the series describe either the living languages of African and Asian countries or the languages of the past, which played an important historical role in the life and culture of the peoples of the East.

The series is intended for a wide range of linguists and historians—research workers and postgraduate students and also lecturers and undergraduates of the Oriental, philological and historical departments of universities. The monographs may prove useful to readers interested in general linguistics or to students of Oriental languages.

Below we give a full list of all monographs which have appeared up to date in Russian.

1959

Н.В. Юшманов, *Амхарский язык.*
(N.V. Yushmanov, *The Amharic Language*).

1960

М.С. Андронов, *Тамильский язык.*
(M.S. Andronov, *The Tamil Language*).

Н.А. Дворянков, *Язык пушту.*
(N.A. Dvoryankov, *The Pashto Language*).

Н.К. Дмитриев, *Турецкий язык.*
(N.K. Dmitriyev, *The Turkish Language*).

Л.Н. Дорофеева, *Язык фарси-кабули.*
(L.N. Dorofeyeva, *The Farsi-Kabuli Language*).

Г.А. Зограф, *Языки Индии, Пакистана, Цейлона и Непала.*
(G.A. Zograph, *The Languages of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal*).

В.В. Иванов, В.Н. Топоров, *Санскрит.*
(V.V. Ivanov, V.N. Toporov, *Sanskrit*).

Т.Е. Катенина, *Язык хинди.*
(T.Y. Katenina, *Hindi*).

Ю.Н. Мазур, *Корейский язык.*
(Y.N. Mazur, *The Korean Language*).

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Е.Н. Мячина, *Язык суахили*.
(Y.N. Myachina, *The Swahili Language*).

Э.Н. Наджип, *Современный уйгурский язык*.
(E.N. Nadzhip, *The Modern Uigur Language*).

В.М. Насилов, *Язык орхоно- енисейских памятников*.
(V.M. Nasilov, *The Language of the Orkhon-Yenisei Inscriptions*).

З.Н. Петруничева, *Язык телугу*.
(Z.N. Petrunicheva, *The Telugu Language*).

Ю.А. Рубинчик, *Современный персидский язык*.
(Y.A. Rubinchik, *The Modern Persian Language*).

Г.Д. Санжеев, *Современный монгольский язык*.
(G.D. Sanzheyev, *The Modern Mongolian Language*).

М.А. Смирнова, *Язык хауса*.
(M.A. Smirnova, *The Hausa Language*).

В.М. Солнцев, Ю.К. Лекомцев, Т.Т. Мхитарян, И.И. Глебова, *Вьетнамский язык*.
(V.M. Solntsev, Y.K. Lekomtsev, T.T. Mhitaryan, I.I. Glebova, *The Vietnamese Language*).

А.С. Теселкин, Н.Ф. Алиева, *Индонезийский язык*.
(A.S. Tesyolkin, N.F. Aliyeva, *Bahasa Indonesia*).

Б.Х. Тодаева, *Монгольские языки и диалекты Китая*.
(B.Kh. Todayeva, *The Mongolian Languages and Dialects of China*).

Н.И. Толстая, *Язык панджаби*.
(N.I. Tolstaya, *The Punjabi Language*).

Н.И. Фельдман, *Японский язык*.
(N.I. Feldman, *The Japanese Language*).

В.А. Фролова, *Белуджский язык*.
(V.A. Frolova, *The Baluchi Language*).

1961

В.Д. Бабакаев, *Ассамский язык*.
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(M.A. Korostovtsev, *The Egyptian Language*).

Н.Н. Коротков, Ю.В. Рождественский, Г.П. Сердюченко, В.М. Солнцев, *Китайский язык*.
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1962

М.С. Андронов, *Язык каннада*.
(M.S. Andronov, *The Kannada Language*).

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1963

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1971

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Е.Г. Титов, *Современный амхарский язык.*
(E.G. Titov, *The Modern Amharic Language).*

1972

Л.Н. Морев, А.А. Москалев, Ю.Я. Плам, *Лаосский язык.*
(L.N. Morev, A.A. Moskalyov, Y.Y. Plam, *The Lao Language).*

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1977

В.В. Лебедев, *Поздний среднеарабский язык (XIII-XVIII вв.).*
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(L.N. Morev, *The Lü Language).*

А.А. Москалев, *Язык дуаньских ло (язык ну).*
/A.A. Moskalyov, *The Language of the Tuan Yao (the Nu Language)/.*

1979

В.Г. Гузев, *Староосманский язык.*
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The Editorial Board has undertaken the publication of the series in English. So far the following essays have appeared:

1965

M.S. Andronov, *The Tamil Language.*
I.M. Diakonoff, *Semito-Hamitic Languages.*

1966

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1978

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Y.N. Zawadowski. *The Maghrib Arabic Dialects.*

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1980

M.V. Kryukov, *The Language of Yin Inscriptions.*

We beg readers to address their wishes and criticisms to: Editorial Board of "Languages of Asia and Africa", Central Department of Oriental Literature, "Nauka" Publishing House, 12/1 Zhdanov St., Moscow-45, U.S.S.R.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Brahui *(brā'ūī)* is a Dravidian language. It is spoken in Pakistan—mainly in the Kalat and Hairpur regions, and to a lesser extent in the Quetta, Hyderabad and Karachi regions—as well as beyond Pakistan's borders—in Afghanistan and Iran.

The exact number of Brahui speakers is unknown. Since most Brahuis are bilingual, they sometimes do not distinguish themselves from Baluchis, which results in incomplete estimates of their number at censuses, etc. According to the 1961 Census /70, IV-31, 117/[1], some 366,000 people in Pakistan considered Brahui to be their mother tongue (151,000 of them inhabited the Kalat region, 108,000 the Hairpur region, 39,000 the Quetta region, 38,000 the Hyderabad region and 27,000 the Karachi region). Perhaps part of the Pakistanis (87,000) who entered Brahui as their second language should also be included in this number. In Afghanistan, Brahuis inhabit the south-west of the country, wandering with their livestock in the area between Shorawak and Chakhansur /71, 446/. In Iran, Brahuis are encountered mainly in the eastern regions of the country along its borders with Afghanistan and Pakistan (from Sabzawar to Bempur). The total number of the Brahuis who inhabit these countries can be estimated but very approximately: it is generally assumed that from 25,000 to 100,000 Brahuis live in Afghanistan and Iran /77, 754; 25, 438/. In the USSR, small groups of Brahuis inhabit southern regions of Turkmenia /77, 754/. If the rapid growth of the Brahui population in Pakistan over the few last decades is taken into account (cf. 146,300 in 1911; 218,600 in 1951 and 365,800 in 1961), it is reasonable to assume that the total number of Brahui speakers at present is much in excess of 400,000 and is probably nearer 500,000.

All the Brahui tribes are divided into three large groups, and this is reflected in the three major divisions of their language into dialects. The groups are in fact three tribal alliances incorporating the so-called indigenous tribes (the Iltāzai, the Ahmadzai, the GurgnāRī, the KalandrāRī, the KambrāRī, the MīrwāRī, the Rōdēnī and the SumālāRī), the Sarawan tribes (the Rastamzai, the Sātakzai, the Sarparra, the Raisānī, the

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[1] The first figure in the brackets stands for the number under which the work concerned is listed in the Bibliography, the next figure, separated from the first by a comma, stands for the page (when necessary); different works (by one and the same author or by different authors), which are entered under appropriate numbers, are separated by a semicolon.

Māmashāhī, the Kurds, the LahRī, the Zahrī-Mēngal, the Bangulzai, the Lāngav and the Shahwānī) and the Jhalawan tribes (the Nīchārī, the Hārūnī, the Pandrānī, the Sājdī, the Bīzanjav, the Māmasānī, the Zahrī and the Mēngal), respectively. The indigenous tribes inhabit mainly the Kalat valley, the Sarawan tribes live north of Kalat, and the Jhalawan tribes south of Kalat. At present a considerable part of Brahui tribes are engaged in agriculture and lead a settled life; however, even today there are many nomadic Brahui livestock breeders.

Brahui tribes are not associations of people based on blood relationship. In most cases they are administrative-economic and military-political organisations, formed comparatively recently by the association of different families and not infrequently including groups that had originally spoken another language and had gradually assimilated Brahui.[2] As a rule, the names of the tribes are of later origin and are linked with the personal names of their first chiefs or the names given them by their neighbours. On the contrary, the ethnonym *brā'ūī* is of ancient and purely Dravidian origin and in this respect does not differ from the self-appellations of other Dravidian peoples and tribes,[3] with many of which it is connected etymologically. Thus, the second part of this ethnonym is identical with the self-appellations of some other Dravidian peoples: the Kui *(kūi)*, the Kuvi *(kūvinga)*, the Konda *(kūbi)*, the Gondi *(koītōRk, kōya)*, which mean 'mountain people', 'mountaineers' (cf. the Tamil *kō* 'mountain').[4] The replacement of a velar stop by a glottal stop in an intervocal position in this case is quite possible.[5] The first part of the ethnonym contains an attribute of the second and tells which particular mountaineers speak this language. In words of Dravidian origin initial consonant clusters appear as a result of the dropping of the vowel which originally existed between them, the quality of the vowel that was dropped influencing the quality of the vowel in the second syllable (the latter becomes longer) in accordance with these rules: $a...a > \bar{a}$, $i...i > \bar{\imath}$, $u...u > \bar{u}$, $i/e...a > \bar{e}$, $u/o...a > \bar{o}$.[6] At the same time

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[2] For a detailed historical and ethnographic characterisation of the Brahuis, see works by D. Bray and M.G. Pikulin /69; 12; 78/.

[3] Tracing *brā'hūī* to the proper name Ibrahim, so popular among the Brahuis themselves, is merely a case of folk etymology linked with the adoption of Islam. The Iranian etymology of this ethnonym, *barōhī* 'mountaineer', is debatable for a number of reasons (vagueness of phonetic correspondences, unusualness of adopting a foreign word as a self-appellation, etc.). However, it is possible that *barōhī* was an Iranian translation loan word copying the Dravidian name.

[4] Also cf. the synonymous self-appellations of other Dravidian peoples and tribes: *kur'ava* 'Korava', 'mountaineer', *maleh* 'Malto', 'mountaineer', *malayāLī* 'Malayali', 'inhabitant of a mountainous country'.

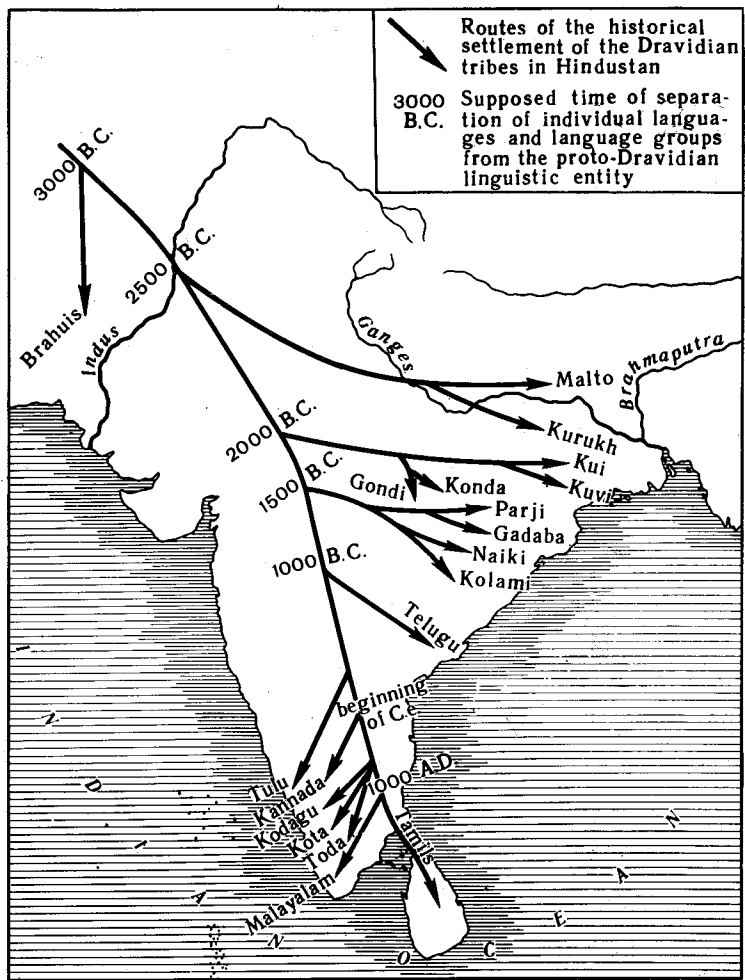[5] Cf., for instance, *tākā* 'wind' in Kurukh, *tāke* 'wind' in Malto, *ta'ō* 'wind' in Brahui.

[6] For a detailed analysis of these phonetic processes, see A. Master /64, 340-362/.

the Brahui consonant *b-* is a reflection of the initial *v-* /47, 99/. Finally, *-r-* may be either the original sonant *-r-* or a reflection of the proto-Dravidian noise consonants *-R-* and *-r'-* or the sonant *-Z-* /16, XIII/. The meaning of the word shows that in this case *-r-* apparently comes from the proto-Dravidian *-R-*, i.e. *brā'ūī* < *vaRa + kō + ī*, the entire word meaning 'northern mountaineers' or 'people of the northern mountains'.

During the historical migration of the forebears of the modern Dravidians into India, the ancestors of the Brahuis were the first to separate from the bulk of the proto-Dravidian tribes moving to the south and south-east and, having settled more to the north than all the other kindred tribes, received their name. The separation of the ancestors of the Brahuis, as well as the beginning of the migration of the Dravidians into India, dates back to hoary antiquity and, as testified by archaeological data /79, 65-66; 80, 72/, could not have taken place later than the 4th-3rd millennia B.C. Lexico-statistical research /56, 170-186/ shows conclusively that the separation of the Brahui from the common Dravidian stock began between the 4th and 3rd millennia or even at the very end of the 4th millennium B.C. The separation of the forebears of the other modern peoples and tribes from the common proto-Dravidian stock took place after the separation of the ancestors of the Brahuis: as the Dravidian tribes pushed southwards, there separated from them and stayed behind the ancestors of the modern Malto and the Kurukh (first half of the 3rd millennium B.C.), the Kui, the Kuvi, the Konda and the Gondi (second half of the 3rd millennium B.C.), the Parji, the Gadaba, the Naiki and the Kolami (15th-11th centuries B.C.), the Telugu (10th-9th centuries B.C.), etc. /56, 170-186/.

The character of the disintegration of the common proto-Dravidian entity had predetermined the further relations between its members and found its expression in the classification of the modern Dravidian languages, having determined, in particular, the place of Brahui among the other languages. According to the modern conception, Brahui belongs to the north-western group of the Dravidian languages. It is apparently most closely related to the north-eastern group of these languages, which includes Malto and Kurukh. Brahui is related more distantly to the Gondwana group, which includes Kui, Kuvi, Manda, Pengo, Konda and Gondi, and still more distantly to the central group, which includes Parji, Gadaba, Kolami and Naiki. The languages of the south-eastern group (Telugu), those of the south-western group (Koraga, Bellari and Tulu) and those of the southern group (Kuruba, Kannada, Kodagu, Kota, Toda, Kurru, Malayalam and Tamil) are most distantly related to Brahui.

The historical process of the Dravidians' settlement of the Indian Subcontinent, accompanied by the disintegration of the proto-Dravidian linguistic entity and the formation of the modern languages and language groups, resembles, speaking metaphorically, a head of cabbage which shed its leaves one after another as it moved southwards, rather than the traditional genealogical tree from whose trunk grew the individual branch languages. Schematically, with the factors of time, place and language affinity taken into account, this process may be represented by the map on the following page.

Routes of the historical settlement of the Dravidian tribes in Hindustan

3000 B.C. Supposed time of separation of individual languages and language groups from the proto-Dravidian linguistic entity

The extremely early isolation of Brahui had determined the character of its links with the other Dravidian languages, with none of which it has an affinity that would justify their inclusion into a single group. The main features of Brahui phonetics and grammar for the most part either reflect only the general links between this language and the other Dravidian languages as a whole or oppose it, to the same extent, to all the cognate languages (the formants of the dative and objective cases or the reflections of all vowels with the exception of e and o may provide examples of the former features, and the reflection of the proto-Dravidian root vowels *e and *o, the reflection of *c before u/ū, e/ē as k or the development of a complicated system of locative cases may provide examples of the latter features). Innovations having parallels only in some of the cognate languages do not produce isoglottic lines; these innovations are probably a result of an

independent parallel development, in a number of languages, of one and the same feature—a feature that does not presuppose a previous affinity between this group of languages traceable to an intermediate parent language; or they may be a result of a chance coincidence. Such, for example, is the reflection of the initial *v- as b- in Brahui, Malto, Kurukh, Kannada, Kodagu and Tulu, the reflection of */ as a voiceless lh in some positions in Brahui and Toda, the formant of the Past tense -k- in Brahui, Malto, Kurukh, Kota, etc. Isolated features which coincide in Brahui and the languages of the north-eastern group (the reflection of *k- as x- in some positions in Brahui, Malto and Kurukh, etc.) may testify to a somewhat closer relation between Brahui and the languages of the north-eastern group than between the former and the languages of the other groups, but they do not provide sufficient reasons for their inclusion into a single group.[7] It is most likely that these common features testify to the existence in proto-Dravidian of various dialects, from one of which they may have been inherited by languages of both the north-western and north-eastern groups. The fact that these groups had nothing in common after Brahui had separated from proto-Dravidian is graphically demonstrated, in particular, by the analysis of the common vocabulary preserved in Brahui and other languages. Thus, out of 202 instances in which Brahui material is used in A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary by T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, only in seven there exist etymologies common to Brahui, Malto and Kurukh; in 108 instances there exist etymologies common to Brahui and other languages, and in 87 instances Brahui is represented in common Dravidian etymologies /26, 63/.

Brahui is known to scholars only in its present-day state. Until recently it was believed that there existed no literature whatsoever in Brahui, except for folklore. According to D. Bray, "Brahui is not only devoid of literature, it is never reduced to writing except as an artificial feat of skill. The great mass of the people who speak Brahui are in fact illiterate, and the few who can read and write have acquired their accomplishments through the medium of a foreign language, and have as yet made no real attempt to apply them to their mother tongue"/11, 23/.

However, according to the Pakistani scholars S.M. Kamil-al-Qadri /72/ and Ch.B. Khan Raisani /74/, literature in Brahui has existed for no less than three centuries. They consider the poem Tohfatul Ajaib by Malik Dad, the court poet of Kalat's khan Naseer I, to be the first work of Brahui literature. The same scholars also give the names of a number of other authors who wrote in Brahui, and describe the activities of the bookpublisher Muhammad Fazil, who printed books in Brahui in the community of Durkhani /73, 167-170/.

Be it as it may, the problem of Brahui becoming a real literary language still awaits its solution. Besides the fact that, by general admission, the Arabic-Persian alphabet is poorly suited to Brahui writing /11, 23; 26, 45/, the negligible percentage of literacy (3,600 people in 1961),

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[7] Arguments in favour of such inclusion are cited, for example, by M.B. Emeneau /26, 62-70/.

the absence of grammars and textbooks in Brahui, the absence of schools where teaching would be conducted in Brahui, the absence of regularly published books[8] and periodicals[9] in this language, and also many other similar reasons make it impossible at present to include Brahui in the number of languages which have a writing and a developed literature.

The first references to Brahui tribes appeared in literature comparatively recently; only after the 16th century, when a confederation of Brahui tribes had taken shape in Baluchistan, did some Persian chronicles occasionally mention the Brahuis and their chiefs /78, 30/. Acquaintance with the Brahui language took place even more recently, in the mid-19th century, when the English traveller R. Leech published the first Brahui grammar /38, 538-556/ in his series of short grammars and dictionaries, known under the general title *Epitome of the Grammars of the Brahuiky, the Balochky and the Panjabi Languages, with Vocabularies of the Baraky, the Pashi, the Laghmani, the Cashgari, the Teerhai and the Deer Dialects*. One more short Brahui grammar was published in 1874 by another English traveller, H.W. Belew, in a supplement to his description of his journey from Multan to Teheran /8, 473-493/. The linguistic analysis of the published materials made by Ch. Lassen /37, 337-409/ and R. Caldwell /18/ did not yield any conclusive results and merely indicated the need of a more detailed study of Brahui and its relations with other languages, particularly those of the Deccan. Soon afterwards the Indian linguist A. Bux published a comprehensive description of Brahui /17/, and the well-known German linguist E. Trumpp put out a detailed comparative-historical analysis of that language, based on A. Bux's data and proving the affinity between Brahui and the Dravidian family of languages /53/.[10] In their characterisation of Brahui in the fourth volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, G.A. Grierson and S. Konow mainly proceeded from the works by A. Bux and E. Trumpp, and were the first to suggest that Brahui had separated from proto-Dravidian at a very early stage, when the differences between its various dialects were insignificant.

The fundamental work on Brahui, the three-volume *The Brahui Language* by D. Bray, was a result of its author's four-year contact with native Brahui speakers in Baluchistan. It is based entirely on original material collected by D. Bray and consists of three parts: *Grammar* (Volume I), *The Brahui Problem* (Volume II) and *An Etymological Vocabulary* (Volume III). The main attention in D. Bray's *Grammar* is paid

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[8] The first printed book in Brahui appeared ninety years ago. It consisted of translations of various British authors: M. Nicolson, Meanee, &c., *A Compilation of Extracts from Napier's Conquest of Scinde, Grant Duff's Mahratta History, &c., &c., translated into the Biroohi language*, Karachi, 1877. Later on other translated works, mainly on religious subjects, were published. A useful aid to Brahui studies is J. Mayer's reader (J. Mayer, *A Brahui Reading Book*, Ludhiana, 1906).

[9] Until quite recently there existed no periodicals in Brahui /75; 76/. According to M.G. Pikulin /78, 36/, a monthly magazine in Brahui is published in Pakistan.

[10] An abridged translation of E. Trumpp's work has been made and published by T. Duka /21/.

to the characterisation of the Kalat dialect, which is generally considered to be the principal one. Now and again D. Bray also speaks about peculiarities of other dialects and vernaculars: for example, about the peculiarities of the Jhalawan dialect and the vernacular of the Mengal tribe. *The Brahui Problem* contains chiefly historical and ethnographic material; in it some forms of Brahui are also considered in the comparative-contrastive (with the other Dravidian languages) aspect. In compiling *An Etymological Vocabulary* D. Bray took into account all previously published material on Brahui and once more verified that material. As Bray himself pointed out in the preface to the *Vocabulary*, "Any words or forms which they (i.e. other works.—*M.A.*) include and I omit may safely, I think, be ascribed to casual slips of ear or pen or printer, and cease to figure as evidence for some surprising phonological development" /13, I-II/. The Brahui texts recorded by D. Bray are also of great interest /14, 65-88/.[11]

After D. Bray, original observations of some specific aspects of Brahui, made during brief sessions of field work with informants, were published only by G. Morgenstierne /39, 5-9/ and M.B. Emeneau /22, 981-983/.

The most important among the comparative works on Brahui and the cognate languages are those by L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar, T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau,[12] in particular the latter's *Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar*, which contains a convincing analysis of problems of Brahui vocalism, the etymology of some multistem Brahui verbs, the Iranian and Indo-Aryan influence on Brahui, and a number of other problems.[13]

PHONETICS

SOUNDS AND PHONEMES

Brahui has nine pure vowel sounds: *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē* and *ō*. The articulation of these sounds is determined by the parameters given in Table 1

Acoustically, these sounds are close to the corresponding Hindustani or Tamil sounds.

The short vowel *u* following a noise consonant and preceding a long *ā* generally takes the form of a non-syllabic *w*, being a free variant of *u* in that position, e.g. *suār* (or *swār*) 'horseman', *juān* (or *jwān*) 'good'.

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[11] All illustrative examples given in this work have been taken from D. Bray.

[12] For a list of works by these authors, see Bibliography.

[13] We find less convincing M.B. Emeneau's interpretation of problems of the classification of Brahui and other languages, particularly his insufficiently argumented attempt to prove that Brahui, Malto and Kurukh constitute a single subgroup of Dravidian languages and have developed from one and the same intermediate parent language.

Table 1

Articulating part of tongue / Height of tongue in mouth	Front	Central	Back
Close	ī i		ū u
Medium	ē e		ō
Open		a ā	

Short and long vowels are the easiest to distinguish in stressed syllables (the stress generally falls on a long syllable). In words containing several long vowels the unstressed long vowels are often reduced quantitatively till they become short.

Nasalised vowels occur rarely, mainly in borrowed words, e.g. $da^n z$ 'dust', $y\bar{a}^n zda$ 'eleven', $shi^n Rshi^n Ring$ 'to neigh', $s\bar{e}^n zda$ 'thirteen', $sir\bar{o}^n z$ 'lute'. Most words containing nasalised vowels have parallel variants with non-nasalised vowels instead of the nasalised ones.

Brahui stress is quantitative-dynamic and weak. The position of the stress is traditional (not fixed). As a rule, the stress tends to fall on the beginning of the word. In words containing a long vowel, the stress falls on the long syllable; in words containing geminated consonants or consonant clusters, the stress generally falls on the vowel preceding these consonants or consonant clusters.

The consonants, of which there are twenty-nine (p, b, t, d, T, D, k, g, ', f, s, z, lh, R, c, j, sh, zh, x, gh, y, r, l, v, m, n, N, ñ, n^g), fall into consonants and sonants, and are classified as shown in Table 2 according to the place and manner of their formation.

The articulation and the acoustic quality of these sounds (except lh and ') are similar to those of Hindustani and Tamil consonants.

The liquid v in the final syllable of a word after a short a is generally pronounced as a bilabial, in all other positions it is pronounced as a labiodental.

The voiced fricative velar gh is pronounced in the same way as the voiceless velar x and differs from the latter only in that in its pronunciation the vocal cords vibrate, e.g. gharib 'poor' (cf. xarāb 'bad').

The voiceless laryngeal plosive ' (glottal stop) is more typical of Arabic and other Semitic languages; in Dravidian languages, besides Brahui, it occurs only in Kurukh, Kuvi and Kui. A glottal stop at the beginning of a word can be heard in many words which start with a so-called rough glide (Knacklaut) in German, e.g. 'alling 'to take' (cf. alle 'all' in German).

The voiceless lateral consonant lh differs from the sonant l in that in its pronunciation the vocal cords do not vibrate and there is a considerable noise, e.g. 'alh 'take (it)'. A final English l following

Table 2

Manner of formation		Labial	Dental and alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Noise sounds							
plosive	voiceless	p	t	T		k	'
plosive	voiced	b	d	D		g	
affricative	voiceless				c		
affricative	voiced				j		
fricative	voiceless	f	s		sh	x	
fricative	voiced		z		zh	gh	
lateral and flapped	voiceless		lh				
lateral and flapped	voiced			R			
Sonants							
nasal		m	n	N	ñ	n^g	
lateral			l				
trilled			r				
liquid		v			y		

a voiceless consonant (e.g. in the word *bottle)* gives an approximate idea of this Brahui sound.

The articulation and the acoustic effect of the velar nasal sonant n^g coincide with those of the English *ng,* e.g. *pink* 'names' (cf. Eng. *pink).* In the combination *ng,* the consonant *g* is always pronounced distinctly, e.g. *bing* '(he) heard'.

The retroflex consonants *T, D, R* and *N* are articulated by the tip of the tongue pressed against the hard palate behind the alveoli. Their articulation may vary perceptibly from purely retroflex, in which the underneath of the tip of the tongue is either pressed against the hard palate or (in the case of *R)* taps on the hard palate behind the alveoli, to cacuminal, in which the blunt edge of the tongue touches the hard palate, e.g. *ciT* 'rope', *Dak* 'cut', *īR* 'sister', *vanD* 'share'.

Besides the preceding sounds, borrowed words occasionally contain a pharyngeal fricative *h* /22, 982-983/, e.g. *bahā* 'price', *āhaR* 'summer'. Also, the aspirated consonants *kh, gh, ch, jh, Th, Dh, th* and *dh* are frequently encountered as free variants of the corresponding pure plosives and affricates; originally they were probably borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages, but are now often found in both indigenous words and words borrowed from Iranian, e.g. *khask* (parallel with *kask)* '(he) died', *bhāz* (parallel with *bāz*) 'much', 'many', *bhalun* (parallel with *balun*) 'big'.

All the preceding sounds, with the exception of the sonants n^g, *ñ, N* and the vowel *e,* constitute independent phonemes and are encountered in words irrespective of their position and the neighbouring sounds. The sonants n^g, *ñ* and *N* occur only before a plosive or an affricate of the corresponding place of articulation, i.e. the sonant n^g is encountered only before the plosive *k* or *g,* the sonant *ñ* before the affricate *c* or *j* and the sonant *N* before *T* or *D.* These three sonants are variants of the phoneme *n* in the preceding positions.

The use of the short vowel *e* is restricted positionally in a peculiar way: it does not occur in initial syllables or when stressed (in such cases only *ē* is encountered), e.g. *il'lē/'ille* 'leave (it) alone', *bi'sē* '(he) baked'/*'bise* '(he) may bake'. This circumstance leads us to regard the short vowel *e* as a positional variant of the long vowel *ē* /26, 7-9/.

PHONETIC PROCESSES

Assimilation. The most widespread cases of assimilation in Brahui are those of partial regressive place assimilation of the nasal sonants *n* and *m* to the plosives which follow them, e.g. *bin* 'listen (sing.)'—*bimbō* 'listen (pl.)', *bimpa* 'don't listen (sing.)', *bing* '(he) heard'; *'am* 'very'—*'andā* 'that very'. Besides, there frequently occur optional assimilations of the *ng + b/p* ⟶ *mb/mp* type, e.g. *rasēng* 'come (sing.)'—*rasēngbō* or *rasēmbō* 'come (pl.)', *rasēngpa* or *rasēmpa* 'don't come (sing.)'. Assimilation of *'* to *s* before a plosive consonant has been observed only in the stem of one verb, *ka'ing* 'to die': *ka'* 'die'—*kaspa* 'don't die (sing.)', *kask* '(he) died'.

Partial progressive assimilation is regularly observed when the formant *-k-* of the Simple Past tense is added to verb stems ending in *-n,* e.g. *kuning* 'to eat' (the stem *kun-)—kung* '(he) ate up'.

Connecting (euphonic) sounds and syllables are not morphemes; they serve to join various suffixes to bases and stems or to other suffixes. The part of such connecting elements in Brahui is played by *-a-, -i-, -u-, -e-, -ē-, -as-, -us-, -gh-, -R-, -n-, -T-* and *-in.*

The connecting vowel *-a-* is used in the singular of substantival forms to join the formants of the genitive, dative and comitative cases to monosyllabic words, and the formant of the locative case to bases ending in a consonant (and, optionally, to monosyllabic bases in *a);* it is also used in verbs to join the formant of the Pluperfect, *-s-,* to those of the Simple Past, *-k-, -(i)s-* (optionally, parallel with the connecting vowel *-u-*), e.g. *mār* 'son'—gen. sing. *māranā; bā* 'mouth'—dat. sing. *bāaki; lōt* 'bag'—com. sing. *lōtatō; xarās* 'bull'—loc. sing. *xarāsaTī; xalling* 'to strike', 'to hit'—*xalkas-* or *xalkus-* (in the Pluperfect).

The connecting vowel *-e-* is used in the plural of substantival forms to join the formants of the instrumental, comitative, ablative and lative cases to a base, e.g. *lōt* 'bag'—instr. pl. *lōtāteaT,* com. pl. *lōtātetō,* abl. pl. *lōtātean,* lat. pl. *lōtāteāy.*

The connecting vowel *-ē-* is used in the plural of substantival forms to join the formants of the dative, locative, adessive and terminative cases to a base, e.g. *urā* 'house'—dat. pl. *urātēki,* loc. pl. *urātēTī,* ades. pl. *urātēk,* term. pl. *urātēkā.*

The connecting consonant *-gh-* is used optionally in the singular of substantives to join the formants of the ablative and lative cases to bases ending in *-a/-ā* (except monosyllabic ones), in the plural of substantives to join the formant of the plural *-āk* to bases ending in *-a,* and in adjectives to join the suffix of the definite form *-ā* to bases ending in *-a/-ā,* e.g. *urā* 'house'—abl. sing. *urāghān* (also *urāān*); *bāva* 'father'— lat. sing. *bāvaghāy* (also *bāvaāy*); *parra* 'wing'—nom. pl. *parraghāk* (also *parraāk*); *zēbā* 'beautiful'—definite form *zēbāghā* (also *zēbāā*).

The connecting consonant *-R-* is used optionally in the singular of the substantives and pronouns obtained by the substantivisation of the genitive case form, to join the formants of the dative, instrumental, comitative, ablative, lative, adessive and terminative cases, e.g. *īlumnā* 'brother's property'—dat. sing. *īlumnāRki* (also *īlumnāki*).

The connecting vowel *-u-* is used in verb forms to join the formants of person to the suffixes *-k-* and *-(i)s-* in the Simple Past and the Past Continuous, as well as to join the formant of the Past Perfect *-n-* and the formant of the Pluperfect *-s-* to the formants of the Simple Past *-k-* and *-(i)s-,* e.g. *xalling* 'to strike'—*xalkuT* 'I struck', *(a)xalkuTa* 'I was striking', Past Perf. stem *xalkun-,* Plu. stem *xalkus-.*

The connecting vowel *-i-* is used in verb forms to join the formant of the plural of the imperative mood *-bō* and the formants of the negative form to the stem, e.g. *saling* 'to stand'—imp. pl. *salibō* (also *salbō*), neg. stem *salip(a)-, salit(a)-* /also salp(a)-, salt(a)-/.

The connecting syllables *-us-* and *-as-* are used optionally in Pluperfect and conditional mood forms to join the formants of person, e.g. *xalkususuT* 'I had struck' (also *xalkusuT*), *binōsasas* 'if (he) had heard', '(he) would have heard' (also *binōsas*).

The connecting consonant -n is used after substantival forms in the dative, comitative or terminative case and after definite-form adjectives ending in -ō, when they precede a positive Present tense form of the link-verb anning 'to be', both the words being pronounced as a single intonation unit, e.g. kul nā mārakin (māratōn) e 'all /this/ /is/ for (with) your son'; num cunakkōn ure 'you /are/ /still/ young'. The connecting elements -T and -in are used in analogous cases with substantives in the lative (-T) and the adessive (-in), e.g. ōnā mōn nusxalāyT e 'its face is turned towards the mill'; kul nā māriskin e 'everything is in your son's possession'. The connecting consonant -n is used optionally before words beginning with a vowel or a dental plosive, e.g. kanā mārātōn tūlh 'sit down /beside/ my son'.

