

Innovations in the Negative Conjugation of the Brahui Verb System

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ABSTRACT

Since Bray (1907), there has been virtually no fresh fieldwork or analysis on Brahui. This paper, based on fieldwork done in 1990–91, discusses a series of innovations in the Brahui verbal system: first, a shift from generalized past and non-past imperfective forms to specifically past and present progressives; then, interaction between recent changes in these increasingly used progressive forms and innovated negative infinitives. The paper concludes that as a result of these changes both the affirmative infinitive and these new negative infinitives have acquired more verbal properties than the original infinitive (verbal noun) had. Progressive forms have become increasingly grammaticized and structural parallelism between affirmative and negative conjugations has emerged.

1 Introduction

A brief introduction to the Brahui language and its speakers is given in section 2. Essential features of the original verb system are summarized, focusing on the forms discussed in this paper. Section 3 discusses the forms, functions and status of the affirmative and negative infinitives. Section 4 discusses the structure of imperfective forms preceding the introduction of progressive forms, which are a fairly recent innovation constructed with the infinitive. It then explores the origin and discusses historical attestations and the increasing use of affirmative and negative progressive forms. Finally, section 5 describes innovated negative infinitives and changes in the progressive forms — both affirmative and negative. In the new negative progressive forms, the negative morpheme, previously located in the auxiliary, moves into an innovated negative infinitive form. Section 6 concludes that in addition to the increased grammaticization of specifically progressive forms, the infinitive has acquired a more verbal character. These changes have resulted in the emergence of structural parallelism between the affirmative and negative progressive forms.

2 The Brahui language

2.1 Location and speakers

The North Dravidian language Brahui is spoken as a first language by approximately 2,000,000 people in Balochistan Province of Pakistan. There are another approximately 200,000 Brahui speakers in Afghanistan, perhaps 20,000 in Iran (Ethnologue 2009), and a few in the former Soviet Union. Within the Pakistani Brahui area there are three main dialectal divisions: (a) Sarawani (spoken in Mastung, Kalat, Kanak, Mungachar, Kirdigāp, Bolan, and Quetta); (b) Jhalawāni (spoken in Khuzdār, Zehri, Vadh, Mula, and Jahu [up to Bela]); and (c) Chaghi (spoken in Noshki [up to Iran], Khāran, Besema

[up to Panjgur]).¹ Important dialectal differences in phonology involve the realization of initial /h/, alternations of dental and retroflex consonants, and aspiration (Bashir 1991a, 4).

2.2 Typological characteristics and case marking

Brahui word order is SOV, ADJ-N, N-POSTPOSITION. The case-marking system is Nominative-Accusative in all tenses: all subjects are in the nominative case, and all verbs agree with their subjects in person and number. There is no grammatical gender, and the Dravidian distinction between nouns referring to rational and non-rational entities has not been maintained.² Andronov (2006, 31–37) lists eleven cases, with singular endings as follows: nominative \emptyset , genitive $-n\bar{a}$, objective $-e$, dative $-k\bar{e}$, instrumental $-at$, comitative $-t\bar{o}$,³ ablative $-\bar{a}n/-an$,⁴ locative $-(a)t\bar{a}$, lative $-\bar{a}$, adessive $-isk/-is/-k$, terminative = adessive + $-\bar{a}$. All these case endings are affixed directly to the nominative, which is identical to the noun stem in the singular, and in the plural to an oblique base in which the nominative plural $-k$ changes to $-t$ (Bray 1907, 42). Referential status is morphologically indicated on the noun and on the adjective.

2.3 Overview of the verb system

The core of the Brahui verb system consists of those tenses based on affirmative and negative non-past and past stems. The non-past stem is identical to the verb base;⁵ several past stem classes are formed from the base plus \bar{a} , \bar{e} , or a consonant. A few verbs have suppletive or multiple stems; for example, *hinning* ‘to go away’ has the suppletive stems *hin-* and *kā*, while *kanning* ‘to do’ has four stems: *kann-*, *kar-*, *ka-*, *kē* (Andronov 2006, 65). Intransitive stems corresponding to transitives are derived by affixing an intransitivizing element $-ing-$ between the verb base and the infinitive ending $-ing$, e.g., *uś-ing* ‘to burn (transitive)’, *uś-ing-ing* ‘to burn (intransitive)’. Causative stems are regularly derived by inserting $-(i)f-$ between the base and the infinitive suffix, e.g., *uś-if-ing* ‘to cause to be burned’. Passives can be formed from causative stems, by inserting the intransitivizing $-ing-$ after the causative morpheme $-(i)f$, e.g., *tūl-ing* ‘to sit’, *tūl-if-ing* ‘to seat’, *tūl-if-ing-ing* ‘to be seated’. Middle or reflexive verbs insert $-\bar{e}ng-$ between the verb base and the infinitive ending $-ing$, e.g., *hars-ing* ‘to turn (intransitive)’, *hars-ēng-ing* ‘to turn (self)’ (Bray 1907, 175). Non-finite forms include the infinitive or verbal noun (base + $-ing$), an obligative participle (base + $-\bar{o}i$), an adjectival participle (base + $-\bar{o}k$), and a present adverbial participle (base + *isa*). Brahui has no conjunctive participle like that of Indo-Aryan languages. Functions performed by the conjunctive participle and by compound verbs in those languages are performed by serial verb constructions.

Brahui retains one of the distinctive characteristics of Dravidian languages, the existence of separate affirmative and negative past and non-past stems. On these stems are built separate affirmative and negative conjugations for each tense.⁶ Table 1 presents templates and an illustration of Brahui

¹This information is due to Abdul Razzak Sabir.

²The transcription system used here for my own data is based on the analysis of the Brahui consonant and vowel systems in Bashir (1991a); it is intended to be phonemic, with the exception of the salient subphonemic realization of /a/ as [æ]. The point of articulation opposition usually called dental vs. retroflex in discussions of South Asian languages, is closer to a dental vs post-alveolar contrast for /t/ and /t̪/ and /d/ and /d̪/. The phoneme /t̪/, unique in the region to Brahui, is a voiceless lateral fricative, pronounced with considerable force and friction. The status of /ŋ/, retroflex *n*, is marginal in Brahui, and according to Emeneau (1937, 982), it is found only in the environment of /t̪/ and /d̪/. It occurs in borrowings from Sindhi, Siraiki, or Pashto (Elfenbein 1982). Stress is indicated by an acute accent <ˈ> over the stressed vowel. Contrastive long vowels are indicated by a macron above the vowel symbol. Brahui /ō/ is inherently long. Some writers record it as <ō> and others as <o>; in my examples, as in Bray (1907), it appears as <o>, while Andronov (e.g., Andronov 2006) writes it as <ō>. The status of /e/ is different, with long /ē/ and short /e/ contrasting (Andronov 2006, 10–11). Vowel nasalization is indicated by a tilde <~> above the vowel symbol. Examples from other sources are given in the orthography of the original authors, without attempt to normalize, except that Rai’s <sh> and <ch> are replaced by <š> and <č>, respectively.

Abbreviations used in this paper follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, except for the following: AFFIRM — affirmative, LAT — lative, OBLIG — obligational, PROB — probable, TERM — terminative.

³There is also a variant $-ton$ (Sabir p.c., March 2009).

⁴Also, in the Chaghi dialect, $-\gamma an$ and $-\gamma \bar{a}n$ are found.

⁵Bray (1907) uses the term “base” consistently in the sense of “root”. I shall also use “base” in that sense.

⁶The negative morpheme is $-a-$ (Bray 1907, 139). In tenses formed from the non-past stem, $-p-$ precedes the

stems and tense/aspect forms of the first person singular of *kanning* ‘to do’ for those forms discussed in this paper, as they have existed up until the time of the innovations discussed in this paper. These are the affirmative and negative past and non-past stem and infinitive; and affirmative and negative non-past imperfective, and present and past progressive. The forms in Table 1 are based on Bray (1907).⁷

Form	Affirmative	Negative
Stems		
NON-PAST	<i>ka-,kē-,kar-,kann-</i> ‘do’	<i>ka-p-a-(r)-</i> ‘not do’
PAST	<i>kar-ē-</i> ‘do’	<i>ka-ta-</i> ‘not do’
Based on the non-past stem		
NON-PAST IMPERFECTIVE (PRESENT/FUTURE)	AFFIRM STEM + person-number endings + <i>-a</i> ⁸ <i>ī kēva</i> ‘I will do, am doing.’	NEG STEM + person-number endings + <i>-a</i> <i>ī kappara</i> ‘I will not do, am not doing.’
INFINITIVE	AFFIRM STEM + <i>-ing</i> <i>kanning</i> ‘to do’	NEG STEM + <i>-ing</i> <i>kapparing</i> ‘not to do’
Based on the past stem		
PAST IMPERFECTIVE	AFFIRM STEM + person-number endings + <i>-a</i> <i>ī karēṭa</i> ‘I used to do, was doing.’	NEG STEM + person-number endings + <i>-a</i> <i>ī kattavaṭa</i> ‘I did not do, was not doing.’
Constructed with the infinitive		
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	INF + <i>-(a)tī</i> + ‘be’ (AFFIRM PRS) <i>ī kanningaṭī uṭ</i> ‘I am doing.’	INF + <i>-(a)tī</i> + ‘be’ (NEG PRS) <i>ī kanningaṭī affaṭ</i> ‘I am not doing.’
PAST PROGRESSIVE	INF + <i>-(a)tī</i> + ‘be’ (AFFIRM PST) <i>ī kanningaṭī assuṭ</i> ‘I was doing.’	INF + <i>-(a)tī</i> + ‘be’ (NEG PST) <i>ī kanningaṭī allavaṭ</i> ‘I was not doing.’