Gemination of Consonants. In short monosyllabic words (bases/stems) ending in the consonant k, c, p or f, and also in most short monosyllabic words (bases/stems) ending in T or D, the final consonants are geminated when a suffix beginning with a vowel is added to them, e.g. 'uc 'camel'—'uccāk 'camels'; pif 'lung'—piffāk 'lungs'; kaD 'pit'—kaDDak 'pits'. Gemination of the final consonant in words of this type also takes place when they are followed by another word beginning with a vowel, both the words being pronounced as a single intonation unit (e.g. positive Present tense forms of the link-verb anning 'to be', Present-Future or Past Continuous forms of verbs with the prefix a-, etc.), e.g. dā 'ullī asīlō asiTT e 'this horse is a thoroughbred one' (with asiT 'one'); 'icc atifara 'I will not give anything' (with 'ic 'nothing').

Gemination of consonants in verb forms takes place when a suffix beginning with a consonant is added to short monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel, e.g. bass 'he came' (from the stem ba- and the tense formant -s-), atippēre 'you do not understand' (from the stem ati- and the negative form formant -p-), kattavēs 'you did not do' (from the stem ka- and the negative form formant -ta-). Exceptions are the negative forms of the verbs banning 'to come', manning 'to become' and tining 'to give', in which no such gemination occurs.

AN EXCURSION INTO THE HISTORY OF SOUNDS

The sound correspondences established in the comparative phonetics of Dravidian languages over the last decades make it possible to get a general idea of the history and development of individual sounds in Brahui words of Dravidian origin proper. It should be borne in mind, however, that the correspondences under consideration have in most cases been established only with respect to the first (root) syllable, and that the causes determining the different development of the same sounds are often still unknown.[14]

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14 As M.B. Emeneau notes, "In numerous etymologies the etymologists fail to show the correspondences stated. Most frequently this happens because the statements given are too simple and need to be qualified in terms of the phonetic or morphological contexts. Often enough, however, such qualifications have not yet

Brahui sounds	Proto-Dravidian sounds	Examples from Brahui[15]
a	a	xan 'eye' : *kaN
	e	xaf 'ear' : *kevi
	o	xal(l)- 'to kill' : *kol-
ā	ā	pālh 'milk' : *pāl
i	i	bil 'bow' : *vil
	e	mir- 'to smear' : *meZ-
ī	ī	dīr 'water' : *nīr
u	u	mutkun 'old' : *mut(t)-
	o	curr- 'to flow out' : *cor-
-k-		kēragh 'bottom' : *kīZ-
-x-	k	xan 'eye' : *kaN
c-		curr- 'to flow out' : *cor-
k-	c	kubēn 'heavy' : *cuma- 'to lift'
b-	v	ba(r)- 'to come' : *var-
-r-	r	bar- 'to come' : *var
	R	tōr- 'to hold' : *toR- 'to touch'
	rʳ	xar 'angry' : *karʳ- 'black'
	L	urā 'house' : *uL 'inside'
	Z	kēragh 'bottom' : *kīZ

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been discovered" /30, 19/. As Emeneau stresses in another place, "Brahui is most tantalising because of the meagreness of its inherited Dravidian vocabulary. This very meagreness makes it at times difficult to state phonetic correspondences or to identify etymologies with any confidence" /26, VII/.

15 For detailed etymologies, see A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary by T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau /16/.

Brahui sounds	Proto-Dravidian sounds	Examples from Brahui
-rr-	r	karrak 'bank' : *kara
	R	xarr- 'to walk' : *kaRa- 'to cross
	rʳ	'arr- 'to tear' : *arʳ-
-l-	l	bil 'bow' : *vil
	L	(')ūl- 'to howl' : *ūL-
-lh-	l	pālh 'milk' : *pāl
	L	tēlh 'scorpion' : *tēL
	x	malh 'son' : *maxa

The thinness of the layer of Dravidian words preserved in Brahui makes it considerably more difficult to establish correspondences in a number of other cases and, as noted by M.B. Emeneau /26, VII/, often hampers the researcher's efforts to determine other conditions under which this or that correspondence has the meaning of an irrevocable phonetic law. Such, for example, are: Br. $\bar{e}$: *$\bar{a}$ (Br. tēn 'oneself' : *tān), Br $\bar{\imath}$: *$\bar{a}$ (Br. $\bar{\imath}$ 'I' : *yān), Br. -b- : *m- /Br. kubēn 'heavy' : *cum(a)-/, Br. a : *i (Br. ar- 'to be' : *ir-, Br. 'anēn 'sweet' : *in-).[16]

VOCABULARY

In Brahui, indigenous (Dravidian) words have best been preserved in such lexical classes as the verb and personal and some other pronouns, and not half so well in substantives and other substantival parts of speech.

A considerable part of the indigenous substantives have indivisible bases: they are either root words or words with presumably derivative bases which cannot be analysed at present owing to the lack of material needed for comparison. Here belong, for example, bā 'mouth', xan 'eye', dīr 'water', 'ēT 'goat', ammā 'mother', 'īlh 'fly', 'ōr 'finger', 'toe', kēb 'closeness', xal 'stone', xaf 'ear', murū 'hare'.

Among the derivational formants in substantive bases, the following suffixes can be distinguished:

-a: 'ikka 'sneezing', tōla 'jackal', jakka 'cough';
-ā: urā 'house', cunā 'child';
-(a)gh: bātagh 'top', iragh 'food', kēragh 'bottom', margh 'horn';
-āra: ghurrāra 'roar', shiⁿRshiⁿRāra 'neighing', vakkāra 'barking';
-ī: pudī 'cold', kuD(D)ī 'hut', milī 'brain', paTTī 'female (animal)', dūī 'tongue', asiTTī 'singleness', mōnī 'position in front of smth.', aRī 'obstacle';

-(u)x: muTTux 'knot', pacx 'bark';
-ō: ta'ō 'wind', xāxō 'crow', annō 'today', pūtuRō 'bubble', darō 'yesterday';
-(i)s/-(ī)s: xulīs 'fear', tiss 'generosity', iris 'crest', murīs 'length'.

Substantives with compound bases can be formed either by combining indigenous bases or by combining indigenous and borrowed bases, e.g. nusxal 'mill', 'millstone' (from nus- 'to mill' and xal 'stone'), pul-mak(k)ī 'tapeworm' (from *puZu 'worm' and Iran. makī 'helminth'), trikkal 'tripod' (from Indo-Aryan tri 'three' and *kāl 'leg').

The commonest derivational formants of indigenous adjectives are the suffixes -un (also -k-un, -gh-un), -ēn, -ak, -ī and -tal, and also the zero suffix, e.g.:

-un: balun 'big', maun 'black', pīun 'white', xīsun 'red', xarrun 'green', bārun 'dry', pālun 'humid', 'moist', bāsun 'hot';
-k-un: pushkun 'yellow', puskun 'new', mutkun 'old', xulkun 'mild', 'quiet', ushkun 'lithe', bīngun 'hungry';
-gh-un: murghun 'long';
-ēn: pudēn 'cold', 'anēn 'sweet', xarēn 'bitter', kubēn 'heavy';
-ak: cunak 'little', 'small', tanak 'thin', paT(T)ak 'shortish';
-ī: marrī 'tame', tughī 'sleepy';
-tal: asital 'single', irātal 'double', musital 'triple';
-Ø: xar 'angry', kēb 'near', maT 'thick', mōT 'foolish'.

The typical derivational suffix of numerals and pronouns is -T, e.g. asiT 'one', 'digit', iraT 'two', musiT 'three', manaT 'some quantity', macciT 'a little', 'a few'.

In the comparative plane, only a few Brahui substantive derivational suffixes have parallels in cognate languages. Here belong, for instance, the substantive suffixes -a, -(a)gh, -(u)x /cf. -(a)x-, -(a)kk- in Tamil, e.g. maxa 'child', kiZakku 'east'/ or the zero suffix of adjectives. The substantive suffix -ī, encountered in many Dravidian languages, was probably borrowed by them from an Indo-Iranian source as far back as ancient times. A comparatively recent borrowing from Baluchi is the adjective suffix -ēn (cf. the formant of the definite form of adjectives -ēn in Baluchi). The origin of another adjective suffix, -un, which has no parallels in cognate languages, remains unclear; in any case, the possibility of its connection with the Iranian suffix -ēn/-īn cannot be ruled out.[17]

From the point of view of derivation, Brahui verb stems fall into primary and derivative. The former comprise root (or at present indivisible) stems, whereas the latter have some derivational suffix: -ēng-/-ing-/-ang- or -if-/-ēf-/-f-. For example: tixing (the stem tix-) 'to put', dudēnging (the stem dudēng-) 'to run', bisinging (the stem bising-) 'to ripen', baTanging (the stem baTang-) 'to call', 'arrifing (the stem 'arrif-) 'to ask', 'arsēfing (the stem 'arsēf-) 'to return', 'arfing (the stem 'arf-) 'to lift up'.

Verbs with primary stems are usually active and, from the stand-

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[16] The last correspondence has been established by D. Bray. M.B. Emeneau does not consider it sufficiently convincing.

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[17] D. Bray's juxtaposition of the adjective suffix -un and the Past Perfect suffix -(u)n /11, 172/ for structural considerations naturally cannot be regarded as a plausible etymology.

point of their government and lexical meaning, are divided into transitive and intransitive, e.g. *biTing* (the stem *biT-*) 'to throw', *bēning* (the stem *bēn-*) 'to put on', 'to wear', *'ōghing* (the stem *'ōgh-*) 'to weep', 'to cry', *'ʔjing* (the stem *'ʔj-*) 'to worry'.

Most verbs with derivative stems ending in *-ēng-/-ing-/-ang-* are generally intransitive or passive, e.g. *dudēnging* (the stem *dudēng-*) 'to run', *guRēnging* (the stem *guRēng-*) 'to be frightened away', *daRinging* (the stem *daRing-*) 'to descend', *malinging* (the stem *maling-*) 'to be opened', *shōlanging* (the stem *shōlang-*) 'to pour down', *malanging* (the stem *malang-*) 'to be opened'.

When there are parallel verbs with primary stems derived from the same roots, then verbs with derivative stems ending in *-ēng-* are generally intransitive and verbs with derivative stems in *-ing-/-ang-* are passive, e.g. *'arsing* (the stem *'ars-*) 'to turn'—*'arsēnging* (the stem *'arsēng-*) 'to turn', 'to return' ; *'arsinging* (the stem *'arsing-*) 'to be turned'; *tixing* (the stem *tix-*) 'to put'—*tixinging* (the stem *tixing-*) 'to be put'; *maling* (the stem *mal-*) 'to open'—*malanging* (the stem *malang-*) 'to be opened'.

Verbs with derivative stems in *-if-/-ēf-/-f-* are transitive, e.g. *bēnifing* (the stem *bēnif-*) 'to dress (smb.)', *palēfing* (the stem *palēf-*) 'to boil', *murīfing* (the stem *murīf-*) 'to stretch out', 'to stick out', *kasfing* (the stem *kasf-*) 'to kill'.

When there are parallel verbs with primary stems derived from the same root or with derivative stems ending in *-ēng-*, then derivative stems in *-ēf-* are formed from primary stems which have parallel derivative stems in *-ēng-*; derivative stems in *-f-* are usually formed from primary stems in a long vowel or *'*; and derivative stems in *-if-* are formed in all the other cases, e.g. *'arsēnging* (the stem *'arsēng-*) 'to turn', 'to return'—*'arsēfing* (the stem *'arsēf-*) 'to give back', 'to return (smth.)'; *xulīng* (the stem *xulī-*) 'to fear'—*xulīfing* (the stem *xulīf-*) 'to frighten'; *ka'ing* (the stem *ka'-*) 'to die'—*kasfing* (the stem *kasf-*) 'to kill'; *kuning* (the stem *kun-*) 'to eat'—*kunifing* (the stem *kunif-*) 'to feed'. Finally, in a number of cases verbs have derivative stems with two suffixes: *-(i)f-/-ēf-* and *-ing-*, *-ing-* and *-if-* or *-(i)f-/-ēf-* and *-if-*, e.g. *'arsēfinging* (the stem *'arsēfing-*) 'to be returned', *kasfinging* (the stem *kasfing-*) 'to be killed', *baTingifing* (the stem *baTingif-*) 'to send for smb.', *kasfifing* (the stem *kasfif-*) 'to make (smb.) kill oneself'.

When there are parallel verbs with two or more primary stems derived from the same root (for greater detail, see the section "Verb Stems'), then in most cases there exist two variants of derivative stems with the suffix *-ing-* and one variant with the suffix *-if-*, e.g.:

banning 'to come'—*barifing* 'to bring';
danning 'to take away'—*danninging, daringing* 'to be taken away', *datifing* 'to send';
kanning 'to do', 'to make'—*kanninging* 'to be done', 'to be made', *karifing* 'to commission to do';
manning 'to become'—*marifing* 'to make (smb., smth.) become';
pāning 'to say'—*pāninging, pūringing* 'to be said', *pārifing* 'to convey (through smb.)';

tining 'to give'—*tininging, tiringing* 'to be given', *tirifing* 'to take away', 'to make (smb.) give back (smth.)'.

The verb *baTinging/baTanging* 'to call' is transitive despite the presence of the suffix *-ing-* in its stem.

Of the three forms of the suffix *-ing-/-ēng-/-ang-*, the form *-ang-* is used optionally alongside *-ing-* with stems incorporating *-a-/-ō-* and should be regarded as a free variant of the suffix *-ing-*, which appears owing to the assimilation to the stem vowel, e.g. *mal-* 'to open'—*maling-/malang-* 'to be opened'. The character of the vowels in the other two forms, *-ing-/-ēng-*, is different. The suffix *-ēng-* is evidently bimorphemic and consists of the suffix *-ē-*, which expresses a meaning similar to that of reflexivity, and the suffix of intransitivity and passivity *-ing-*, which loses its vowel when it follows another vowel (e.g. in *xulī-* 'to fear'—*xulīng-* 'to be the one who/which is feared'), or the suffix *-ng-*, joined to consonants by means of the connecting vowel *-i-*. The suffix *-(i)f-/-ēf-* is built in exactly the same way, *-ēf-* also consisting of the suffix of reflexivity *-ē-* and the suffix of transitivity *-(i)f-* /cf., for example, *'ars-* 'to turn', *'arsif-* 'to cause to turn', *'arsēf-* 'to cause to turn (of itself)'/.

The diffuse character of Brahui primary verb stems as regards transitivity-intransitivity and activity-passivity constitutes an original feature of the Dravidian languages. Likewise, wide spread in most Dravidian languages are various means of formation of derivative stems by adding suffixes which differentiate the meanings of transitivity-intransitivity and activity-passivity in the same way as the suffixes *-(i)ng-* and *-(i)f-* do in Brahui /(cf., for example, the suffix *-(a)ng-/-(a)g-* in such etymologically and semantically close words as *aRang-* 'to be quiet, calm' in Tamil, *aRan^{g}n^g-* in Malayalam, *aRg-* in Kota, *oDg-* in Toda, *aRa(n)g-* in Kannada, *aRag-* in Telugu, *Dang-* 'to hide' in Kolami or the suffix *-vi-/-av-* in *terivi-* 'to tell', 'to report' in Tamil, *teripav-*, 'to tell', 'to report' in Tulu, etc./[18]

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[18] Despite the formal and functional similarity between the Brahui suffix *-(i)ng-* and the common Dravidian suffix *-(n)g-*, the former apparently has little connection with the latter genetically and is a recent formation. In cognate languages the suffix *-(n)g-* is not productive: it cannot be joined—as is the case in Brahui—to just any stem, and stems which do not contain this suffix are generally either never associated with those which do or are not used at all. One can hardly assume that the fact that this suffix has preserved its productivity in Brahui is an archaic feature, since, as we go from the southern languages to the northern ones, the possibility of distinguishing this suffix as an independent formant diminishes and becomes minimal in the north-eastern group. Besides, Brahui lacks the suffix *-(k)k-*, which is the transitive-active analogue of the intransitive-inactive suffix *-(n)g-* found in the languages still preserving the suffix *-(n)g-* and linked with the latter by common origin.

The suffix of transitivity-activity *-(i)f-* also seems isolated, in spite of its formal and semantic similarity to the Tamil suffix *-vi-/-bi-/-(p)pi-*.

The suffix of reflexivity *-ē-* has no formal or semantic parallels in other languages.

Words which do not belong to the indigenous vocabulary have been borrowed into Brahui from the neighbouring languages: Iranian and Indo-Aryan. First among them are Baluchi, Sindhi, Lahndi, Punjabi and Pashto. Besides, important sources of borrowed words are Urdu and Persian, from which a large number of both Indo-Aryan and Iranian words and words borrowed from Arabic have made (and are still making) their way into Brahui.

As a rule, borrowed words retain their original form and the structure of their bases/stems is determined by the rules of derivation operating in the donor languages. From the standpoint of Brahui all borrowed bases/stems are primary, borrowed verb stems being able to receive Brahui derivational suffixes in the same way as indigenous words do.

The phonetic integument of borrowed words changes only to the extent dictated by the peculiarities of Brahui phonetics. Thus, when words are borrowed from Baluchi, Sindhi and Lahndi, aspirated consonants in most cases become pure, geminated (so-called implosive, recursive, glottoclusive) consonants become simple, and pharyngeal, laryngeal and some other sounds peculiar to Semitic languages and occurring in words of Arabic origin are replaced by Brahui sounds similar in articulation and acoustic effect. Cf., for example:

Source of borrowing		Brahui	
Bal.	bag	bag	'herd of camels'
Bal.	bhārav	bāRav	'calf'
Bal.	bêr-	bēr-	'to surround'
Bal.	bēRī	bērī	'boat'
Bal.	bōdh	bōd	'sense'
Bal.	cak-	cak(k)-	'to taste'
Bal.	sahth	sa'ţ	'jewellery'
Per.	afsōs	afsōs	'grief'
Per.	agar	aga	'or', 'if'
Per.	āhan	ā'in	'iron'
Per.	hamrah	amra	'companion'
Per.	ārām	ārām	'ease', 'rest'
Per.	yarghamāl	arghamāl	'hostage'
Per.	āsiyābān	āsiāvān	'miller'
Per.	bām	bāmb	'roof'
Per.	bakhsh	bashx	'part', 'share'
Per.	sāl	sāl	'year'
Pash.	hawār	āvār	'flat', 'level'
Sind.	abbōjhᵘ	abōj	'simple-minded'
Sind.	iggiRī	agaRŢ	'patch'
Sind.	aR	aR	'shelter'
Sind.	badinō	badanī	'water jug'
Sind.	bhaph	bāf	'steam', 'vapour'
Sind.	bhājāy	bājāy	'sister-in-law'
Sind.	bhājjī	bājī	'offering'

Source of borrowing		Brahui	
Sind.	bhēl-	bēl-	'to devastate'
Sind.	bōdilō	bōdalā	'simpleton'
Sind.	sabbarᵘ	sabbar	'strong'
Lahn.	addā	adā	'brother'
Lahn.	amb	amb	'mango'
Lahn.	aR	aR	'obstacle'
Lahn.	bacā	bacav	'escape'
Lahn.	bbāŢ	bāŢ	'boast'
Lahn.	bbēr	bēr	'plum'
Lahn.	bbihāN	bi'āN	'young girl'
Urdu	bin-	bin-	'to pick up'
Arab.	'adālat	adālat	'court'
Arab.	afvah	afvā	'rumour'
Arab.	'aql	akl	'wisdom', 'sense'
Arab.	allāh	allā	'Allah'
Arab.	amānat	anāmat	'trust'
Arab.	'arīZa	arīza	'petition'
Arab.	'aurat	arvat	'wife'
Arab.	aksar	asxar	'generally'
Arab.	aHvāl	āvāl	'news'
Arab.	baiZa	bayda	'egg'
Arab.	burqa'	burxa	'veil'
Arab.	khāliq	xālik	'Creator', 'God'
Arab.	kharāb	xarāb	'bad'
Arab.	khāSS	xās	'special', 'especially'
Arab.	laqab	lakab	'title', 'rank'
Arab.	Sābun	sābūn	'soap'
Arab.	waqt	vaxt	'time'
Eng.	bicycle	baysikal	'bicycle'
Eng.	bottle	bōtal	'bottle'
Eng.	boot	būŢ	'boot'

Borrowed words account for a large share of the Brahui vocabulary and at an approximate estimate they considerably exceed 50 per cent of all Brahui words.

MORPHOLOGY

Eleven parts of speech are distinguished in Brahui: the substantive, the adjective, the numeral, the pronoun, the verb, the adverb, conjunctions, postpositions, particles, echo words and interjections.

THE SUBSTANTIVE

The substantive is characterised by the distinction of the grammatical categories of number and case. There is no grammatical (or lexico-grammatical) gender.

Number

Two numbers are distinguished in Brahui substantives: the singular and the plural.

The singular has no special formant (it has a zero formant). The formants of the plural in the nominative case are the suffixes -k and -āk, added to the base (the nominative singular form), e.g. urā 'house'—urāk 'houses', xal 'stone'—xalk 'stones', lōt 'bag'—lōtāk 'bags'. The plural formant -āk is generally joined to bases ending in -a by means of the connecting consonant -gh-, e.g. parra 'wing'—parraghāk 'wings'. The choice of the suffix is determined by the form of the base, some bases admitting of both the suffixes, -āk and -k, and others only of the suffix -āk.

The suffix -k is invariably used as the plural formant of substantives whose bases end in a long vowel or -y, e.g. bā 'mouth' — bāk 'mouths', dē 'day'—dēk 'days', 'ullī 'horse'—'ullīk 'horses', xō 'pot'—xōk 'pots', dū 'hand'—dūk 'hands', bey 'grass'—beyk 'grasses'.

As a rule, the same suffix is also encountered in substantives whose bases end in -T, -R, -l, -lh, -n, -m, -s, -z, -sh, -zh and -r, the consonant -r of the base being then assimilated, e.g. 'ēT 'goat'—'ēTk 'goats', īR 'sister'—īRk 'sisters', xal 'stone'—xalk 'stones', 'ēTk 'goats', mēlh 'sheep'—mēlhk 'sheep (pl.)', xan 'eye'—xank 'eyes', kāTum 'head'—kāTumk 'heads', bāmus 'nose'—bāmusk 'noses', rēz 'rope'—rēzk 'ropes', mash 'hill'—mashk 'hills', būzh 'entangled hair'—būzhk 'entangled hair', mār 'son'—māk 'sons', ōr 'finger'—ōk 'fingers'.

Occasionally substantives of this type have parallel plural forms with the formant -āk, e.g. sāl 'year'—sālāk (parallel with sālk), kutām 'nest'—kutāmāk (parallel with kutāmk), kasar 'road'—kasarāk (parallel with kasak), amīr 'emir'—amīrāk (parallel with amīk).

The substantives masiR 'daughter' and īR 'sister' have special, commonly used nasalised plurals, masink 'daughters' and īnk 'sisters', in addition to the usual plurals masiRk and īRk.

The plural of the substantive arē 'person' is arisk 'persons', 'people'.

The plural suffix -āk is typical of all substantives whose base ends in a retroflexed -T or -D preceded by a short vowel, e.g. cavaT 'sandal'—cavaTTāk 'sandals', kaD 'pit'—kaDDāk 'pits', puT 'a hair'—puTTāk 'hair', piD 'stomach'—piDDāk 'stomachs'.

The same suffix is used mainly to form the plural of substantives whose base ends in -p, -b, -k, -g, -t, -d, -c, -j, -x, -gh, f- or -v, or in -D, a geminated consonant or a consonant cluster, e.g. lap 'handful'—lappāk 'handfuls', trump 'drop'—trumpāk 'drops', sharāb 'wine'—sharabāk 'wines', kumb 'pond'—kumbāk 'ponds', kucak 'dog'—kucakāk 'dogs', Tung 'hole'—Tungāk 'holes', 'ust 'heart'—'ustāk 'hearts', gud 'clothes (sing.)'—gudāk 'clothes', 'uc 'camel'—'uccāk 'camels', baj 'back'—bajāk 'backs', 'anj 'duck'—'anjāk 'ducks', malax 'grasshopper', 'locust'—malaxāk 'grasshoppers', 'locusts', tugh 'sleep'—tughāk 'sleep (pl.)', pif 'lung'—piffāk 'lungs', pīshkav 'lock'—pīshkavāk 'locks', kōD 'cave'—kōDāk 'caves', duzz 'thief'—duzzāk 'thieves'. At the same time not infrequently substantives with bases of this type also have plurals formed by means of the suffix -k, e.g. baj 'back'—bajk (parallel with bajāk); lix 'neck'—lixk (parallel with lixāk); sōf 'apple'—sōfk (parallel with sōfāk); kōD 'cave'—kōDk (parallel with kōDāk). The plural of a number of substantives of this type, e.g. xaf 'ear', nat 'foot', xad 'teat', is formed only by means of -k: xafk 'ears', nak 'feet', xak 'teats' (the final consonants of the bases of the latter two words are assimilated to the formant of the plural).

The suffix -āk also serves as the formant of the plural of substantives whose bases end in the short vowel -a, the suffix generally being joined to the substantives by means of the connecting consonant -gh-, e.g. bāva 'father'—bāvaghāk 'fathers'; lumma 'mother'—lummaghāk 'mothers', 'urra 'thunder-clap'—'urraghāk 'thunder-claps'. In some cases, however, substantives of this type take the formant -āk directly, e.g. bāva 'father'—bāvaāk.

The formants of the plural -k and -āk are used only in the nominative; when occurring as part of oblique-case bases they take the form -t- and -āt-, respectively, e.g. bā 'mouth'—nom. pl. bāk, obl. pl. base bāt-; pāT 'tree'—nom. pl. pāTk, obl. pl. base pāTT-; lumma 'mother'—nom. pl. lummaghāk, obl. pl. base lummaghāt-; mār 'son'—'mother'—nom. pl. māk, obl. pl. base māt-; masiR 'daughter'—nom. pl. masink, nom. pl. māk, obl. pl. base masint-; nat 'foot'—nom. pl. nāk, obl. pl. base natt- (with a geminated -t- after the short vowel of the base); arē 'person'—nom. pl. arisk, obl. pl. base arist-.

This alternation -k/-t in the formant of the plural is a peculiarity of Brahui; it is not encountered in other Dravidian languages. The suffix -k, which has parallels in Gondi (-k), Kui (-ka), Kuvi (-ska), Naiki (-ku), Gadaba, Parji and Kolami (-kul), Tulu (-kuLu), Kodagu (-anga), Kannada (-gaLu), and Malayalam and Tamil (-kaL), is undoubtedly the indigenous formant of the plural. The nature of the suffix -t is not so clear. Its only parallels are the formant of the plural in Parji (-til < -t + -il) and, probably, in Kolami and Gadaba (-cil, -sil, if in this case -c, -s < *-t). However, in each of the preceding languages this suffix of the plural is retained in all cases. It is hardly justified to see any similarity between this suffix and the relevant suffixes of the plural in the Uralian languages[19] (cf. -t in Finnish, Karelian, Erzya-Mordvinian, Khanty, Mansi and Selkup, -D in Izhor and Livonian, -d in Estonian, Vepse and Vote) since in most of them this suffix is used only in the nominative (and the accusative) and is absent in the other cases, whereas in Brahui, on the contrary, the suffix -t is used in the oblique cases and is never encountered in the nominative. It seems more probable that by origin the suffix -t is an augment, which appears in the oblique cases in many Dravidian languages (e.g. maram 'tree'—maratt- in Tamil, rōn 'house'—rōt- in Gondi, mReha 'person'—mRehata-, mRehanga 'persons', 'people'— mRehangata- in Kuvi) and to which, in this case, the suffix of the plural -k is assimilated (i.e. bā 'mouth', base bāt- < bak + -t-; lōtāk 'bags', obl. pl. nom. pl. bāk, obl. pl. base lōtāt- < lōtāk + -t-; bāvaghāk 'fathers', obl. pl. base bāvaghāt- < bāvaghāk + -t-; etc.).

The use of the singular or the plural is determined by the usual

19 For more detail, see our special work on this subject /57,14-32/.

rule: one object is denoted by a substantive in the singular, two or more similar objects are denoted by a substantive in the plural. An exception are indefinitely thought-of substantives with quantitative qualifiers, in which case the singular is used instead of the plural, e.g. *irā bandagh* 'two persons'; *aT bandagh* 'how many people'; *bāz bandagh* 'many people' (but *'amē bīstangā bandaghāk* 'those twenty people'). Another exception are material substantives, which are used in the singular only when they are thought of indefinitely and in the plural when they are thought of concretely, e.g. *dīr* 'water' (in general), but *dīk* 'the water' (in this water-skin); *pālh* 'milk' (in general), but *pālhk* 'the milk' (from that cow); *xōlum* 'wheat' (in general), but *xōlumk* 'the wheat', 'the grain' (in that sack).

Declension

Eleven cases are distinguished in Brahui: the nominative, genitive, dative, objective, instrumental, comitative, ablative, locative, lative, adessive and the terminative.

Case forms are obtained by adding the case suffixes to the base, which is equal to the nominative case form, in the singular, and to the base containing the plural formant, in the plural. The case suffixes are joined to the base either directly or by means of the connecting (morphophonemic) vowels -*a*- (in the singular) and -*e*- or -*ē*- (in the plural).

The n o m i n a t i v e case has no special formant (or has the zero formant) and is equal to the stem, which, on the whole, is characteristic of the other Dravidian languages too. In a sentence, a substantive in the nominative may be either the subject or the predicative, e.g. *irā bandagh bassunō* 'two people have come'; *ō brā'ūī-as e* 'he is a Brahui'. Besides, substantives in the nominative occur in some absolute constructions with the meaning of an adverbial modifier and as vocatives, e.g. *tūfak dūTī salōk ass* 'he was standing, gun in hand'; *yā xudā* 'O God'.

As in the other Dravidian languages, a substantive in the nominative is frequently used as the direct object of a transitive verb. As a rule, such a substantive denotes a thing thought of indefinitely, e.g. *dīr 'ata* 'bring some water'; *musi 'ullī saudā kareT* 'I sold three horses'; *irā bandagh kasfēn* 'we killed two people'.

The formants of the g e n i t i v e c a s e are the suffixes -*nā*, in the singular, and -*ā*, in the plural. Both these suffixes are generally joined directly to the base, e.g. *xarās* 'bull'—gen. sing. *xarāsnā*, gen. pl. *xarāstā*; *kucak* 'dog'—gen. sing. *kucaknā*, gen. pl. *kucakātā*; *lumma* 'mother'—gen. sing. *lummanā*, gen. pl. *lummaghātā*. Exceptions are monosyllabic substantives in which the suffix -*nā* in the singular is joined to the base by means of the connecting vowel -*a*-, e.g. *bā* 'mouth'—gen. sing. *bāanā*, gen. pl. *bātā*; *mār* 'son'—gen. sing. *māranā*, gen. pl. *mātā*; optionally the suffix -*nā* is also joined to other bases in the same way if the latter end in a consonant cluster.

In the comparative plane, the Brahui formant of the genitive -*(n)ā* shows an obvious similarity with the analogous formants of the ge-

nitive in Gondi /-*(n)ā*/ and Kannada *(-a/-ā)* and also a more distant similarity with -*(i)n/-(i)n*^{g}/-*ne* in Gadaba, -*(i)n* in Parji, -*n(e)* in Naiki, -*n* in Kota and Toda, and -*in* in Tamil and Malayalam.

In a sentence, a substantive in the genitive is generally used as a prepositive attribute of another substantive, e.g. *kanā īlumnā 'ullī* 'my brother's horse'; *bāvanā nājōRī* 'the father's illness'; *ē bandaghātā lōtāk* 'these people's bags'. Besides, some verbs take an object in the genitive, e.g. *īlumnā bing* '/he/ heard about /his/ brother'. The word qualified by a substantive in the genitive may be omitted to avoid repetition, e.g. *kanā 'ullī batane, kanā īlumnā bassune* 'my horse failed to come, /but/ that of my brother's did come'.

In Brahui, cases of the reappraisal of the formant of the genitive in the derivational plane are frequently encountered; as a result, a metanalysis of the base takes place and the substantive in the genitive is construed as an independent substantive in the nominative, which can take on case suffixes both in the singular and the plural, e.g. *īlum* 'brother'—gen. sing. *īlumnā* 'of the brother', gen. pl. *īlumtā* 'of the brothers' and, further, *īlumnā* 'that which belongs to the brother', nom. pl. *īlumnāk* (optionally *īlumnāfk*), obl. pl. base *īlumnāt-* (optionally *īlumnāft-*), *īlumtā* 'that which belongs to the brothers', nom. pl. *īlumtāk*, obl. pl. base *īlumtāt-*. The case suffixes are added in the usual way, the only difference being that in the singular the suffixes of the instrumental, ablative and the lative (and, optionally, those of the dative and the comitative) are joined to the base by means of the connecting (morphophonemic) consonant -*R*- (i.e. *īlumnāR-*).

Such substantives are used in the usual way, e.g. *dā 'uc lāghar e kanā bāvanāfk pazzōr ō* 'this camel is thin, /but/ those which belong to my father are fat'; *dā zaghmanā bā kunT e, kanā māranānā tēz e* 'the edge of this sword is blunt, /but/ that of my son's is sharp'.

The formant of the d a t i v e c a s e is the suffix -*ki*. In the singular this suffix is joined to all disyllabic and polysyllabic bases directly, and to monosyllabic bases by means of the connecting vowel -*a*-; in the plural the suffix -*ki* is joined to all bases by means of the connecting vowel -*ē*-, e.g. *xarās* 'bull'—dat. sing. *xarāski*, dat. pl. *xarāstēki*; *urā* 'house'—dat. sing. *urāki*, dat. pl. *urātēki*; *mār* 'son—dat. sing. *māraki*, dat. pl. *mātēki*; *bā* 'mouth'—dat. sing. *bāaki*, dat. pl. *bātēki*.