TABLE 1 Verb forms discussed in this paper

Note that these original negative progressive forms are constructed with the affirmative infinitive and the finite negative auxiliary verb. Such forms, which are regularly constructed and freely produced by Abdul Razzak Sabir, are attested, but very rarely. Hypothetical progressive forms consisting of a negative infinitive and the affirmative auxiliary, e.g., **ī kumparingaṭī uṭ* ‘I am not doing’, are not attested and not accepted by Sabir.

3 The Brahui infinitive (verbal noun)

The original Brahui infinitive is a verbal noun consisting of the verb base + *-ing*; but in this paper I will refer to it as the “infinitive” for the sake of continuity with earlier discussions, particularly Bray (1907). Earlier authors stress the nominal character of this form; Andronov (2006, 64) does not use the term “infinitive” at all. As a verbal noun, it can be regularly inflected with all the case suffixes; it can function as the subject (1) or direct object (2) of the sentence. Further evidence of its nominal nature is the fact that the subject (2) or object (1) of the action or event referred to by the infinitive is marked with the genitive case.

negative marker; with some verbs, *r* is inserted and the negative marker appears as *p-a-r*. In tenses formed from the past stem, *-t-* precedes the negative marker. DeArmond (DeArmond 1975, 252) considers the negative morpheme to be underlyingly *-par-*, which has the following allomorphs: *-pa-*, *-far-*, *-fa-*, *-p-*, and *-w-*.

⁷Since *kanning* ‘to do’ has multiple stems, its conjugation is complex. I use it here because it is one of the most frequently occurring verbs in the language.

⁸The person-number endings are abraded forms of ‘be’.

- (1) dušman-nā **xall-ing** jwān e
 enemy-GEN **strike**-INF.NOM good be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘It is good to strike the enemy.’ lit. ‘Striking of the enemy is good.’
 (Bray 1907, 184) Nominative (Subject)
- (2) ī dāre nā **bann-ing-ē** jwān sarpānd mar-ēv-æ
 I here you.GEN **come**-INF-OBJ good understanding become(NON-PST)-1.SG-PRS/FUT
 ‘I consider your coming here good.’ (Bashir, notes 1991) Objective (Direct Object)
- Examples (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), and (10) show the infinitive appearing with the genitive, comitative, ablative, locative, lative,⁹ terminative, dative, and instrumental cases, respectively.
- (3) na-nā **tūl-ing-nā** jāga dād e
 we-GEN **sit**-INF-GEN place this be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘This is our sitting place.’ (Bray 1907, 184) Genitive
- (4) lāl bādšā **bin-ing-tō** xwaš mass...
 Lal Badshah **hear**-INF-COM happy become(PST.3.SG)
 ‘When he heard it, Lal Badshah was glad...’ (Bray 1938–1939, 79) Comitative
- (5) iray **kun-ing-ān** must dū-t-e sill-os-us
 bread **eat**-INF-ABL before hand-PL-OBJ wash-PST.COND-2.SG
 ‘You ought to have washed your hands before eating.’ (Bray 1907, 189) Ablative
- (6) da tuγ-e **xan-ing-aṭī** haul kare
 this dream-OBJ **see**-INF-LOC fright do(PST.3.SG)
 ‘On seeing this dream he got terrified.’ (Mayer 1907, 42) Locative
- (7) ī od-e **dudēng-āi** xanā-ṭ
 I(NOM) he-OBJ **run**(INF)-LAT see(PST)-1.SG
 ‘I saw him on the point of running.’ (Bray 1907, 184) Lative
- (8) ka-nā **bann-ing-iskān** aḍ ka
 I-GEN **come**-INF-TERM shelter do(IMP)
 ‘Take shelter until I come.’ (Bray 1907, 47) Terminative
- (9) dir **kunn-ing-ke** tuss
 water **drink**-INF-DAT sit(PST.3.SG)
 ‘He sat down to drink water.’ (Mayer 1907, 22) Dative
- (10) duzzī **kann-ing-aṭ** o tēn-e xarāb karē
 theft **do**-INF-INS he self-OBJ spoiled do(PST.3.SG)
 ‘He ruined himself by thieving.’ (Bray 1907, 184) Instrumental

However, the infinitive also displays some verbal behaviors. Its verbal nature is demonstrated by the fact that it can take its own, objective case-marked, direct object. Compare (11) and (6), in which the direct objects ‘enemy’ and ‘dream’, respectively, take the objective case, with (1), in which the direct object takes the genitive.

- (11) dušman-e **xall-ing** jwān e
 enemy-OBJ **strike**-INF.NOM good be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘It is good to strike the enemy.’ (lit. ‘Striking the enemy is good.’) Nominative (Subject)
 (Bray 1907, 184)

The infinitive can also sometimes function like a finite verb. Bray (1907, 184) characterizes one such usage as follows: “In past narration the nominative form of the infinitive is sometimes used for

⁹“Lative”, given as *-āi*, is Andronov’s term (2006, 36). This case is called “locative in *-āi*” by Bray (1907, 56) and “Locative-2” in Elfenbein (1998, 395), who comments that it has a broader semantic range than *-(a)ṭī*, and gives it as *-ā(ṭī)*. In my materials it appears to behave almost like a general oblique.

vividness in the place of a finite verb.” His illustration of this point is shown as (12).¹⁰

- (12) of-tā tavār **kann-ing**, na-nā urā-nā **pēh-ing**
 they-GEN shout **do-INF** we-GEN house-GEN **enter-INF**
 ‘The moment they cried out, we entered the house.’ (Bray 1907, 184)

The sentence shown as (12) can also be expressed with the infinitive functioning in a more verbal mode, as in (13), where the locative case is used for the goal of motion *urā-ṭī* ‘into the house’, rather than the genitive *urā-nā* ‘of the house’ in (12).

- (13) oft-ā tavār kann-ing, na-nā **urā-ṭī** pēh-ing
 they-GEN shout do-INF we-GEN **house-LOC** enter-INF
 ‘The moment they cried out, we entered the house.’ (Bray 1907, 184)

Additionally, Grierson (1906, 624) notes that the verbal noun can be used as an imperative, e.g., *rasing* ‘come!’.

3.1 The original negative infinitive (verbal noun)

The received position has been that Brahui does not have a negative infinitive. Bray (1907, 139) says that, although there is a full negative finite conjugation, Brahui has no negative infinitive or participle.¹¹ In the absence of fresh data since Bray, this statement has been repeated by scholars since his time, e.g., DeArmond (1975, 268): “There is no negative infinitive, participle, or present of actuality,” and Andronov (1977, 2001, 2003, 2006), who says, “Only affirmative verbal nouns are available in the Brahui language” (Andronov 2001, 90; Andronov 2006, 89). Abdul Razzak Sabir, however, disagrees with this, and is of the opinion that there is a negative infinitive corresponding to each affirmative infinitive. These negative infinitives are easily and regularly formed. They generally have two variants, one with *-r-* and one with *-n-*, e.g., *danning* ‘to take away’, *daparing/dapaning* ‘not to take away’; *bissing* ‘to bake, cook’, *bisparing/bispaning* ‘not to bake, cook’; *ušing* ‘to burn’ *ušparing/ušpaning* ‘not to burn’; *manning* ‘to become’ *mafaring/mafaning* ‘not to become’; *tamming* ‘to fall’ *tamparing/tampaning* ‘not to fall’; *xalling* ‘to beat’, *xalparing/xalpaning* ‘not to beat’; *tinning* ‘to give’, *tifaring/tapaning* ‘not to give’.¹² However, these negative infinitives are not used in constructing finite verbal forms like the progressive (Sabir 1991, p.c.). Rather, they appear as nominals, i.e. in their original verbal noun function. Sabir offers the following as examples of sentences where negative infinitives appear naturally (14)–(15). In (14) the negative verbal noun is used in a nominal function, as the subject of the sentence, and in (15) it appears with the genitive case marker.