The Brahui suffix of the dative has obvious correspondences in other Dravidian languages: in Kui and Kuvi *(-ki)*, Malto /-*(i)k*/, Telugu *(-ku/-ki)*, Tulu *(-ku)*, Kodagu *(-kö)*, Kannada *(-ke)*, Toda and Kota *(-k)*, Malayalam *(-ku)*, Tamil *(-ku/-ki)*, Kurukh *(-gē)*, Parji /-*(u)g/-(u)n*^{g}/ and, apparently, in Kolami /-*(u)n*^{g}/.

The meaning of the dative in Brahui is generally limited to that of an indirect object for whose benefit or for whose sake an action is performed, e.g. *ī tēnā bāvaki dā Daghāre dasēT* 'I sowed this field for my father'; *sha'ranā pulingki 'ināne* 'he set out to plunder the village (lit. for plundering the village)'; *sēlhaki kaccīāy akāna* 'for the winter (lit. for wintering) we go to Kachhi'.

Before words beginning with a vowel, substantives in the dative optionally (and before positive forms of the present tense of the verb *anning* 'to be' invariably) take the connecting (morphophonemic) consonant -*n*, e.g. *kul nā īlumkin e* 'all /this/ is for your brother'.

The formant of the o b j e c t i v e c a s e is the suffix -e, which is joined directly to the base in both the singular and the plural, e.g. xarās 'bull'—obj. sing. xarāse, obj. pl. xarāste; urā 'house'—obj. sing. urāe, obj. pl. urāte; mār 'son'—obj. sing. māre, obj. pl. māte; bā 'mouth'—obj. sing. bāe, obj. pl. bāte.[20]

The Brahui formant of the objective, -e, has corresponding formants of the accusative: -e in Malayalam and modern Tamil, -ey in classical Tamil, -a in Kodagu and in Kannada dialects, -am in old, and -annu in modern, literary Kannada, and also -an/-in in Kurukh, -(i)n in Malto, Gadaba and Parji, -n in Naiki, Kolami and Kota, -nu/-ni in Telugu, and -nu/-nī in Tulu.

A substantive in the objective may denote an immediate object of an action (the direct object) or an indirect object towards which that action is directed (the addressee of the action); when used with a verb of being, a substantive in the objective also designates the possessor of an object denoted by a substantive in the nominative, e.g. shuān duzze 'alk 'the shepherd caught a thief'; musiTTangā draxtāte guDDā 'he felled /those/ three trees'; sardāre irā xarās are 'our sirdar has two bulls'; ī sardāre rasēngāT 'I came up to the sirdar'.

The formant of the i n s t r u m e n t a l c a s e is the suffix -aT, which is joined directly to the base in the singular, and by means of the connecting (morphophonemic) vowel -e- in the plural, e.g. xarās 'bull'—instr. sing. xarāsaT, instr. pl. xarāsteaT; mār 'son'—instr. sing. māraT, instr. pl. māteaT; dū 'hand'—instr. sing. dūaT, instr. pl. dūteaT.

This suffix has no parallels in most cognate languages; only Kolami and Parji have corresponding suffixes -(n)aD and -(n)oD, respectively.

The main function of a substantive in the instrumental is denoting a means, an instrument or a way of performing an action, e.g. ī dā cukke dūaT 'alkuT 'I caught this bird with my hand'; 'andā jangalaT 'ināka 'he was walking through the wood'; cukkanā vallar-as nanā kāTumaT gidārēngā 'a flock of birds passed over our heads'.

The formant of the c o m i t a t i v e c a s e is the suffix -tō. In the singular, this suffix is joined to monosyllabic bases by means of the connecting vowel -a- and to other bases directly; in the plural, this suffix is joined to all bases by means of the connecting vowel -e-, e.g. mār 'son'—com. sing. māratō, com. pl. māteto; dū 'hand'—com. sing. dūatō, com. pl. dūteto; urā 'house'—com. sing. urātō, com. pl. urāteto. For the sake of euphony the suffix -tō may be optionally joined by -a- also to polysyllabic singular bases ending in a consonant, e.g. kapōt 'pigeon'—kapōttō or kapōtatō.

Besides Brahui, the comitative case is distinguished in other Dravidian languages: in Kui, Konda, Tamil, Malayalam, Kota and Toda; Gadaba has the instrumental-comitative case. The formants of the comitative in Kui (-ke) and Konda (-v-ale), and also the formant of the

instrumental-comitative in Gadaba (-nāl) are not connected etymologically with the Brahui -tō. The latter's connection with the formants of the comitative in Tamil (-oRu/-ōRu), Malayalam (-ōRu), Kota (-ōR) and Toda (-wïR) is not very likely. The Brahui formant can be linked directly only with the Telugu postposition tō 'together with' from tōRa, tōRi 'together with' (with tōRu 'help', 'cooperation').

The principal meanings of the comitative case are association, coincidence (of space and time) and an attendant or causal circumstance, which is sometimes close to the meaning of agency, e.g. ī nā māratō mastungāy akāva 'my son and I will go to Mastung'; kanā banningtō urāe illā 'when I came (lit. with my coming), he left the house'; shāmatō barēva 'I shall come in the evening'; laTTatō xalkuT-ta 'I struck him with a stick'.

Before words beginning with a vowel, substantives in the comitative optionally (and before positive forms of the present tense of the verb anning 'to be' invariably) take the connecting (morphophonemic) consonant -n, e.g. tēnā tūfak kantō(n) aff, ōd nā īlumtōn e 'my gun is not with me, it is with your brother'. Occasionally the consonant -n also occurs before words beginning with a dental plosive, e.g. kanā māratōn tūlh 'you sit /beside/ my son'.

The formant of the a b l a t i v e c a s e is the suffix -ān. In the singular, this suffix is joined to the base directly, and in the plural, by means of the connecting vowel -e-, e.g. xarās 'bull'—abl. sing. xarāsān, abl. pl. xarāsteān; bā 'mouth'—abl. sing. bāān, abl. pl. bāteān; mār 'son'—abl. sing. mārān, abl. pl. māteān. In the singular of substantives with bases ending in -a or -ā (except monosyllabic words) the formant of the ablative -ān may optionally be joined by means of the connecting consonant -gh-, e.g. urā 'house'—urāān or urāghān; bāva 'father'—bāvaān or bāvaghān.[21]

The Brahui suffix of the ablative, -ān, has the following corresponding suffixes in other Dravidian languages: the suffix of the ablative -al in Gondi, the suffix of the instrumental-ablative -(v)an in Konda, the suffix of the instrumental-comitative -(n)āl in Gadaba, and the suffixes of the instrumental -āl and -ān/-āl in Malayalam and Tamil, respectively.

These formal correspondences agree well with the fact that semantically the Brahui ablative, besides its principal meaning of removal (the object of separation), often has meanings close to those of the instrumental, e.g. tēnā urāghān pēsh tammā 'he came forth from his house'; ī tūghān bash massuT 'I awoke from sleep'; tēnā lummaghān 'arrifē 'she asked her mother (lit. from her mother) /about it/', and also 'uc iraghān 'ampōk ass 'the camel was loaded with food'; dēān 'inār 'they went by day'.

Another characteristic meaning of the ablative is that of an object with which something is compared, e.g. narringān jang akarēsa juān ass 'it were better you had fought instead of running away'; piD bāān shēf

[20] In the Sarawan dialect, the formant of the objective -e/-ō is optionally joined to the nominative case form in the plural, e.g. xarāsk 'bulls'—obj. pl. xarāskō, xarāskē (parallel with the usual xarāste).

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[21] In the Jhalawan dialect, in the plural the suffix of the ablative -ān is optionally joined to the base directly, e.g. xarās 'bull'—abl. pl. xarāstān (parallel with xarāsteān).

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e 'the belly is lower than the mouth'; *kanā 'ullī kullān juān e* 'my horse is the best of all'; *pēnanā malhān tēnā masiR juān e* 'one's own daughter is better than somebody else's son'.

The formant of the l o c a t i v e c a s e is the suffix *-Tī*. In the singular, this suffix is joined to bases ending in a long vowel directly and to all other bases by means of the connecting vowel *-a-;* the suffix *-Tī* may also be joined to monosyllabic substantives with bases ending in a long vowel, by means of the vowel *-a-*. In the plural, this suffix is joined to all bases by means of the connecting vowel *-ē-*, e.g. *urā* 'house'—loc. sing. *urāTī*, loc. pl. *urātēTī; dū* 'hand'—loc. sing. *dūTī, dūaTī*, loc. pl. *dūtēTī; xarās* 'bull'—loc. sing. *xarāsaTī*, loc. pl. *xarāstēTī*.

The Brahui suffix of the locative, *-Tī*, has no correspondences in the other Dravidian languages.

The principal function of the locative is denoting the object in which an action occurs or in which it is completed, e.g. *ō kanā sha'raTī tūlik* 'he lives in our village'; *ī urāTī pē'aT* 'I entered the house'; *kanā tūfak·kāTumaTī-ta laggā* 'my shot hit him on the head'. Verbal nouns in the locative, used with the verbs *anning* 'to be' and *tamming* 'to fall', express the prolonged or inchoative character of the action, respectively: *ī 'īt kanningaTī uT* 'I am speaking'; *'ōghingaTī tammā* 'she fell weeping', 'she fell a-weeping'.

The formant of the l a t i v e c a s e is the suffix *-āy*, which is joined to bases in the same way as the suffix *-ān* of the ablative, e.g. *xarās* 'bull'—lat. sing. *xarāsāy*, lat. pl. *xarāsteāy; urā* 'house'—lat. sing. *urāāy, urāghāy*, lat. pl. *urāteāy; bāva* 'father'—lat. sing. *bāvaāy, bāvaghāy*, lat. pl. *bāvaghāteāy; bā* 'mouth'—lat. sing. *bāāy*, lat. pl. *bāteāy*.[22]

The Brahui suffix of the lative *-āy* has the corresponding locative suffixes: *-ē* in Gondi and *-a* in Kuvi.

A substantive in the lative denotes an object towards which the action is directed, e.g. *kanā urāghāy ba* 'come to my house'; *ī kalātāy akāva* 'I am going to Kalat'; *ōde Daghārāy biTeT* 'I flung him on the ground'.

Before words beginning with a vowel, substantives in the lative optionally (and before positive forms of the present tense of the verb *anning* 'to be' invariably) take the connecting (morphophonemic) consonant *-T*, e.g. *ghallanā mōn nusxalāyT e* 'the face of the corn ear is turned towards the mill'.

The formant of the a d e s s i v e c a s e is the suffix *-isk*, which often has the form *-is* or *-k*.

In the singular, the suffix *-isk* or *-is* is joined to the base directly. The suffix *-k* is joined both in the singular and the plural by means of the connecting vowel *-ē-;* in the singular, it is encountered only in substantives which take on the particle *-as* 'one', 'some', e.g. *sardār* 'sirdar'—ades. sing. *sardāris, sardārisk*, ades. pl. *sardārātēk, sardātēk; bandagh* 'person'—ades. sing. *bandaghasēk*, ades. pl. *bandaghātēk; masiR* 'daughter'—ades. pl. *masinteis, masinteisk, masintēk*.

[22] In the Jhalawan dialect, the suffix of the lative may lose its final consonant and, in the plural, may be joined to the base directly, e.g. *xaras* 'bull'—lat. sing. *xarāsā*, lat. pl. *xarāstā(y)*.

The Brahui adessive case is used to denote an object in whose immediate proximity (in whose neighbourhood, near which) the action takes place, e.g. *shuān 'amō mashis marōe* 'the shepherd will probably be about that hill'; *kure 'andā dūnisk xanōs* 'you'll probably find the flock at the well'; *murū 'amē draxtātēk gum mass* 'the hare disappeared in the neighbourhood of those trees'; *naneān asi bandaghasēk tūfak arē* 'one of us has the gun with him'; *dā xalkanā bandaghātēk bīsh xarās bāz e* 'the people of this village have many donkeys and bulls'.

Before words beginning with a vowel, substantives in the adessive occasionally take the morphophonemic syllable *-in*, e.g. *kanā tūfak kanā māriskin e* 'my gun is in my son's possession'.

The formant of the t e r m i n a t i v e c a s e is the suffix *-(is)kā*, which is joined to bases in the same way as the suffix of the adessive *-(is)k*, which is similar in form, e.g. *draxt* 'tree'—term. sing. *draxtiskā, draxtasēkā*, term. pl. *draxtātēkā*.

Substantives in the terminative denote the borderline (limit) in space or time to which the action spreads, e.g. *ē mashtēkā 'in zū 'aRsēng* 'go as far as those hills and come back quickly'; *dākā mastungiskā·shāⁿzda kō' e* 'it is sixteen kos from here to Mastung'; *tā irā sāliskā ō ja'ān suritav* 'for two years (lit. up to two years) he did not move from where he was'.

Before words beginning with a vowel, substantives in the terminative optionally (and before positive forms of the present tense of the verb *anning* 'to be' invariably) take the connecting consonant *-n*, e.g. *mullānā zōr masītiskān e* 'the mullah's power is confined within the mosque's walls'; *kanā Daghārnā 'ad ē mashtēkān e* 'the border of my land reaches those hills'; *kanā banningiskān aD ka* 'wait till I come'.

The formant of the terminative, *-(is)kā*, is undoubtedly connected genetically with the formant *-(is)k/-is* of the adessive, whose meaning is similar to the terminative and which differs from the latter only by the presence of the final vowel *-ā*. This vowel is in all probability of secondary origin and, from the viewpoint of etymology at any rate, constitutes an independent morpheme. The use of the formant of the adessive now in the form *-isk* (or *-iskin)*, now in the form *-is*, now in the form *-k* (and also the use of the formant of the terminative now in the form *-iskā*, now in the form *-kā)* prompts the supposition that the formant *-isk*, in its turn, is bimorphemic, resulting from the contamination of two heterogeneous suffixes, *-is* and *-k*. Such a development of case suffixes in Dravidian languages is no exception. Thus, for instance, the Malayalam formant of the allative (lative-terminative) *-ilēkku/-kalēkku* also came into being as a result of the blending of two suffixes: the suffix of the locative *-il/-kal* and the suffix of the dative *-ku* /6, 733-734; 55, 225/.

The relative complexity of the morphemic structure of the formants *-isk* and *-iskā*, and the character of their variants make us regard these formants as recent innovations which appeared already on Brahui soil. The fact that they have no parallel forms in the cognate languages with the exception of Malayalam, where this suffix is also of recent origin (it is not found in early monuments), may likewise serve as circumstantial evidence in favour of the preceding conclusion.

Substantive Declension Paradigms

xarās 'bull', *bā* 'mouth', *urā* 'house', *mār* 'son', *lōt* 'bag', *bāva* 'father', *Tlumnā* 'that which belongs to the brother'

Singular

	xarās	bā	urā	mār	lōt	bāva	Tlumnā
Nom.	xarās	bā	urā	mār	lōt	bāva	Tlumnā
Gen.	xarāsnā	bāanā	urānā	māranā	lōtanā	bāvanā	Tlumnānā
Dat.	xarāski	bāaki	urāki	māraki	lōtaki	bāvaki	Tlumnā(R)ki
Obj.	xarāse	bāe	urāe	māre	lōte	bāvae	Tlumnāe
Instr.	xarāsaT	bāaT	urāaT	māraT	lōtaT	bāvaaT	Tlumnā(R)aT
Com.	xarāstō	bāatō	urātō	māratō	lōtetō	bāvatō	Tlumnā(R)tō
Abl.	xarāsān	bāān	urā(gh)ān	mārān	lōtān	bāva(gh)ān	Tlumnā(R)ān
Loc.	xarāsaTT	bā(a)TT	urāTT	māraTT	lōtaTT	bāvaTT	TlumnāTT
Lat.	xarāsāy	bāāy	urā(gh)āy	mārāy	lōtāy	bāva(gh)āy	Tlumnā(R)āy
Ades.	xarāsis(k)	bāis(k)	urāis(k)	māris(k)	lōtis(k)	bāvais(k)	Tlumnā(R)is(k)
Term.	xarāsiskā	bāiskā	urāiskā	māriskā	lōtiskā	bāvaiskā	Tlumnā(R)iskā

Plural

	xarās	bā	urā	mār	lōt	bāva	Tlumnā
Nom.	xarāsk	bāk	urāk	māk	lōtāk	bāvaghāk	Tlumnā(f)k
Gen.	xarāstā	bātā	urātā	mātā	lōtātā	bāvaghātā	Tlumnā(f)tā
Dat.	xarāstēki	bātēki	urātēki	mātēki	lōtāteki	bāvaghātēki	Tlumnā(f)tēki
Obj.	xarāste	bāte	urāte	māte	lōtāte	bāvaghāte	Tlumnā(f)te
Inst.	xarāsteaT	bāteaT	urāteaT	māteaT	lōtāteaT	bāvaghāteaT	Tlumnā(f)teaT
Com.	xarāstetō	bātetō	urātetō	mātetō	lōtātetō	bāvaghātetō	Tlumnā(f)tetō
Abl.	xarāsteān	bāteān	urāteān	māteān	lōtāteān	bāvaghāteān	Tlumnā(f)teān
Loc.	xarāstēTi	bātēTi	urātēTi	mātēTi	lōtātēTi	bāvaghātēTi	Tlumnā(f)tēTi
Lat.	xarāsteāy	bāteāy	urāteāy	māteāy	lōtāteāy	bāvaghāteāy	Tlumnā(f)teāy
Ades.	xarāstēk	bātēk	urātēk	mātēk	lōtātēk	bāvaghātēk	Tlumnā(f)tēk
Term.	xarāstēkā	bātēkā	urātēkā	mātēkā	lōtātēkā	bāvaghātēkā	Tlumnā(f)tēkā

In Brahui itself the formants *-isk* and *-iskā* are more likely than not linked with the formant of the dative *-ki* (the latter has been particularly well preserved in the optional form *-iskin,* where *-n* is the usual morphophonemic consonant) and with the formant of the lative *-āy* (cf. the foregoing remark on the lative ending in *-ā* in the Jhalawan dialect).

The character of the morpheme *-is* in these suffixes is still unclear. Its absence in the plural forms, and also in the singular forms incorporating the indefinite particle *-as* 'one', 'some' is conspicuous /*sardār* 'sirdar'—dat. sing. *sardārki;* ades. sing. *sardārisk, sardāris, sardārasēk,* term. sing. *sardāriskā, sardārasēkā,* dat. pl. *sardā(rā)tēki,* ades. pl. *sardā(rā)tēk,* term. pl. *sardā(rā)tēkā/.* This peculiarity warrants the supposition that originally the suffix *-is* was not a case formant.[23]

THE ADJECTIVE

In Brahui there are qualitative and relative adjectives. The former have two degrees: the neutral and the comparative, and three forms in each degree: the short, the indefinite and the definite. The latter have only the neural degree, in which there are also three forms: the short, the indefinite and the definite ones.

The Neutral Degree

The Short Form

An adjective in the short form has no special formant (it has the zero formant) and is equal to its base: *juān* 'good', *pūshkun* 'new', *balun* 'big', *cunak* 'small', *pīun* 'white', *xīsun* 'red', *kubēn* 'heavy', *subak* 'light'.

An adjective in the short form is used as the predicative in a verb-nominal predicate, e.g. *kanā 'ullī pīun e* 'my horse is white'; *nā mār caTT e* 'your son is lazy'; *nanā sardār laghōr aff* 'our sirdar is not cowardly'.

The Indefinite Form

The formant of the indefinite form of an adjective is the suffix *-ō* added to the base of the adjective (i.e. to its short form), e.g. *juān* 'good'—*juanō; pīun* 'white'—*pīunō; caT* 'lazy'—*caTTō; balun* 'big'—*balunō* (optionally *ballō); cunak* 'small'—*cunakkō* (optionally *cunō).*

An adjective in the indefinite form is generally used as a prepositive (and if special emphasis is to be expressed, postpositive) at-

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23 D. Bray's attempt to compare the suffix *-is* with the formant of the ablative-locative *-il* in Tamil /11, 11/ is not convincing: there are no phonetic correspondences of the *l* (in Tamil) : *s* (in Brahui) type, as, incidentally, there are no correspondences to the Tamil suffix of the ablative-locative outside the Southern group of languages.

tribute of a substantive, which in this case is invariably in the singular and (except when it denotes several objects) takes on the indefinite particle *-as* 'one', 'some', e.g. *balunō inām-as* 'a big present'; *cunō cukk-as* 'a small bird'; *ē kul juānō ʾullī ō* 'these are all good horses'. Not infrequently such an adjective is used as an attribute of the numeral *asiT* 'one /person, object/': *dā ʾullī asilō asiTT e* 'this horse is a thoroughbred one'.

When an adjective in the indefinite form is used as the predicative in a verb-nominal predicate, it takes on the indefinite particle *-as* 'one', 'some' (with the link-verb in the singular) or the connecting consonant *-n* (before positive forms of the present tense of the link-verb in the plural), e.g. *dā ʾullī asilō-as e* 'this horse is thoroughbred'; *num cunakkōn ure* 'you are /still/ small'.

Some indefinite adjectives formed from derivative substantival bases have no short form, e.g. *ʾalkōnō sādār-as* 'a mouse-like animal'.

The Definite Form

The formants of the definite form of adjectives are the suffixes *-ā*, *-angā* and *-(ī)kō* added to adjective bases (the suffixes *-ā* and *-angā* are generally joined to bases ending in *-a/-ā* by means of the connecting consonant *-gh-*), the suffix *-angā* being usually added to monosyllabic bases and the suffix *-ā* to polysyllabic ones; the suffix *-(ī)kō* is added to adjective bases showing the position of objects in space or their order, e.g. *buRz* 'high'—*buRzangā; murghun* 'long'—*murghunā; ganda* 'bad'—*gandaghā; zēbā* 'pretty'—*zēbāghā; rāst* 'right'—*rāstīkō; shēf* 'low'—*shēfkō.*

The definite form of a number of adjectives can be formed by means of both the suffix *-(ang)ā* and the suffix *-(ī)kō*, e.g. *buRz* 'high'—*buRzkō, buRzīkō, buRzangā.*

Adjectives in the definite form are generally used as a prepositive (and if special emphasis is to be expressed, postpositive) attribute of a substantive, e.g. *marghunā kasar* 'long road'; *saxtangā laT* 'strong stick'; *rāstīkō dū* 'right hand'.

When adjectives in the definite form become substantivised, they are declined and used as substantives of the *īlumnā* ('that which belongs to the brother') type, the only difference being that substantivised adjectives ending in *-ā* or *-angā* have no optional form of the plural in *-fk*, e.g. *cunakkā* 'small /child/'— gen. sing. *cunakkānā*, nom. pl. *cunakkāk*, obl. pl. base *cunakkāt-; sharrangā* 'good /person, object/'— gen. sing. *sharrangānā*, nom. pl. *sharrangāk*, obl. pl. base *sharrang-āt-; cappīkō* 'left /side/'—gen. sing. *cappīkōnā*, nom. pl. *cappīkō(f)k*, obl. pl. base *cappīkō(f)t-*. Cf., for instance, *dā cunakkāte yala karak* 'let these little /ones/ go'; *rāstīkō pāraghān bafēs, cappīkōRān barak* 'please do not come from the right side, come from the left'.

A number of definite adjectives formed from substantival bases have no short form, e.g. *nā īlumkōnā bandagh* 'the man like your brother'; *niāmīkō ʾuc* 'the middle camel' (with *niām* 'middle').

The Comparative Degree

Adjectives in the comparative degree have the formant *-tir*,[24] which is added to the base. The formants of the indefinite and definite forms (*-ō* and *-ā*, respectively) are added to the suffix *-tir*, e.g. *juān* 'good'—short comp. *juāntir*, indef. comp. *juāntirō*, def. comp. *juāntirā.*

Adjectives in the comparative degree are used in the same way as adjectives in the neutral degree, e.g. *ē nājōRā arē dāsā macci shartir e* 'this sick person is now a little better'; *kana tūfaknā sum nāRān murtir ʾinā* 'the bullet of my gun went farther than yours'; *dā ʾullī juān aff, asi juāntirō ʾulli-as ʾata* 'this horse is not good, bring a better one'; *ʾamē buRztirā mashāy lagga* 'climb that higher hill over there'.

THE NUMERAL

Two classes of numerals are distinguished in Brahui: cardinals and ordinals.

Cardinal Numerals

All Brahui cardinal numerals, with the exception of the first three, were borrowed from Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages.

The names of the digits of the first and second tens, as well as the names of the tens, one hundred, one thousand, one hundred thousand and ten million are rendered by simple numerals:

asi(T) 'one'[25]	*panc* 'five'
iraT, irā 'two'[26]	*shash* 'six'
musi(T) 'three'[27]	*ʾaft* 'seven'
cār 'four'	*ʾasht* 'eight'

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[24] The suffix *-tir* was borrowed into Brahui from Baluchi.

[25] Cf. *ondʳu* 'one' in Tamil, *onnu* in Malayalam, *odʳ* in Kota, *wïdʳ* in Toda, *ondu* in Kannada, *ondï* in Kodagu, *onji* in Tulu, *okaTi* in Telugu, *okkod* in Kolami, *okko* in Naiki, *okti* in Parji, *okuT* in Gadaba, *undī* in Gondi, *unDrʳi* in Konda, *ronDe* in Kui, *rondi* in Kuvi, *onD* in Kurukh and *ort* in Malto.

[26] Cf. *iraNDu* 'two' in Tamil, *raNDu* in Malayalam, *eydʳ* in Kota, *eD* in Toda, *eraRu* in Kannada, *danDï* in Kodagu, *raddï* in Tulu, *renDu* in Telugu, *inding* in Kolami, *ernDi* in Naiki, *iRdu* in Parji, *inDi* in Gadaba, *ranD* in Gondi, *runDi* in Konda, *rīnDe* in Kui, *rindi* in Kuvi, *ēnD* in Kurukh and *ivr* in Malto.

[27] Cf. *mūndʳu* 'three' in Tamil, *mūnnu* in Malayalam, *mūndʳ* in Kota, *mūdʳ* in Toda, *mūru* in Kannada, *mūndu* in Kodagu, *mūji* in Tulu, *mūRu* in Telugu, *mūnding* in Kolami, *mūndi* in Naiki, *mūdu* in Parji, *mūnD* in Gadaba, *mūnd* in Gondi, *mūnDrʳi* in Konda and *mūnd* in Kurukh.

nṓ' 'nine'	*sī* 'thirty'
da' 'ten'	*cil* 'forty'
yāⁿzda 'eleven'	*panjā* 'fifty'
duāⁿzda 'twelve'	*shast* 'sixty'
sēⁿzda 'thirteen'	*'aftād* 'seventy'
cāⁿR da 'fourteen'	*'ashtād* 'eighty'
pāⁿzda 'fifteen'	
shāⁿzda 'sixteen'	*navad* 'ninety'
'avda 'seventeen'	*sad* 'hundred'
'azhda 'eighteen'	*'azār* 'thousand'
nōzda 'nineteen'	
bīst 'twenty'	*lak* 'hundred thousand'
	krōr 'ten million'

All the other numerals are composite and are built on the pattern of *bīst ō yak* 'twenty-one' (lit. 'twenty and one'), *bīst ō dō* 'twenty-two', *bīst ō sey* 'twenty-three', *bīst ō cār* 'twenty-four', *sad ō yak* 'one hundred and one', *dō sad* 'two hundred' (lit. 'two hundreds'), etc. /all composite numerals having *yak*, *dō* and *sey* instead of *asi(T)* 'one', *iraT*, *irā* 'two' and *musi(T)* 'three', respectively/. Occasionally composite numerals over and above forty have optional variants based on scores: *musi bīst* 'three score', 'sixty'; *musi bīst ō da'* 'three score and ten', 'seventy'; *cār bīst* 'four score', 'eighty', etc.

All Brahui numerals can be used both as adjectives and substantives; in the latter instance they change according to cases (with the exception of the numerals *asi* 'one', *irā* 'two' and *musi* 'three', which are used only as adjectives, and the numerals *asiT*, *iraT* and *musiT*, which are used only as substantives), e.g. *kanā irā mār e* 'I have two sons'; *dā iragh numā cāranā e* 'this bread is /for/ the four of you'.

Like adjectives, cardinal numerals may take on the suffixes *-ā* and *-angā*, which in addition to the meaning of definiteness lend them a nuance of universality, e.g. *bīst bandagh* 'twenty people'—*bīstangā bandaghāk* 'all the twenty people'; *irā shasx* 'two people'—*iraTTangā shasxāk* 'both the people'. The numeral *asiT* 'one' can take on the suffix *-ā* or the suffix *-ō*, denoting a single object in either case, e.g. *asi mār-as* 'one son'—*asiTTā mār/asiTTō mār-as* 'only one son', 'the only son'.

The indefinite particle *-as* 'a', 'one', 'some', 'a certain...' joined to a cardinal numeral lends it an additional meaning of approximation, e.g. *panc dē* 'five days'—*panc-as dē* 'about five days'.

Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals (with the exception of the numeral "first") are formed from the corresponding cardinal numerals by means of the suffix *-im* plus the formant of definiteness *-īkō*, e.g. *iraT* 'two'—*iraTTimīkō* 'second'; *musiT* 'three'—*musiTTimīkō* 'third'; *cār* 'four'—*carimīkō* 'fourth'. The meaning of the numeral "first" is rendered by three synonymous words, *avalīkō*, *mōnīkō* and *mu'īkō*, formed by the addition of the suffix *-īkō* to the substantives *aval* 'beginning', *mōn* 'the front

part', 'the front' and *mu˙ ˙race*, and also by the genitive singular of the latter two substantives: *mōnanā* and *mu'anā*.

Ordinal numerals are used both as attributes of substantives and as substantives, changing according to case when necessary, e.g. *musiTTimīkō dē* 'third day'; *iraT tēn-pa-tēn 'īt akēra musitTTimīkōnā ant-as* 'when two chat together what business is it of the third?' (cf. 'two is company, but three is none').

THE PRONOUN

Eight classes of pronouns are distinguished in Brahui: personal, reflexive, possessive, indefinite, demonstrative, interrogative, definitive and indefinite.

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are distinguished by person and number, and, in the 3rd person, also by the extent to which the objects they designate are removed from the speaker:

ī	(the base *kan-*) 'I'	*nan* (the base *nan-*) 'we'
nī	(the base *ne-*) 'thou'	*num* (the base *num-*) 'you'
dād	(the base *dād-/dāR -*) 'he', 'she', 'it', 'this person/object'	*dāfk* (the base *dāft-*) 'they', 'these people/objects'
ōd	(the base *ōd-/ōR -*) 'he', 'she', 'it', 'that person/object over there', 'this person/object over here'	*ōfk* (the base *ōft-*) 'they', 'those people/objects'
ēd	(the base *ēd-/-ēR -*) 'he', 'she', 'it', 'that person/object'	*ēfk* (the base *ēft-*) 'they', 'those people/objects'[28]

The pronouns *dād* and *dāfk* denote objects located in the immediate vicinity of the speaker; the pronouns *ēd* and *ēfk* denote objects located either very far from the speaker or beyond his vision; the pronouns *ōd* and *ōfk* denote objects located half-way (between those denoted by the pronouns *dād*, *dāfk* and *ēd*, *ēfk*, respectively) and are also often used with the meaning of pronouns neutral with respect to remoteness in space.

The pronouns of the 3rd person frequently take on the emphatic word *'am* 'very', borrowed from Persian; the addition of this word does not influence either the meaning or the inflexion of these pronouns (e.g. *'amōd*, *'andād*, in some subdialects of the Jhalawan dialect also *'annād*, etc.).

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[28] In the Sarawan dialect, the optional forms *dāk* (the base *dāt-*), *ōk* (the base *ōt-*) and *ēk* (the base *ēt-*) are also used, with the formant of the objective case sometimes added to the nominative form.

In the comparative plane, the common Dravidian parallels of the pronoun of the 1st person singular $\bar{\imath}$ 'I' are the least obvious (cf. *yān* in Old Tamil, *yān'i* in Tulu, *ēn* in Malto and Kurukh, *ēnu* in Old Telugu, *ān* in Gadaba, Parji, Naiki, Kolami, Old Kannada and Kota, *ānu* in Kui, *anā* in Gondi), for in them neither the quality of the vowel nor the loss of the final consonant in the nominative form have as yet been convincingly explained.[29]

Also unclear is the origin of the initial *k*- in the base *kan-*, which in all other respects has definite correspondences in Kolami, Naiki, Parji and Gadaba *(an-)*, and also in other languages (cf. *en-* in Old Kannada, Kota, Toda, Malayalam and Tamil, *yen-* in Kodagu and Tulu, *eng-* in Malto and Kurukh, *nan-* in modern Kannada, *nā-* in Telugu, Gondi, Konda, Kui and Kuvi).

The other pronouns of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons have obvious correspondences in other languages; cf. *nām (nam-)* 'we' in Malto, Kurukh, Malayalam and Tamil, *nī* 'thou' in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda, Kannada and Kodagu, *nīr (num-)* 'you' in Old Tamil, *nīm (nim-)* 'you' in Kota, Old Kannada, Kurukh and Malto.

Etymologically, the personal pronouns of the 3rd person go back, as they do in all other Dravidian languages, to the bases of demonstrative pronouns, whose spatial semantic characterstic they retain. Outside Brahui (and partially Kui) these bases practically coincide in all languages; cf. *i* 'this' in Tamil, Kota and Toda, *ī* 'this' in all the other languages; *a* 'that' in Tamil, Kota and Toda, *ā* 'that' in all the other languages *(ō* in Kui); *u* 'that one over there' in Old Tamil, *ū* 'that one over there' in Old Kannada, *hū* 'that one over there' in Kurukh (with *ē* 'this one over here', *ā* 'that one over there' in Kui and *ē* 'this one over here', *ū* 'that one over there' in Kuvi). D. Bray believed that the Brahui demonstrative base *ē-* 'that' corresponded directly to the common Dravidian base **a-/*ā-* 'that' and the Brahui base *dā-* 'this' (where *d* is of a later origin) corresponded to the common Dravidian base **i-/*ī-* 'this', and to substantiate these correspondences, he gave the etymologies *tān* 'oneself' in Tamil : *tēn* 'oneself' in Brahui; *yār* 'who' in Tamil : *dēr* 'who' in Brahui (with *d < y*); *ir-* 'to be' in Tamil : *ar-* 'to be' in Brahui; *in-* 'sweetness' in Tamil : *'an-* 'sweet' in Brahui /13/.