- (14) inn-ing **im-par-ing** kan-kē barābar e
 go-INF **go-NEG-INF** me-DAT equal be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘It’s all the same to me whether I go or not.’ (Lit. ‘To go (or) not to go is the same to me.’)
 (Bashir, 1991 notes)
- (15) iray **kum-par-ing-nā** sawab-ān lāyar mass
 bread **eat-NEG-INF-GEN** reason-ABL weak become(PST.3.SG)
 ‘He became weak from not eating food.’ (Bashir, 1991 notes)

A negative adjectival participle appears in (16).

- (16) ka-nā **ka-ppar-oka** karēm-t-ē nī am ka-pp-a
 I-GEN **do-NEG-ADJ.PTCP** deed-PL-OBJ you also do-NEG-IMP.SG
 ‘Those things that I have not done, you also don’t do!’ (Bashir, 1991 notes)

¹⁰This use of the infinitive appears parallel to Brahui’s finite serial verbs, in which two or more verb forms with the same tense/aspect and person number marking (none in the case of the infinitive) are used in succession.

¹¹In general, negative verbal nouns in Dravidian are rarer than affirmative ones (Andronov 1977, 118; Andronov 2003, 288). Andronov (1977, 118) mentions the existence of forms for negative verbal nouns in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Kuvi, and Classical Telugu. David (1999) mentions negative verbal nouns in Old Tamil (p. 12), Kuvi (p. 16), Parji (pp. 19, 173, 226), and Brahui (p. 151); however, no Brahui example is given, and no further reference made to this parenthetical comment.

¹²Sabir notes that the variants with *n* or *nn* are mostly used in the Jhalawani dialect.

Negative obligative participles occur fairly frequently: sentence (17) appears in Elfenbein (1998, 405) and Bray (1907, 145) also has several examples.

- (17) n-ē na-nā urāγ-āī **bar-ōī** ē hum pā;
 you-OBJ we-GEN house-LAT **come-OBLIG.PTCP** be(PRS.3.SG) so say(IMP)
ba-far-ōī ē hum pā
come-NEG-OBLIG.PTCP be(PRS.3.SG) so say(IMP)
 ‘If it is for thee to come to our house, say so; if it is not for thee to come, say so.’
 (i.e. ‘Say whether you have to come to our house or not.’)

3.2 Infinitival constructions

Several modal and complement constructions are based on the affirmative infinitive. The nominative infinitive, in construction with a finite form of *kanning* ‘to do’ forms part of a transitive/active “potential” construction ‘be able to’ (18a). An intransitive/passive counterpart of this consists of the nominative infinitive with a finite form of *mannig* ‘to become’ (18b).

- (18) a. nī pyæde **inn-ing** kē-s-æ
 you on foot **go-INF.NOM** do-2.SG-PRS/FUT
 ‘Can you go on foot?’ (Bashir, notes 1991)
 b. **kann-ing** ma-t-a-v
do-INF.NOM become-PST-NEG-3.SG
 ‘It could not be/was not done.’ (Barjasteh Delforooz 2008, 9)

The nominative (19) or the dative (20) infinitive functions as a complement of *illing* ‘to leave, allow’.

- (19) ī ne ille-pa-r-a **putring-ing**¹³
 I you(OBJ) allow-NEG-1.SG-PRS/FUT **enter-INF(NOM)**
 ‘I will not suffer thee to enter.’ (Mayer 1907, 27)
 (20) ī nē duno kārem **kann-ing-kē** ille-pa-r-a
 I you(OBJ) such work **do-INF-DAT** allow-NEG-1.SG-PRS/FUT
 ‘I will not let you do such a thing.’ (Bashir 1991a, 191)

Followed by the dative *-kē*, the infinitive forms purpose clauses ((22), (9) above).

- (21) ī o-nā **xal-if-ing-kē** čār bandaγ rā-ī karē-ṭ
 I he-GEN **kill-CAUS-INF-DAT** four man road-LAT do(PST)-1.SG
 ‘I sent four men to kill him.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)

Phrasal constructions also employ the infinitive. The lative case of the infinitive yields the meaning ‘on the point of V-ing’, ‘about to V’. Example (7) is reproduced here as (22) for convenience.

- (22) ī od-e **dudēng-āī** xanā-ṭ
 I he-OBJ **un-INF-LAT** see(PST)-1.SG
 ‘I saw him on the point of running.’ (Bray 1907, 184)

An inceptive construction, ‘begin to V’, consists of the locative of the infinitive in construction with *tammig* ‘to fall’ (23).¹⁴

¹³Bray (1934, 246) gives this verb as *putrēnging* ‘to enter’, a middle or reflexive verb, as described in section 2.3 above.

¹⁴A second construction for ‘begin to V’ uses the transitive Persian/Balochi/Urdu *šurū kar-* ‘beginning do’=‘begin’ with the objective case-marked infinitive.

i. iray **kunn-ing-e** šurū karē
 bread **eat-INF-OBJ** beginning do.(PST.3.SG)
 ‘He **began to eat** (bread)’ (Mayer 1906, 10)

- (23) pir **kann-ing-aṭī tammā**
 rain do-INF-LOC **fall**(PST.3.SG)
 ‘It **began to** rain.’ (Bashir 1991a, 190)

The locative infinitive plus *anning* ‘to be’, or in some tenses *manning* ‘to become’, yields forms meaning ‘in the process of V-ing’, as in (24a). These are the progressive forms which are one of the main foci of this paper. Notice that the original inceptive construction ‘begin to V’ and the progressive construction/form ‘be in the process of V-ing’ are parallel, both consisting of the locative case of the infinitive, with the verbs *tamming* ‘to fall’ and *anning* ‘to be’, respectively. Notice also that a parallel construction with a locative-marked simple noun conveys a similar tense/aspect meaning, as in (24b).

- (24) a. ka-nā ṭhap **uṣ-ing-ing-aṭī e**
 I-GEN wound **burn**-INTR-INF-LOC be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘My wound **is burning**.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)
 b. num tavār ka-ppa-bō sardar **tuṣ-aṭī e**
 you(PL) shout do-NEG-IMP.PL chief **sleep**-LOC be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘Don’t make noise; the chief’s **asleep**.’ (Bray 1934, 293)

The objective-marked infinitive as the complement of *illing* ‘to leave, abandon’ yields a construction meaning ‘stop V-ing’, as in (25).

- (25) o daftar-ā **bann-ing-e illā**
 he office-LAT **come**-INF-OBJ **leave**(PST.3.SG)
 ‘He has stopped coming to the office.’ (Bashir 1991a, 190)

4 Imperfective forms in Brahui

The contemporary progressive forms, which explicitly present actions as ongoing at a specific, bounded, present or past time, are not part of the original Brahui verb system, which consists of those tenses based on the non-past and past stems.

4.1 Original imperfective system

Before the spread of the new progressive forms, the non-past present/future (indefinite present + *-a*) and the past imperfect (past + *a*) forms were regularly used in a variety of senses, including that of the progressive. The following recent, published examples (26) and (27) indicate that the original system is still intact with some speakers and writers.

- (26) masīt-ān sīdā urāṣ-ā bas-aka valdā
 mosque-ABL straight house-LAT **come**(PST)-3.SG.IPFV again
 hič pēšān **ma-ta-k-a**
 something outside become-NEG.PST-3.SG.IPFV
 ‘He was coming straight from the mosque to (his) house but nothing **was happening** outside.’
 (Godi (1985, 15) in Ross (1999, 138))

Example (27), from a 1984 publication, employs the negative past imperfect form *damdaring-tav-as-a* ‘were not getting out of breath’, a vowel-shortened form of the base of the middle verb *damdarēnging* ‘to get out of breath’, followed by negative, tense and person-number markers (see Bray (1907, 175) and Bray (1934, 93)).

- (27) urā-ṭī urā-nā gōdī-k mehmān-tā xidmat-ē kan-iṣ-aṭ
 house-LOC house-GEN housewife-PL guest-GEN.PL service-OBJ do-INF-INS
damdariṣ-tav-as-a tō vatāx-aṭ urā-nā xūāja-ak
tire-NEG.PST-3.PL-IPFV and guest room-LOC house-GEN master-PL

narīna-tā xidmat-aṭ axtajān as-ur-a
 male-GEN.PL service-INS busy be(PST)-3.PL-IPFV
 ‘In the house the ladies of the house were not becoming tired as they served the guests, and
 in the guest room the men of the house were busy serving the men guests.’
 (From *Nikah* ‘Wedding’ in Zia (1984) transliterated and translated in Ross (1999, 175). Ross’
 translation; morph-by-morph gloss mine.)

In addition to the use of the present/future and the past imperfective in a variety of imperfective meanings, another imperfectivizing particle, enclitic =*a*, is used in Brahui, particularly with N + V conjunct verbs. Bray (1907, 195–196) discusses this =*a*, considering it attached to the word preceding the verb and giving examples like (28) and (29).

(28) ī tēn-aṭ=a bass-uṭ-a, nī antei kan-e baṭingā-s
 I self-INS=IPFV come(PST)-1.SG-IPFV you(SG) why I-OBJ call(PST)-2.SG
 ‘I was coming of my own accord, (so) why did you summon me?’ (Bray 1907, 195)

(29) ī ḍaḡār-e namb=a kē-v-a
 I ground-OBJ wet-IPFV do(PRS.INDF)-1.SG-IPFV
 ‘I moisten the ground.’ (Bray 1907, 195)

Example (30) shows that this element was in use in 1991 in Pakistani Brahui; however, according to Sabir, its occurrence is limited.

(30) o dā mana de-an-āi bāz iraḡ=a kunē-k
 he this some day-ABL-LAT much bread=IPFV eat(PRS.INDF)-3.SG
 ‘He has been eating a lot for a long time.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)

Note that the imperfectivizing =*a* being discussed in this paragraph, which is enclitic to the word immediately preceding the finite verb, is *distinct* from the *-a* which is suffixed to the finite verb and distinguishes the present indefinite from the present/future, and the past from the past imperfect. In both cases the imperfectivizing suffix makes the action more specific in some sense.¹⁵ This element is also found in the Brahui spoken in Iran, as shown in the following example (31), kindly provided by Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz from his unpublished materials.

(31) a. annā čirāḡ-aṭ=a hinā
 still lamp-INS-IPFV go(PST.3.SG)
 ta¹⁶ bandaḡ-nā lāša bāz tammā-n-e
 when.suddenly man-GEN corpse many fall(PST)-PRF-3.SG
 ‘He kept going by the light of the lamp, when lo and behold, a lot of corpses of men were lying (there).’
 b. bas annā čirāḡ-aṭ=a hinā
 then still lamp-INS-IPFV go(PST.3.SG)
 ta adham-nā lāša-e xanā
 when.suddenly adham-GEN body-OBJ see(PST.3.SG)
 ‘So he just kept going by the light of the lamp when suddenly he saw the corpse of Adham.’

According to Emeneau (1962, 344) this imperfective =*a* in Brahui can only have originated in Balochi, since it is Iranian in pattern and phonologically identical to the parallel morpheme in Makrani Balochi. The Balochi imperfectivizing =*a* is discussed extensively by Emeneau (1962, 342–344), Buddruss (1976, 13), Nawata (1981), Elfenbein (1982), and Axenov (2006, 166–170), who, describing the Balochi of Turkmenistan, also considers this aspectual particle enclitic to the word

¹⁵Tantalizing questions arise as to whether either of these *a* forms might be a “copy” of the other in some sense, and about the chronology of their appearance in the language. Bray’s (1907, 195) remark, “The omission of *-a* in such cases would be a mark of *suruṭ* or broken Brahui,” seems to suggest a perception of desirable symmetry produced by the simultaneous appearance of both the enclitic =*a* and suffixal *-a*.

¹⁶The gloss ‘lo and behold’ for *tā* is given by Bray (1934, 281). The sense appears to be similar to that of the Persian conjunction *ki* ‘when (suddenly)’ used when an ongoing action is intersected by a punctual event.

immediately preceding the verb.¹⁷ In the Balochi dialect of Afghanistan described in Nawata (1981), tense forms with present and past imperfective meanings are given, (32) and (33), which consist of the ‘present’ and ‘past’ tenses respectively, with =*a* enclitic to the word preceding the verb form.

- (32) man=*a* guš-īn
 I(DIR)=**a** speak(PRS)-1.SG
 ‘I am saying.’ (Nawata 1981, 20)
- (33) har rōč āp=**a** dāt
 every day water=**a** give(PST.3.SG)
 ‘He gave water every day.’ (Nawata 1981, 21)

4.2 Origins of the progressive forms

The progressives of the form INFINITIVE-LOC + AUXILIARY appear to be quite recent, perhaps originating some time in the nineteenth century. Since Brahui and Balochi have mutually influenced each other over a long period of time, when looking for the sources for the innovation and extension of specifically progressive tense forms in Brahui, one must also consider the situation in Balochi. Present-day Raxshani Balochi has a fully developed set of progressive forms. Barker and Mengal (1969 Vol I: 233, 294, 393) give a full series of “continuative” forms, which consist of the infinitive + the singular oblique -*ā*,¹⁸ + various tense/aspect forms of *a*- ‘be’ or *bū*- ‘be, become’.

Imperative continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>bū</i> -	(IMP)
Present continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>a</i> -	(PRS)
Future continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>bū</i> -	(FUT)
Subjunctive continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>bū</i> -	(SBJV)
Past continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>a</i> -	(PST)
Present perfect continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>bū</i> -	(PRS.PRF)
Past perfect continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>bū</i> -	(PST.PRF)
Past completive continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>bū</i> -	(PST.COMPL)
Past perfect completive continuative	= INF- <i>ā</i> + <i>bū</i> -	(PST.PRF.COMPL)

TABLE 2 “Continuative” Forms in Balochi (Barker and Mengal 1969 Vol I: 233, 294, 393)

Discussions in 1991 with Abdullah Jan Jamaldini, a preeminent scholar of Balochi, confirming and reinforcing other sources, indicate that the forms built directly on the present and past stems constitute the core of the Balochi verb system. The degree of acceptability, and status of the continuative/progressive forms as either highly marked forms or calques on Urdu varies with dialect and speaker-related variables like age, rural or urban origin, and educational level. According to Jamaldini, the progressive series of forms are used by (a) educated people who know Urdu, (b) school-going children, and (c) people in Karachi; and are not characteristic of rural Western Balochi (Bashir 1991b, 94).¹⁹ Nowadays, their use is being reinforced by the influence of Urdu and English. Each of these forms seems to be establishing itself in the language more or less rapidly, and with greater or less degree of acceptance. For example, Jamaldini, who says that he does not himself use forms of the progressive series, feels that the present perfect progressive is less unnatural sounding than other forms of this series.

¹⁷Barker and Mengal (1969, Vol 1:149), describing Raxshani Balochi, mention this =*a*, but only in the context of conjunct verbs consisting of a nominal element and a light verb. They consider it optional with no discernible meaning. Elfenbein (1990, ix–xviii), treats *a*- as prefixal to the finite verb, and considers that in Raxshani it retains its durative-imperfective function, while in other dialects it remains only as a *svarabakhti* vowel.

¹⁸Barker and Mengal (1969, 233) call this the “singular-definite” suffix. By this they intend the singular oblique case ending -*ā* as used to mark singular, definite, direct objects.

¹⁹Farrell (1988) also gives these forms for Karachi Balochi. Mockler (1877), a sketch of the Coastal dialects of Balochi, gives forms which he calls the “present tense” and the “imperfect tense”, which are formed in the same way as Barker and Mengal’s “present continuative” and “past continuative”, and which have the same meanings.

These new periphrastic progressive forms seem likely to have developed in both Balochi and Brahui more or less simultaneously, perhaps in the early or mid-nineteenth century. The transparent morphology is consistent with recent innovation, and the pattern in both languages is identical, given the differing number of available case forms in the two languages.²⁰ Since there are only three distinct case forms in (Western) Balochi-direct, oblique, and genitive-as compared to the eleven of Brahui, the Balochi oblique in *-ā* has the functions of several of the Brahui cases, including the locatives.²¹

Table 3 summarizes and compares the earlier and innovated systems in Balochi and Brahui.^{22,23}

Since there is continuous mutual interaction between Balochi and Brahui, and of both of these languages with Urdu and increasingly also with English, the use of the progressives in both languages has been reinforced.

4.3 References to and attestations of Brahui progressive forms

In the early literature, references to progressive forms and textual attestations of these forms are sparse. Leech (1838) contains no mention of such forms; nor do they occur in his two folk story texts, which are the first available published Brahui texts to which I have had access.²⁴ Bellew (1874) also makes no mention of these forms. Bux (1877) gives a paradigm for the present progressive, but not for the past progressive. His collection of 787 utilitarian sentences includes three instances of the present progressive, and the nineteen short prose texts, all of which are given in Perso-Arabic script, contain four instances of the present progressive and one of the past progressive. Duka (1886, 97), which is a translation and analysis of Trumpp (1880), gives a paradigm for the “present continuous” but not for a “past continuous”. Duka mentions that a negative form of the infinitive is absent, “since it is considered as a noun”. Bray (1907, 118–119) says that the “sense of actuality” is expressed by the forms constructed with the INF + the locative element *-aṭī* ‘in’, and considers that these are periphrastic constructions, equivalent to ‘in the act of V-ing’, and hardly belong in the verbal paradigm. No sentences involving the INF-*aṭī* progressive forms occur in his “Brahui Tales” (1938–1939), a collection of five short folk stories, although four sentences involving the inceptive construction INF-*aṭī* + ‘fall’ are found. The *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI) has one occurrence of the present progressive in context (34).