On the contrary, M.B. Emeneau thinks that the deviation of Brahui from the common Dravidian system, which, in his opinion, included four pronouns, **a-/ *ā-, *u-/*ū-, *e-/*ē-, *i-/*ī-*, occurred not as a result of phonetic changes (in M.B. Emeneau's view, D. Bray's etymologies are not convincing enough), but as a result of semantic shifts, i.e. **a-/*ā-* 'that' > *dā-* 'this' in Brahui, **u-/*ū-* 'that one over there' > *ō-* 'that one over there' in Brahui, **e-/*ē-* 'this one over here' > *ē-* 'that' in Brahui, with the subsequent transfer of **i-/*ī-* 'this' into the base of the indefinite-personal pronoun /28, 87-98/.

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29 For more detail, see: /26, 14-15/.

Declension of Personal Pronouns

Singular

Nom.	$\bar{\imath}$	*nī*	*dād*	*ōd*	*ēd*
Gen.	*kanā*	*nā*	*danā*	*ōnā*	*ēnā*
Dat	*kanki*	*nēki*	*dāRki, dāki*	*ōRki, ōki*	*ēRki, ēki*
Obj.	*kane*	*nē*	*dāde*	*ōde*	*ēde*
Instr.	*kaneaT*	*nēaT*	*dāRaT, dādaT*	*ōRaT, ōdaT*	*ēRaT, ēdaT*
Com.	*kantō*	*nētō*	*dāRto, dātō*	*ōRtō, ōtō*	*ēR tō, etō*
Abl.	*kaneān*	*nēāh*	*dāRān*	*ōRān*	*ēRān*
Loc.	*kanēTī*	*nēTī*	*dāTī*	*ōTī*	*ēTī*
Lat.	*kaneāy*	*nēāy*	*dāRāy*	*ōRāy*	*ēRāy*
Ades.	*kaneis(k), nēis(k), kanē(s)k ne(s)k*		*dāRis(k), dādis(k)*	*ōRis(k), ōdis(k)*	*ēRis(k), ēdis(k)*
Term.	*kaneiskā, nēiskā, kanē(s)kā nē(s)kā*		*dāRiskā, dādiskā*	*ōRiskā, ōdiskā*	*ēRiskā, ēdiskā*

Plural

Nom.	*nan*	*num*	*dāfk*	*ōfk*	*ēɪк*
Gen.	*nanā*	*numā*	*dāftā*	*ōftā*	*ēftā*
Dat.	*nanki*	*numki*	*dāfteki*	*ōfteki*	*ēfteki*
Obj.	*nane*	*nume*	*dāfte*	*ōfte*	*ēfte*
Instr.	*naneaT*	*numeaT*	*dāfteaT*	*ōfteaT*	*ēfteaT*
Com.	*nantō*	*numtō*	*dāftetō*	*ōftetō*	*ēftetō*
Abl.	*naneān*	*numeān*	*dāfteān*	*ōfteān*	*ēfteān*
Loc.	*nanēTī*	*numēTī*	*dāftēTī*	*ōftēTī*	*ēftēTī*
Lat.	*naneāy*	*numeāy*	*dāfteāy*	*ōfteāy*	*ēfteāy*
Ades.	*naneis(k), numeis(k), nanē(s)k numē(s)k*		*dāfteis(k), dāftē(s)k*	*ōfteis(k), ōftē(s)k*	*ēfteis(k), ēftē(s)k*
Term.	*naneiskā, numeiskā, nanē(s)kā numē(s)kā*		*dāfteiskā, dāftē(s)kā*	*ōfteiskā, ōftē(s)kā*	*ēfteiskā, ēftē(s)kā*

The use of personal pronouns in Brahui resembles their use in other cognate languages: *ī numtō barēva* 'I shall go with you'; *kanēTī nume kārēm e* 'have you any business with me?'; *ōRki xarās-as 'ēsunuT* 'I brought him (lit. for him) a bull'; *ēRtō 'impa, kantō ba* 'do not go with him, come with me'; *numā īlum istō nane nanēsk gidārēfē* 'your brother spent last night with us'; *nanē(s)kā tēne rasēf* 'come (lit. carry yourself) to /see/ us'; *kanā matlab dād e* 'this is my opinion'; *'andāRān xula* 'fear that man'.

In emotive speech, the pronouns of the 3rd person sing. denoting the direct or indirect object are not infrequently used in the nominative instead of the objective, e.g. *kane antey pāsa, ōd pā ki daun kapp* 'why are you telling me that, tell him not to do so'; *ī ēd saxt xalkuT* 'I gave him a good beating'.

The Reflexive Pronoun

Brahui has one reflexive pronoun, *tēn* 'himself', 'herself', 'itself', 'themselves',[30] whose base coincides with the form of the nominative. This pronoun follows the declension pattern of the personal pronouns (the only exception being the form of the instrumental): gen. *tēnā*, dat. *tēnki*, obj. *tēne*, instr. *tēnaT*, com. *tēntō*, abl. *tēneān*, loc. *tēnēTī*, lat. *tēnāy*, ades. *tēneis(k)*, *tēnē(s)k*, term. *tēneiskā*, *tēnē(s)kā*.

The nominative of the reflexive pronoun is generally used only in the set phrase *tēn-pa-tēn* 'with each other', 'with one another', 'among ourselves/yourselves/themselves', e.g. *salā karēn tēn-pa-tēn* 'we took counsel with one another'. The other case forms are used in the usual way: *dā kārēme tēnaT xalās karēr* 'they finished this work by themselves'; *nājōr karē tēne* 'he pretended (lit. made himself) /to be/ ill'; *iragh tēnki dabō* 'take food for yourselves'; *ōfk nē tēntō zaru̅ adēra* 'they will certainly take you with them'; *dā kārēme tēneāy 'arfēnun* 'we undertook /to do/ this work ourselves'; *dā māre tēneis darak* 'take this boy away /to stay/ with you'; *ōfte tēneāy bāvar aff* 'they have no confidence in themselves'; *tēnā kārēm karōī e* 'you have work of your own /to do/'. The genitive and objective of this pronoun are often used to lend a special emphasis to their head word (cf. the English "only", "precisely"), e.g. *kanā tēnā 'ullīe 'ata* 'bring my own (and not anybody else's) horse'; *dā Daghār numā tēnā e?* 'does this land belong to you alone?' Such an emphatic use is not typical of the other case forms.

Possessive Pronouns

By origin the possessive pronouns are the substantivised forms of the genitive of the personal and reflexive pronouns: *kanā* (the base *kanā-)* 'my/mine' (sing.), *kanā(f)k* /the base *kanā(f)t-/* 'my/mine' (pl.), *nanā* (the base *nanā-)* 'our/ours' (sing.), *nanā(f)k* /the base *nanā(f)t-/* 'our/ours'(pl.), *nā* (the base *nā-)* 'thy/thine' (sing.), *nā(f)k* /the base *nā(f)t-/* 'thy/thine' (pl.), *numā* (the base *numā-)* 'your/yours' (sing.), *numā(f)k* /the base *numā(f)t-/* 'your/yours' (pl.), *dānā* (the base *dānā-)*, *ōnā* (the base *ōnā-)*, *ēnā* (the base *ēnā-)* 'his' (sing.), *dānā(f)k* /the base *dānā(f)t-/*, *ōnā(f)k* /the base *ōnā(f)t-/*, *ēnā(f)k* /the base *ēnā(f)t-/* 'his' (pl.), *dāftā* (the base *dāftā-)*, *ōftā* (the base *ōftā-)*, *ēftā* (the base *ēftā-)* 'their/theirs' (sing.), *dāftāk* (the base *dāftāt-)*, *ōftāk* (the base *ōftāt-)*, *ēftāk* (the base *ēftāt-)* 'their/theirs' (pl.), *tēnā* (the base *tēnā-)* 'one's own' (sing.), *tēnā(f)k* /the base *tēnā(f)t-/* 'one's own' (pl.). The possessive pronouns follow the declension pattern of the substantive *īlumnā* 'that which belongs to the brother'. On the whole, the use of the case forms of possessive pronouns does not differ from that of the corresponding forms of nouns, e.g. *ī tēnā vanDe 'arfēnuT, num tēnāfte*

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[30] Its correspondences in other Dravidian languages are: *tān* in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Old Kannada, Parji, Gadaba, Kurukh and Malto, *tānī* in Kodagu and Tulu, *tānu* in modern Kannada, Telugu and Kui, *tanā* in Gondi, *tanū* in Kuvi, *tōn* in Toda, and also *tan-* (in the oblique cases) in Kolami and *tam* 'themselves' (in the plural) in Naiki.

'arfbō, ēftāte illēbō 'I've taken my share, you take yours and leave theirs'; *ē cāxū kunT e, kanāRat taR-ta* 'that knife is blunt, cut it with mine'; *nā bil kanā māris aff, nāRis e* 'your bow is not in my son's possession, your /son/ has it'; *tēnā razāne 'ata, tēnā tēlāte kanāTī shāghpa* 'bring your own jug and do not pour your oil into mine'. Now and then instances of a secondary substantivisation of the forms of the genitive of possessive pronouns are encountered, e.g. *nanā Daggītā āxuk purr ō, ōftātāk xālī ō* 'our cows' troughs are full, and their /cows' troughs/ are empty'.

The Indefinite-Personal Pronoun

The indefinite-personal pronoun is used only in oblique cases; it is not encountered in the nominative, genitive or objective. The base of this pronoun is *ī-*. It is declined in the following way:

Dat.	*īki*	Loc.	*īTī*
Instr.	*īaT*	Lat.	*īāy*
Com.	*ītō*	Ades.	*īis(k)*
Abl.	*īān*	Term.	*īiskā*

The indefinite-personal pronoun is never used without objective-possessive particles, which show the person and number of the object designated by the pronoun: *īki-ka* 'for me', *īaT-ne* 'with/by thee', *ītō-ta* 'with him (her)', *īān-tā* 'from them', *īāy-ne* 'to thee', *īis-ka* 'with me', *īiskā-tā* 'up to them', etc. E.g. *sardār 'arrifē īān-ta* 'the sirdar asked him'; *masiR 'inā ītō-tā* 'the girl went away with them'; *nī ītō-tan 'inak* 'you go with him'; *īis-ka 'arci ki xanis nā e* 'anything you'll find at my place will be yours'; *nā īlum bāz pīn āz taRē īāy-ne* 'your brother told many lies (lit. sliced onions) about you'; *asiT īTī-tā 'ushār assaka* 'one of them was very clever'; *zāīfae ki xanā, bash mass dudēngā īāy-ta* 'upon seeing the woman, he got up and ran towards her'.

Not infrequently, the indefinite-personal pronoun is used with the personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons or with the reflexive pronoun, which in this case take the genitive and, positionally, replace the objective-possessive particles, e.g. *īTī-kanā dā zōre xanisa?* 'do you consider me capable of that?' (lit. 'do you see such strength in me?'); *daunō kārēm-as ītō-nā karē ki kasas dushmantō kapp* 'he treated you in a way nobody would have treated an enemy'; *nanā māle īān-nanā pulār* 'they took our belongings from us'; *īki-numā ant 'ēsur?* 'what have they brought you?'; *nī kanā kulle xarce īān-tēnā ētisa* 'you yourself (lit. from yourself) will pay all my expenses'; *ō kane ītō-tēnā sardāris darē* 'he took me to the sirdar with him'; *mēmānte kulle istō īis-tēnā ja' tissun* 'last night we gave shelter to all the guests'.

The indefinite-personal pronoun is peculiar to Brahui and is not encountered in the other Dravidian languages.[31]

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[31] Etymologically, M.B. Emeneau compares the base of this pronoun, *ī-*, with the common Dravidian demonstrative base *i-/*ī- 'this' (see above). However, this comparison seems to be quite hypothetical owing to the still unexplained peculiar inflexion and usage of this pronoun.

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns *dā* 'this' (located near the speaker), *ē* 'that' (located either far from the speaker or beyond his vision) and *ō* 'that one over there' (located half-way between the foregoing limits) do not distinguish number and do not change according to case. They are used (often with the emphatic particle *'am-*) either as a prepositive attribute of a substantive or as the subject, e.g. *dā zāīfae 'amē bandaghtō mōn ēte* 'send this woman with him (lit. with that man)'; *Dunganā xulīsān ō narrār* 'fearing the gang of robbers, they (lit. those) ran away'.

Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *dē(r)* 'who', *ant* 'what', 'what kind of', *arā(d)* /or *'arā(d)/* 'who', 'what', 'what kind of', 'which' are generally used in the singular and are declined in the following way:

Nom.	*dēr, dē*	*ant*	*arā, arād*
Gen.	*dinnā*	*antanā*	*arānā*
Dat.	*dē(r)ki*	*antaki*	*arā(R)ki*
Obj.	*dēre*	*ante*	*arāde*
Instr.	*dēraT*	*antaT*	*arā(R)aT, arādaT*
Com.	*dē(r)tō*	*antatō*	*arā(R)tō*
Abl.	*derān*	*antān*	*arāRān*
Loc.	*dēTī*	*antaTī*	*aRāTī*
Lat.	*dērāy*	*antāy*	*arāRāy*
Ades.	*dēris(k)*	—	*arāRis(k)*
Term.	*dēriskā*	—	*arāRiskā, arādiskā*

The plural forms are obtained according to the general rule /cf. *dērāk* (obl. base *dērāt-),* *antāk* (obl. base *antāt-),* *arāfk* (obl. base *arāft-)/,*[32] but are used comparatively rarely.

The pronoun *dē(r)* 'who' is used only as a substantive, e.g. *dā bandagh dēr e?* 'who is this man?'; *dē bassunō?* 'who (pl.) has come?'; *nī dinnā mār us?* 'whose son are you?'; *kanā zaghm dēris e?* 'who has my sword?'; *paxranā vār dēriskā rasēngāne?* 'whose turn has come to go on patrol?'; *dā xalkanā dērāteāy xōnanā gumāne dēsa?* 'which /of the inhabitants of/ this village are suspected to have committed the murder?'; *ō dēr-as marē?* 'but what is he /to me/?'

The pronoun *ant* 'what' is used both as a substantive and as an adjective (in the latter case it invariably takes the nominative singular/, e.g. *nā 'ukm ant e?* 'what are your orders /for me/?'; *dā antān jōR massune?* 'what is it made of?'; *nī antaki bassunus?* 'what did you come for?'; *pālhte antaTī shāgh-ās?* 'what did you pour the milk into?'; *nā 'ukm ant-as marē?* 'but what do I care about your order?'; *ī nā ant gunā-as karēnuT?* 'what have I done wrong?'

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[32] In the dialects, the optional form of the plural *arāk* (obl. base *arāt-)* is also encountered.

The pronoun *arā(d)/'arā(d)* 'who', 'what', 'what kind of', 'which' is also used both as a substantive and as an adjective, e.g. *dā Daggī arānā e?* 'whose cow is it?'; *arāRaT xalkus-ta?* 'what did you strike him with?'; *dā kārēme arāftēki karēnus?* 'who (pl.) did you do it for?'; *arā 'ullī nē dōst e?* 'which horse do you like?'; *'arāsiTTāy* (or *'arā-asiTTāy) nā gumān e?* 'on whom (lit. on which one) does your suspicion fall?'

The interrogative pronouns *axa(s), axa(da)r, aT* 'what quantity', 'how much/many' are used either as substantives or as adjectives.

When used substantivally, these pronouns are declined in the same way as substantives of the corresponding type, the plural forms being rarely encountered, e.g. *ucce xōlumtō 'ampēnuT—axatō 'ampēnus-ta?* ' ''I have loaded the camel with wheat.'' ''with how much /wheat/?''; *dā xavateān aTTaTī dīr shāghās ō aTTe bārun illās?* 'in how many of these water-skins did you pour water and how many did you leave dry?'; *numeān aTTāk sīstanāy 'inānō?* 'how many of you went to Seistan?'

When used adjectivally, the interrogative pronouns *axa(s)* and *axa(da)* take on a formant of the indefinite or definite form *(-ō* or *-ā),* just as adjectives do, whereas the interrogative pronoun *aT* takes on the formant *-imīkō,* e.g. *axadarō xarās ō?* 'how big are /their/ bulls?'; *nī aTTimīkō dē abarēsa?* 'on which day will you come?'

The interrogative pronoun *amarō/amarā/amarangā* 'what (kind of)' is used only with formants of the definite or indefinite form *(-ō, -ā, -angā)* and generally fulfils the function of a prepositive attribute of a substantive, e.g. *dā amarō urā-as e ki nī tafēnus-ta?* 'what kind of house did you build?'; *nā guzrān amarangā bandaghātetōn e?* 'what kind of people are you connected with?' Occasionally this pronoun in the definite form becomes substantivised, in which case it changes according to case and number, e.g. *amarangāte kirēng aētisa?* 'what people are you offending?'

In the comparative plane, the Brahui interrogative pronouns have regular correspondences in other Dravidian languages and go back to the common Dravidian pronominal base **yā-* /cf., for instance, *dē(r)* 'who' in Brahui and *(y)ār* 'who' in Tamil, *(d)āri* 'who' in Kodagu, *nē* 'who' in Kurukh, *nēreh* 'who' in Malto, etc., or *ant* 'what' in Brahui and *yādu/ēdu/edu* 'what' in Tamil, *ēd/ed* 'what' in Kota, *ēth* 'who', 'what' in Toda, *battī* 'what' in Gondi, *anari* 'what' in Kui, *endr* 'what' in Kurukh, *ikuth* 'what' in Malto/.[33]

Definitive Pronouns

The definitive pronouns *dāxa(s), dāxa(da)r* /in the Jhalawan dialect also *dīxa(s), dīxa(da)r/* 'this much/many', *ōxa(s), ōxa(da)r* 'so much/many', *ēxa(s), ēxa(da)r* 'that much/many' are formed from demonstrative bases and retain the latter's semantic spatial characteristic. They are changed and used in the same way as the in-

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[33] For a detailed list of interrogative words formed from this base, see *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* by T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau /16, 351-353/.

terrogative pronouns *axa(s), axa(da)r* 'what quantity', 'how much/many' and can fulfil the function either of a substantive or of an adjective, e.g. *ōxa ghalla 'arf ō 'ata, ī tēnā mēlhtēki dāxadar a'alēva* 'pick up this much grass and bring /it/; I'll take some (lit. so much) for my sheep'; *dāxasā 'ullīte ki nī 'ēsunus dēr a'alēk-ta?* 'whoever will buy the horses of the size you have brought?'

The definitive pronouns *daunō/dunō/daunā/daunangā* 'such (as this one)', *ō'unō/ō'unā/ō'unangā* 'such (as that one over there)' and *ē'unō/ē'unā/ē'unangā* 'such (as that one)' are also formed from demonstrative bases and retain the latter's semantic spatial characteristic. They invariably contain formants of the indefinite or definite form *(-ō̃, -ā, -angā)* and are used in the same way as the interrogative pronoun *amarō/amar(ang)ā* 'what (kind of)', e.g. *daunō 'īt kane pāpa* 'do not tell me about it (lit. such words)'; *tēnā dēe ē'unangā kārēmtēTī gidārēfpa* 'do not waste your time (lit. your day) on such work'.

The definitive pronouns *kul, muc, drust, (g)iR, tīva(ī)* 'all', 'everybody', 'whole' are used either as substantives or as adjectives.

When used substantivally, these pronouns are declined in the same way as substantives of the corresponding type and are used either independently or as postpositive attributes of a substantive, with which they agree in case (but never in number), e.g. *kulle kanā banningnā sa'ī ka* 'tell everybody about my arrival'; *ī drustatō nēkī karēnuT* 'I treated everybody well'; *kullāk acāra ki duzzī karēnus* 'everybody knows that you have committed a theft'; *kanā draxt muccāy baram e* 'my whole tree is covered with fruit'; *Daggīte giRe bīRānus?* 'have you milked all the cows?'; *ispēdāte tīvae guDDingaTī ō* 'they are felling all poplars'.

When used adjectively, the definitive pronouns *kul, muc, drust* and *(g)iR* take on either the suffix *-e* or the adjective formant *-ō* or *-(ang)ā;* the pronoun *tīva(ī)* either takes on the formants *-ō̃, -(ang)ā* or remains unchanged, e.g. *ō tēnā kulle lashkartō kōTāy julav darē* 'with all his army he attacked the fortress'; *mucce mashteāy barf biTēne* 'the snow has covered (lit. has fallen on) all mountains'; *dushmannā xulīsān nan kullangā nante xanteāy gidārēfēna* 'because of our fear of the enemy we were on the alert all the nights'; *muccō dē-as gidārēngā* 'a whole day passed'; *kanā tīva fasle dīr lōRā* 'the flood has carried off all my crop'; *ī tēnā tīvaīā Daghāre zurrat dasēnuT* 'I've sown my whole field with maize'.

The definitive pronouns *pēn, ēlō* '(an)other' and *tōmā, tōmakā, tōmaghā* 'both' are used either as substantives or as adjectives. In the former instance, they change according to the general rule *(tōmā, tōmakā, tōmaghā* 'both' only in the plural) and can be used either independently or as a postpositive attribute of a substantive, with which they agree in case; in the latter instance, these pronouns do not change, e.g. *nā 'ullīe ī dattanuT, pēnk* (or *pēnāk) darēnō-ta* 'I have not stolen your horse, it's been stolen by others'; *ēlō(f)te pāpēsa-ta* 'do not tell others about it'; *kanā āvale tēnā īlumtetō tōmaghātetō pās* 'you may tell both your brothers about me'; *ēlō 'ullī kane bakār e* 'I need another horse'; *nā tōmā 'ullīte kasaraT xanāT* 'I saw both your horses on the road'.

The definitive pronoun *'ar* 'each', 'every' does not change and is used only as a prepositive attribute of a substantive, e.g. *'ar 'ullīnā lixaTī pull-as tafē* 'he attached a flower to each horse's neck'; *'ar 'īt-as ki ī nē apāva xaf tō-ta* 'pay attention to every word of mine'.

The definitive pronouns *'arci* 'every', 'any' and *'ic* 'no', 'nothing' can be used either as an adjective (a prepositive attribute of a substantive) or as a substantive. In the former instance, they remain unchanged, and in the latter, they change according to case within the singular, e.g. *'arci mēlh-as ki nī kane ētis ī 'alēva* 'I'll take any sheep you'll give me'; *'ic 'ullī-as daun dudēngparōe ki kanā 'ullī dudēngik* 'no horse can run as /fast as/ mine'; *kanā mār 'arciaTī ustād e* 'my son is skilful in any business'; *nī 'arcitō* (or *'arciatō) kārēm atōrisa* 'you meddle with everything (lit. with everyone)'; *xudāghān baghayr ī 'iccān xulīpara* 'I fear nobody but God'.

The definitive pronouns *'icas* 'nobody' and *dirse* 'every', 'no one' are used only as substantives; both these pronouns change according to case within the singular, e.g. *'icas pātav ki ō nājōr massune* 'nobody said that he had fallen ill'; *dirseāy ki kanā gumān ass dāRe aff* 'the one (lit. anyone) on whom my suspicion rested is not here'.

Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns *bāz* 'many', *macciT* 'few', *mana(T)* 'some', 'a few', 'a little', *(g)iRā* 'some', 'any', 'certain', 'something' and *filāna, filānī, pilāna* 'some', 'certain', 'one', 'somebody', 'one person' are used either substantivally or adjectivally. In the former case, all these pronouns follow the declension pattern of substantives; in the latter, the pronouns *bāz* and *macciT* take on the formants of the indefinite or definite form, while the pronoun *manaT* loses its final consonant. The substantives qualified by these pronouns take the singular. E.g. *dā Daghār bāzāte kungune* 'this earth has devoured many a man'; *kane giRā-as ēte* 'give me something'; *sipā'īteān manaTāk 'ināsur* 'some of the sepoys had deserted'; *ī pāpara ki numēTī filānī duzz e* 'I will not insist that one of you is a thief'; *bāzangā dīr faslaki juān aff* 'excessive water is harmful to the crops'; *kane nētō macciTō kārēm-as arē* 'I have a little business with you'; *mana dēān guD nājōR mass* 'a few days later he fell ill'; *'uccāy giRā xōlum 'ampōk ass* 'the camel was loaded with some wheat'; *kane pārēnō ki filāna tasīldār vaDī 'alkune* 'I have been told that one official took a bribe'.

Not infrequently the pronouns *bāz, (g)iRā, manaT* and *macciT* are used as a postpositive attribute of a substantive, in which instance the pronouns *bāz* and *(g)iRā* agree with their head word in case (but never in number), and the substantives qualified by the pronouns *manaT* and *macciT* invariably take the nominative singular, e.g. *ī rupaīteāy bāzāy ōde sāng atitavaTa* 'I would not give her in marriage to him even for hundreds of rupees (lit. for many rupees)'; *xarāstā giRānā lixāy jugh ass* 'there were yokes across the necks of some oxen'; *dē manaTān guD pēsh tammā* 'a few days later he set off on his way'; *bey macciTān 'ullīnā guzrān amafak* 'a horse cannot exist on a wisp of (lit. a little) hay'.

The indefinite pronoun *kas(as)* 'somebody', 'someone', 'one person'

is used only as a substantive, and in this case is declined according to the general rule within the singular, e.g. *kane kas pārē ki num ēnaxō kaccīay kāre* 'one man has told me that this year you go to Kachhi'; *kane kasastō kārēm aff* 'I have no business with any /of them/'.

The indefinite pronoun *mānīd* 'many' is invariably used as a postpositive attribute of a substantive, the latter taking the nominative singular, e.g. *daunō 'al mānīd-as ki dā DaghāraTī xanāT pēn jāga xantānuT* 'nowhere else have I seen so many mice as in this field'.

The indefinite pronouns *kas(as)* 'someone' and *(g)iRā* 'anything', 'some' often combine with the definitive pronouns *'ar* 'each', 'every' and *'ic* 'no', which lend them a meaning of universality, e.g. *'ar-kas(as)* 'every person', *'ar-(g)iRā* 'every object', 'everything', *'ic-kas(as)* 'nobody', 'not a single person', *'ic-(g)iRā* 'nothing', 'no'. All these phrases, with the exception of the last one, are used only substantivally, e.g. *'ar-kas(as) tēnā jāghaghāy 'inā* 'each /of them/ went home'; *'ar-giRā-as nē bakār e kane pā* 'tell me everything you want'; *ōfteān 'ic-kasas xantavaT* 'I have not seen any of them'; *nī 'ic-iRā tippēsa* 'you understand nothing'; *ī ēnaxō 'ic-iRā xōlum ba'ā kattanuT* 'this year I have sold no wheat'.

THE VERB

The Brahui verb is represented by a ramified system of finite and non-finite forms (115 in all, not counting allomorphs and dialecticisms). The finite forms distinguish the grammatical (inflexional) categories of the positive-negative, the mood, tense, number and person. The non-finite forms include the participle, the verbal participle and the verbal noun.

Verb Stems

In the vast majority of cases all finite and non-finite forms of a verb are derived from the same stem. The latter can be obtained by dropping the formant *-(i)ng* of the verbal noun, which is the main (dictionary) form of the Brahui verb. For example:

Verbal Noun		Stem
tixing	'to put'	*tix-*
bining	'to hear'	*bin-*
gōing	'to lose'	*gō-*
narring	'to run away'	*narr-*
salīng	'to stand'	*salī-*
salīfing	'to make stand'	*salīf-*
xaninging	'to be visible'	*xaning-*
'arsēnging	'to turn round', 'to return'	*'arsēng-*

The verbs *bārring* 'to become dry', *cumming* 'to kiss', *drikking* 'to jump', *silling* 'to wash', *tamming* 'to fall', *traxxing* 'to burst', *xalling* 'to strike' and *'alling* 'to take' have two stems, one ending in a geminated consonant and the other in a single consonant: *bārr-/ bār-*, *cumm-/cum-*, *drikk-/drik-*, *sill-/sil-*, *tamm-/tam-*, *traxx-/trax-*, *xall-/xal-* and *'all-/'al-*.

All forms of the verb *'ining* 'to go' are derived from two suppletive stems: *'in-/kā-*.

The following verbs have three stems each: *banning* 'to come' (*bann-/bar-/ba-*), *cāing/cāning* 'to understand' (*cān-/cā-/ti-*, in the dialects also *tā-/tiā-*), *manning* 'to become' (*mann-/mar-/ma-*), *pāning* 'to say' (*pān-/pār-/pā-*), *tōning/tōring* 'to hold' (*tōn-/tōr-/tō-*) and *'unning/'uring* 'to see' (*'unn-/'ur-/'u-*).

The following verbs have four stems each: *danning* 'to take away' (*dann-/dar-/da-/dē-*), *kanning* 'to do' (*kann-/kar-/ka-/kē-*) and *tining* 'to give' (*tin-/tir-/ti-/ēt-*, in the dialects also *tē-* and some others).

The forms of the verb *'at(in)ing/'ataring/'atiring* 'to bring' are derived from five different stems: *'atin-/'atir-/'atar-/'at-/'ē-*.

Finally, the forms of the verb *anning* 'to be' are derived irregularly from different suppletive stems (*ann-/ar-/a-/all-/u-*, etc.).

Finite Forms

The finite forms of the Brahui verb are divided into positive and negative.

The Positive Form

The positive finite forms distinguish four moods: the indicative, the imperative, the potential and the conditional.

The Indicative Mood. Five tense forms are distinguished in the indicative mood: the Present-Future, the Simple Past, the Past Continuous, the Past Perfect and the Pluperfect.

The Present-Future tense has no special formant (it has the zero formant) and is obtained by adding the following person formants to the verb stem:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	*-iva*	*-ina*
2nd pers.	*-isa*	*-ire*
3rd pers.	*-ik*	*-ira*

As a rule, forms of the Present-Future also take on the prefix *a-*, although in some cases (especially in popular speech and in the dialects) forms without this prefix are used, too.

For example: *bining* 'to hear'—*(a)biniva* 'I (shall) hear'; *(a)binina* 'we (shall) hear; *tixing* 'to put'—*(a)tixik* 'he (she, it) puts/will put'.

The verbs *ka'ing* 'to die', *kuning* 'to eat', *xalling* 'to strike', *'alling* 'to take', the multistem verbs *banning* 'to come', *manning* 'to become' and *'ating/'ataring* 'to bring', and also, optionally, the verb *illing* 'to leave' take in the Present-Future person formants with a long *-ē-*:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	*-ēva*	*-ēna*
2nd pers.	*-ēsa*	*-ēre*
3rd pers.	*-ēk*	*-ēra*

For example: *(a)kunēva* 'I (shall) eat', *(a)ka²ēsa* 'thou diest/wilt die', *(a)²at(ar)ēk* 'he brings/will bring', *(a)xalēna* 'we (shall) strike', *(a)illiva/(a)illēva* 'I (shall) leave'.

In verbs with stems ending in a long vowel *ī* or *ē* the initial vowel of the personal formant is assimilated to the stem vowel, e.g. *xulīng/xuling* 'to fear'—*(a)xulīva* (from the stem *xulī-*) 'I fear', but *(a)xuliva* (from the stem *xul-*).

The same peculiarity is observed in verbs with stems ending in a long vowel *ā* (in all forms except the 3rd pers. sing.), optional forms with a vowel in the person formant being occasionally encountered in the verb *cāing* 'to understand', which is an exception, e.g. *(a)cāiva/(a)cāva* 'I (shall) understand', but *(a)cāik* 'he understands/will understand'.

The Present-Future forms of the two-stem verb *²ining* 'to go' are derived from the suppletive stem *kā-*, e.g. *(a)kāva* 'I (shall) go', *(a)kāsa* 'thou goest/wilt go', *(a)kāik* 'he (she, it) goes/will go', *(a)kāna* 'we (shall) go', *(a)kāre* 'you (will) go', *(a)kāra* 'they (will) go'. The Present-Future forms of the verbs *cāning* 'to understand' (from the stem *cā-*), *danning* 'to take away' (from the stem *dē-*), *kanning* 'to do' (from the stem *kē-*) and *pāning* 'to say' (from the stem *pā-*) are derived in the same manner, e.g. *(a)cāva, (a)dēva, (a)kēva, (a)pāva* in the 1st pers. sing.; *(a)cāsa, (a)dēsa, (a)kēsa, (a)pāsa* in the 2nd pers.; *(a)cāik, (a)dēk, (a)kēk, (a)pāik* in the 3rd pers., etc.

The Present-Future forms of the three-stem verbs *banning* 'to come', *manning* 'to become', *tōning/tōring* 'to hold' and *²unning/²uring* 'to see' are derived from the stems ending in *-r*, e.g. *(a)barēva, (a)marēva, (a)tōriva, (a)²uriva* in the 1st pers. sing.; *(a)barēk, (a)marēk, (a)tōrik, (a)²urik* in the 3rd pers. sing., etc.

The Present-Future forms of the verb *tining* 'to give' are derived from the suppletive stem *ēt-*, e.g. *(a)ētiva* 'I (shall) give', etc.

The Present-Future forms of the verb *²at(in)ing/²ataring/²atiring* 'to bring' are derived from the stem *²at(ar)-*, e.g. *(a)²at(ar)ēva* 'I (shall) bring', etc.

When using Present-Future forms, the choice between the prefixed forms and the forms without the prefix *a-* is generally determined by phonetic considerations: after words ending in a vowel (except *ē*) forms without the prefix *a-* are usually used; after words ending in *-y* either variant may be used; in other cases the prefixed forms are preferred. It should be borne in mind, however, that sometimes (especially in the dialects) this rule is not complied with.

In the comparative plane, the zero formant in the Present-Future has parallels in the non-Past tenses in all Dravidian languages, with the exception of Kannada, Telugu and Konda, and ranks among the oldest verb formants /57, 21-24/.[34]

The use of the Present-Future is sufficiently clear from its name: it is used to express actions taking place in the present or future, e.g. *²ar vaxt dā mōsumāy pir akēk* 'it always rains this time of the year'; *ōfk nōshkēāy akāra* 'they are going to Nushki'; *nē sardārisk*

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[34] M.B. Emeneau's attempt /26, 22/ to single out the initial vowel of the personal formant as an independent tense formant *(-i-, -ē-* in the Present-Future, etc.) can hardly be considered quite for-

zarūr adēva 'I shall take you to the sirdar without fail'; *ī nē adēva* 'I shall take you with me'; *ītī-kanā dā zōre xanisa ki nī daun apāsa?* 'do you think me capable of this that you speak thus?'; *dā māre tēneisk darak ki dāRē ²ōghik* 'take this boy /to stay/ with you, because he cries here'; *nan da²ī barēna* 'we will come the ten of us'; *kasase ki kur amarēk ō shuān atōrik* 'whoever has a flock, keeps a shepherd'; *shāmatō barēva* 'I'll come in the evening'; *panc-as dē amarēk ki ī bassunuī* 'it's already about five days since I came'; *dā Daghāre namb akēre?* 'will you water this field?'; *dā ²ēī bāz pālh aētik?* 'does this goat give much milk?'; *irā bandagh rā²ī kēk* 'he sends two people'; *lashkar dā kasaraī abarēk* 'the army comes by this road'.

The formants of the Simple Past tense are the suffixes *-ā-, -ē-, -k-, -s-* and *-is-*, each of which is added to the verb stem.

The formant *-ā-* is added to most Brahui verbs in the Simple Past, including all verbs with stems ending in a geminated consonant or consonant cluster (except the verbs *bāring* 'to become dry', *xalling* 'to strike', *²alling* 'to take', *²amping* 'to load' and *²arfing* 'to pick up', 'to lift'), and also verbs with disyllabic stems (except verbs with stems ending in *-f* or *-ī* and the verb *pirāying* 'to become dry'), e.g. *tixing* 'to put'—*tixā-*; *illing* 'to leave'—*illā-*; *kishking* 'to pluck'—*kishkā-*; *rasēnging* 'to arrive'—*rasēngā-*; *daRinging* 'to go/come down'—*daRingā-*; *āvāning* 'to yawn'—*āvānā-*.

The same group also includes the following two multistem verbs: *²unning/²uring* 'to look' and *²ining* 'to go' (*²urā-, ²inā-*).

All verbs with stems ending in *-f* regularly take on the formant *-ē-* in the Simple Past, e.g. *tafing* 'to bind'—*tafē-*; *tūlifing* 'to make sit'—*tūlifē-*; *²arfing* 'to pick up', 'to lift'—*²arfē-*.

Besides, the formant *-ē-* is also taken on in the Simple Past by the stems of the verbs *bising* 'to bake' *(bisē-)*, *biTing* 'to throw' *(biTē-)*, *²amping* 'to load' *(²ampē-)*, *taRing* 'to cut' *(taRē-)* and, optionally (parallel with the formant *-ā*), the stems of the verbs *bīRing* 'to milk' *(bīRē-, bīRā-)* and *dasing* 'to rain' *(dasē-, dasā-)*. This group also includes the multistem verbs *danning* 'to take away', *kanning* 'to do', *tōning/tōring* 'to hold', *pāning* 'to say', in which the Simple Past formant is added to the base ending in *-r*: *darē-, karē-, tōrē-* and *pārē-*.

Three verbs with stems ending in *-f—guafing* 'to weave', *rēfing* 'to deceive' and *rōfing* 'to sweep up'—besides the suffix *-ē-*, optionally may also take on the suffix *-ā-* in the Simple Past: *guafē-* and *guafā-*, *rēfē-* and *rēfā-*, *rōfē-* and *rōfā-*.

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tunate both because of the structural considerations (in a number of cases it leads to an inexplicable homonymy and pleonasm of tense formants) and from the viewpoint of comparative-historical grammar (the appearance in one language of an innovation in the shape of three isolated tense formants, *-i-, -ē-* and *-∅-*, which are evidently in no way connected either with each other or with the formants in the cognate languages, is hardly likely). Apparently M.B. Emeneau himself realises this, and in another place /26, 36/ he suggests that both *-i-* and *-ē-* should be traced back to the verb-stem derivational element *-ey-* (as in the Tamil *nir²ey-* 'to be full'). This etymology, however, is not very convincing either, since in such a case practically all Brahui verbs would have had a derivative stem with the suffix *-i-/-ē-* < *-ey-*.

Only a few verbs take on the formant -k- in the Simple Past: *all-ing 'to take' (*alk-), xalling 'to strike' (xalk-), ka'ing 'to die' (kask-, with ' + k > sk), bining 'to hear' (bing-, with n + k > ng), kuning 'to eat' (kung-). This formant is also taken on optionally (parallel with the suffix -ā-) by one more verb: 'īning 'to give birth to' (of the off-spring of animals)—'īng-, 'inā-.

The use of the formant -s- in the Simple Past is also restricted to a limited group of verbs; it is taken on by the verbs salīng 'to stand', xulīng 'to fear' and tulīng 'to sit' (salīs-, xulīs- and tūs- respectively, with the final consonant of the stem dropped in the latter case), and also by these multistem verbs: banning 'to come', manning 'to become', tining 'to give' and 'at(in)ing/'ataring/'atiring 'to bring', in which it is added to stems ending in a vowel (and is geminated after a short vowel): bass-, mass-, tiss-, 'ēs-.

The formant -is- is taken on in the Simple Past by the verbs bārr-ing 'to become dry', bāsing 'to become hot', bising 'to ripen', cāing 'to understand', pāling 'to become wet', piring 'to swell' and pirāying 'to become dry': bāris-, bāsis-, bisis-, cāis-, pālis-, piris- and pirāyis-, respectively. Some more verbs—sarring 'to grow up', saRing 'to rot', xarring 'to sprout' and xuā'ing 'to ask'—besides the usual formant -ā-, sometimes take on the formant -is- in the Simple Past: sarris- or sar-rā-, saRis- or saRā-, xarris- or xarrā-, xuā'is- or xuā'ā-.

It is generally believed (for details, see /55, 337/) that the suf-fix -s- is related to the past tense suffix -c- in Kurukh and Malto. On the grounds of its very bold comparison with some inflectional and de-rivational morphemes in Tamil (-s- in vandisin 'I/you/he came'), Toda (-sh- in pīshpen 'I went'), Kota (-c- in vadcē 'I should come'), Kan-nada (-c-/-s- in alac-/alas- 'to shake'), Tulu (-s- in ores- 'to rub'), Gondi (-c-/-s- in guhcī 'having seized', vanksī 'having told'), Konda (-s- in solsu 'having gone'), etc., it is traced to a common Dravidian suffix of the Past tense *-c-. This reconstruction, despite the popularity it acquired in recent time, can hardly be accepted on account of evident structural incongruity: the suffixes -s-, -c-, -sh- in Tamil, Kota and Toda are attached to a suffix of the Past tense, whereas in Brahui, Malto and Kurukh they are added directly to the stem. The sound correspondences do not support this reconstruction either (particularly Tamil -s-, on the one hand, and Kurukh-Malto -c-, on the other).

The comparison of -i- in the suffix -is- with the ancient Dravidian Past tense suffix *-i- should be treated with similar caution.

The Past tense suffix -k- is sometimes compared with the Kurukh-Malto suffix -(e)k- /26, 63/ in spite of their obvious distributional in-congruity: in Kurukh and Malto this suffix, regularly omitted in the 3rd person, is frequently attached to other Past tense suffixes, whereas in Brahui it is invariably used in all three persons and is always added directly to the stem.[35]

Finally, the most widespread and most regularly used Past tense

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[35] The connection between this formant and the suffix -(u)k- in Kota (as, for instance, in piRcuko 'he seized') seems doubtful in the absence of this formant or its reflexes in the intermediate links.

formants -ā- and -ē- have no parallels in the cognate languages and seem isolated.

The finite forms of the Simple Past are derived by adding special personal suffixes to the tense formant (in the case of a consonant by means of the connecting vowel -u-):

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-T	-n
2nd pers.	-s	-re
3rd pers.	-∅	-r

For example: maxing 'to laugh'—maxāT 'I laughed'; rēfing 'to de-ceive'—rēfēs, rēfās 'thou deceivedst'; bīRing 'to milk'—bīRē, bīRā 'he milked'; xalling 'to strike'—xalk 'he struck'; banning 'to come'—bass 'he came'; bining 'to hear'—bingure 'you heard'; xulīng 'to fear'—xulī-sun 'we feared', xulīsur 'they feared'.

The Simple Past is used to express an action which took place in the past irrespective of the manner in which it occurred or its re-sult and irrespective of its connection with any other action or time plane. As a rule, in a sentence containing a verb in the Simple Past the main attention is centred not so much on the action itself as on its agent or the circumstances in which it proceeds. E.g. ī tēnā bāvaki dā Daghāre dasēT 'I sowed this field for my father'; ī dā cukke dūaT 'al-kuT 'I caught this bird with my hand'; ī sardāre rasēngāT 'I came up to the sirdar'; cukkanā vallar-as nanā kāTumaT gidārēngā 'a flock of birds passed over our heads'; murū 'amē draxtātēk gum mass 'the hare disap-peared in the neighbourhood of those trees'; kanā tūfaknā sum nāRān murtir 'inā 'the bullet of my gun went farther than yours'; numā īlum istō nane nanēsk gidārēfē 'your brother spent last night with us'; ī ēd saxt xalkuT 'I gave him a good beating'; dā kārēme tēnaT xalās karēr 'they finished this work by themselves'; nājōr karē tēnē 'he pretended to be ill'; īki-numā ant 'ēsur? 'what did they bring you?'; Dunganā xulīsān ō narrār 'fearing the gang of robbers, they ran away'; pālhte antaTī shāghās? 'what did you pour the milk into?'; arāRaT xalkus-ta? 'what did you strike him with?'; nā tōmā 'ullīe kasaraT xanāT 'I saw both your horses on the road'; 'ar 'ullīnā lixaTī pull-as tafē 'he at-tached a flower to each horse's neck'; mana dēān guD nājōr mass 'a few days later he fell ill'; kane kas pārē ki... 'one man told me that...'.

Not infrequently, the Simple Past is also used in temporal and conditional clauses, e.g. zāīfae ki xanā, bash mass dudēngā īāy-ta 'upon seeing the woman, he got up and ran towards her'; 'andā ki xa-nāT-ta tūfakaT xalēva-ta 'I'll shoot him the moment I see (lit. saw) him'; kanā banningnā bingus kasase pāpēs 'if you hear (lit. heard) about my arrival, do not tell anybody about it'; sardār bing nanā bēxe kashshik '/suppose/ the sirdar hears (lit. heard) /about it/, he will cast us out root and branch'.

The Past Continuous tense does not differ from the Simple Past in the form of its formants, the difference lying in the presence of the prefix a- (as in the Present-Future) and in the form of the person formants.[36]

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[36] The connecting vowels -u- and -a- appear when the person formants are added to the formants -k- and -(i)s- (as in the Simple Past).

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-(u)Ta	-(u)na
2nd pers.	-(u)sa	-(u)re
3rd pers.	-(a)ka	-(u)ra

For example: *maxing* 'to laugh'—*(a)maxāTa* 'I was laughing'; *rēf-ing* 'to deceive'—*(a)rēfēsa, (a)rēfāsa* 'thou wast deceiving'; *bīRing* 'to milk'—*(a)bīRēka, (a)bīRāka* 'he was milking'; *xalling* 'to strike'—*(a)xal-kaka* 'he was striking'; *banning* 'to come'—*(a)bassuna* 'we were coming'; *bining* 'to hear'—*(a)bingure* 'you were listening'; *xulīng* 'to fear'—*(a)xulīsura* 'they were fearing'.

In deriving Past Continuous forms, the choice between forms with the prefix *a-* and those without this prefix is determined by the same criteria as in deriving Present-Future forms.

As its very name shows, the Past Continuous is generally used to express prolonged or habitual actions which took place in the past, e.g. *'andā jangalaT 'ināka* 'he was walking through the wood'; *nan dā mulke 'ar sāl adasēna* 'we sowed this land every year'; *aynō kanā ban-daghāk a'inára pir tōrē-tā* 'my people nearly went /there/ today, but the rain prevented them'; *ī tēnaT abassuTa nī antey kane baTingās?* 'I was going to your place of my own free will, why should you have sent for me?'; *ōfk jang akarēra* 'they were waging war'; *ant-as ki num apā-rēra kane manzūr e* 'I agree with everything you said'; *nan ki 'ināna nanā īlum bass* 'when we were leaving, our brother came'; *'arci ki nan must abassuna ōfk anarrāra* 'each time we made a move forward, they ran away'; *'amē bīstangāk ki nī pārēsa bassunō batanō?* 'and those twenty people you were talking about, have they come or not?'

Besides, Past Continuous forms are regularly used to express an unreal condition (in both clauses of complex sentences with conditional clauses) and an unrealisable wish (in exclamatory sentences), e.g. *ī aga nē narringāy xanāTa nā mōne 'alkuTa* 'if I saw that you were going to run away, I would prevent you'; *armān ki ōnā badalān ī kaskuTal* 'oh, how I wish I could die (lit. died) instead of him!'

Of the other Dravidian languages, the Past Continuous exists in Gondi, Gadaba, Parji and Tulu. However, the formal and structural peculiarities of the Past Continuous forms in Brahui do not provide sufficient ground for drawing any analogies between Brahui, on the one hand, and Gondi, Gadaba, Parji and Tulu, on the other.

The Past Perfect tense is obtained from the verb stem by means of the formant *-n-* added to the Simple Past suffix, this formant being joined to the suffixes *-ā-* and *-ē-* directly, and to the suffixes *-k-*, *-s-* and *-is-* by the connecting vowel *-u-*, e.g. *maxing* 'to laugh'—*maxān-*; *tafing* 'to bind'—*tafēn-*; *xalling* 'to strike'—*xalkun-*; *banning* 'to come'—*bassun-*; *bārring* 'to become dry'—*bārisun-*.

The finite forms of the Past Perfect are obtained by adding special personal suffixes to the tense formant:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-uT	-un
2nd pers.	-us	-ure
3rd pers.	-e	-ō

For example: *xalkunuT* 'I have struck', *bassunus* 'thou hast come', *maxāne* 'he has laughed', *tafēnun* 'we have bound', *'ēsunure* 'you have brought', *karēnō* 'they have done'.

The Past Perfect is generally used to express an action completed by the moment of speaking and linked with the present by its result, e.g. *irā bandagh bassunō* 'two people have come'; *sēlhaki kac-cīāy 'ināne* 'he has gone to Kachhi for the winter'; *ōRki xarās-as 'ēsu-nuT* 'I have brought him a bull'; *dā kārēme tēneāy 'arfēnun* 'we have taken on ourselves this job'; *nī antaki bassunus?* 'what did you come for?'; *Daggīte giRe bīRānus?* 'have you milked all the cows?'; *kullāk acāra ki nī duzzī karēnus* 'everybody knows that you have committed a theft'; *ī tēnā tīvaīā Daghāre zurrat dasēnuT* 'I have sown all my field with maize'; *kane pārēnō ki filāna tāsīldār vaDī 'alkune* 'I have been told that one official took a bribe'; *tā ki nī kās barēs ī 'andārē salī-sunuT* 'I'll stand (lit. I have stopped) here until you return'; *ōfk xācānō yā dāiskā tūsunō* 'have they gone to bed or are they still sitting (lit. have they sat down and still continue sitting)?'

Of the other Dravidian languages, the Past Perfect is found only in Gondi and Tulu. The formal and structural dissimilarity between the Past Perfect in Brahui and the same tense in Gondi and Tulu, and also the absence of parallel forms in most cognate languages doubtlessly point to the fact that the Past Perfect in Brahui should be regarded as a comparatively late formation.

The Pluperfect tense is obtained from the verb stem by means of the formant *-s-* added to the Simple Past suffix, the formant *-s-* being joined to the suffixes *-ā-* and *-ē-* directly, and to the suffixes *-k*, *-s-* and *-is-* by the connecting vowel *-u-* (usually in all forms, except the 3rd person singular) or *-a-* (in the 3rd person singular, and sometimes optionally in other forms as well), e.g. *maxing* 'to laugh'—*maxās-*; *tafing* 'to bind'—*tafēs-*; *xalling* 'to strike'—*xalkus-*, *xalkas-*; *banning* 'to come'—*bassus-*, *bassas-*; *bārring* 'to become dry'—*bārisus-*, *bārisas-*.

The person formants of the Pluperfect coincide with the same formants of the Past Perfect, except the 3rd person:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-uT	-un
2nd pers.	-us	-ure
3rd pers.	-as, -∅	-ur, -ō

In the 3rd person singular, the zero formant *(-∅)* appears in the verbs which take on the formants *-s-* and *-is-* in the Simple Past and optionally also in the verbs which take on the formant *-k-* in the Simple Past. In the 3rd person plural, the formant *-ō* is a free variant of the formant *-ur*.

Person formants are added to the Pluperfect formant either directly (in all cases in the verbs which take on the formants *-s-* and *-is-* in the Simple Past, and in most cases in all other verbs) or (rarely) by means of the connecting (morphophonemic) syllable *-as-* or *-us-* (after *-u-* in the preceding syllables), e.g. *maxing* 'to laugh'—*maxāsuT* 'I had laughed'; *tafing* 'to bind'—*tafēsus* 'thou hadst bound'; *banning* 'to

come'—*bassas* 'he had come'; *xalling* 'to strike'—*xalkusuT, xalkasuT, xalkususuT, xalkasasuT* 'I had struck'.

The Pluperfect is generally used to express an action which preceded another action that took place in the past, e.g. *ōftā narringān must nan 'amōRē salīsasun* 'before they ran off, we had been standing over there'; *num ki 'anāre ōfk tūsusur yā xācāsur?* 'when you went, had they gone to bed or were they still sitting?'; *mēmānk tūsusur iraghāte kunisa 'ināra* 'after the guests had been seated, they began eating their food'; *sipā'īteān manaTāk 'ināsur manaTāk-tā annā 'amōRē assura* 'some of the sepoys still remained there, while others had already wandered away'.

The Pluperfect is not typical of the Dravidian languages: besides Brahui it exists only in Gondi, where it appeared not very long ago (it developed from the combination of the verbal participle and the finite forms of the Past of the link-verb). Evidently, the Brahui Pluperfect is a recent innovation, too.

The Imperative Mood. Two forms of the imperative of the verb are distinguished: the singular and the plural ones.

The formants of the imperative singular are the suffixes -*a*, -*ak* and -*e*/-*ē*, and also the zero suffix.

The imperative singular of a number of verbs, including all verbs with the stem ending in -*ng*, -*f* or -*n*, has the zero formant and, formally, coincides with their stem, e.g. *daRinging* 'to descend'—*daRing*; *rasēnging* 'to arrive'—*rasēng*; *'arfing* 'to pick up', 'to lift'—*'arf*; *'arrifing* 'to ask'—*'arrif*; *bēning* 'to wear'—*bēn*; *bising* 'to bake'—*bis*; *biTing* 'to throw'—*biT*; *cāing* 'to understand'—*cā*; *ka'ing* 'to die'—*ka'*; *salīng* 'to stand'—*salī*; *taRing* 'to cut'—*taR*; *tixing* 'to put'—*tix*; *xulīng* 'to fear'—*xulī*; *'ining* 'to go'—*'in*.

The imperative of the verb *'unning/'uring* 'to look' is obtained from the stem ending in -*r*: *'ur*. The imperative of the multistem verbs *banning* 'to come', *danning* 'to take away', *kanning* 'to do', *manning* 'to become', *pāning* 'to say', *tōning/tōring* 'to hold' and *'at(in)ing/'ataring/'atiring* 'to bring' is obtained either from the stem ending in -*r* or from the stem in a vowel; cf. *bar/ba, dar/da, kar/ka, mar/ma, pār/pā, tōr/tō, 'atar/'ata*.

Besides the usual forms with the zero formant, the verbs *guafing* 'to weave', *rēfing* 'to deceive' and *rōfing* 'to sweep up' also have imperative forms ending in -*a*: *guaf(a), rēf(a)* and *rōf(a)*, while the verbs *shāghing* 'to pour' and *'ōghing* 'to weep', besides the usual imperative forms *shāgh* and *'ōgh*, have the clipped forms *shā* and *'ō*, respectively.

Finally, in the imperative singular of the verbs *tūling* 'to sit', *xalling* 'to strike' and *'alling* 'to take' the last consonant of the stem gets devoiced: *tūlh, xalh* and *'alh*, respectively.

The suffix -*ak* is used as a free variant of the zero formant of the imperative singular, being added (in multistem verbs) to stems ending in a consonant, e.g. *bining* 'to hear'—*binak*; *tixing* 'to put'—*tixak*; *rasēnging* 'to arrive'—*rasēngak*; *kanning* 'to do'—*karak*; *shāghing* 'to pour'—*shāghak*; *'alling* 'to take'—*'alhak*.

The use of the formant -*e*/-*ē* is confined to the imperative forms of a very small number of verbs: *illing* 'to leave'—*ille, illē*; *pāling* 'to become wet'—*pāle, pālē*; *saling* 'to stand'—*sale*; *silling* 'to wash'—*sille, sillē*; *tining* 'to give'—*ēte*; *xarring* 'to proceed'—*xarre*; *xuling*

'to fear'—*xule*, of which the verbs *illing, paling, saling, silling* and *xuling* also have imperative forms ending in -*a* (*illa, pala, sala* and *xula*) and the verbs *saling, silling* and *xuling* in addition have imperative forms with the zero formant (*sal, sil* and *xul*).

The formant of the imperative singular of all other verbs is the suffix -*a*, e.g. *bārring* 'to become dry'—*bāra*; *dasing* 'to sow'—*dasa*; *Dō'ing* 'to carry'—*Dō'a*; *gōing* 'to lose'—*gōa*; *kāvāring* 'to poison'—*kāvāra*; *lōjing* 'to smear'—*lōja*; *lōRing* 'to root up'—*lōRa*; *rasing* 'to arrive'—*rasa*; *Ta'ing* 'to agree'—*Ta'a*; *'īzhing* 'to whistle'—*'īzha*.

A considerable number of verbs in the last group in addition to the usual forms in -*a* have parallel imperative forms with the zero formant. Among the most common of these verbs are *āvāning* 'to yawn', *basxing* 'to present', *bēghing* 'to knead', *bīRing* 'to milk', *cōshing* 'to soak', *cumming* 'to kiss' (imper. sing. *cum, cumma*), *cūshing* 'to suck', *dāghing* 'to measure' (grain, etc.), *Daling* 'to gnaw', *daRing* 'to descend', *dranjing* 'to hang', *dranzing* 'to toss', *drikking* 'to jump' (imper. sing. *drik, drikka*), *karghing* 'to shear', *kishking* 'to pluck', *lāncing* 'to gird up', *lēTing* 'to lie down', *maling* 'to open', *mashing* 'to wash' (the hair), *maxing* 'to laugh', *miRing* 'to drive out', *mūghing* 'to sew', *mūshking* 'to rub', *nāling* 'to groan', *nusing* 'to grind' (corn), *pācing* 'to peal', *pākāling* 'to strain' (through cloth), *pilhing* 'to squeeze', *pirghing* 'to break', *pōshing* 'to suck', *princing* 'to squeeze', *puling* 'to rub', *raghāming* 'to instruct', *raTing* 'to grumble', *rēsing* 'to spin', *rūsing* 'to pluck', *rūting* 'to reap', *saghing* 'to pound', *saRing* 'to rot', *sīRing* 'to wait', *suring* 'to move', *shalāping* 'to wash' (clothes), *shinRshinRing* 'to neigh', *shōling* 'to throw', *shūling* 'to hem', *tamming* 'to fall' (imper. sing. *tam, tamma*), *taring* 'to spin', *trāshing* 'to plane', *traxxing* 'to burst' (imper. sing. *trax, traxxa*), *tusing* 'to faint', *xācing* 'to sleep', *xasāling* 'to chew', *xōshking* 'to rub', *xuāning* 'to read', *'akkaling* 'to drive', *'amping* 'to load', *'arsing* 'to turn', *'ēling* 'to spread out', *'iccāning* 'to sneeze', *'ījing* 'to be alarmed', *'īzhing* 'to whistle', *'ūling* 'to howl', *'ūshing* 'to burn'.

Of all imperative singular forms, that with the zero formant has the clearest parallels in the cognate languages, including Konda, Gondi, Gadaba, Parji, Naiki, Kolami, Telugu, Tulu, Toda, Kota, Malayalam and Tamil. In all probability the suffix -*a*, and perhaps the suffix -*ak* /with *a* < *ak* (?)/ related to it, have developed either from some particle which was used to modify the basic meaning of the imperative or from a morphophonemic (nonmorphemic) element that had originally played a purely euphonic role. The suffixes -*a*/-*ak* have correspondences in Malto (-*a*, -*ku*, -*ōka*), Kurukh (-*ā*), Konda (-*ā*) and Gondi (-*a*, -*ā*); however, it is still difficult to determine their meaning at the present stage of the study of the Dravidian languages.

The imperative plural is obtained by adding the suffix -*bō* to the stem.

The suffix -*bō* is joined to the stems of verbs which have the zero formant in the imperative singular directly (causing the assimilation of the final -*n* of the stem), e.g. *tixing* 'to put'—*tixbō*; *'arfing* 'to pick up', 'to lift'—*'arfbō*; *tūling* 'to sit'—*tūlbō*; *bining* 'to hear'—*bimbō*; *salīng* 'to stand'—*salībō*; *'ining* 'to go'—*'imbō*; *rasēnging* 'to arrive'—*rasēngbō, rasēmbō* (with the optional assimilation of *ng* in the stem).

In the multistem verbs *banning* 'to come', *cāing/cāning* 'to understand', *danning* 'to take away', *kanning* 'to do', *manning* 'to become', *pāning* 'to say', *tōning/tōring* 'to hold', *'at(in)ing/'ataring/ 'atiring* 'to bring', the suffix *-bō* is joined to the stem ending in a vowel: *babō, dabō, pābō,* etc., the consonant in the suffix of the verb *'unning/'uring* 'to look' being geminated: *'ubbō.*

The suffix *-bō* is joined to the stems of verbs which have the formant *-a, -e* or *-ē* in the imperative singular by means of the connecting vowel *-i-*, e.g. *dasing* 'to sow'—*dasibō; tining* 'to give'—*ētibō; silling* 'to wash'—*sillibō.* Now and again optional forms of verbs of this group obtained by joining the suffix *-bō* directly to the imperative singular form are encountered, e.g. *narring* 'to run away'—*narrabō* (parallel with *narribō); illing* 'to leave'—*illēbō* (parallel with *illibō).*

Verbs which have parallel forms with the zero suffix and with the suffix *-a* also have corresponding variants in the plural, e.g. *saling* 'to stand'—*salbō, salibō; xuling* 'to fear'—*xulbō, xulibō.* The verbs *shāghing* 'to pour' and *'ōghing* 'to weep' also have parallel variants: *shāghbō, shābō* and *'ōghbō, 'ōbō.*

The Potential Mood. The potential mood is used to express a possible, probable or desired action. Two tenses are distinguished in this mood: the Present and the Future.

The Present tense forms do not have any special formant (they have the zero formant) and are obtained from the verb stem by means of the following suffixes:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	*-iv*	*-in*
2nd pers.	*-s*	*-ire*
3rd pers.	*-e*	*-ir*

For example: *bining* 'to hear'—*biniv; bising* 'to bake'—*bisis; tixing* 'to put'—*tixe,* etc.

Verbs which take on personal formants with the long vowel *ē* in the Present-Future of the indicative mood (see above) also have personal formants with the long *ē* in the Present of the potential mood:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	*-ēv*	*-ēn*
2nd pers.	*-ēs*	*-ēre*
3rd pers.	*-ē*	*-ēr*

For example: *kunning* 'to eat'—*kunēv; ka'ing* 'to die'—*ka'ēs; xalling* 'to strike'—*xalē,* etc.

The same peculiarity is also observed in the Present of the potential mood of verbs which drop the vowel of the personal formant in the Present-Future of the indicative mood, the personal formant *-e* in the 3rd person singular of verbs with the stems ending in *-ī* or *-ē* being assimilated and that of verbs with the stems in *-ā* not being as-

similated, e.g. *xulīng* 'to fear'—*xulīv, xulīs, xulī; cāing* 'to understand'—*cāv, cāiv,* but *cāe.*

The Present tense forms of the potential mood of multistem verbs are obtained from the same stems as the forms of these verbs in the Present-Future of the indicative mood, e.g. *'ining* 'to go'—*kāv, kās, kāe,* etc.; *kanning* 'to do'—*kēv, kēs, kē,* etc.; *pāning* 'to say'—*pāv, pās, pāe,* etc.; *banning'* 'to come'—*barēv, barēs, barē,* etc.; *tining* 'to give'—*ētiv* (dialectal *tēv), ētis, ēte,* etc.; *'at(ar)ing* 'to bring'—*'at(ar)ēv, 'at(ar)ēs, 'at(ar)ē,* etc.; *'unning/'uring* 'to look'—*'uriv, 'uris, 'ure,* etc.

The Present tense of the potential mood is used to express an action which is not taking place at the given moment, but which is potentially possible or desirable, e.g. *kanā āvāle tēnā īlumtetō tōmaghātetō pās* 'you may tell both your brothers about me'; *daunō kārēmas kēv ītō-nā ki dirse-as pāp ki nī 'amē bandagh us* 'I'd do such a thing to you that nobody'd recognise you as the same man'; *dashbattir juān e ki ī nē 'ar dē xaniv* 'it's very good that I can see you every day'; *nan da'ī barēna 'urin ki numeān aT jangaki pēsh tammire* 'we'll come the ten of us to see (lit. can see) how many of you will sally forth to the war'; *kārēme-ka xalās kattanuT ama nētō barēv?* 'I haven't finished my work, how can I go with you?'; *kane tēneāy bāvar aff ki dā 'īt kane yāt sale* 'I don't think my memory can hold all this'; *ō dēr-as marē ki kane drōgh-taR pāe?* 'what is he that he dares (lit. can) call me a liar?'; *vaxt-as ki ō xar akēk dēr-as ōnā mōnāy kāe?* 'who will dare (lit. can) approach him when he is so wrathful?'; *mē-ō-made pā ki 'ullītā gēRe karrir* 'tell the servants to clean (lit. that they can clean) the stables'; *ī bassunuT ki tēnā bāvanā nājōrīnā neān 'arriffiv* 'I have come to ask (lit. so that I may ask) you about my father's condition'; *macciTa dushmantō jang kanning aRzān e maga bāzīnā mōne xudā tōre* 'it is easy to fight a few enemies, but God can keep at bay many'; *dushmank nā padaT tammānō xudā cāe nētō ant kēr* 'the enemies are pursuing you, God alone may know what they can do to you'; *dākān murr ka-ta ki nan tūlin* 'take it away from here so that we may sit down'; *ō cā duzzī kapp ant kē?* 'suppose he does not thieve, what is he to do (lit. what can he do) then?'; *nī kantō salīpēs ī arāng kāv?* 'if you don't stay with me, where can I go?'; *nī sadvār pās ī nēāy bāvar akappara* 'you may repeat it a hundred times, I won't believe you all the same'; *dā kārēme kēs* 'you could (lit. can) do this work'; *īis-ka 'arci ki xanis nā e* 'whatever you see (lit can see) here will be yours'; *jang kēn* 'let us fight (lit. we can fight)'.

In the comparative plane, the Brahui Present tense of the potential mood has little in common with the forms of this mood in those cognate languages which have it, i.e. Telugu, Tulu, Kodagu, Kannada and Kota. Thus in Kannada, for example, these forms are of recent origin and have developed from the combination of past verbal participles and old finite forms of the Future tense of the verb *ā-* 'to become'. The presence of the formants of past verbal participles in the forms of this mood in Telugu and Tulu warrants the supposition that some analogous process has led to the development of this mood in these languages too. In Kodagu, the potential mood is expressed by a form

which has developed from the verbal noun. The potential mood in -*k*
in Kota also seems to be an isolated case.

On the contrary, a comparison between the Brahui forms of the
Present tense of the potential mood and those of the Present-Future
tense of the indicative mood shows that in the history of this language
the development of the Present of the potential mood is linked with
the appearance in the Present-Future of the indicative mood of the
prefix *a*- (see above) and of the final vowel -*a* in the person formants.
Prior to their appearance the forms of the indicative mood had not dif-
fered from those of the potential mood. Therefore, originally (i.e. prior
to the appearance of the prefix *a*- and of the person formants in -*a*)
the modern form of the Present of the potential mood had had the mean-
ing of the Present-Future of the indicative mood, expressing at the
same time the possibility or desirability of the action. Later on this
form specialised in expressing the meaning of the possibility or de-
sirability of action, whereas the meaning of the indicative mood began
to be expressed by a new form.

In connection with the problem of Iranian and Indo-Aryan influence
on Brahui this fact may be of interest: as noted by R. Hoernle and
G. Grierson /62, 332-337; 61, 73/, an analogous semantic shift in the
old Present tense forms of the indicative mood with their subsequent
transformation into the potential (subjunctive, suppositional, con-
tingent) mood constitutes a specific feature of the historical develop-
ment of such Indo-Aryan neighbours of Brahui as Sindhi, Lahndi, Pun-
jabi, Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujarati and Nepali. Likewise, in Baluchi,
which all Brahuis know, as in most of the other Iranian languages, the
forms of the so-called aorist, whose modality is close to that of the
Brahui potential mood, have also—in the opinion of scholars engaged
in Iranian studies /68, 92/—developed from the Present-Future of the
indicative mood and differ from the latter in the presence of a special
prefix or, in a number of cases, in the absence of any prefix what-
soever.

The formal similarity between the Brahui prefix *a*- and the Baluchi
prefix which fulfils the same function, and also the absence of any-
thing of the kind in the other Dravidian languages makes M.B. Eme-
neau's hypothesis /26, 57-58 / that Brahui has borrowed this formant
from Baluchi quite plausible (since all Brahui speakers without ex-
ception are bilingual).

The supposition that this formant has been borrowed also provides
a sound explanation of its phonetic peculiarities: in Brahui, as in
Baluchi, this prefix phonetically gravitates towards the preceding
word /67, 44/. In connection with this peculiarity, D. Bray even be-
lieved that in a verbal word incorporating the formant *a*- the borderline
lies after this formant, e.g. *ī-a kāva* 'I shall go' (from the stem *kā-*)
instead of *ī akāva*. D. Bray explained the appearance of the "suf-
fix" -*a* in words preceding a verbal form by the influence of attraction
/11, 195-196/.

The Future tense of the potential mood is obtained from the
verb stem by means of the tense formant -*ō*- and the following person
formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-*T*	-*n*
2nd pers.	-*s*	-*re*
3rd pers.	-*e*	-*r*

For example: *tixing* 'to put'—*tixoT, tixōs, tixōe*, etc.

The verbs *salīng* 'to stand' and *xulīng* 'to fear' are not used in
this tense (instead, the synonymous verbs *saling* and *xuling* are used).