²⁰Elfenbein (1998, 403) says that the Balochi “progressives” are an innovation originating in the Eastern Balochi area. He feels that the Brahui progressives cannot be a calque on the Balochi, and that Brahui could just as equally be the source of the Balochi forms. The Eastern Balochi “imperfect” (Gilbertson 1923, 115), however, consists of the *uninflected* [emphasis mine] infinitive plus present or past tense person-number desinences. Given the parallel structures of the inceptive and progressive constructions in Brahui, it is possible that the progressive is an independent innovation, filling a gap in the set of phasal constructions with a form parallel in structure to the inceptive. It is worth noting that Balochi inceptives are formed not with ‘fall’ but with *laggag* ‘to attach’ or *šurū būag* ‘to become’ (intransitive) or *kanag* ‘to do’ (transitive) (Bashir 1991b, 209).

²¹For this reason, the unmarked case in Balochi is labeled Direct, while in Brahui it is called Nominative.

²²Note that Gilbertson’s texts contain examples of present and past imperfectives in the habitual sense. For example:

- i. drang-ānī chacka go ramiḡ ravaḡ-ū̄
cliff-GEN.PL on with goats go(INF)-1.PL
‘We go on the cliffs with our goats.’ (Gilbertson 1923, 306)
- ii. pheša mā māl.mawēšī duzī khaṇaḡ-eṭū̄
before we cattle theft do(INF)-be(PST).1.PL
‘Before, we stole cattle. . .’ (Gilbertson 1923, 306)

²³From the Eastern Balochi data I have available, it seems that around 1990, although an innovated periphrastic progressive form (INF-OBL + personal endings) did exist and was in use (sometimes) for the present progressive sense, the original system (INF[DIR] + personal endings) was still in use, perhaps especially in the past tense.

²⁴According to Dr. Noman-ul-Haq, during the course of documenting private library holdings in Pakistan in a project sponsored by the American Institute of Pakistan Studies, he has learned that more than twenty private collections contain Brahui materials. The dates and titles of these materials are not yet available. These could turn out to be a valuable source of information on earlier stages of the language.

Earlier Systems

E. Balochi (ca. 1923):	INF(DIR)-PERSON/NUMBER ENDINGS (Gilbertson 1923, 113)
Present imperfect:	<i>ma k̄han̄aγ-ā̄</i> ‘I do/I am doing’
Past imperfect:	<i>ma k̄han̄aγ-eθ-ā̄</i> ‘I used to do/did/was doing’
W. Balochi:	(=a) PRESENT/FUTURE or PAST IMPERFECT
Present:	<i>man(=a) kan̄in</i> ‘I do/I am doing’
Imperfect:	<i>man(=a) kurt</i> ‘I used to do/was doing’
Brahui:	(=a) PRESENT/FUTURE or PAST IMPERFECT
Present:	<i>ī (=a) kēv-a</i> ‘I do/am doing.’
Imperfect:	<i>ī (=a) karēṭ-a</i> ‘I used to do/was doing.’

Innovated Periphrastic Progressives

E. Balochi (ca. 1990)	INFINITIVE-OBLIQUE + ‘be’ (PRESENT)
Present progressive:	<i>marošī ā kotā-ā rawaγγ-ā-(y)ā̄</i> today they Quetta-OBL go(INF)-OBL-3.PL ‘Today they are going to Quetta.’ (Bashir 1991b, 107)
Past progressive:	INFINITIVE(DIRECT) + ‘be’ (PAST) <i>ta če kan̄aγγ-aiθai</i> you what do(INF)-be(PST).2.SG ‘What were you doing/did you (habitually) do?’ (Bashir 1991b, 108)
W. Balochi (ca. 1990):	INFINITIVE-OBLIQUE + ‘be’ (PRESENT or PAST)
Present:	<i>man kanag-ā un</i> ‘I am doing’
Perfect:	<i>man kanag-ā atun</i> ‘I was doing.’
Brahui (ca. 1990):	INFINITIVE-LOCATIVE + ‘be’ (PRESENT or PAST)
Present:	<i>ī kann̄ing-atī uṭ</i> ‘I am doing.’
Past:	<i>ī kann̄ing-atī assuṭ</i> ‘I was doing.’

TABLE 3 Earlier and Innovated Systems in Balochi and Brahui

- (34) **pāre** ki ō ī bhīn-ān **kah-ing-ṭi** u-ṭ
 say(PST.3.SG) that and I hunger-ABL die-INF-LOC be(PRS)-1.SG
 ‘He said, ... and I am dying from hunger.’ (Grierson 1906, 630)

Rai (1907), in his list of proverbs, gives (35).

- (35) soranga dīr-aṭi bē **šāγ-ing-aṭi** ē
 brackish water-LOC salt throw-INF-LOC be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘He is throwing salt in brackish water.’ (Rai 1907, 132)²⁵

Another use of a progressive form occurs in his section on “colloquial sentences”, as shown in (36).

- (36) čāri-k bass-ur, ahwál tiss-ur
 spy-PL come(PST)-3.PL **information give(PST)-3.PL**
 ki jām bhallo laškar-as harfé-n-é **ban-ing-aṭi-é**
 that Jam big force-INDF raise(PST)-PRF-be(PRS.3.SG) come-INF-LOC-be(PRS)-3.SG
 ‘The spies came and **reported** that the Jām has raised a large army and is coming.’
 (Rai 1907, 156)

Otherwise, Rai gives regular paradigms for the forms we are calling present and past progressive in both affirmative and negative (affirmative infinitive plus NEG auxiliary, e.g., *í hiningaṭi allawésuṭ* ‘I was not going.’). He labels these tenses “present” and “imperfect”. His specimen sentences collected under “miscellaneous sentences” contain several instances of these forms, but these may be elicited examples. Since Rai was an officer in the British service, not a Brahui native speaker, and was writing a handbook designed for use by British officers, it is likely that he elicited sentences presented in Urdu from his Brahui informants. Thus his paradigms could reflect influence of both Urdu and English.

Mayer (1907) includes thirteen short prose texts and five poems; it contains eleven instances of the present progressive and two of the past progressive. Interestingly, eight of the ten examples of the present progressive in Mayer (1907) occur in complements of verbs of speech or perception (e.g., ‘see’), as in (37) and (38). Mayer (1906) is a novelette of about sixteen pages, and contains at least eight occurrences of the present progressive and one of the past progressive.

- (37) **xana** ki... kuttix-át-e **duzi kan-ing-aṭi o**
 see(PST.3.SG) that melon-PL-OBJ **theft do-INF-LOC be(PRS.3.PL)**
 ‘... **saw** that they **are stealing** the melons.’ (Mayer 1907, 35)
- (38) **xana** ki musī bandaγ kasur-án **ban-ing-aṭi o**
 see(PST.3.SG) that three man road-ABL **come-INF-LOC be(PRS.3.PL)**
 ‘She saw that three men **were** coming along the road.’
 (lit. ‘**are coming** by the road’) (Mayer 1907, 1)²⁶

Rai’s apparently natural examples (35) and (37) above and the LSI example (34) above occur in the complements of ‘report’ and ‘say’ respectively; in (38) and (39) the progressive forms occur in the complement of ‘see’. The following five examples, (40)–(44), come from two of the texts in Elfenbein (1983). In all five of these, the present progressive form occurs in the complement to a verb of perception, mental activity or speech. This raises the question of whether the progressive forms, which Bray (1907) descriptively calls “tenses of actuality” and glosses with phrases like ‘I am in the act of placing; I was actually placing,’ may be associated with the Brahui system of expressing a range of epistemic senses ranging from direct evidential to non-evidential.

²⁵Usually, Rai’s stressed vowels correspond to the long vowels of other authors. His section on riddles and proverbs, though, uses macrons to mark long vowels.

²⁶The Brahui sentence reflects the direct reported perception, as opposed to the corresponding indirect English usage with tense shift, as appears in the gloss.