The forms of the Future of the potential mood of the verb *'ining*
'to go' are obtained from the stem *'in*- and those of the verb *cāing/
cāning* 'to understand' from the stem *cā-*, e.g. *'inōT, cāōT*, etc.

The forms of this tense of the verbs *banning* 'to come', *danning*
'to take away', *kanning* 'to do', *manning* 'to become', *pāning* 'to say',
tining 'to give', *tōning/tōring* 'to hold' and *'unning/'uring* 'to look'
are obtained from the stems ending in -*r: bar-, dar-, kar-, mar-, pār-,
tir-* (in dialects also *ēt-* and *c-*), *tōr-* and *'ur-*, respectively.

The Future of the potential mood of the verb *'at(in)ing/'ataring/-
'atiring* 'to bring' can be formed from three stems: *'at-, 'atar-* and
'atir-.

The Future tense of the potential mood is used to express actions
which are believed to be possible, probable or desirable in the future,
e.g. *kure 'andā dūnisk xanōs* 'you will probably find your flock near
the well'; *shuān 'amō mashis marōe* 'the shepherd will evidently be at
that hill'; *da' dēaseān guD dākā rā'ī marōT* 'I'll probably be able to
leave here in about ten days'; *tēnā siālātetō drustatō nā pāraghāy barōT*
'I'll probably come to your place with all my relatives'; *savāe xu-
dāghān pēn dēr kanā arze binōe?* 'who except God would listen to my
supplication?'; *nī aga duzzī akēsa nēT asi dē-as 'allingōs* 'if you
thieve, then one day you may get caught'; *ō pārē ki ō pagga barōe* 'he
said that he would probably be able to come tomorrow'; *numā sha'raTī
aT urā ō? dua^nzda-as marōr* ' "how many houses are there in your vil-
lage?" "well, there will perhaps be some ten or twelve".

In the Jhalawan dialect, the Future of the potential mood is reg-
ularly used with the meaning of the Future of the indicative mood.
In the other regions, such use is occasionally encountered, too, par-
ticularly of verbs with the stems ending in -*f*, e.g. *zinda massuT
lōsāle 'ajjāy 'inōT* 'if I remain alive, I'll make the pilgrimage next
year'; *dā 'uccanā katārān ī 'ashtimīkōe dēva nī aTTimīkōe darōs?* 'I'll
take the eighth of this caravan of camels, and which one will you take?'

In the comparative plane, the formant of the Future of the potential
mood -*ō*- has no reliable parallels outside Brahui. In Brahui itself, it is
probably related to the formant of the conditional mood (see below).

The Conditional Mood. The forms of the conditional mood are ob-
tained from the verb stem by means of the suffix -*ōs*- and the follow-
ing person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-*uT*	-*un*
2nd pers.	-*us*	-*ure*
3rd pers.	-*às*	-*ur/-ō*

For example: *bining* 'to hear'—*binōsuT, binōsus, binōsas*, etc.

Now and then person formants are joined to the mood formant by means of the morphophonemic syllable *-us-* (in the 3rd person singular *-as-*), e.g. *binōsusuT* 'if I (had) heard', 'I should (have) hear(d)', *binōsasas* 'if he (had) heard', 'he would (have) hear(d)'.

The conditional mood is used to express actions which could have taken place in the past under certain conditions, but which did not actually take place, and also to express unfulfilled conditions, e.g. *faujanā banningān must pēsh tammōsure numā māl 'intavaka* 'had you gone away before the army arrived, your property would never have been lost'; *xāli cirrēngān kārēm karōsus nā guzrān marōsas* 'had you worked instead of loafing, you would have got a living'; *nī aga narrōsus ī nā padaT bafarōsuT* 'had you taken to your heels, I would not have come after you'.

Occasionally these forms are also used to express actions desired (but unfulfilled) in the past, e.g. *narringān ka'ōsas* 'would that he had died sooner than run away'; *iragh kuningān must dūte sillōsus* 'you should have washed your hands before eating'.

The conditional mood is most wide spread in the Jhalawan dialect; in other dialects it is usually replaced by the Past Continuous of the indicative mood.

The Negative Form

The same moods and tenses are distinguished in the negative form as in the positive one.

The formants of the negative form of the verb are the suffixes *-p(a)-/-f(a)-, par-/-far-* and *-t(a)-*, added to the verb stem.

The formants of the negative form *-p(a)-* and *-t(a)-* are joined to verb stems in the same way as the suffix of the imperative mood plural is joined to verb stems in the positive form (see above), e.g. *tixing* 'to put'—*tixp(a)-, txt(a)-; bining* 'to hear'—*bimp(a)-, bint(a)-; 'ining* 'to go'—*'imp(a)-, 'int(a)-; narring* 'to flee'—*narrip(a)-, narrit(a)-; illing* 'to leave'—*illip(a)-/illēp(a)-, illit(a)-/illēt(a)-; xulling* 'to fear'—*xulp(a)-/xulip(a)-; shāghing* 'to pour'—*shāghp(a)-/shāp(a)-, shāght(a)-/shāt(a)-; 'ōghing* 'to weep', *'ōghp(a)-/'ōp(a)-, 'ōght(a)-/'ōt(a)-*.

The negative form of the multistem verbs *banning* 'to come', *cāing* 'to understand', *danning* 'to take away', *kanning* 'to do', *manning* 'to become', *pāning* 'to say', *tining* 'to give', *tōning/tōring* 'to hold', *'at-(in)ing/'ataring/'atiring* 'to bring' and *'unning/'uring* 'to look', and also of the verb *ka'ing* 'to die' is obtained in the following way:

banning	'to come'	—*baf(a)-, bat(a)-;*
cāing	'to understand'	—*tipp(a)-, titt(a)-;*
danning	'to take away'	—*dapp(a)-, datt(a)-;*
kanning	'to do'	—*kapp(a)-, katt(a)-;*
ka'ing	'to die'	—*kasp(a)-, kast(a)-;*
manning	'to become'	—*maf(a)-, mat(a)-;*
pāning	'to say'	—*pāp(a)-, pāt(a)-;*
tining	'to give'	—*tif(a)-, tit(a)-;*
tōning/tōring	'to hold'	—*tōp(a)-, tōt(a)-;*
'at(in)ing/-'ataring/'atir-ing	'to bring'	—*'atip(a)-, 'atit(a)-/'att(a)-;*
'unning/'uring	'to look'	—*'upp(a)-, 'utt(a)-.*

Outside Brahui, formants of the negative form of the verb vary both from language to language and within the verb system of one and the same language. The most common formants are the zero one, found in all Dravidian languages which have negative forms, except Brahui, Kuvi, Kui, Telugu and Tulu, and the formant *-ā-/-a-* (*-ā-* in Tamil and Malayalam, and *-a-* in Telugu and Parji) or a formant incorporating *-ā-/-a-* (*-ād-* in Tamil and Malayalam, *-āy-* and *-ātt-* in Malayalam, *-ād-* in Kota, *-ad-* in Kannada, *-ay-*, *-aR-* and *-and-* in Tulu, and *-'a-* in Kui and Kuvi). R. Caldwell believed the suffix *-a-* to be the oldest formant of the negative form /18, 471/. His point of view is basically shared by V.I. Subramoniam /66/. T. Burrow believes the suffix *-ā-* to be the original formant /59, 225/. In A. Master's opinion, none of the foregoing hypotheses can be considered sufficiently substantiated /65, 107/; he himself is inclined to believe the zero suffix to be the oldest formant /63/. J. Bloch shared R. Caldwell's opinion at first /58, 161/; however, in his later years he came out with the suggestion that at one time the formant of the negative form began with a consonant whose trace is still found in Kui—Kuvi and Brahui /10, 52/.

If one should agree with J. Bloch, the alternation of the consonants *-p(a)-/-t(a)-/-f(a)-* in the Brahui formant of the negative form and their relationship to the Kui—Kuvi *-'a-* remains phonetically unexplained. If R. Caldwell's viewpoint were accepted (and with respect to Brahui it is shared by D. Bray and, evidently, by M.B. Emeneau) and *-a-* alone were considered to be the formant of the negative form of the Brahui verb, the nature of these consonants would become still more obscure. D. Bray's assertion that, in this case, *-p-* is the formant of the Present-Future and *-t-* of the Simple Past with a positive stem /11, 139/ contradicts both the synchronous state of Brahui, in which these formants are not encountered in the positive form, and the comparative data on the tense formants of the Dravidian verb: the formant of the (Present-) Future *-v-/-p(p)-* is confined to the southern group of languages (it is encountered in Tamil, Kannada and Kodagu) and Tulu alone, and it developed in these languages comparatively recently, many centuries after the proto-Dravidian linguistic entity had disintegrated and the languages of the north-western, north-eastern, Gondwana and the central groups began to develop independently of the languages of the southern groups; the Past tense formant *-t-* is confined to the languages of the southern, south-western, south-eastern, central and the Gondwana groups, where, in all probability, it developed after the separation of the north-western and north-eastern groups had taken place.[37]

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[37] We have considered this problem in greater detail in special monographs /55, 170-186; 57, 17-24/.

A comparative analysis of the negative forms of the Dravidian verb reveals that *-ā- should be regarded as its oldest negative suffix; the zero formant, and also all other formants of the negative form, developed on its basis at a later date /55, 400-434; 7/.

<u>The Indicative Mood</u>. Five tense forms are distinguished in the indicative mood: the Present-Future, the Simple Past, the Past Continuous, the Past Perfect and the Pluperfect.

The Present-Future tense has no tense formant (it has the zero formant) and is obtained from the verb stem by adding, to the negative form formant -pa-/-fa- (in the 2nd person -p-/-f-), the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-ra	-na
2nd pers.	-ēsa	-ēre
3rd pers.	-k	-sa

This tense generally has the prefix a-, just as the positive form of the verb does, e.g. tixing 'to put'—(a)tixpara; bining 'to hear'—(a)bimpēsa; banning 'to come'—(a)bafak; xuling 'to fear'—(a)xulpana/-(a)xulipana; cāing 'to understand'—(a)tippēre, etc.

The choice of the form, with or without the prefix a-, is determined in the same way as in the case of the positive form.

The forms of this tense are used to express actions which do not take place in the present or will not take place in the future, e.g. baghayre dīrān bandagh zinda mafak 'man cannot live (lit. will not be alive) without water'; kanā īlumaT tōning amafak 'my brother won't be able to stop him'; 'andā DaulaT ki nī kārēm akēsa pēn kas kanning akappak 'nobody will do this work the way you do it'; mastungnā kasaraT duzzāk cārī ō panciāy banning akappasa 'on the Mastung road thieves cannot attack (lit. will not make attacks on) a party of four or five'; cārī ō pancītō cikār atōpasa 'they cannot harass a party of four or five'; kaneāy banning akappēsa 'you cannot overpower me'; naneaT narring amafak 'we cannot flee'; numēTī dā zōre xampara 'I don't see that you have /enough/ strength /for it/'; ī ōRaT tēnā kārēme karifpara 'I will not make him do my work'; ī nā xuājanā 'ukme mannipara 'I do not obey your master's orders'; ī nā 'ucce illēpara 'I won't let your camel go'; nanā Daghāteāy nī xiāl akappēsa 'you do not look after our fields'; aT tūiskā pir akappak? 'for how many months will there be no rain?'; nī bafēsa? 'won't you come?'; ī nē 'icc atifara 'I will not give you anything'; pēnanā malh tēnā amafak 'somebody else's son won't ever become your own'; ī pāpara ki numēTī filānī duzz e 'I'm not saying that one of you is a cheat'; xudāghān baghayr ī 'iccān xulīpara 'I fear none but God'; nī 'icciRā tippēsa 'you understand nothing'; tēn-pa-tēn jang kabō nan numā niāmaTī tammipana 'fight with each other, we shall not interfere'; ī shikārāy 'impara 'I won't go out hunting'; kane ārām abafak 'I have no peace'; bīragha drōghaT xalās amafēsa 'you shall not get away simply by lying'; pēn giRā-as xuāʻipara 'I don't want anything else'; bō'ar asi sāl rasēmpak-ta tō mulke sunn akēk 'if one fine year he does not receive the revenue, he will lay the country waste'; nī sadvār pās ī neāy bāvar akappara 'you may repeat it even a hundred times, I will not believe you all the same'; duzz ki

narrik kasase xabar atifak 'when a thief flees, he does not tell anybody about it'; ō drōgh apāpasa 'they are not lying'; naneāy kas bāvar akappak 'no one will believe us'.

The Simple Past tense is obtained from the verb stem by means of the tense formant -v-, added to the formant of the negative form -ta-, and the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-aT	-an
2nd pers.	-ēs	-ēre
3rd pers.	-ø	-as

For example: bining 'to hear'—bintavaT; tixing 'to put'—tixtavēs; ka'ing 'to die'—kastav; narring 'to flee'—narritavan; pāning 'to say'—pātavēre; xuling 'to fear'—xultavas/xulitavas.

Negative forms of the Simple Past are used in the same way as the positive forms of this tense, differing from the latter only in that they express actions which did not take place, e.g. ō javāb titavas 'they gave no answer'; laTTatō xalkuT-ta zaghmatō xaltavaT-ta 'I struck him with a stick, but I did not strike him with a sword'; tā irā sāliskā ō ja'ān suritav 'for two years he did not move from his place'; ī darō irāska bassuT nē xantavaT 'I came twice yesterday, but I did not see you'; dā 'īte antey pātaves-ka? 'why didn't you tell me about it?'; muccō dē-as gidārēngā nī tēnā kārēme kattavēs 'a whole day passed and you did not do your work'; tīvaghā dē murūtā randaT cirrēngaT shikār dū batav 'though I was after the hares the whole day, I got no sport'; kaneān 'iccanā 'arriftav 'he asked no questions'; ī urāTī pē'itavaT 'I did not enter the house'; numeān kas-as nanā mu'āy batav 'none of you came out to meet us'; kanā pāningaT kārēm kattav 'he did not do as I had advised him to'; nan urāghān pēsh tammān pēsh tammitavan pir malingā 'hardly had we left (lit. we had left—had not left) the house when it began to rain'; shōbatō 'āzir matavēra vāe numā jānaki 'look out if you do not come (lit. you did not come—look out) in the morning'.

The Past Continuous tense is obtained from the verb stem by means of the tense formant -v-, added to the formant of the negative form -ta-, and the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-aTa	-ana
2nd pers.	-ēsa	-ēre
3rd pers.	-aka	-asa

The prefix a- is used in the forms of this tense in the same way as in the positive form of the verb, e.g. tixing 'to put'—(a)tixtavaTa; (a)tixtavēsa, (a)tixtavaka; narring 'to flee'—narritavana, narritavēre, narritavasa, etc.

The use of the Past Continuous in the negative form is confined to the same cases as the use of this tense in the positive form, e.g. ī drōgh apātavaTa 'I was not lying'; cappīkō duanā suatetō xān 'īt akattavaka 'the khan did not speak to those who were riding on his left'; 'ar vaxt ī ōnā ja'āy 'inaTa ōde xantavaTa 'whenever I came to his place,

I never saw him'; *ī rupaīteāy bāzāy ōde sāng atitavaTa* 'I would not have her marry him even for big money'; *bīshe margh amassaka kase tēnā kēbaT illētavaka* 'if a donkey had had horns, it would not let anyone come near it'; *kanā tūfak dāsā radd amatavaka ala aynō sūan sēr akarēna* 'if I had not missed my aim (lit. if my gun had not missed its aim), we should have had plenty of meat today'.

The Past Perfect tense is obtained from the verb stem by means of the tense formant *-n-*, added to the formant of the negative form *-ta-*, and the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-uT	-un
2nd pers.	-us	-ure
3rd pers.	-e	-ō

For example: *xuling* 'to fear'—*xul(i)tanuT, xul(i)tanus, xul(i)tane, xul(i)tanun, xul(i)tanure, xul(i)tanō.*

The negative form of the Past Perfect is generally used to negate an action preceding the moment of speaking and linked with the present by its result, e.g. *kanā 'ullī batane* 'my horse has failed to come'; *ballō mēlh-as nēki 'attanuT* 'I have not brought you a big sheep'; *'amē bīstangāk ki nī pārēsa batanō* 'the twenty people you spoke about have failed to come'; *kārēme-ka xalās kattanuT* 'I have not finished my work'; *sabaxe-ne yāt kattanus* 'you have not learned your lesson'; *tā ki kanā 'ucce illētanus ī nāe illēpara* 'unless you've set free my camel, I won't set free yours'; *kanā urāTī būc-as illētanō kulle darēnō* 'they have not left even a single chip in my house, they have taken away everything'; *dā draxtāk baram kattanō* 'these trees haven't yet born fruit'; *dāRē 'ic-as batane* 'no one has been here'; *xadō aynōnā dē kanā bāva kēcāy 'inā dāskā batane* 'exactly a year ago my father went to Kech and has not returned yet'; *ī nēān 'iciRā-as māl dattanuT* 'I have not taken anything from you'; *ō pēn 'iciRā-as pātane* 'he has not told me anything else'; *aynōān must ī nē xantanuT* 'I did not see you before today'; *bēde nēān ī tēnā āvāle kasase pātanuT* 'I have not told anyone about it except you'; *ēnaxō annā kaccīāy 'intanun* 'this year we haven't yet gone to Kachhi'; *kanā arigh tāiskā jangān 'arsēngtane* 'my husband has not yet returned from the war'.

The Pluperfect tense is obtained from the verb stem by means of the tense formant *-ēs-*, added to the formant of the Simple Past *-v-*, and the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-uT	-un
2nd pers.	-us	-ure
3rd pers.	-as	-ur/-ō

For example: *banning* 'to come'—*batavēsuT, batavēsus, batavēsas,* etc.

The negative form of the Pluperfect is used to negate an action which preceded another action in the past, e.g. *tā ki ōnā tūfaknā tavāre bintavēsun jang kattavan* 'befcre we heard him fire a shot, we had not fired'; *nan darō kasarāy salīsasun 'īt akarēna annā 'īte kattavēsun 'an-*

dāxasaTī pir malingā 'yesterday we were standing on the road, talking; we had not finished talking when it began to rain'; *ō narritavēsas ki nan rasēfēn-ta* 'he had scarcely begun to run away (lit. he hadn't run away) when we overtook him'; *ō sha're kēb kattavēsas pulūs 'alk-ta* 'hardly had he turned up in the town (!it. had not approached) when the police arrested him'; *ī 'andāRki bassusuT ki ō kanā 'īte xaf atōrēka dāRki batavēsuT ki kane ghurrank ēte* 'I had come that he might lend an ear to what I had to say, not that he might rebuke me'.

The Imperative Mood. This mood has singular and plural forms.

The imperative singular has no formant (it has the zero formant) and consists of the verb stem and the formant of the negative form *-pa/-fa: tixpa* 'don't put', *bimpa* 'don't listen', *'ōghpa/'ōpa* 'don't cry/weep', *kappa* 'don't do', *tifa* 'don't give', *bafa* 'don't come', e.g. *dā lashshitō rūtipa* 'don't reap with that sickle'; *'īte kappa* 'don't talk'; *vaxt-as ki ī 'īt kanningaTī uT nī niām tammipa* 'don't interrupt when I'm speaking'; *tēnā dēe ē'unangā kārēmteTī gidārēfpa* 'don't waste your time on it'; *ē 'ullīāy suār mafa* 'don't mount that horse'; *dā kasaraT bafa* 'don't take this road'; *kanēān xulīpa* 'don't be afraid of me'; *ēR-tō 'impa* 'don't go with that man'; *kane dā pinnōkā shishae tifa* 'don't give me this broken glass'; *daunō 'īt kane pāpa* 'don't say such words to me'; *ē būcāteāy tūlpa* 'don't sit on that rubbish'.

The imperative plural is obtained from the verb stem by means of the formant *-bō* added to the formant of the negative form *-pa-/-fa-*, e.g. *tixpabō* 'don't put'; *bimpabō* 'don't listen'; *xulpabō/ xulipabō* 'don't fear'; *tifabō* 'don't give'; *nanā 'ullīteāy suār mafabō* 'don't ride our horses'; *drōgh pāpabō* 'don't lie'.

The Potential Mood. Two tenses are distinguished in the potential mood: the Present and the Future.

The Present tense has no special formant (it has the zero formant) and is obtained from the verb stem by adding the formant of the negative form *-pa-/-fa-* (in the 2nd person and the 3rd person singular *-p-/-f-*) and the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-r	-n
2nd pers.	-ēs	-ēre
3rd pers.	-∅	-s

For example: *tixing* 'to put'—*tixpar, tixpēs, tixp; banning* 'to come'—*bafar, bafēs, baf,* etc.

The negative form of the Present of the potential mood is used to express negation of the possibility of performing an action in the present or to express its undesirability, e.g. *daunō kārēm-as ītō-nā karē ki kas-as dushmantō kapp* 'he dealt with you in a way no one would deal with his enemy'; *malhte-ka 'ic pāpēs* 'you should not tell (lit. you cannot tell) anything to my sons'; *nī kantō salīpēs* 'you cannot be on my side'; *aga dā kārēme kanā māraki kappēs tēnāki ka-ta* 'if you cannot do it for my son's sake, do it for the sake of your own /son/'; *xudā bēkass kasase kapp* 'may God never deprive anyone of his relatives'; *daunō kārēm-as kēv ītō-nā ki dirse-as pāp ki nī 'amē bandagh us* 'I can do such a thing to you that no one will recognise you (lit. will be able to say that you are really the same man)'; *kanā āvāle ēlote tifēs* 'you should not pass

my words to others'; *kanā kēbāy bafēs* 'you should not (lit. cannot) approach me'; *baghayr kanā 'ukmān dākān 'impēs* 'you must not (lit. cannot) leave here without my permission'; *dirse pāp ki ī ōnā dushman uT* 'no one can say that I am his enemy'; *tā ki nī bafēs ī 'andāRēk uT* 'while you are unable to come, I'll stay here'.

The Future tense is obtained from the verb stem by means of the tense formant *-ō-*, added to the formant of the negative form *-par-/ -far-*, and the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-T	-n
2nd pers.	-s	-re
3rd pers.	-e	-r

For example: *xuling* 'to fear'—*xul(i)parōT, xul(i)parōs, xul(i)parōe*; *banning* 'to come'—*bafarōT, bafarōs, bafarōe*, etc.

The negative form of the Future of the potential mood is used to express negation of the possibility or probability of performing an action in the future, e.g. *nī tīvaghā drōghaT kaneān sharāe kaTTiparōs* 'you will not be able to win (probably will not win) the case against me by simply lying'; *'ic 'ullī-as daun dudēngparōe ki kanā 'ullī dudēngik* 'no horse will be able to run as fast as mine'; *nī narrās ī dā mulkaTī tūlparōT* 'if you flee, I'll probably be unable to stay here'.

In the Jhalawan dialect, special forms of the Future of the potential mood are used besides those listed above. They are obtained from the verb stem by adding the tense formant *-ō-*, the negative form formant *-fa-* (in the 2nd person and the 3rd person singular *-f-*) and the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-T	-n
2nd pers.	-ēs	-ēre
3rd pers.	-ø	-s

For example: *tixing* 'to put'—*tixōfaT, tixōfēs, tixōf*; *tining* 'to give'—*cōfaT, cōfēs, cōf* (from the dialectal stem *c-*), etc.

<u>The Conditional Mood</u>. The forms of this mood are obtained from the verb stem by adding the negative form formant *-par-/-far-*, the conditional mood formant *-ōs-* and the following person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-uT	-un
2nd pers.	-us	-ure
3rd pers.	-as	-ur/-ō

For example: *kanning* 'to do'—*kapparōsuT, kapparōsus, kapparōsas*; *banning* 'to come'—*bafarōsuT*, etc.

As in the case of the positive form, negative conditional mood forms are encountered in which the person formants are joined to the suffix *-ōs-* by means of the morphophonemic (non-morphemic) syllable *-us-*, e.g. *bising* 'to bake'—*bisparōsusuT*, etc.

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In the Jhalawan dialect, besides the commonly used forms of the conditional mood, forms are encountered which are obtained in a special way: in them the formant of the conditional mood *-ēs-* (less frequently *-as-*) is preceded by the negative form formant *-ōf-*, e.g. *xuling* 'to fear'—*xulōfēsuT/xulōfasuT*; *tining* 'to give'—*cōfēsuT*, etc.

The negative form of the conditional mood is used to express the negation of an unrealised conditional or possible action in the past or to express the undesirability of an action which took place in the past, e.g. *nī aga narrōsus nā padaT bafarōsuT* 'had you taken to your heels, I would not (could not) have come after you'; *tēnā 'ullīe daunangā lāgharīāy xamparōsuT* 'I wish I hadn't seen my horse in such a terrible state'.

Forms of the Verb *anning* 'to be'

The verb *anning* 'to be' has an incomplete paradigm. Except the verbal noun *anning*, which is occasionally encountered in some set phrases, this verb has finite forms of the indicative mood both in the positive and the negative form.

The Positive Form

The Simple Present Tense. The Simple Present forms of the verb *anning* 'to be' are obtained irregularly from different suppletive stems:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	uT	un
2nd pers.	us	ure
3rd pers.	e	ō[38]

These forms are used with the meaning of the link-verb of the Present tense, e.g. *xōlumnā iragh sāanāRān 'anēn e* 'wheat bread is more tasty than barley bread'; *numā xalk arāRēk e?* 'where is your village./located/?'; *dirse pāp ki ī ōnā dushman uT* 'no one will say that I am his enemy'; *num nanā siālāteān antey xar ure?* 'why are you displeased with our relatives?'; *nan kul balunōn un num cunakkōn ure* 'we are all big and you are small'; *kanā irā mār ō* 'I have two sons'; *Daghār nā jindanā e yā nī caRa bazghar us?* 'is this land your own or are you simply a tenant farmer?'; *nī dinnā mār us?* 'whose son are you?'

The form of the Emphatic Present tense is that of the Simple Past obtained from the stem *ar-*, the tense formant being *-ē-*:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	arēT	arēn
2nd pers.	arēs	arēre
3rd pers.	arē	arēr

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[38] In the dialects, one more form of the 3rd person plural has been registered: *ur*.

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These forms are used either with the meaning of the link-verb of the Present tense, or to report the existence or presence of an agent, or to lend emphasis to an attribute, e.g. 'ar-kas cāik xudā arē 'everyone knows that God does exist'; ī nājōr arēT maga tā sha'riskā kāva 'I am ill, but I'll manage to walk to the village'; ē kirrītēTĪ muccaTĪ shakargaz arē? 'is there gum in all these tamarisks?'; dāRē kas-as arē? 'is there anybody here?'; numeān aTTis tūfak arē? 'and how many of you have guns?'; nanā kacattā liTTikāk arēr 'our mules have long tails /and not short ones/'.

The Simple Past tense is obtained from the stem a- by means of the tense formant -s-, which is geminated after a short vowel in the stem, and the usual person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	assuT	assun
2nd pers.	assus	assure
3rd pers.	ass	assur

These forms are used either with the meaning of the link-verb of the Past tense or with the meaning of a verb of being, e.g. 'arci bandagh ki dāRē assur kul 'inānō 'all the people who were here are gone'; dir-seāy ki kanā gumān ass dāRē aff 'he on whom my suspicion fell is not here'; 'amō mā'rīāy ī suar assuT pīr assaka 'the camel I rode (lit. I was a rider on) was old'; 'amō nī assus ki xadō dāRē bassusus 'you were the man who came here last year'; giRā-as ki kanā īlumnā mēlhk assur kul 'inguno 'all the sheep my brother had, had yeaned'; ōnā xank xaRīnkān purr assur antasēki ki ōnā mār kaskas 'his eyes were filled with tears because his son had died'; nan numā pāraghāy banningaTĪ assun 'we were going (lit. were in the act of walking) to your place'.

The Past Continuous tense is obtained from the stem a- in the same way as the Simple Past and differs from the latter only in the person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	assuTa	assuna
2nd pers.	assusa	assure
3rd pers.	assaka	assura

The use of these forms differs little from that of the previously described forms of the Simple Past, e.g. asiT īTĪ-tā 'ushār assaka 'one of them was very clever'; 'amō mā'rīāy ī suar assuT pīr assaka 'the camel I rode was old'; cappīkō dūanā suātetō xan 'īt akattavaka xiāl-ta bāz rāstīkōteāy assaka 'the khan did not speak to those who were riding on his left, his attention was mainly centred on those riding on his right'; sipā'īteān manaTāk 'ināsur manaTāk-tā annā 'amōRē assura 'some of the sepoys had left, but others were still there'.[39]

[39] D. Bray /11, 152/ also gave the paradigm of the Pluperfect of the verb anning 'to be': ī assusuT, nī assusus, ōd assas, nan assusun,

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The Negative Form

The Present Tense. The Present tense is obtained from the stem a- by means of the negative form formant -f(a)- and the person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	affat	affan
2nd pers.	affēs	affēre
3rd pers.	affak/aff	affas

These forms express the negation of the existence of an agent or of the possession by the agent of a given attribute, e.g. ī brā'ūī-as affaT 'I am not a Brahui'; nī satar zōrāk marēs ī nā xalōī affaT 'you may be as strong as a lion, but I am not the person you can beat up'; gaT affēs dīr ēte-ka 'if you are not busy, give me some water'; paysa affak ītō-nā ī nē ētiva 'if you have no money about you, I'll give you some'; aynōān ēngī kane nētō kārēm aff 'from now on I'll have nothing to do with you'; dā 'ulī juān aff 'this horse is not good'; lashkare xanāT pancī da'ī bīstī aff bāz e 'I saw the army: it is not a group of five, ten or twenty men, they are a great many'; dā dīk kunōī affak 'this water is not fit to drink'.

The Past Tense. The Past tense is obtained from the suppletive stem all- by adding the negative form formant -a-, the Past tense formant -v- and the person formants:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	allavaT	allavan
2nd pers.	allavēs	allavēre
3rd pers.	allav	allavas

These forms are used to express the negative link-verb in the past or to convey the absence of something in the past, e.g. xarāstā giRānā lixāy jugh ass giRānāRāy allav 'some of the bulls had yokes across their necks while others did not'; mulkāy ki 'ināT ja'-as jōla allav 'when I came to the field, there was nobody there'.[40]

Comparative Characterisation of the Finite Forms

The comparison of the verb formants with one another (see Table 3) shows that their most typical element is generally the consonant of

num assusure, ōfk assusur/assusō. However, these forms are used rarely (if at all). In any case, D. Bray himself did not supply any examples of their use.

[40] D. Bray /11, 153/ also gave the paradigms of the Past Continuous (ī allavaTa, nī allavēsa, ōd allavaka, nan allavana, num allavēre, ōfk allavasa) and the Pluperfect (ī allavēsuT, nī allavēsus, ōd allavēsas, nan allavēsun, num allavēsure, ōfk allavēsur/allavēsō). However, the problem of the usage of these forms is still unclear.

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Table 3

Form	person and number	Indicative Present-Future	Simple Past	Past Continuous	Past Perfect	Pluperfect	Potential Present	Potential Future	Conditional
Positive	singular 1st	-iva/-ēva	-(u)T	-(u)Ta	-uT	-uT	-iv/-ēv	-T	-uT
	2nd	-isa/-ēsa	-(u)s	-(u)sa	-us	-us	-is/-ēs	-s	-us
	3rd	-ik/-ēk	Ø	-(a)ka	-e	-as/-Ø	-e/-ē	-e	-as
	plural 1st	-ina/-ēna	-(u)n	-(u)na	-un	-un	-in/-ēn	-n	-un
	2nd	-ire/-ēre	-(u)re	-(u)re	-ure	-ure	-ire/-āre	-re	-ure
	3rd	-ira/-ēra	-(u)r	-(u)ra	-ō	-ur/-o	-ir/-ār	-r	-ur/-ō
Negative	singular 1st	-ra	-aT	-aTa	-uT	-uT	-r	-T	-uT
	2nd	-ēsa	-ēs	-ēsa	-us	-us	-ēs	-s	-us
	3rd	-k	-Ø	-āka	-e	-as	-Ø	-e	-as
	plural 1st	-na	-an	-ana	-un	-un	-n	-n	-un
	2nd	-ēre	-ēre	-ēre	-ure	-ure	-ēre	-re	-ure
	3rd	-sa	-as	-asa	-ō	-ur/-ō	-s	-r	-ur/-ō

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the suffix. The final vowel -a in the Present-Future and the Past Continuous is undoubtedly of later origin and its appearance is connected with the differentiation between the indicative and the potential moods. The initial vowels -i/-ē- in the Present-Future of the indicative mood and the Present of the potential mood, and also the -u- in many tenses of the past plane apparently (in any case at the contemporary stage of development) play a morphophonemic role (connecting vowels). This is borne out by the fact that they are not encountered after vowels in the stem or in the tense formant. Thus, on the whole, the most typical person formants are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	-v, -r, -T	-n
2nd pers.	-s	-re
3rd pers.	-k, -e, -Ø, -(a)s	-r, -ō, -(a)s

In the comparative plane, there are obvious correspondences in the cognate languages only for the formant of the 2nd person plural -re (cf. -er in Malto, -ar/-or in Kurukh, -eri in Kuvi, -eru in Kui, -ider in Konda, -r in Gadaba, -r in Parji, -ir in Naiki, Kolami and Old Kannada, -ru in Telugu, -arī in Tulu, -ra in Kodagu, -(ī)ri/(i)ri in Kannada, and -īr in Kota and Tamil) and for the formant of the 3rd person plural -r (cf. -er in Malto, -ar/-or in Kurukh, -eri in Kuvi, -eru in Kui, -ar in Konda, -uR/-oR in Gondi, -r in Gadaba and Parji, -er/-ar in Naiki and Kolami, -ru in Telugu, -erī in Tulu, -(a)ru/-āre in Kannada, -ār/-ō(r) in Kota and -ār/-ar in Tamil).

More complicated seem the connection between the formant of the 1st person plural -n and the analogous formant of the 1st person singular in other languages, and the connection between the formant of the 1st person singular -T and the formants of the 1st person plural inclusive -aT in Kurukh and Gondi and -it/-et in Malto (a semantic development of the corresponding personal pronoun can be observed in many languages; cf., for instance, nām 'we and you' ⟶ 'I' in Tamil), and also the connection between the formant of the same person -v and the formants of the 1st person plural, incorporating v/m in most cognate languages. In any case, the Brahui formants of the singular and the plural in the 1st person are distributed in the reverse order in comparison with the other Dravidian languages, in which the suffix -n is characteristic of the 1st person singular and the suffixes -m/-v and -T of the 1st person plural.

The presence of a number of formants in the 3rd person is apparently (besides other reasons) connected with the disappearance of gender in Brahui, being a reflection of an older state of this language when two or three genders were distinguished in it, as is still the case today with all Dravidian languages except Malayalam and Toda. Thus, the 3rd person singular formant -(a)s (just as its plural counterpart) has parallels in the formants of the masculine gender (-as in Kurukh, -ah in Malto and -esi in Kuvi) and is probably linked with formants in other languages through related forms (-enju in Kui and -enD/-anD/-onD in Gadaba). At the same time the formant -e coincides in the singular with the nonmasculine gender formant -e in

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Kuvi, Kui and Gadaba, and is probably connected with vowel formants in a number of other languages. Similarly, the formant -ō in the 3rd person plural has parallels in the corresponding forms of the non-masculine (neuter) gender in Kota *(-ō)*, Kuvi—Kui *(-u)*, Parji *(-ov/-uv/ -av)* and in many other languages in which the presence of the sonant *v* is characteristic of this suffix.

The other formants of the singular— *-r* in the 1st person, *-s* in the 2nd and *-k/-ø* in the 3rd—seem to be isolated. Perhaps they are new formations, which appeared after the separation of Brahui from the common Dravidian linguistic entity; however, it is not excluded that at least some of them are traces of the oldest system of the personal forms of the Dravidian verb, which had existed prior to the evolvement of the modern system.

Non-Finite Forms

The Participle

Two kinds of participles are distinguished in Brahui: participles ending in *-ōk* and participles ending in *-ōī*.

In participles ending in *-ōk*, this suffix is added to the verb stem, e.g. *tixing* 'to put'—*tixōk; bining* 'to hear'—*binōk; 'arseng(ing)* 'to turn'—*'arsēngōk.*

In verbs with derivative stems in *-ing*, the participle suffix *-ōk* is added to the corresponding primary stem, e.g. *'arsinging* 'to be turned'—*'arsōk.*

In two-stem verbs, the participle formant *-ōk* is added both to stems ending in a geminated consonant and to those ending in a single consonant, e.g. *xalling* 'to strike'—*xalōk; silling* 'to wash'—*sillōk.*

In multistem verbs, this participle is obtained in the following way:

banning	'to come'	—*barōk*
cāing	'to understand'	—*cāōk*
danning	'to take away'	—*darōk*
kanning	'to do'	—*karōk*
manning	'to become'	—*marōk*
pāning	'to say'	—*pārōk*
tining	'to give'	—*tirōk, ētōk, cōk*
tōning	'to hold'	—*tōrōk*
'at(in)ing	'to bring'	—*'atōk, 'atirōk, 'atarōk*
'ining	'to go'	—*'inōk*
'unning	'to look'	—*'urōk*

Participles in *-ōk* have neither aspect nor voice and can express both perfective and imperfective actions, active and passive actions, and actions related both to the present and the past, e.g. *ōftā kucak saxt kunōk e* 'their dog bites badly (lit. badly biting)'; *ī ōde bassuT ka'ōk xanāT* 'I came to his place and saw him dead'; *kanā puccāk aga sillōk ō zū 'ata-tā* 'if my things are washed, bring them here quickly'.

When used as an attribute, such participles take the usual formants of the indefinite *(-ō)* or definite *(-ā)* form, e.g. *dā tūlōkō masiR-*

as e yā bash massune? 'is she still unmarried (lit. a sitting maiden) or has she already married?'; *tēnā xalōkā xarāse aga guDDis nēki juān e* 'you had better slaughter your bull that butts (lit. your butting bull)'.

Like adjectives, these participles in the definite form easily become substantivised, in which case they are declined in the same way as substantives and take on the number and case formants, e.g. *ka'ōkātā randaT dēr 'ināne* 'who /ever/ followed the dead /to the next world/?'.

In the comparative plane, the Brahui participle ending in *-ōk* seems to be isolated: in other Dravidian languages there predominate participles in *-a* (in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu and Kolami), *-ā* (in Gondi and Kurukh) or *-i* (in Konda, Kui, Kuvi and Tulu). A comparison with the Kolami future participle in *-eka* is also impossible owing to the obvious non-correspondences in the phonetic and semantic planes.

Outside the Dravidian languages the direct correspondence of the Brahui participle in *-ōk* seem to be forms of the Baluchi *girōk* 'wooing' (from *girag* 'to take') type, which are similar to it in appearance, structure and meaning /67, 57./. Obviously, in conditions when all Brahuis speak Baluchi the borrowing of this suffix cannot be completely ruled out. Still, a gradual evolution of some Dravidian formant into *-ōk* under the influence of a similar Baluchi suffix seems more likely.

Participles ending in *-ōī* are obtained from the same stem as those in *-ōk*, e.g. *bining* 'to hear'—*binōī; tining* 'to give'—*tirōī, ētōī, cōi* (Jhal.); *'arseng(ing)* 'to turn'—*'arsēngōī, 'arsinging* 'to be turned'— *'arsōī.*

Participles in *-ōī*, likewise, have neither aspect nor voice, but (unlike participles in *-ōk*) they denote actions which will take place, or are to take place, in the future, e.g. *dā kārēm kane karōī e* 'I am to do this work' (lit. 'this work is to be done by me in the future'); *ō daun nājōr e ki ōnā mōn 'urōī aff* 'he is so ill that he cannot be seen' (lit. 'his face is not what is to be seen'); *ī dā kārēme karōī uT* 'I am to do this work' (lit. 'I am such as is to do'); *ī nā xalōī uT ki nī daun apāsa* 'you are talking in such a way as if you were going to strike me' (lit. 'I am such as is to be beaten by you').

Like participles in *-ōk*, participles in *-ōī* when used as attributes take on the formants of the indefinite or definite form, and when substantivised they change according to number and case, as substantives do, e.g. *dā giRā-as ki nī apāsa kanā karōīō kārēm-as aff* 'all you are saying is outside my duties' (lit. 'is not business to be done by me'); *tēnā musāfirīāy darōīāte giRāte jitā ka* 'put aside everything you are to take for the road (lit. everything to be taken away)'.

The negative form of participles in *-ōī* is obtained by means of the same formant *(-ōī)* added to the negative formant *-par-*, e.g. *xuling* 'to fear'—*xul(i)parōī; bining* 'to hear'—*bimparōī; 'arseng(ing)* 'to turn'— *'arsēngparōī, 'arsēmparōī; 'arsinging* 'to be turned'—*'ars(i)parōī.*

This form is used but rarely, e.g. *kane dā kārēm kapparōī e* 'I am not to do this work'.

The participle suffix *-ōī* has no reliable parallels in other Dravidian languages.

The Verbal Participle

The formants of the verbal participle are the suffixes *-isa*, *-isav* and *-isaaT*, which are added to the verb stem, e.g. *tixing* 'to put'— *tixisa, tixisav, tixisaaT; bining* 'to hear'—*binisa, binisav, binisaaT*.

In verbs whose stems end in the long vowels *-ī/-ē*, the initial vowel of the verbal participle formant is asimilated by these vowels, e.g. *salīsa* (or *salisa*) 'standing'; *illēsa* (or *illisa*) 'leaving'.

The verbal participles of multistem verbs are obtained from the same stems as participles, e.g. *barisa* 'coming', *ʾinisa* 'going', *cāisa* 'understanding'.

The Brahui verbal participle is used to express an uncompleted action accompanying another action spoken of in the sentence.

All the three forms of the verbal participle are synonymous. However, there is a tendency in the language to use mainly verbal participles in *-isaaT* in absolute constructions and verbal participles in *-isav* in sentences which contain one more verbal participle filling the function of a coordinate modifier, e.g. *ō kasaraT cinjik binisa (binisav, binisaaT) ʾināka* 'he was going along the road, picking up brushwood'; *ō ʾōghisav piTTisa tēnā xalkanā pāraghāy dudēngāka* 'crying and spitting out curses, she was running towards her village'; *kasarāy nane shikār karisaaT nan tammā* 'shooting on the road, night fell upon us'.

As in many other Dravidian languages, repetition of a verbal participle in Brahui serves to express a prolonged, repeated or gradually intensifying action, and the use of a verbal participle with a personal form of the verb *banning* 'to come' or *ʾining* 'to go' conveys either a prolonged action or the direction of an action, e.g. *xadō karraīāy dākā rāʾī massun ʾinisa irā tūan guD kēce rasēngān* 'early last spring we set out from here, and travelling bit by bit, we arrived two months later in Kech'; *ō dushmanān ʾar vaxt narrisa kāik* 'he always runs away from the enemy'; *ī nē pārisa bassunuT ki dākā bafa* 'I told you time and again not to come here'; *dēanā Tikkatō taʾō ziāt marisa ʾinā* 'in the morning the wind kept growing stronger'.

The Brahui verbal participle formants have no correspondences in the cognate languages.

The Verbal Noun

The formant of the verbal noun is the suffix *-ing*, which is added to the verb stem, e.g. *tixing* 'to put' (the stem *tix-*), *bining* 'to hear' (the stem *bin-*).

In two-stem verbs, the formant of the verbal noun *-ing* is added to stems ending in a geminated consonant, e.g. *xalling* 'to strike' (the stems *xal-/xall-*), *silling* 'to wash' (the stems *sil-/sill-*).

The verbal nouns of the multistem verbs *anning* 'to be', *banning* 'to come', *danning* 'to take away', *kanning* 'to do', *manning* 'to become', *pāning* 'to say', *tining* 'to give' and *ʾining* 'to go' are obtained from the stem in *-nn/-n*.

In the multistem verbs *cāing/cāning* 'to understand', *tōning/tōring* 'to hold', *ʾating/ʾatining/ʾatiring/ʾataring* 'to bring' and *ʾunning/-*

ʾuring 'to look' the suffix *-ing* can be added to different stems (*cā-/cān-, tōn-/tōr-, ʾat-/ʾatin-/ʾatir-/ʾatar-* and *ʾunn-/ʾur-*, respectively).

In two verbs— *xulīng* 'to fear' and *salīng* 'to stand'—the vowel *i* of the suffix *-ing* is assimilated to the long vowel *ī* of the stem.

Verbs with the suffix *-ēng* in the stem have parallel forms of verbal nouns which are outwardly equal to the stem, owing to the merger of the formant of the verbal noun with the stem suffix (haplology), e.g. *rasēnging/rasēng* 'to come', *aRēnging/aRēng* 'to be entangled'.

The verbal noun[41] is the name of an action and combines verbal and nominal characteristics: on the one hand, it can govern a substantive in the same case as the other forms of the verb from which it is derived, and expresses either an active or a passive action (in the case of transitive verbs); on the other hand, it can change according to case in the singular and may have an attribute which is a substantive in the genitive, e.g. *tēnā drōgh taRinge macci ka* 'cut your lying short'; *duzzī kanningaT ō tēne xarāb karē* 'thieving was his undoing'; *kane numā ʾīt kanningtō cikār aff* 'I have nothing to do with your talking'; *dā ʾullī mastungiskā ʾining kapparōe* 'this horse will hardly be able to go as far as (lit. will hardly make a passage to) Mastung'; *dā xarās dēraT tafing amarēk?* 'who will be able to tether this bull?' (lit. 'by whom will this bull become tethered?'); *kanā xaningtō ō dudēngaTī tammā* 'upon seeing me he took to his heels'; *nan numā pāraghāy banningaTī assun* 'we were going (lit. were in the act of going) to your place'; *ī ōde dudēngāy xanāT* 'I saw him when he made ready to flee' (lit. 'I saw him /ready/ for flight'); *dushmane xalling juān e* 'beating an enemy is pleasant'; *nane xudā kaʾingiskā jitā kapp* 'may God not part us till death'.

In some cases a verbal noun is used as a predicate in order to lend expressiveness to the narration: *ōftā tavār kanning nanā urānā pēʾing* '/the moment/ they cried out, we entered the house' (lit. 'their crying out—our entering the house').

In the comparative plane, the Brahui formant of the verbal noun *-ing* apparently corresponds to the formants of the infinitive *-ing/-ung* in Gadaba, *-eng/-eng/-enk* in Kolami and *-u(ng)* in Parji.[42]

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[41] "Verbal nouns are carefully to be distinguished from verbal derivatives or substantives derived from verbs. The latter, though derived from verbs, are used merely as nouns; whereas the verbal noun… is construed as a verb" /19, 542/.

[42] A connection between the suffix *-ing* and the Baluchi formant of the verbal noun *-in* added to the Past tense stem, is less probable.

CONJUGATION PARADIGMS

of the verbs *tixing* 'to put', *xalling* 'to strike' and
manning 'to become'

Finite Forms

Positive Form
Indicative Mood
Present-Future Tense
Singular

1st pers.	(a)tixiva	(a)xalēva	(a)marēva
2nd pers.	(a)tixisa	(a)xalēsa	(a)marēsa
3rd pers.	(a)tixik	(a)xalēk	(a)marēk

Plural

1st pers.	(a)tixina	(a)xalēna	(a)marēna
2nd pers.	(a)tixire	(a)xalēre	(a)marēre
3rd pers.	(a)tixira	(a)xalēra	(a)marēra

Simple Past Tense
Singular

1st pers.	tixāT	xalkuT	massuT
2nd pers.	tixās	xalkus	massus
3rd pers.	tixā	xalk	mass

Plural

1st pers.	tixān	xalkun	massun
2nd pers.	tixāre	xalkure	massure
3rd pers.	tixār	xalkur	massur

Past Continuous Tense
Singular

1st pers.	(a)tixāTa	(a)xalkuTa	(a)massuTa
2nd pers.	(a)tixāsa	(a)xalkusa	(a)massusa
3rd pers.	(a)tixāka	(a)xalkaka	(a)massaka

Plural

1st pers.	(a)tixāna	(a)xalkuna	(a)massuna
2nd pers.	(a)tixāre	(a)xalkure	(a)massure
3rd pers.	(a)tixāra	(a)xalkura	(a)massura

Past Perfect Tense
Singular

1st pers.	tixānuT	xalkunuT	massunuT
2nd pers.	tixānus	xalkunus	massunus
3rd pers.	tixāne	xalkune	massune

Plural

1st pers.	tixānun	xalkunun	massunun
2nd pers.	tixānure	xalkunure	massunure
3rd pers.	tixāno	xalkunō	massunō

Pluperfect Tense
Singular

1st pers.	tixāsuT	xalkusuT	massusuT
2nd pers.	tixāsus	xalkusus	massusus
3rd pers.	tixāsas	xalkas(as)	mass

Plural

1st pers.	tixāsun	xalkusun	massusun
2nd pers.	tixāsure	xalkusure	massusure
3rd pers.	tixāsur,	xalkusur,	massusur,
	tixāsō	xalkusō	massusō

Imperative Mood
Singular

	tix(ak)	xal(ak)	ma(r)

Plural

	tixbō	xalbō	mabō

Potential Mood
Present Tense
Singular

1st pers.	tixiv	xalēv	marēv
2nd pers.	tixis	xalēs	marēs
3rd pers.	tixe	xalē	marē

Plural

1st pers.	tixin	xalēn	marēn
2nd pers.	tixire	xalēre	marēre
3rd pers.	tixir	xalēr	marēr

Future Tense
Singular

1st pers.	tixōT	xalōT	marōT
2nd pers.	tixōs	xalōs	marōs
3rd pers.	tixōe	xalōe	marōe

Plural

1st pers.	tixōn	xalōn	marōn
2nd pers.	tixōre	xalōre	marōre
3rd pers.	tixōr	xalōr	marōr

Conditional Mood
Singular

1st pers.	tixōsuT	xalōsuT	marōsuT
2nd pers.	tixōsus	xalōsus	marōsus
3rd pers.	tixōsas	xalōsas	marōsas

1st pers.	tixōsun	xalōsun	marōsun
2nd pers.	tixōsure	xalōsure	marōsure
3rd pers.	tixōsur,	xalōsur,	marōsur,
	tixōsō	xalōsō	marōsō

Negative Form

Indicative Mood

Present-Future Tense

Singular

1st pers.	(a)tixpara	(a)xalpara	(a)mafara
2nd pers.	(a)tixpēsa	(a)xalpēsa	(a)mafēsa
3rd pers.	(a)tixpak	(a)xalpak	(a)mafak

Plural

1st pers.	(a)tixpana	(a)xalpana	(a)mafana
2nd pers.	(a)tixpēre	(a)xalpēre	(a)mafēre
3rd pers.	(a)tixpasa	(a)xalpasa	(a)mafasa

Simple Past Tense

Singular

1st pers.	tixtavaT	xaltavaT	matavaT
2nd pers.	tixtavēs	xaltavēs	matavēs
3rd pers.	tixtav	xaltav	matav

Plural

1st pers.	tixtavan	xaltavan	matavan
2nd pers.	tixtavēre	xaltavēre	matavēre
3rd pers.	tixtavas	xaltavas	matavas

Past Continuous Tense

Singular

1st pers.	(a)tixtavaTa	(a)xaltavaTa	(a)matavaTa
2nd pers.	(a)tixtavēsa	(a)xaltavēsa	(a)matavēsa
3rd pers.	(a)tixtavaka	(a)xaltavaka	(a)matavaka

Plural

1st pers.	(a)tixtavana	(a)xaltavana	(a)matavana
2nd pers.	(a)tixtavēre	(a)xaltavēre	(a)matavēre
3rd pers.	(a)tixtavasa	(a)xaltavasa	(a)matavasa

Past Perfect Tense

Singular

1st pers.	tixtanuT	xaltanuT	matanuT
2nd pers.	tixtanus	xaltanus	matanus
3rd pers.	tixtane	xaltane	matane

Plural

1st pers.	tixtanun	xaltanun	matanun
2nd pers.	tixtanure	xaltanure	matanure
3rd pers.	tixtanō	xaltanō	matanō

Pluperfect Tense

Singular

1st pers.	tixtavēsuT	xaltavēsuT	matavēsuT
2nd pers.	tixtavēsus	xaltavēsus	matavēsus
3rd pers.	tixtavēsas	xaltavēsas	matavēsas

Plural

1st pers.	tixtavēsun	xaltavēsun	matavēsun
2nd pers.	tixtavēsure	xaltavēsure	matavēsure
3rd pers.	tixtavēsur,	xaltavēsur,	matavēsur,
	tixtavēsō	xaltavēsō	matavēsō

Imperative Mood

Singular

tixpa	xalpa	mafa

Plural

tixpabō	xalpabō	mafabō

Potential Mood

Present Tense

Singular

1st pers.	tixpar	xalpar	mafpar
2nd pers.	tixpēs	xalpēs	mafēs
3rd pers.	tixp	xalp	maf

Plural

1st pers.	tixpan	xalpan	mafan
2nd pers.	tixpēre	xalpēre	mafēre
3rd pers.	tixpas	xalpas	mafas

Future Tense

Singular

1st pers.	tixparōT	xalparōT	mafarōT
2nd pers.	tixparōs	xalparōs	mafarōs
3rd pers.	tixparōe	xalparōe	mafarōe

Plural

1st pers.	tixparōn	xalparōn	mafarōn
2nd pers.	tixparōre	xalparōre	mafarōre
3rd pers.	tixparōr	xalparōr	mafarōr

Conditional Mood

Singular

1st pers.	tixparōsuT	xalparōsuT	mafarōsuT
2nd pers.	tixparōsus	xalparōsus	mafarōsus
3rd pers.	tixparōsas	xalparōsas	mafarōsas

Plural

1st pers.	*tixparōsun*	*xalparōsun*	*mafarōsun*
2nd pers.	*tixparōsure*	*xalparōsure*	*mafarōsure*
3rd pers.	*tixparōsur,*	*xalparōsur,*	*mafarōsur,*
	tixparōsō	*xalparōsō*	*mafarōsō*

Non-Finite Forms

Participles

tixōk	*xalōk*	*marōk*
tixōī	*xalōī*	*marōī*
tixparōī	*xalparōī*	*mafarōī*

Verbal Participles

tixisa	*xalisa*	*marisa*
tixisav	*xalisav*	*marisav*
tixisaaT	*xalisaaT*	*marisaaT*

Verbal Nouns

tixing	*xalling*	*manning*

THE ADVERB

Adverbs, i.e. invariable words with an adverbial meaning, are fairly common in Brahui, e.g. *macci* 'a little', 'little', 'a few', 'few'; *mana* 'a little', 'some'; *bāz* 'much', 'many'; *caRa, kul, muc* 'only'; *an-nā* 'yet', 'still', 'more';[43] *vā* 'again'; *guRā* 'then', 'after'; *neT* 'finally', 'in the end', *nillā* 'exclusively', 'completely'; *bīra, shana* 'simply'; *āskār* 'without any reason', 'for no reason', 'by chance'; *um, ʾum* 'also'.

In many adverbs a derivational connection with demonstrative-interrogative bases is easily traceable and the same semantic spatial characteristics as in other words derived from these bases are observed, e.g. *dāRē(k), dāRēsk* 'here'; *ōRē(k), ōRēsk* 'over there'; *ēRē(k), ēRēsk* 'there'; *araRēk, araRēsk* 'where'; *dākā(n)* 'from here', 'hence'; *ōkā(n)* 'from over there'; *ēkā(n)* 'from there'; *arākā(n)* 'from where'; *ōskā(n)* 'up till now'; *ōskā(n)* 'until now'; *ēskā(n)* 'till then'; *daun, dāskā(n)* 'in this manner'; *ðʾun* 'as (that over there)'; *ēʾun* 'in that manner'; *ama(r)* 'how'; *dāxa(s), dāxa(da)r* 'as much/many (as is here)'; *ōxa(s), ōxa(da)r* 'as much/many (as is over there)'; *ēxa(s), ēxa(da)r* 'as much/many (as is there)'; *axa(s), axa(da)r* 'how much', 'how many'; *dāsā* 'now'; *antey* 'why', 'what for'.

Adverbs fill the function of various adverbial modifiers.

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43 Cf. *innum, innam* 'yet', 'still', 'again', 'more' in Tamil, *ini* 'yet', 'still', 'more' in Malayalam, *in* 'other' in Kota, *īnm* 'yet' in Toda, *inu, innu, innum* 'still', 'yet', 'more' in Kannada, *innū* 'still another' in Kodagu, *inka* 'yet', 'still farther' in Telugu and *ini* 'and' in Kolami.

Brahui conjunctions have been either borrowed from other languages in toto or include borrowed conjunctions as one of their elements. The absence of conjunctions as a separate part of speech at the early stage of the development of the Dravidian languages is probably largely responsible for the optional use of conjunctions which is still observed in Brahui.

Among the most common conjunctions are the copulative conjunctions *ō* and *a* 'and', the adversative conjunction *maga(r)* 'but', and the disjunctive conjunctions *yā* 'or', *yā ... yā* 'either ... or' and *ney ... ney* 'neither ... nor', e.g. *ī a nī* 'I and thou'; *kanā urā ʾōghā ō pārē...* 'my wife burst out crying and said...'; *yā tēnaT barēs yā tēnā īlume mōn ētis* 'either you come yourself or send your brother'; *ō pāre asiT maga karē pēn kārēm-as* 'he said one thing and did /quite/ another'.

Among the subordinating conjunctions, the conjunction *ki* 'that', 'who', 'which', 'when', 'in order to...', 'because', 'if' has the largest number of meanings, e.g. *ō pārē ki ō pagga barōe* 'he said that he would come the next day'; *ʾamō māratō ki nī darō ʾīt akarēsa aynō padāy bassune* 'the boy with whom you spoke yesterday has come /again/ today'; *duzz ki narrik kasase xabar atifak* 'when a thief flees, he does not tell anybody /about it/'; *ʾullīe zēn ka ki ī suar marēv* 'saddle the horse so that I may ride'; *xalpa-ta ki kāik* 'do not beat him or else (lit. because) he will run away'; *ī ki narrāTa lashkar muccāy anarrāka* 'if I had fled the whole detachment would have taken to their heels'.

Besides, the conjunction *ki* is used as part of the complex conjunctions *antey ki, antasēki ki* 'because', *(ʾan)dāRki ki* 'because', 'in order to...', 'so that', *(ki) navā* 'lest', *tā ki, tān ki* 'until', 'since', *dāng ki, ʾamēskā ki* 'until', e.g. *ī nē sizā ētiva antey ki nī duzzī karēnus* 'I shall punish you for (lit. because of) having committed a theft'; *ī ʾandāRki xuash uT ki ō batav* 'I am glad that (lit. because) he has not come'; *xāxare kasfif ki navā nanā urāe ʾushe* 'put out the fire so that it may not burn our house'; *tā ki ī dāRē bassunuT ī nē shaʾraTī xantanuT* 'since I came here I have not met you in the village'.

One more group of conjunctions is made up of *aga(r)* 'if', *aga(r) ... tō, aga(r) ... guRā, aga(r) ... alla* 'if ... then', *aga na* 'unless', *aga, agaki* 'although', e.g. *nī aga kāsa ī nētō barēva* 'if you are going, I shall go with you'; *nī aga (agaki) sadvār pās ī nēāy bāvar akappara* 'I won't believe you even if you should repeat /it/ a hundred times'.

POSTPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONS

Brahui is known to have but a few postpositions. They are *bā, bār* 'like', 'as', and *baghayr, bēd* and *savā* 'with the exception of', 'except', 'but'. All these postpositions are used with substantives (or pronouns) in the ablative, e.g. *ē ʾuc ʾullīam bā dudēngik* 'that camel runs like a horse'; *nēān nā mateān baghayr ī pēn kasatō sıālī kappara* 'I do not want to maintain relations with anyone but you and your sons'; *nēān savā (bēd) pēn kasas dā duzze ʾalling akappak* 'no one will be able to catch that robber except you'.

The words *baghayr, baghayre, bēd, bē, bēde, savā* and *savāe* 'without', 'except', 'with the exception of', 'but' are also used as prepositions with substantives or pronouns in the ablative, e.g. *baghayr kanā 'ukmān dākān 'impēs* 'don't leave here without my permission'; *baghayre nēān ī shikārāy 'impara* 'I won't go hunting without you'; *be(de) nēān ī tēnā āvale kasase pātanuT* 'I haven't told it to anybody but you'; *savāe xudāghān pēn dēr kanā arze binōe?* 'who except God will listen to my prayer?'

The preposition *tā* 'till', 'as far as', which has been borrowed from an Iranian source, is used optionally with substantives in the terminative, e.g. *tā dēTikkiskā* 'till dawn'; *tā mashtēkā* 'as far as (those) hills'.

One more preposition—*pa* 'in', 'to'—is encountered only in phrases of the *mōn pa mōn* 'face to face', *dū pa dū* 'hand in hand' or *tēn pa tēn* 'with each other', 'with one another' type, e.g. *'ullīk gōaTī xaf pa xaf dudēngaTī ō* 'the horses are running abreast (lit. ear in ear)'.

PARTICLES

The p a r t i c l e *-as* 'one', 'some', 'a certain', 'approximately', which is etymologically related to the numeral *asi(T)* 'one', lends a semantic nuance of indefiniteness to the words—substantives, adjectives, numerals or pronouns—it is added to, and is encountered only with singular forms, e.g. *(asi) bandagh-as* '(a) certain person'; *dā 'ullī asīlō-as e* 'this horse is thoroughbred (lit. is a good one)'; *panc-as dē* (or *panc dē-as*) 'about five days'; *ō dēr-as marē?* 'but who is he?'

When words incorporating the particle *-as* change according to case, the case suffixes are added to the particle *-as* as in the forms of the plural (i.e. by means of the connecting vowels *-e-/-ē-*); e.g. the declension of the substantive *bandagh-as* 'a certain person':

Nom.	*bandagh-as*	Loc.	*bandaghasēTī*
Gen.	*bandaghasēnā*	Lat.	*bandaghaseāy*
Dat.	*bandaghasēki*	Ades.	*bandaghaseis,*
Obj.	*bandaghase*		*bandaghasē(s)k*
Instr.	*bandaghaseaT*	Term.	*bandaghasē(s)kā*
Abl.	*bandaghaseān*		

When preceding the positive forms of the 1st and 2nd persons singular of the verb *anning* 'to be', the particle *-as* also takes on the euphonic vowel *-e*, e.g. *ī brā'uī-ase uT* 'I am a Brahui'; *nī brā'uī-ase us* 'thou art a Brahui'; but *ō brā'uī-as e* 'he is a Brahui'; *ī brā'uī-as affaT* 'I am not a Brahui'.

If a substantive incorporating the particle *-as* is preceded by a demonstrative word, the particle asumes an emphatic meaning, e.g. *'amō bandaghaseān ī dā 'ullīe 'alkuT dāsā kaccīāy 'ināne* 'that /very/ man from whom I bought this horse has now set out for Kachhi'; *ē bandagh-as ki nē xanāne nā sifate akēk* 'everyone who saw you praises you'.

O b j e c t i v e - p o s s e s s i v e p a r t i c l e s are wide spread in Brahui and express a direct or indirect object (when used with verbal forms) or a possessor (when used with substantival forms):

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	*-ka* 'my', 'me', 'to me'	*-nan* 'our', 'us', 'to us'
2nd pers.	*-ne* 'your', 'you', 'to you'	*-num* 'your', 'you', 'to you'
3rd pers.	*-ta(n)* 'his', 'him', 'to him'	*-tā* 'their', 'them', 'to them'

In a sentence these particles are attached to the appropriate word, e.g. *māte-ka 'ic pāpēs* 'do not tell anything to my sons'; *dā 'īte pātavēs-ka* 'you did not tell me about it'; *sabaxe-ne yāt kattanus* 'haven't you learned your lesson?'; *bāva-ta pārē-ta* 'his father told him'; *zaghm-tan kaneān gum mass* 'I've lost his sword'; *antey xalkus-nan?* 'why did you beat us?'; *dā 'īte pārēn-num* '(but) we told you about it'; *tayārī mass barāmnā-tā* 'preparations for their wedding were completed'.

In the structural plane, the objective-possessive particles constitute a specific feature of Brahui, which has parallels only outside the Dravidian linguistic family: in Iranian, Finno-Ugric and some other languages. However, the texture of these particles shows conclusively that they are of native origin; thus, the particles of the 1st and 2nd persons are the bases of the corresponding personal pronouns (in the 1st person singular *-ka < kan-*) and the particles of the 3rd person are etymologically related to the reflexive pronoun.

A f f i r m a t i v e p a r t i c l e s. There are two affirmative particles in Brahui: *'av* 'yes' and *jī* 'yes'. The meaning of the former is neutral, whereas the latter conveys a nuance of respect. Occasionally both the particles are used together: *jī 'av* 'yes'.

N e g a t i v e p a r t i c l e s. The most common negative particle is *na* (or *na'*) 'no'. Besides, the particles *a'a'* 'no' and *cik* 'no' are used.

ECHO WORDS

Echo words are spontaneous words which echo (rhyme) some other word, whose grammatical structure they assume.

Echo words are formed either by changing the initial consonant of a word into the consonant *m* or by adding *m* to a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. *'ullī* 'horse'—*mullī; urā* 'house'—*murā*.

Echo words have no independent lexical meaning of their own and are never used without the words they echo. They add to the latter the meaning of plurality and indefiniteness, as well as a nuance of contempt, e.g. *'ullī mullī* 'some horses', 'various horses'; *urā murā* 'all sorts of houses and other structures'.

As a rule, Brahui echo words are formed from substantives, the substantive concerned remaining in the nominative singular and its echo word, which also remains in the singular, taking on the case formants, e.g. *tēnā zāīfa māīfae urāghān kashshibō* 'remove all the women from the house'; *tēnā puc mucce muc ka darak* 'collect all

your rags and take them away from here'; *bīsh mīsh kul gum massur* 'all their donkeys and other beasts of the kind ran away'; *nanā kur mure muccāy mashān miRānō* 'they drove our flocks from the hills'.

Echo words constitute a characteristic feature of Dravidian languages (they are not attested in Malto, Kurukh, Kui, Konda, Gondi, Gadaba, Parji, Tulu and Malayalam). According to the manner of formation, models of echo words closest to those used in Brahui are found in Naiki (cf. *apaR mupaR* 'all sorts of houses and other structures') and Kolami (cf. *kūTel mūTel* 'all sorts of cows and other cattle'). The type of echo words most wide spread in other Dravidian languages is formed by replacing the first syllable of a word by the syllable *ki-/gi-*.

INTERJECTIONS

The most common vocative interjections are: *ē, ō* 'eh', *yā* 'oh', and also *va'vā* 'eh' and *aRē, uRē* 'eh'.

The most typical emotive-evaluative interjections are *shabās* 'good', 'bravo', *pu, Turt, purt* 'ugh', 'pah', *avōe, armān, tōba* 'ah', 'alas'.

Besides, some notional words can be used as interjections (e.g. *juān* 'good', *xabardār* 'look out', *xuāja* 'master'), as well as some inarticulate sounds addressed to domestic animals (e.g. *pasht* 'whoa').

SYNTAX

In the sphere of syntax Brahui shares many features with other cognate languages and with modern Indo-Aryan languages which have a nominative structure and whose sentence patterns are close to those of Brahui. First of all these features include a fairly rigid word order and the predominance of the verb-end structure of sentences with the predicate taking the final position, as well as a large proportion of one-part definite-personal sentences and a wide use of various types of verb-nominal predicates.

At the same time Brahui syntax has many features peculiar only to itself. In particular, the following is easily observed: an extremely rare use in Brahui of complex verbal predicates the first component of which is a verbal participle (the so-called intensive verbs) and of absolute non-finite-verb constructions with an agent of their own in the nominative, and also the absence of simple nominal predicates. It is quite possible that some of the foregoing peculiarities are due to the influence of Baluchi.

THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

The **subject** of a Brahui sentence may be any declinable word, i.e. a substantive, a numeral, a pronoun (except a reflexive or an indefinite-personal one, whose nominative is not used), a verbal noun or an echo word, the subject invariably taking the nominative, e.g.

kanā bāva kēcāy 'inā 'my father went to Kech'; *'amā bīstangāk ki nī pārēsa bassunō battanō?* 'and those twenty /men/ you spoke about, have /they/ come or not?'; *ī numtō barēva* 'I'll go with you'; *nanā Daggītā āxuk purr ō, ōftātāk xālī ō* 'our cows' troughs are full, /and/ the thieves, they (lit. those) fled'; *dē bassunō?* 'who has come?'; *'icas pātav ki ō nājōr massune* 'nobody said that he had fallen ill'; *numēTī filānī duzz e* 'one of you is a thief'; *dushmane xalling juān e* 'it is pleasant to beat an enemy';*bīsh mīsh kul gum massur* 'all their donkeys and others of the kind ran away'.