- (39) ofk **pārer** ki nan tenā mulkatetī islāmī nizām-e aḍ tining-nā košīšt-aṭī²⁷ **kanningaṭī-un**
 ‘They **said** that we in our countries are working in our effort to establish Islamic rule.’
 (From *A Joke* by Nadir Qambarani, originally published in *γwārix*, a collection of folk poetry edited by Abdul-Rahman Brahui. Quetta: Idara Adab Baluchistan. Translated in Elfenbein (1983, 115))
- (40) zyā **harrife** ki ī bāz trundiaṭ kārem **kanningaṭī-uṭ**
 ‘Zia **asked**, “I **am working** very fiercely; ...?”
 (From *A Joke* by Nadir Qambarani, originally published in *γwārix*, a collection of folk poetry edited by Abdul-Rahmaan Brahui. Quetta: Idara Adab Baluchistan. Translated in Elfenbein (1983, 108, 115))
- (41) mullā luṭūr **fīr kare** ki dā ambale ant saxtīas halkone, ki kanā penaṭ paleze **luṭṭifingaṭī-e**
 ‘Mullah Lutur **thought**, “That fellow is certainly in difficulty; he **is getting** his melon garden plundered in my name.”’
 (From *Mullā Luṭur*, told by Nadir Qambarani in 1981. In Elfenbein (1983, 113, 122))
- (42) šāhzādī kāṛokīān²⁸ **hurā hayrān mass** ki, dā ganokāk ant **kanningaṭī-o**
 The princess **looked** from her window and **was surprised**: “What are those fools **doing**?”
 (From *Mullā Luṭur*, told by Nadir Qambarani in 1981. In Elfenbein (1983, 114, 122))
- (43) šāhzādī waldā **xurā xanātā**, ki daḡare **kuṭṭingaṭī-o**
 ‘The princess again **looked out and saw** that they **were slaughtering** the kid.’
 (lit. ‘are slaughter-ing’)
 (From *Mullā Luṭur*, told by Nadir Qambarani in 1981. In Elfenbein (1983, 114, 122))

In 1991, Abdul Razzak Sabir thought that even for the specifically progressive meaning, the present/future tense is more common, especially in rural speech, and that the progressive forms are mostly used by people who know Urdu. As recently as 2006, Andronov described the progressive forms as complex verbal constructions, rather than tense forms (Andronov 2006, 89). However, the progressive forms were already recognized by Bray’s time, and have steadily gained currency, first in urban locations and increasingly in the rural areas, and have a real place in the contemporary language. Examples (44) and (45) are from literature published in the 1980s.²⁹

- (44) ... urā-ī nāsar-tō ant **man-iṭ-ṭī** ē
 house-LAT Nasser-COM what become-INF-LOC be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘... what is happening to Nasser in the house.’
 (From Asani (1985), translated in Ross (1999, 159))
- (45) asiṭ-tā³⁰ iraḡ **dan-iṭ-ṭī** ē
 one-TOP bread take-INF-LOC be(PRS.3.SG)
 ‘One of them is taking bread (to eat).’
 (From *Nikah* ‘Wedding’ in Zia (1984) translated in Ross (1999, 175))

4.4 Past progressive forms

Examples of past progressive forms do occur in the earlier literature, though they are far fewer than those of present-tense forms. Two senses are represented in the examples available. In (46) the

²⁷Sabir (p.c. March 2009) comments that *košīšt kanningaṭī-un* would be correct.

²⁸Sabir (p.c. March 2009) offers *kirikī* here.

²⁹Notice that in both (45) and (46) the locative ending appears as *-ṭī*, without the initial vowel, *-a*. These examples are from a written source, and it is likely that the roman transcription without the short a is an artifact of transliteration from the Brahui-script representation, in which a short vowel would not be indicated. This consideration also applies to the folk texts in Bux (1877), which are presented in Perso-Arabic script, and to examples (47) and (50). Thus from texts originally recorded in Brahui script and transliterated, we cannot determine whether the pronunciation of the locative suffix included a short vowel or not. The early examples (e.g., Bux, Duka) write *-ṭī* separate from the infinitive, while Sabir writes it joined to the infinitive.

³⁰I have tentatively glossed *-tā* here as a kind of topic marker (Bray 1907, 219).

past progressive conveys the sense of a “future in the past”, parallel to the sense of the Urdu past progressive in, for example, *mā̃ ā rahā thā ki koī mehmān ā gae* ‘I was about to come, when some guests (unexpectedly) came.’

- (46) hamo de ki miḥzmán-k **ban-ing-ṭi** **as-ur**
 that day when guest-PL come-INF-LOC be(PST)-3.PL
 ‘That day when the guests were about to arrive.’ (Mayer 1907, 11)

The past progressive also appears in direct narrative (47), (48) and (49).

- (47) nan tēn-aṭ numā pāraγ-āi **bann-ing-aṭi** **ass-un**
 We self-INS your side-LAT come-INF-LOC be(PST)-1.PL
 ‘We were ourselves coming to your place.’ (Bray 1907, 185)
- (48) haṇḍuti³¹ šam tama šer-ák hamo waxt-ai **ban-ing-aṭi** **as-ur**
 as.soon.as night fall(PST.3.SG) lion-PL that time-LAT come-INF-LOC be(PST)-3.PL
 ‘As soon as night fell, the lions were coming along...’ (Mayer 1907, 43)

- (49) asa pāraγ-ā masink dīra-ā maš-ōk **xal-iṭ-ṭi** **as-ur-a**
 one side-LAT daughters drum-LAT get.up-ADJ.PTCP pull-INF-LOC be(PST)-3.PL-IPFV
 ‘On one side the girls **were** getting up and **pulling the drum.**’
 (From *Nikah* ‘Wedding’ in Zia (1984) translated in Ross (1999, 173)).

Bray (1907, 85) has the following example of a probable-future progressive (50).

- (50) nēmroc-āi ki sardār bar-ē ī lāb **kann-ing-aṭi** **mar-o-ṭ**
 noon-LAT if chief come-PRS.INDF.3.SG I harvest do-INF-LOC become-PROB.FUT-1.SG
 ‘Should the chief come at noon, I **shall be in the middle of** harvesting.’

The following example of a perfect progressive (51) occurs in Bray (1907, 189).

- (51) bāz vaxt ī gōbaṭ **kann-ing-aṭi** **mass-un-uṭ** ki od bass-un-e
 many time I threshing do-INF-LOC become(PST)-PRF-1.SG when he come-PRF-3.SG
 ‘Many a time has he found me busy threshing on his arrival.’ (Bray’s translation)³²

4.5 Negative progressive forms

According to Sabir, although the affirmative progressive forms, both in the present and the past, are now (ca. 1990) commonly used, negative forms, though regularly and easily formed, are rarely used. He also observed that hypothetical negative progressive forms consisting of the negative infinitive with an affirmative auxiliary, although they could be regularly and easily formed, do not occur. The only early example of a negative progressive form that I have found in the published literature is (52), in which the negative element is in the auxiliary, not in the infinitive. Bray (1907, 139) says this clearly: “As there is no negative infinitive, negation in the so-called tenses of actuality has to be expressed in the auxiliary.”

- (52) ī dudēng-aṭi aff-aṭ
 I run-LOC be(NEG.PRS)-1.SG
 ‘I am not running (away).’ (Bray 1907, 175)³³

Importantly for the analysis and discussion of the recent Brahui developments discussed in section 5.2.1 below, Barker (1969, I:234) gives two negative forms for the Balochi “present continuative”.

³¹According to Sabir (p.c. March 2009), the correct form is *handāṭi*.

³²The possibility that the perfect progressive expresses a mirative meaning needs to be explored. Bray’s gloss ‘has he **found** [emphasis mine] me’ is suggestive of this. Recall also Abdullah Jan Jamaldini’s comment that the perfect continuative forms seem more natural to him than others of this series. Perhaps a mirative meaning emerges naturally from the conjunction of perfect tense, the verb ‘become’, and the sense of ‘actuality’ conveyed by the continuative/progressive form.

³³With this middle verb, in the progressive form the infinitive ending is often dropped, and the locative ending attached directly to the base of the verb (Bray 1907, 175).

The first consists of the stressed negative prefix *ná* + infinitive-OBL+ present tense of *ā*- ‘be’, as in (53). Because of the close juncture between the negative prefix and the infinitive, this structure is similar to the negative infinitive of Brahui, and would be parallel to the type not attested in Brahui. In the second variant, the negative element is a separate particle, which precedes the finite verb, as in (54).

- (53) man kār ná-kan-ag-ā un
 I(DIR) work NEG-do-INF-OBL be(PRS.1.SG)
 ‘I am not working.’
- (54) man kār kan-ag-ā na un
 I(DIR) work do-INF-OBL NEG be(PRS.1.SG)
 ‘I am not working.’

5 Recent innovations

The affirmative progressive forms, the negative infinitive, and thus the negative conjugations of the progressive tenses are the elements of the verbal system affected by the innovations discussed below. The changes in the negative progressive tenses incorporate both the innovation in the affirmative progressives and new negative infinitives.

5.1 Changes in the affirmative progressive forms

To recapitulate, consider (55), (56) and (57) below. The type in (55), with the imperfect, shows the original usage, and in rural areas is still more common than the progressive form (57). Sabir reports (p.c. 1991) that in urban areas the progressive forms (56) are used more frequently, and are the current urban standard way of expressing this meaning. In (57), which shows the first of the innovations discussed here, the locative ending *-aṭī* has been dropped from the infinitive, leaving a progressive form consisting of the uninflected infinitive plus a form of ‘be’ as auxiliary with a closer junction than at the stage of (56). This represents a more recent stage, noted within the ten years prior to 1991. According to Sabir, in 1991 it was used only by speakers up to about 20–30 years of age, and was considered by some people to be substandard. However, the writer of this paper heard a spontaneous instance of this form during a conference in Quetta in 1991. When the audience was asked whether a certain person was present, someone replied *bánniṅ e* ‘He is coming’, rather than the earlier form *bánniṅaṭī e*.³⁴

- (55) ī inā-ṭ o xwāna-k-á
 I go(PST)-1.SG he read(PST)-3.SG-IPFV
 ‘When I went he was reading.’
- (56) ī inā-ṭ o xwān-ing-aṭī ass
 I go(PST)-1.SG he read-INF-LOC be(PST.3.SG)
 ‘When I went he was reading.’
- (57) ī inā-ṭ o xwān-ing-ass
 I go(PST)-1.SG he read-INF-be(PST.3.SG)
 ‘When I went he was reading.’

In 2004, thirteen years after my original data and observations were noted, Sabir reported that forms like that in (57) were not only being used by urban youth but that the younger rural generation were also employing them. Furthermore, in 2004 they were also being written in modern poetry and prose, especially dramas and short stories. According to Sabir, about forty percent of the new generation of young writers use only forms like *bánniṅ-e* or *bánniṅ-aff* instead of *bánniṅaṭī e* or *bánniṅaṭī aff* (Sabir, p.c. October 2004). He has provided the following two examples, (58) and (59), from published Brahui poetry.

³⁴Note that the form resulting from this innovation is structurally parallel to the Eastern Balochi form illustrated above in section 4.2.

- (58) situm ant-ān ant pā **mann-ing-e** jahān-aṭ
 cruelty what-ABL what say(IMP) **become-INF-be**(PRS.3.SG) world-LOC?³⁵
 ke ādam-nā xūn ham **wah-ing-e** jahān-aṭ
 that human-GEN blood so **flow-INF-be**(PRS.3.SG) world-LOC?
 ‘What kind of cruelty is being in the world? Everywhere the blood of humans is being shed.’
 (Source: Weekly *Elum Brahui, Mastung*, 3–16 August, 2004, p. 15. Transliteration and translation by Sabir.)
- (59) tufān-aṭī sali-ta-n-e kas kas-nā kāṭum-ā
 storm-LOC stand-NEG.PST-PRF-3.SG someone someone-GEN head-LAT
bann-ing-e saxt-o waxt ki wāpas nā kāṭum-ā
come-INF-be(PRS.3.SG) hard-INDF time that back your head-LAT
 ‘In a storm no one can stand with you. A very tough time is coming again for you.’
 (Lit. ‘In the storm no one has stood by anyone’s head. A hard time is coming back on you.’)
 (Source: Weekly *Elum Brahui, Mastung* 17–26 September, 2004, p. 12. Transliteration and translation by Sabir.)

In summary, progressive forms have become increasingly grammaticized, evolving from being constructions parallel to other phasal constructions, to tense/aspect forms.

5.2 Changes in the negative conjugation

A second area in which change is occurring is the negative conjugations. The inherited system, in which the negative element is part of the verb stem, is undergoing shifts of several types. In brief, two new types of non-finite negative forms have emerged. Some of them employ grammatical strategies borrowed from the Balochi or Urdu (Iranian/IA) pattern, resulting in new types of deverbial nominals. Others employ indigenous Brahui (Dravidian) morphological mechanisms and result in innovative negative infinitives, which are then employed in a restructuring of the negative progressive conjugations.

5.2.1 Iranian/Indo-Aryan strategies

The first pattern involves the use of a negative prefix. Several variants of this development have been observed. First, a newly-coined form consisting of the negative prefix *na-* plus the infinitive has appeared in some urban areas. For example, instead of *kapparíng* ‘not to do’ from *kánníng* ‘to do’, there is also a new form *na kánníng* ‘not to do’, *na ínníng* instead of *imparíng* ‘not to go’, and *na kunníng* in place of *kumparíng* ‘not to eat’.³⁶ This results in forms structurally parallel to the Rakhshani Balochi negative constructions shown as (54) and (55) in section 4.5 above. A second variant appears in the deverbial noun *naṭəhngī* ‘not having good relations with’ (<*na + ṭəh-ing + ī*>), which has been observed as the negative of *ṭəhíng* ‘to have good relations with’, instead of the normal form *ṭəparíng* ‘to not have good relations with’.³⁷ Three morphological processes occur to produce this innovative form: the negative particle *na* is prefixed, the infinitive is contracted, and the abstract nominalizing suffix *-ī* is added. The form *natisī* ‘not giving’, instead of *tifaríng* ‘not to give’ shows a third variant (Bashir, notes 1991). It consists of the negative prefix *na* plus the noun *tiss* ‘gift, act of giving, generosity’³⁸ and the suffix *-ī* (<*Iranian/Indo-Aryan*>). Sentences (60)–(62) show the development from concrete noun to abstract negative nominal.

³⁵Here, *-aṭ* has the shape of the instrumental case marker; however, from Sabir’s translation, it seems that it could also be a shortened form of the locative ending, truncated for metrical purposes.

³⁶Whether this *na* should be analyzed as a negative prefix or as a (separate) negative particle is not yet clear. In Balochi, the negative element is a prefix, bearing main word stress, and written together with the verb. The stress and juncture characteristics of these new Brahui forms need to be analyzed to determine the status of *na* in Brahui.

³⁷Bray (1907, 296) gives this verb as *ṭahíng*. The salient fronting to [æ] I heard may reflect the same phonetic change seen in Urdu [bəhan] (</*bahan*/), in which short /a/ followed by /h/ is fronted.

³⁸This is identical to the past stem *tiss* of *tínig* ‘to give’.

- (60) *dā xudā-nā tiss-as*
 this God-GEN **gift**-INDF
 ‘This is a gift of God.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)
- (61) *šām-aṭī bea-nā tisī jwān aff*
 evening-LOC salt-GEN **giving** good be(NEG.PRS.3.SG)
 ‘To give salt in the evening is not good.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)
- (62) *ḡalæ-nā na-tisī jwān aff*
 grain-GEN **not-giving** good be(NEG.PRS.3.SG)
 ‘Not to give grain is not good.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)

Yet another variant of this type involves the use of the negative prefix *ve-* (<*be-* Persian, Balochi, Urdu). For example, instead of the regularly formed negative infinitive *mafarīng* ‘not to be’, forms like *vemānning* ‘not to be’ (<*be+mānning*) are used in Jhalawan and Sindh (Bashir, notes 1991). Sabir observes that this type of new prefixal negative verbal nouns are restricted to nominal uses and are not used in verbal constructions or as part of a tense form.

A new negative adjectival participle is also appearing. In this development, observed with complex predicates consisting of a noun or adjective plus a light verb, the negative morpheme has shifted from the light verb to the nominal/adjectival element, and the original Brahui negative morpheme is replaced by a Persian-origin negative prefix. This development is illustrated and analyzed in (63), where the negative element *vē* attaches to *čāp* ‘printed’ instead of *marok*, the affirmative adjectival participle of *manning* ‘to become’ in the original usage *čāp mafarok* ‘unprinted, unpublished’.

- (63) a. *čāp ma-far-ok*
 printed become-NEG-ADJ.PPL
 ‘unprinted, unpublished’
- b. *vē-čāp mar-ok*
 NEG-printed become-ADJ.PPL
 ‘unprinted, unpublished’

This development of negative non-finite forms in which the negative element is prefixed to infinitives or nominal/adjectival elements, rather than being internal to the stem, is simultaneous with the second major development to be discussed—the emergence of radically new negative infinitives.

5.2.2 Indigenous Brahui strategies

The creation of new negative infinitives employing Brahui-internal strategies is also a recent development. We have seen that negative progressive forms, although regularly and easily formed, are infrequently attested (type in example (64)).

- (64) **“Standard” negative progressive: (rarely used)**
 o *bānn-ing-aṭī aff*
 s/he come-INF-LOC be(NEG.PRS.3.SG)
 ‘S/he is not coming.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)
- (65) **Innovation 1 (loss of locative marker) (more frequently used)**
- a. o *bann-ing aff*
 s/he come-INF be(NEG.PRS.3.SG)
 ‘S/he is not coming.’ (Sabir, p.c. 2004)
- b. o *xaling-aff*
 ‘S/he is not beating.’ (Sabir, p.c. 2004)
- c. o *kunning-aff*
 S/he is not eating.’ (Sabir, p.c. 2004)

Innovation 1 (65) produces forms parallel to the newly-contracted affirmative progressive forms like *o bānning e* ‘s/he is coming’ ((58) and (59) above). At this stage, because of the dropping of

the locative marker *-at̄i*, the juncture between the negative auxiliary and the infinitive is closer than that of the negative auxiliary and the infinitive in the “standard” negative progressive (as in (65)). It appears that forms showing deletion of the locative case marker are now more frequently used than the original forms of the negative progressive. Sabir’s children, for example, use forms incorporating this innovation (Sabir, p.c. 2004).

The original negative infinitive of *bánniŋ* ‘to come’ is *baffaríŋ* ‘not to come’, with its alternate form *bafaniŋ*.³⁹ By 1991, two variants of a new negative infinitive, e.g., *baffiŋ* ‘not coming’ and *bafáng* ‘not coming’, had appeared (66) and (67). These were observed mostly among children living in urban neighborhoods where a mixed population of Brahui, Balochi, and Pashto speakers live (Sabir, p.c. 1991). Sabir (p.c. November 2004) says, “The term ‘*baffiŋ*’ has recently been introduced and only children and youth aged about 20 are using it. In literature it is now being introduced and rarely young writers use it.” Unfortunately, I have no published examples of its occurrence.

(66) **Innovation 2 (creation of new negative infinitive)**

- o baff-**ing** e
s/he come-NEG-INF be(PRS.3.SG)
‘S/he is not coming.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)

In Innovation 2, the innovative form, *baffiŋ*, loses the *ar* of the negative morpheme, reducing the trisyllabic negative infinitive to a disyllabic form, and the stress is shifted to the stem. In progressive tense forms involving Innovation 2, the negative element has moved out of the auxiliary into the stem, and, as in the core verbal forms of the Brahui verb system, is integral to the verb stem. Compare (66) to (65) above. The innovated negative progressive construction thus consists of a true negative infinitive plus an affirmative auxiliary. These newly innovated negative infinitives are used freely in finite verbal forms.

(67) **Innovation 3 (a second new negative infinitive)**

- a. o ba-**f**-áng e
s/he come-NEG-INF be(PRS.3.SG)
‘S/he is not coming.’ (Bashir, notes 1991)
- b. o liki-**p**-áng-ass
s/he write-NEG-INF-be(PST.3.SG)
‘S/he was not writing.’ (Sabir, p.c. 2004)
- c. o kun**p**áng-e
‘S/he is **not** eating.’ (Sabir, p.c. 2004)
- d. o xal**p**áng-e
‘S/he is not beating.’ (Sabir, p.c. 2004)

Innovation 3, of the type *bafáng* (67), appears to be a development of the alternate negative infinitive *bafaniŋ*, in which the vocalic element *-iŋ* of the infinitive ending is dropped and the stress remains on the *á*. Some verbs form this new negative infinitive with *-f* and some with *-p* as the negative marker. Both types of new negative infinitives, *báffing* (66) or *bafáng* (67) ‘not to come’ occupy the same structural position as the affirmative infinitive *bánniŋ* ‘to come’ does in the affirmative sentence, e.g., (59) and (60) above.

When one considers the evolution of the negative progressive forms, several possible driving factors present themselves. Perhaps the facts that a verbal form regularly constructible with a negative infinitive and a affirmative auxiliary was not used, and that the form constructed with the affirmative infinitive and the negative auxiliary was only rarely used, coupled with the loss of the locative case marker in the progressive forms and their increasing grammaticization led to the perception of a gap in the paradigm; that is, the absence of a negative progressive form parallel to the affirmative. This may have strengthened the tendency to use a *newly re-shaped negative*

³⁹*-f-* is an allomorph of the present negative element *p*.

⁴⁰I do not have an example of Innovation 2 for the past tense.

Present		
	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
Present-future tense	<i>ī barév-a</i> 'I will come, am coming.'	<i>ī bafar-a</i> 'I will not come, am not coming.'
Original present progressive	<i>o banning-aṭī-e</i> 'S/he is coming.'	<i>o banning-aṭī-aff</i> 'S/he is not coming'
Innovation 1 — deletion of Locative case marker	<i>o banning-e</i> 'S/he is coming'	<i>o banning-aff</i> 'S/he is not coming.'
Innovation 2 — creation of new negative infinitive	n.a	<i>o baffing-e</i> 'S/he is not coming.'
Innovation 3 — another new negative infinitive	n.a	<i>o bafáng-e</i> 'S/he is not coming.'
Past		
Imperfect tense	<i>o xwānak-á</i> 'S/he was reading.'	<i>o xwāntavak-a</i> 'S/he was not reading.'
Original past progressive	<i>o xwāning-aṭī ass</i> 'S/he was reading.'	<i>ī xwāning-aṭī allavaṭ</i> 'I was not reading' (rare)
Innovation 1: Deletion of locative case marker	<i>o xwāning-ass</i> 'S/he was reading.'	[no example in my data]
Innovation 3: Second type of new negative infinitive ⁴⁰	n.a	<i>o likipáng-ass</i> 'S/he was not writing.' (fairly common)

TABLE 4 Summary of changes in the progressive forms

infinitive coupled with the affirmative auxiliary. This development results in structural parallelism between the affirmative and negative progressive paradigms: INFINITIVE (AFFIRMATIVE/NEGATIVE) + AFFIRMATIVE AUXILIARY.

5.2.3 Other innovations

The negative of the probable future (base + *ō* + person/number endings) is undergoing change. According to Sabir (p.c. March 2009), the Lahri and Qambrani tribes living in Quetta city and Jhalawan speakers use the form *kar-o-fa-ṭ* (do-ō-NEG-1.SG) 'I may not do' instead of the standard *ka-ppar-o-ṭ* (do-NEG-ō-1.SG) for the negative of the probable future. This innovation involves several changes. This innovative form shows what might be analyzed as the *kar-* variant of the affirmative stem of *kanning* 'to do' instead of the *ka-* variant, or as metathesis of *r* and the *f* allomorph of the negative marker which has replaced the *-p-* of the negative non-past stem *ka-p-* 'do-not'. It also involves metathesis of the vowels *o* and *a*. This new form appears to be the product of analogical reshaping perhaps on the model of the paradigm of *manning* 'to become', i.e. *mafarot* 'I probably will not be', and metathesis. Notice, however that the metathesis has the effect of reversing the order of the negative element, now *f*, and the future morpheme *ō*.

Another innovation noted in the negative conjugation involves analogical changes in the present indefinite forms. The regular affirmative form of the third person singular, affirmative present indefinite tense of *manning* 'to become' is *mar-ē* 's/he may be/become', with third person singular ending *-ē*; and the corresponding regular negative form is *maff* 's/he may not be/become', with a zero ending in the third person singular. In Quetta, however, negative forms like *maff-ē*, constructed on analogy with the affirmative form, are now heard. According to Sabir (p.c. 1991), these changes take place with negative forms ending in *-f*; and are being adopted by the Qambarani and Jattak tribes living in Quetta.

6 Summary and Conclusions

The non-appearance of negative infinitives in verbal conjugations has been due to the fact that the infinitive was basically a verbal noun, primarily appearing in nominal functions. Thus when the

verbal noun was used in constructions having the prototypical verbal function of predicating an action, the negative morpheme appeared in the auxiliary. The loss of the locative case ending on the infinitive in the progressive forms removed a salient nominal characteristic of the form, and paved the way for its taking on a more verbal nature. The re-creation of a new negative infinitive thus followed the loss of the locative case ending in the progressive forms. This sequence of changes has resulted in the increasing grammaticization of the progressives, moving them further along the way to being regular tense forms rather than constructions or complex verbal expressions. In short, the infinitive is becoming less nominal and more verbal. Compare examples (14) and (15), in which the original negative infinitive **refers** *to the absence of an action or event*, with the sentences in (66) and (67), in which the new negative infinitive **predicates** *the non-occurrence of an action or event*.⁴¹ These changes have resulted in eliminating a gap in the progressive paradigms and structural parallelism between the affirmative and negative progressive forms. Simultaneously, innovative verbal nouns formed with various prefixal strategies have appeared. Thus the innovations discussed in this paper have “split” the verbal and the nominal character of the Brahui negative infinitive, resulting in the appearance of a new infinitive with more verbal properties, and new, unambiguously nominal, forms of verbal nouns. The other innovations discussed in section 5.2.3 also suggest that Brahui morphology is in an unstable phase and that more such changes are likely to be taking place.

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⁴¹According to Croft (2003, 185) reference to an action is a propositional act performed by verb forms lacking some of the attributes of prototypical verbs, e.g., action nominals and infinitives. Predication of an action is the prototypical function of unmarked verbs.

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