Three types of **predicates** are distinguished in Brahui: simple verbal, complex verbal and compound verb-nominal predicates.

A **simple verbal predicate** is either a positive or a negative finite verb form in any mood and tense, e.g. *'ic 'ullī-as daun dudēngparōe ki kanā 'ullī dudēngik* 'no horse will be able to run like mine does'; *ī dā cukke dūaT 'alkuT* 'I caught this bird with my hand'; *nan dā mulke 'ar sāl adasēna* 'we sowed this land every year'; *nī antaki bassunus?* 'what did you come for?'; *mēmānk tūsusur iraghāte kunisa 'ināra* 'the guests were seated and /then/ began eating their food'; *vaxt-as ki ī 'īt kanningaTī uT nī niām tammipa* 'do not interrupt when I am speaking'; *dirse pāp ki ī ōnā dushman uT* 'no one can say that I am his enemy'; *nī aga narrōsus ī nā padaT bafarōsuT* 'had you taken to your heels, I would not have come after you'.

There are several types of **complex verbal predicates**.

1. A phrase consisting of a verbal noun in the locative and a finite form of the verb *anning* 'to be' or *manning* 'to become' is used to express a prolonged action, e.g. *nan numā pāraghāy banningaTī assun* 'we were going (lit. were in the act of going) to your place'; *bāz vaxt ī gōbaT kanningaTī massunuT ki ōd bassune* 'when he came, I was threshing'.

2. A phrase consisting of a verbal noun in the same form and a finite form of the verb *tamming* 'to fall' expresses an inchoative character of the action, e.g. *xarmānā rasēngtō mēlh narringaTī tammār* 'at the appearance of the wolf the sheep took to flight'; *'ōghingaTī tammipa '*/only/ don't start crying'.

3. A phrase consisting of a verbal noun in the nominative and a finite form of the verb *kanning* 'to do' or *manning* 'to become' expresses a potential character of the action, e.g. *ī nētō drōgh pāning akappara* 'I cannot tell you a lie'; *ō 'alling amarēk* 'he may be seized'.

4. A phrase consisting of a participle in *-ōk* and a finite form of the verb *anning* 'to be' or *manning* 'to become' is used to express a prolonged action, e.g. *ō tūfak dūTī salōk ass* 'he was standing gun in hand'.

5. A phrase consisting of a verbal participle and a finite form of the verb *'ining* 'to go' or *banning* 'to come' is used to express a prolonged or regularly repeated action, e.g. *ō dushmanān 'ar vaxt narrisa kāik* 'every time he runs away from the enemy'; *ī tīvaghā dē ōde pārisa bassunuT ki daun kappa* 'the whole day I was telling him not to do so'.

6. A phrase consisting of a finite form of a verb and the same finite form of the verb *'ining* 'to go' sometimes expresses the intensive or completed character of action, e.g. *ī aga rasēngtavaTa 'uccāk nā kulle kadīmāte kungura 'ināra* 'had I not come, the camels would have

finished off all your grain'; *kanā rasēngān must ō kaskas 'ināsas* 'when I returned he was already dead'.

As a rule, a compound verb-nominal predicate is a phrase consisting of an adjective, numeral or a pronoun and a finite form of the verb *anning* 'to be' or *manning* 'to become', or a phrase consisting of a substantive in the nominative and a finite form of the verb *anning* 'to be', *manning* 'to become' or *kanning* 'to do', e.g. *numēTī filānT duzz e* 'one of you is a thief'; *kanā 'ullī pīun e* 'my horse is white'; *kanā matlab dād e* 'my opinion is this'; *dā iragh numā cāranā e* 'this food is /for/ the four of you'; *tūghān bash massuT* 'I rose from sleep'; *ī ēnaxō 'ic-iRā xōlum ba'ā kattanuT* 'this year I have not sold (lit. have not made a sale of) any wheat'.

Agreement between the subject and the predicate invariably takes place only in person. Agreement in number takes place only in the case of one single object or in the case of definitely thought-of objects in the plural. However, in the case of indefinitely thought-of objects in the plural no agreement in number takes place, the subject standing in the singular (see above, pp. 35-36) and the predicate in the plural, e.g. *da' bandagh dāsā saRī ō* 'ten people are present here now'; *bāz 'uc kaskunō* 'many camels have died'; *kanā irā mār bassunō* 'two of my sons have come'; *aT bandagh bassunō?* 'how many people have come?' (but *'amē bīstangā bandaghāk bassunō* 'all those twenty people have come').

When there are two or more subjects with one predicate, the latter takes the plural, e.g. *dā lumma ō mār drōgh apāpasa* 'this woman and her son are speaking the truth (lit. are not telling lies)'.

If, in this case, the subjects belong to different persons, the predicate agrees with the one whose person is of the higher/highest order (i.e. if there are subjects of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, the predicate takes the 1st person; if there are subjects of the 2nd and 3rd persons, the predicate takes the 2nd person, etc.), e.g. *T a nī rāst pān naneāy kas bāvar akappak* 'you and I (lit. I and you) can tell them the truth, but /all the same/ no one will believe us'.

Among the Brahui one-part sentences, definite-personal sentences whose principal part is correlated with the predicate are extremely wide spread, e.g. *nā tōmā 'ullīte kasaraT xanāT* 'I saw both your horses on the road'; *arāRaT xalkus-ta?* 'what did you strike him with?'; *dā kārēme tēnaT xalās karēr* 'they finished this work themselves'; *kanā banningiskān aD ka* 'wait /till/ I return'.

One-part sentences whose principal part is correlated with the subject are encountered far less frequently, e.g. *ōftā tavār kanning nanā urānā pē'ing* '/when/ they cried out, we entered the house (lit. their crying out—our entering the house)'.

Depending on their position in relation to the word they qualify, Brahui attributes fall into prepositive and postpositive, and depending on the type of their connection with that word they fall into attributes with agreement and attributes without agreement. Prepositive attributes never agree with the word they qualify, whereas postpositive attributes either agree with that word or do not.

A prepositive attribute may be:

(a) an adjective in the indefinite or definite form, e.g. *juānō inām-as* 'a good present'; *juānō 'ullī* 'good horses'; *juāntirō 'ullī-as*

'a better horse'; *saxtangā laT* 'a strong stick'; *rāstīkō dū* 'the right hand';

(b) a participle incorporating a formant of the indefinite or definite form, e.g. *tūlōkō masiR-as* 'an unmarried (lit. sitting) girl'; *xalōkā xarās* 'the bull that butts'; *karōīō kārēm-as* 'work that will have to be done';

(c) a cardinal or ordinal numeral, e.g. *irā mār* 'two sons'; *iraT-Tangā māk* 'both sons'; *panc-as dē* 'about five days'; *musiTTimīkō dē* 'the third day';

(d) a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *dā zāīfa* 'this woman';

(e) an interrogative, definitive or indefinite pronoun which can be used adjectivally, e.g. *ant gunā-as* 'what action'; *arā 'ullī* 'which horse'; *axadarō xarās* 'what kind of (lit. how big) bulls'; *aTTimīkō dē* 'which day'; *amarō urā-as* 'what kind of house'; *ōxa ghalla* 'so much grass'; *daunō 'īt* 'such words'; *kulle lashkar* 'all the troops'; *muccō dē-as* 'whole day'; *ēlō 'ullī* 'another horse'; *'ar 'īt-as* 'every word'; *'arci mēlh-as* 'every sheep'; *bāzangā dīr* 'much water'; *macciTō kārēm-as* 'a little business'; *mana dē* 'several days'; *filāna tāsīldār* 'a certain tahsildar';

(f) a substantive, pronoun or any other declinable word in the genitive, e.g. *kanā īlumnā 'ullī* 'my brother's horse'; *tēnā kārēm* 'one's own business'; *dinnā mār* 'whose son'; *ōftā tūlingnā jāga dād e* 'this is their seat (lit. the place of their sitting)'.

A postpositive attribute may be:

(a) the indefinite particle *-as* 'one', 'some', 'a certain', 'approximately' (an attribute without agreement), e.g. *ō brā'ūī-as e* 'he is a Brahui'; *ē bandagh-as ki nē xanāne* 'the man who has seen you'; *panc dē-as (panc-as dē)* 'about five days';

(b) the objective-possessive particle *-ka* 'my', *-ne* 'thy', *-ta(n)* 'his', 'her', 'its', *-nan* 'our', *-num* 'your' or *-tā* 'their' (an attribute without agreement), e.g. *bāva-ta* 'his father';

(c) an adjective in the indefinite or definite form (an attribute without agreement), e.g. *'ullī-as juānō 'alh ō barak* 'get a horse, a good one, and come'; *jāga juānangā 'amōd ass ki nī xalkus-ta* 'the best seat was the one you occupied';

(d) the definitive pronoun *kul, muc, drust, (g)īR, tīva(ī)* 'whole', 'all', 'entire', *pēn, ēlō* 'other' or *tōmā, tōmakā, tōmaghā* 'both' (which agree with the word they qualify in case, and the latter three in number as well), e.g. *ispēdāte tīvae guDDingaTī ō* 'they are felling all poplars'; *kanā āvāle tēnā īlumtetō tōmaghātetō pās* 'you may tell both your brothers about me';

(e) the indefinite pronoun *bāz* 'many' or *(g)iRā* 'some', 'certain' (which agree with the word they qualify in case), e.g. *ī rupaīteāy bāzāy ōde sang atitavaTa* 'I would not have given her /to him/ in marriage even for hundreds of rupees (lit. for many rupees)'; *xarāstā gi-Rānā lixāy jugh ass* 'some oxen had yokes across their necks';

(f) the indefinite pronoun *manaT* 'some', 'a few', 'a little', *macciT* 'a few', 'a little' or *mānīD* 'many', which takes the case formant while the word it qualifies remains in the nominative singular (an attribute without agreement), e.g. *dē manaTān guD* 'in a few days'; *bey mac-ciTān* 'with a wisp (lit. a small quantity) of hay'; *daunō 'al mānīD-as* 'such a lot of mice'.

As in many other languages, <u>objects</u> in Brahui fall into direct and indirect ones.

A d i r e c t o b j e c t may be a substantive or any other declinable word in the nominative or objective. As a rule, an object denoting a thing thought of indefinitely takes the nominative, whereas an object thought of definitely takes the objective, e.g. *dīr 'ata* 'bring some water'; *musi 'ullī saudā kareT* 'I sold three horses'; *irā bandagh kasfēn* 'we killed two people'; *musiTTangā draxtāte guDDā* 'he felled /those/ three trees'. Not infrequently objective-possessive particles are also used as direct objects, e.g. *antey xalkus-nan?* 'why did you beat us?'

As in many other Dravidian languages, there are many cases in Brahui when one and the same verb form takes two direct objects, e.g. *tēnā īlumne zata-as aD ēte* 'make your brother wait a moment (lit. give your brother a delay for a moment)'.

The meaning of an i n d i r e c t o b j e c t, which is conveyed by a substantive or any other declinable word in the dative, objective, instrumental or comitative case or by means of an objective-possessive particle, generally boils down to designating the person or thing for whose benefit or for whose sake an action is performed, towards whom/ which it is directed or by whom/by means of which it is performed, or to denoting the possessor of something, e.g. *ī tēnā bāvaki dā Daghāre daseT* 'I sowed this field for my father'; *ī sardāre rasēngāT* 'I came to the sirdar'; *ī dā cukke dūaT 'alkuT* 'I caught this bird with my hand'; *dā 'īte pātavēs-ka* 'you did not tell me about it'; *kane irā xarās arē* 'I have two bulls'.

The meaning of a prepositional-postpositional object is generally limited to that of an indirect object excluded from the number of objects affected by an action, e.g. *bēde nēān ī tēnā āvāle kasase pātanuT* 'I have told no one but you about myself'.

A d v e r b i a l m o d i f i e r s are generally adverbs (adverbial modifiers of manner, degree, place, time, purpose and cause), verbal participles or verbal-participle constructions (adverbial modifiers of manner), substantives in the locative, ablative, lative, adessive, terminative, instrumental or the nominative (adverbial modifiers of manner, degree, place, time and purpose), substantives in the dative or comitative (adverbial modifiers of time) and constructions incorporating such substantives, and also verbal nouns in the dative (adverbial modifiers of purpose), e.g. *ama bassus piāda yā suār?* 'how did you arrive: on foot or on horseback?'; *nī antey dāsā bassunus?* 'what have you come for now?'; *sha'ranā pulingki 'inane* 'he set off to rob the village'; *cukkanā vallar-as nanā kāTumaT gidārēngā* 'a flock of birds passed over our heads'; *shāmatō barēva* 'I'll come in the evening'; *narringān jang akarēsa juan ass* 'you had better fight rather than flee'; *ī nā randaT abarēva* 'I shall come after you'; *masītnā ta'Tī pe'āT* 'I entered the mosque'; *kanā kēbāy bafēs* 'do not approach me'; *kure 'andā dūnisk xanōs* 'you will probably find your flock near that well'; *dākā mastungiskā shaⁿzda kō' e* 'it's sixteen kos from here to Mastung'; *ō kasaraT cinjik binisa 'inaka* 'he was going along the road, picking up brushwood'.

Compound Sentences

Among the most common types of compound sentences in Brahui are asyndetic compound sentences whose clauses stand in a copulative, adversative or disjunctive relationship, e.g. *nā 'ullīe ī dattanuT pēnk darēnō-ta* 'I didn't steal your horse, it was stolen by others'; *ō tungān 'inane sār kappa-ta* 'he is asleep, do not wake him up'; *shikārāy pēsh tammāT 'ic dū tammitav kane* 'I went out hunting, but nothing fell to my gun (lit. into my hands)'; *'arci kārēmase nī pās ī kēva-ta* 'you can entrust me with (lit. can name) any commission and I'll carry it out'; *ī cā drōgh apāva rāst pārōkā nī us* 'So I tell nothing but lies and you are the /only/ man who speaks the truth'; *tēnā xarāse taf kanā beyte kulle kunēk kāik* 'tether your ox or it will devour all my grass'; *ī nē pāreT 'inak nī annā tūsunus* 'I told you to go and you're still sitting'; *dāsā gaTT uT guRā ba* 'I'm busy now, come a bit later'; *gaT affēs dīr ēte-ka* 'you're not busy, fetch me some water'; *paysa affak ītō-nā ī nē ētiva* 'you've no money with you, /so/ I'll give you /some/'.

Compound sentences whose clauses are connected by means of conjunctions are encountered comparatively rarely, the use of conjunctions in such cases remaining largely optional, e.g. *ī bassuTa (maga) kane kasarāy pēn xabar-as rasēngā* 'I was coming /here/, but I received other tidings on the way /and therefore I did not come/'.

Complex Sentences

A t t r i b u t i v e c l a u s e s are usually introduced by the conjunction *ki* 'which', 'who' and, with very few exceptions, precede the principal clause, e.g. *daunō shikār-as ki kūcaaTī e mashāy pēnāy aff* 'there is not such game in the mountains as there is in the valley'; *'ar-kasas ki must bass panc rupaī inām a'alēk* 'everyone who'll be the first to come (lit. came first) will be rewarded by five rupees'; *'arci mēlh-as ki nī kane ētis ī 'alēva* 'I'll take any sheep which you can give me'; *juānangā aristā kārēm 'andād e ki nī karēnus* 'is what you have done good?' (lit. 'is it good people's work what you have done?').

The word qualified by an attributive clause is governed by the predicate verb of the attributive clause. The principal clause generally (but not at all necessarily) contains objective-possessive particles or (less frequently) pronouns corresponding to this word, e.g. *bile ki xalkuT sum-ta cukkātā muccīTī tammā* 'the arrow from the bow which I had drawn flew at the flock of birds' (lit. 'the bow which I had drawn, its arrow at the flock of birds flew'); *dā duzz ki dākā narrā dirse xanā-ta?* 'has anyone seen the thief who ran here?' (lit. 'that thief who ran here, has anyone seen him?'); *'amō rupaīte ki nī darēs amarī gum karēs-tā?* 'how did you lose the money which you had taken with you?' (lit. 'those rupees which you had taken, how did you lose them?'); *'ar 'īt-as ki ī nē apāva xaf tō-ta* 'give your ear to every word I am telling you' (lit. 'every word I am telling you, give it your ear'); *giRā-as ki*

kane karōī ass giRe kareT 'I did everything I was to do'; 'arci bandagh ki dāRē assur kul 'inānō 'all the people who were here have left' (lit. 'the people who were here, all have left'); ō'unō 'ullī-as ki nā e kanā bandaghātetō bāz arē 'my people have many horses like the one you have' (lit. 'such a horse as you have, my people have many').

Complex sentences with an attributive clause joined asyndetical-ly are built on the same principle, e.g. 'amō 'ullīe xadō 'alkusuT ēnaxō padāy sad rupalāy tissuT-ta 'this year I have given back for a hundred rupees the horse I bought last year' (lit. 'that horse last year I bought, this year I gave it back for a hundred rupees'); 'ar-kas kanā 'ukme man-nitav ī dā sha'rān kashshiva-ta 'I'll banish from this village everyone who disobeys my order' (lit. 'everyone my order did not obey, I'll banish him from this village'); 'amō mā'rīāy ī suar assuT pīr assaka 'the camel I rode was old' (lit. 'that camel I rode, /it/ was old').

Object clauses follow the principal clause and are generally introduced by the conjunction ki 'that', e.g. kullāk acāra ki nī duzzī karēnus 'everyone knows that you have committed a theft'; sha'raTī drustāk apārēra ki zamīnjumb 'industānaTī ballō mushkān karēne 'every-one in the town said that the earthquake had caused a widespread destruction in India'; nī ant acāsa ki dā giRangā kūca nā marōe? 'you evidently think that all this valley belongs to you?'; juan e ki ī dāsā kāv 'it is good that I can leave now'.

Complex sentences with object clauses joined asyndetically are no less common. They differ from the foregoing sentences in that they do not contain the conjunction ki 'that', e.g. 'ar-kas cāik xudā arē 'everyone knows that God does exist'.

Direct speech is introduced in the same way as other object clauses, e.g. bīshe 'arrifēr nē dunyāTī siāl arē? 'a donkey was asked, "have you any relatives in this world?"'; ō tēnā ustaTī pārē ki ī duz-ziv-ta 'he said to himself, "I can steal it"'; ō pārē ki ī pagga barēva 'he said, "I shall come tomorrow"'.

Adverbial clauses of time precede the principal clause. They are introduced either by the conjunction ki 'when', or by the complex conjunction tā ki 'till', 'as long as', or by the conjunctive words 'ar vaxt ki 'every/each time' and vaxt-as ki 'while', e.g. ōnā xuRkāy ki 'inaT zaghme kashshā kaneāy rāst mass 'when I approached him, he drew his sword and came towards me'; jōanā ra'īaT 'iningaTī ass musi 'anj mōnān-ta bāl karēr 'when he was going by the side of the stream, three ducks flew up from under his feet'; tā ki zinda uT nē yāt akēva 'I'll remember you as long as I live'; tā ki nan batanun nī Daghāre dasisa kās 'you go on sowing this field till we come back'; 'ar vaxt ki nē xanik 'ōghingaTī atammik 'every time she sees you, she weeps'; ē vaxt-as ki dē kī 'alēngā ōde 'ilh karē vaxt-as ki dē Tik tiss 'ilh illā-ta 'when the sun had set he had an attack of malaria, when the sun rose the attack had ceased'; ēskā ki nī batanus ī 'andāRek uT 'I shall (lit. am to) stay here till you come back'.

Complex sentences with adverbial clauses of time joined asyn-detically: annā tūfak tavār karē kattav gaD tammā 'hardly had the gun gone off (lit. the gun went off—did not go off) when the ibex fell'; 'ar vaxt ī ōnā ja'āy 'inaTa ōde xantavaTa 'every time I came to see him, I failed to get him (lit. did not see him) /at his place/'; nōshkēnā kanDān dā mōn massun asi xazm-as bash mass 'when we found our-

selves on this side of the Nushki Pass, we came across a deer (lit. a deer rose)'.

The predicate verb of adverbial clauses of purpose generally takes the Present of the potential mood, the imperative mood or the Past Continuous of the indicative mood. Adverbial clauses of purpose follow the principal clause and are introduced by the con-junction ki '(in order) to...', '(so) that', e.g. 'inaT ki tēnā 'ullīe 'alēv 'I went to take my horse'; sardār tēnā bandaghāte muc karē ki tēnā tūfakāte palīta kabō 'the sirdar called together his men /and told them/ to make their guns ready /to shoot/'; ī 'andāRki bassusuT ki ō kanā 'īte xaf atōreka 'I had come that he might lend an ear to what I had to say'.

Less frequently clauses of this type are introduced by the com-plex conjunctions and conjunctive words ('an) dāRki ki '(in order) to...', (ki) navā 'not to', etc.

Adverbial clauses of cause follow the principal clause and are introduced by the conjunction ki 'because' or by the complex conjunctions antey ki, antasēki ki and 'andāRki ki 'because', e.g. ī ōRān xar uT ki kanā āvāle pēn bandaghātetō tissune 'I am angry with him because he has given away my secret to others'; dā māre tēneis darak ki dāRē 'ōghik 'take this boy with you because he cries here'; ōnā xank xaRīnkān purr assur antasēki ki ōnā mār kaskas 'his eyes were filled with tears because his son had died'.

Complex sentences with adverbial clauses of condition are comparatively often built on the pattern of sentences with a sub-ordinate clause joined asyndetically: the conditional clause precedes the principal one, but the connection between them is not expressed formally, except the form of the predicate verb of the conditional clause, which generally takes the Simple Past (in clauses of real con-dition) or the Past Continuous or the conditional mood (in clauses of unreal condition), e.g. mass īān-ka barōT 'if I can, I'll probably come'; kanā banningnā bingus kasase pāpes 'if you hear about my return, do not tell anyone about it'; bīshe margh amassaka kase tēnā kēbaT il-lētavaka 'if a donkey had had horns, it would not let anyone come near it'; kanā 'ēTe duzzōsus ī nā māre xalōsuT 'if you had stolen my goat, I would have beaten up your son'.

To express the relationship of condition between the clauses of a complex sentence more precisely, the following conjunctions are also used: ki 'if', aga 'if', aga ... tō 'if ... then', aga ... ala 'if ... then' and aga ... guRā 'if ... then', the first component of the paired conjunctions being optional, e.g. ēnaxō ki 'inaT vā lōsāl abarēva 'if I go this year, I'll return next year'; aga ō padāy cakk axaltavaka ala gōe bāy titavaka 'had he not looked back, he would not have lost the race'; kanā arēghe kasfēr guRā ī nē barām akēva 'if they kill my hus-band, I'll marry you'.

Complex sentences with subordinate clauses of other types are encountered comparatively rarely. As a rule, such subor-dinate clauses are introduced by the polysemantic conjunction ki or are joined asyndetically. Structurally, complex sentences with subor-dinate clauses of other types do not differ from those considered above, e.g. ē būcāteāy tūlpa ki nā puccātēTī liccōr 'do not sit on that rubbish or else it will stick to your clothes' (a complex sentence with

a clause of result); *cukkāte 'arci ki miRāna ō vā dīrāy abassura* 'though we drove the birds away, they came back to the water again and again' (a complex sentence with a concessive clause); *ō daun nājōr e ki kasas ra'Tāy-ta 'impak* 'he is so /badly/ ill that no one goes near him' (a complex sentence with a clause of degree); *mungacaraTī ēnaxō daunō malax mānīd-as tammā mulke caT karē* 'this year such a swarm of locusts fell upon Mungachar that the whole area was laid waste' (a complex sentence with a clause of degree); *ant-as ki num apārēre kane manzūr e* 'everything you said is acceptable to me' (a complex sentence with a subject clause).

APPENDICES

TEXT IN BRAHUI[1]

اسي خوانوكو بندغ اس مسيت تي ھناكا و بندغاتي

نصيحت تنكا ھمي مجلس تي اسي بندغس ھڑدي

ھوغاكا ـ اسي دي اس نصيحت كروكا پاري كه كنا

نصيحت اي بندغ نا است تي سخت اثر كري شخص

ھوغنگتيئ ـ بندغاك ھمو شخصي پارير ھمو خوانوكا بندغ

نا نصيحت ننا استا اثر كپك ـ نا امر واست سي كه ني ھردي

ھوغنگتيئس ـ ھمي جواب تس كه اي دا نصيحتان ھوغپر

ليكن كنا دوستوھيت اس ھمي دي اي بھاز محبت كريتا

ھر وقت كه او بھلن مس كھسك واسا دا خوانوكا بندغ كه

ھيت كيك تينار يثي چھنڈ نگتئ ھمي وقتا كني ھيت نا ياد

بريك انتسيكه دا خوانوكو بندغ ناريش كنا ھيت ناريشامبار اسك

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TRANSLITERATION

asy xwanwkw bndgh as msyt Ty hnaka w bndghaty nSyHt tska. hmy mjls Ty asy bndghs haRdy hwghaka. asy dy as nSyHt krwka pary kh kna nSyHt ay bndgh na ast Ty sxt as⁵r kry shxS hwghngTyᵊy. bndghak hmy shaxSy paryr: xmw xwanwka bndgh na nSyHt nna asta as⁵r kpk. na amrw ast sy kh ny hrdy hwghngTyᵊs. hmy jwab ts kh ay da nSyHtan hwghpr. lykn kna dwstw hyT as hmy dy ay bhaz mHbt kryTa. Hr wqt kh aw bHln ms khsk. dasa da xwanwka bndgh kh hyt kyk tyna ryshy chndngTyᵊ hmy wqta kny hyT na yad bryk antsykh da xwanwkw bndgh na rysh kna hyT na rysham bar ask.

TRANSCRIPTION

asi xuānōkō bandagh-as masītaTī ᵊināka ō bandaghāte nasīᵊat atissaka. ᵊamē majlisaTī asi bandagh-as ᵊaRdē ᵊōghāka. asi dē-as nasīᵊat karōkā pārē ki kanā nasīᵊat ē bandaghnā ustaTī saxt asar karē, shaxs ᵊōghingaTī e. bandaghāk ᵊamō shaxse pārēr: ᵊamō xuānōkā bandaghnā nasīᵊat nanā ustā asar akappak. nē amarō ustas e ki nī ᵊōghingaTī us. ᵊamē javāb tiss ki ī dā nasī-ᵊatān aᵊōghpar. lēkin kanā dōstō ᵊēT ass. ᵊamēde ī bhāz muᵊabbat akarēTa. ᵊar vaxt ki ō bhalun mass, khask. dāsā dā xuānōkā bandagh ki ᵊīt akēk tēnā rīshe chanDingaTī e ᵊamē vaxtā kane ᵊēTnā yād abarēk antasēki dā xuānōkā bandaghnā rīsh kanā ᵊēTnā rīshāmbār assaka.

TRANSLATION

A learned man used to go to a mosque and preach to the people. In that assembly a certain man used to weep every day. One day the preacher said, "My preaching has made a strong impression on that man's heart and he is weeping." The people said to that man, "This preaching fails to make an impression on us. What sort of a heart hast thou that thou weepest every day?" The man replied, "I do not weep on account of his preaching. Simply I had a billy-goat of whom I was very fond. When he became old, he died. Now, whenever that learned man speaks and his beard shakes, I remember my goat, because that preacher's beard is like what my goat's beard was."

ANNOTATED VOCABULARY

asi 'one'

xuānōkō 'reading', 'who read', here: 'literate', 'learned'; particip'e in -ōk of the verb xuāning 'to read'; -ō is the formant of indefiniteness

bandagh 'person', 'man'

-as 'a', 'one', 'a certain...' (indefinite particle)

masītaTī 'to (in) a mosque', loc. of masīt 'mosque'

ᵊināka 'was going', 3rd pers. sing. Past Continuous of the verb ᵊining 'to go'

ō 'and' (conjunction)

bandaghāte 'to the people', obj. pl. of bandagh 'person', 'man'

nasīᵊat 'advice', 'instruction', 'preaching'

atissaka 'was giving', 3rd pers. sing. Past Continuous of the verb tining 'to give'; nasīᵊat atissaka 'was preaching'

ᵊamē 'that very'

majlisaTī 'in the assembly', loc. of majlis 'assembly'

ᵊaR (also ᵊar) 'every'

dā 'day'

ᵊōghāka 'was weeping', 3rd pers. sing. Past Continuous of the verb ᵊōghing 'to weep'

karōkā 'doing', 'who did', participle in -ōk of the verb kanning 'to do', with the formant of definiteness -ā; nasīᵊat karōkā 'the one who preached'

pārē 'said', 3rd pers. sing. Simple Past of the verb pāning 'to say'

ki 'that' (conjunction)

kanā 'my', gen. of ī 'I'

bandaghnā 'man's', gen. of bandagh 'person', 'man'

ustaTī 'in /one's/ heart', loc. of ust 'heart', 'soul'

saxt 'strong'

asar 'impression', 'action', 'effect'

karē 'made', 3rd pers. sing. Simple Past of the verb kanning 'to do'; asar karē 'made an impression'

ᵊamō 'this very'

shaxs 'person', 'man'

ᵊōghingaTī 'in the process of crying', loc. of the verbal noun ᵊōghing 'to cry', 'crying'

e 'is', 3rd pers. sing. Simple Present of the verb anning 'to be'; ᵊōghingaTī e 'is crying (lit. 'is in the process of crying')

bandaghāk 'people'

ᵊamō 'that very'

shaxse 'to the man', obj. of shaxs 'person', 'man'

pārēr 'said', 3rd pers. pl. Simple Past of the verb pāning 'to say'

xuānōkā 'literate', 'learned'; cf. xuānōkō; -ā is the formant of definiteness

nanā 'our', genitive of nan 'we'

ustā 'into /one's/ heart', dialectal form (usually ustāy) of the lat. of ust 'heart', 'soul'

akappak 'does not make', neg. form of the 3rd pers. sing. Present-Future of the verb kanning 'to do'

nē 'to you', here: 'with you', obj. of nī 'you'

amarō 'what kind of'; -ō is the formant of indefiniteness

nī 'you' (sing.), 'thou'

us, 2nd pers. sing. Simple Present of the verb anning 'to be'; ᵊōghingaTī us 'thou art weeping'

javāb 'reply'

tiss 'gave', 3rd pers. sing. Simple Past of the verb tining 'to give'

ī 'I'

dā 'this'

nasīᵊatān 'from preaching', abl. of nasīᵊat 'advice', 'instruction', 'preaching'

aᵊōghpar 'do not weep', neg. form of the 1st pers. sing. of the verb ᵊōghing 'to cry', 'to weep'

lēkin 'but' (conjunction)

dōstō 'favourite'; -ō, formant of indefiniteness

ᵊēT 'goat'

ass 'was', 3rd pers. sing. Simple Past of the verb anning 'to be'

ᵊamēde 'him', 'her', obj. of ᵊamēd 'that very', 'he', 'her', 'it'

bhāz (usually bāz) 'very', 'very much'

muᵊabbat 'love', 'fondness'

akarēTa 'I was doing', 1st pers. sing. Past Continuous of the verb kanning 'to do'; muᵊabbat akarēTa 'I loved', 'I was fond of'

vaxt 'time'; ᵊar vaxt ki 'when'

ō 'he', 'she', 'it', 'this', 'that'

bhalun (usually balun) 'big'; here: 'old'

mass 'became', 3rd pers. sing. Simple Past of the verb mahning 'to become'

khask (usually kask) 'died', 3rd pers. sing. Simple Past of the verb kaᵊing 'to die'

dāsā 'now'

ki 'when'

ᵊīt 'word', 'speech'

akēk 'does', 3rd pers. sing. Present-Future of the verb *kanning* 'to do'; *'īt akēk* 'speaks'

tēnā 'one's own', 'his', gen. of *tēn* 'oneself'

rīshe 'beard', obj. of *rīsh* 'beard'

chanDingaTī (usually *canDingaTī*), loc. of the verbal noun *canDing* 'to shake'; *chanDingaTī e* 'is shaking'

vaxtā (usually *vaxtāy*) 'during', dialectal form of the lat. of *vaxt* 'time'

kane 'to me', obj. of *7* 'I'

'ēTnā 'goat's', gen. of *'ēT* 'goat'

yād 'memory', 'recollection'

abarēk 'comes', 3rd pers. sing. Present-Future of the verb *banning* 'to come'

antasēki 'because'

rīshāmbār 'like the beard'; from *rīshān*, abl. of *rīsh* 'beard', and the postposition *bār* 'like'

assaka 'was', 3rd pers. sing. Past Continuous of the verb *anning* 'to be'

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ABBREVIATIONS

abl., ablative
ades., adessive
Arab., Arabic
Bal., Baluchi
Br., Brahui
C.e., Christian era
com., comitative
comp., comparative
dat., dative
def., definite
Eng., English
gen., genitive
imp., imperative
indef., indefinite
instr., instrumental
Iran., Iranian
Jhal., Jhalawan
Lahn., Lahndi
lat., lative
loc., locative
neg., negative
nom., nominative
obj., objective
obl., oblique
Pash., Pashto
Per., Persian
Perf., Perfect
pers., person
pl., plural
Plu., Pluperfect
Rus., Russian
Sind., Sindhi
sing., singular
term., terminative

An., Anthropos, St. Augustin
AO, Acta Orientalia, Leiden
BSGI, Bolletino della Societa geographica italiana, Roma.
BSL, Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris
BSO(A)SBulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London
DL, Dravidian Linguistics, Annamalainagar (1969)
ERM, Educational Review, Madras

IA, Indian Antiquary, Bombay
IHQ, Indian Historical Quarterly, London
IIJ, Indo-Iranian Journal, The Hague
IJDL, International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum
IL, Indian Linguistics, Poona
JAOS, Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven
JAS(B), Journal of the Asiatic Society (of Bengal), Calcutta
JBORS, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna
JORM, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
JRAS, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JTS, Journal of Tamil Studies, Madras
NIA, New Indian Antiquary, Bombay
PAPS, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
SBAW, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen
    Klasse der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München
TC, Tamil Culture, Madras
TPS, Transactions of the Philological Society, London
ZDMG, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig
ZKM, Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes